Projects for Roma inclusion

- a content analysis exploring empowerment and intersectionality within five projects

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International Migration and Ethnic Relations (30 credits)
Two-year master
Submitted August 2014
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Abstract

Projects are a common method in the work of closing the gap between the majority society and the Roma people. As a national minority in Sweden, the Roma people are entitled to certain rights of participation within this work. This thesis aims to analyze five projects, meant to work towards the Roma people’s inclusion, to answer how the concepts of empowerment and intersectionality are expressed or implicitly embodied within them. It is also questioned how the projects have considered the Roma people’s perceptions of their own situation and context. By using content analysis together with the theoretical framework, it is possible to bring light to these concepts, as well as to find key variables in order to answer the research questions. The main findings show that while the projects lacked in using an intersectional approach, the concept has important analytical tools which could be helpful in order to include the vulnerable persons within the Roma groups and to work with more sensitive issues. Some levels of empowerment is also found in the projects, both as a goal and as a means. However, in order to empower the Roma people, the majority society would have to give more decision power to the group. Thus the projects have not reached the potential they could have had in contributing to the shift which has been set in motion towards letting the Roma people develop the perspective of the work as well as be part of the execution.

Key words: Roma people, majority society, empowerment, intersectionality, power relations, project, inclusion, Roma information and knowledge center.
Abbreviations

ESF – European Social Fund in Sweden (Europeiska Socialfonden i Sverige)

FCNM – Framework Convention for the protection of National Minorities

I.R.I.S – International Roma In Cooperation (Internationella Romer i Samverkan)

RIKC – Roma Information and Knowledge Center (Romskt informations och kunskapscenter)

EPRWS – Empowerment and participation of Roma in Western Sweden (Empowerment och delaktighet hos romer i Västsverige)

(Statens offentliga utredning, Romers rätt – en strategi för romer i Sverige)
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1. INTRODUCTION

"The same challenges that existed then, exist today. Roma are always at a disadvantage, are set to live in isolation. It is a neglected group whose rights are violated every day."¹ – Diana Nyman

This is a quote from Diana Nyman, a Roma activist who was subjected to discrimination the same day the government presented the White book (Vitbok) regarding the history of Roma discrimination in Sweden. Nyman was invited to speak at the presentation as she was a member of the reference group who has worked with the book. When attempting to go for breakfast in her hotel, she was prevented from entering the dinner room. It is suspected to be discrimination, since she identifies with the Finnish Roma where the women wear specific clothing and has been reported to the discrimination ombudsman.² This situation is not an isolated event, but could be viewed as part of a structural problem that persons belonging to the Roma people have faced during a long time in Sweden and which the Swedish government has acknowledged.³

Sweden has during the last 500 years had attitudes shifting in strategies and actions made towards the Roma people. As important as the history is for the situation today, one must constantly have a critical perspective on the contemporary work in order for it to be as effective as possible and to close the gap between Roma people and the majority society. The Roma people face structural discrimination and exclusion which stretches throughout many aspects of society and takes partly form in a large welfare gap.⁴ In light of new awareness of the importance of Roma participation, much of the work developed and implemented is done in project form, and are intended to reduce this gap and to create inclusion for the Roma people. The hopes with the thesis is therefore to highlight the contemporary methods of working with these issues, but also to change the perspective and challenge issues that perhaps have not been challenged earlier. Thereby, emphasizing the damage potential projects

² M Domellöf-Wik, 'Diana Nyman ger inte upp sin kamp'.
could have by not shaping their methods according to the Roma people’s own definitions of the problems and the groups’ heterogeneity.

Five projects have been chosen and are directed towards different themes including culture and history, the labour market, and establishing an information center. They all share that they have been conducted after the ratification of the Framework convention for the protection of national minorities (from here on the FCNM) in 2000. The convention gave the Roma people, as a national minority, certain rights which the state of Sweden is obliged to meet.5

1.1 Aim and research questions

One of the primary methods towards improving the situation of the Roma people and end the structural discrimination of the group in contemporary Sweden is made in project form. In light of this it is central to analyze the perspectives used, not only for their work in itself, but also for creating knowledge for potential future projects. The aim of the thesis is to analyze projects aimed towards improving the situation of the Roma people and highlight the tendencies of the contemporary working methods in Sweden.

The following research questions will be of help in order to reach the aim:

1. How have the projects been constructed regarding the inclusion of the Roma people’s own perception of their situation and context?
2. How are empowerment and intersectionality explicitly expressed or implicitly embodied in the projects?

2. THE SWEDISH SITUATION

In this thesis, the contemporary situation of the Roma people is reaching over the socio-economic aspects of an individual’s life, such as education, labour, and accommodation. Many Roma feel excluded from the society and therefore it is of vital importance to have a basic understanding of both the historical and the contemporary context which affects the discrimination directed towards the Roma group.

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2.1 Roma – a very heterogeneous group

One fact that is very important to stress repeatedly is that Roma are a very heterogeneous group with various views on religion, different languages and cultures. It is believed that the differences are due to that the Roma people have been living in most part of Europe for several hundreds of years. A study from 2007 found that at least 20 varieties of Romani chib are spoken by Roma living in Sweden. The different languages is a way to divide the different groups but are also connected to the origins of each specific group. Swedish Roma are often said to be Kelderash, Lovari and Tjurari, who emigrated from Russia to Sweden in the 19th century. The Finnish Roma, Kaale, are believed to have lived in Sweden since the 16th century but were deported to the part of the nation that later became Finland. Many of them immigrated back to Sweden in the 1960s according to the SOU 2010:55. The third group, non-Nordic Roma, derived from former Soviet states as Poland, the Check republic, Slovakia and Hungary during the 1960-70s, belonging to the groups of Kelderash, Romungrri and Tjurara. The group of newly arrived comes mainly from former Yugoslavia and Kosovo and belongs to Arli and Gurbeti. The final group is called travelers and there are different opinions among them about how long they have been in Sweden, 16th, 17th or 19th century. 

As noted above there are also differences in religious views and cultural expression but there are similarities beyond their heritage. Culture is argued, in SOU 2010:55, to be changing with time due to contextual circumstances but a common thing that has been seen to stay strong through time is the Roma people’s strong loyalty to family. Another aspect which is shared for Roma is the recurring discrimination which has led to the denial of their identity in some situations. Asylum seekers, the group of newly arrived, often choose not to reveal their identity in order to have a new chance without having to face the same the discrimination they have fled from.

2.2 Historical context

Roma people have a long history in Sweden and the first written evidence of their existence on Swedish territory was in 1512. The term Roma is preferred by the groups and derives from the word *döm* meaning human or man. It is used today after a change of terminology, after the ratification of the FCNM in the beginning of the 21st century, from the pejorative, or

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offensive ethnicized terms, *zigonare* or *tattare.*\(^9\) However, historically the overall attitude towards Roma was very negative. The group went from being accepted as pilgrims to beggars and vagrants which should be dealt with.\(^10\) During the following decades of the 20th century the Roma people were related to concepts such as problem or threat (to the Swedish society), un-Swedish, minor or incapable.\(^11\) Even though the attitude has shifted from trying to get the Swedish state free from Roma in the beginning of the 20th century, to assimilation strategies in the middle and othering them based on their culture in the end of the century the concepts has been a constant application on them as a group.\(^12\)

Earlier strategies towards Roma have been based in the majority society’s understanding of their situation, problems and of them as one group. That has also lead to that the solutions, projects and strategies have not been constructed from the Roma people’s perspective and understanding.\(^13\) The ratification of the FCNM gave the Roma people in Sweden a national minority status, thereby giving them and their culture special protection.\(^14\) However Roma people are still, in a high degree, discriminated. The government has published a white book (Vitbok) in 2014, regarding Roma discrimination during their presence in Sweden. Examples of this discrimination that occur to this day are non-Roma signing petitions to stop Roma from moving into the same building or reporting disturbances in a higher frequency, which often are ungrounded. Roma people also face discrimination in almost every aspect in life, on the labour market, in school, women with children especially face it on public transports, and/or visiting stores and restaurants. These are just a few of the instances. Previous discriminations have included not allowing Roma to settle down in apartments and houses, preventing them to attend regular schooling, forced sterilizations and ethnic registrations.\(^15\)

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\(^12\) S Johansson, 2013, 17-23.


\(^14\) Regeringen webplats om mänskliga rättigheter, Ramkonventionen till skydd för nationella minoriteter.

2.3 The national minority legislation

The current government has established a nationwide strategy called *A coordinated and sustainable strategy for Roma inclusion 2012-2032* with the expressed purpose that the Roma person who turns 20 years old in 2032 shall have the same opportunities in life as a non-Roma. The areas mentioned by the strategy are: education, labour, housing, health, social care, and safety, culture, language and the civil society’s organization. The government states that Roma must have influence over the strategy and be included in its implementation. In the early stages of the strategy five municipalities have been given the responsibility to find or develop methods and strategies that can be used in the rest of the state.¹⁶ This follows the general attitude on state level since the ratification of the FCNM and the SOU 2010:55, but the European Union’s minority legislation is what forms the foundations of the minority rights which the Roma people are entitled to. The forth article of the convention states that the parties should create the circumstances and conditions needed for effective participation of persons belonging to the national minority groups and this regards social, economy and cultural life as well as public affairs – especially when it concerns the minority itself. This work should not be considered as discrimination of others.¹⁷

Culture, media and education are the most important fields where article six stipulates that the parties should encourage tolerance and intercultural dialogue and also promote mutual respect, co-operation and understanding by taking effective measures directed to all the persons living on the state’s territory. One way to realize this article is by effective participation of the national minority, especially when it is issues that affect them. Sweden is thereby obliged to create conditions which are necessary, in the areas of economic, social and cultural life as well as in public affairs, for effective participation of the Roma. The goal is to encourage real equality and the FCNM suggests several ways as means to reach it, by involvement of the national minority in preparations, implementation and the assessment of development plans and programs both at national, regional and local level which are likely to affects them directly.¹⁸

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¹⁸ Regeringskansliet, Strategi för romsk inkludering 2012-2032, pp. 4, 6, 17, 22.
3. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The theoretical framework will focus on mainly two concepts, empowerment and intersectionality where each concept will be presented by a discussion which is useful for the coming analysis. In order to develop the understanding of empowerment, both power relations and agency will be highlighted as they are important for the concept. Intersectionality has with its overall perspective on identity and social change a value for the aim of the thesis.

3.1 Empowerment

Empowerment is widely discussed by scholars who have several different opinions about the concept’s efficiency, relevance and meaning. Empowerment is also often connected with other concepts such as autonomy, self-determination, self-confidence, agency, participation, mobilization and self-direction, which can be confusing as well as contributing for a further understanding of the meaning and usage.\(^{19}\) Patricia McFadden claims that empowerment is not constructed with the right analytical tools and does not have the right perceptions to be valuable to those it is supposed to help, because they derive from liberal epistemology based in westerns thoughts which are focused on the individual’s capabilities. She stresses that it is a value in regarding what capabilities mean beyond the individual and a large amount of people in the south have lost their capability or have never been able to acquire it.\(^{20}\) The definition used and the views behind it are therefore important to consider.

A definition of empowerment which is widely used, according to Solava Ibrahim and Sabina Alkire, is the view of the concept as a process of strengthening poor people’s political participation in both local decision making and in political processes. It is also to increase their capacity of influencing state institutions which have an impact on their lives. Empowerment is also defined as the removal of social, legal and political barriers which occur and work against certain groups of people, and the increase of the peoples’ assets in a way to enable them to engage more effectively in markets.\(^{21}\) Jay Drydyk argues that the meaning has changed since its first use in the 1990s when women were the target. The focus was more directed to power relations, the process of empowerment and the results of the process as well as transforming these power relations between groups and individuals. The meaning of the


\(^{21}\) S Ibrahim & S Alkire, 2007, p. 385.
concept has changed to become capacities, choices, making decisions and realizing potential and opportunities.²²

The focus of capacities is noticeable in the forthcoming scholars’ argument regarding empowerment, which does not necessarily mean that the concept has lost all the original aspects such as transformation, process and power relations. Per-Anders Tengland claims that there are two ways to look at empowerment, as a goal or as a means, and he would like to use both of them in order to find the meaning of empowerment. The perspective of empowerment as goals is defined with the individual or the group’s ability to have control over one’s life, by for example skills development, consciousness raising, self-confidence, self-esteem, freedom, autonomy and abilities. They can be seen as more detailed goals which can be part of broader goal settings. A basic suggestion to a definition of empowerment as a goal is having control over determinants regulating the quality of life, such as the areas of health, home, work, values, leisure time and close relationships.²³ This perspective puts emphasis on the responsibility of the individual or a group to take decisions that will change their situation. Viewed on its own it lacks a contextual understanding, which is why Tengland wants to add the perspective of empowerment as a means.

The view of empowerment as a means or a process is to decrease the impact of professionals and increase possibilities of responsibility for the minorities in the process of change, thereby showing more sensitivity to power relations. To change the power balance the professional has to take a step back and let the individual define the problem, find the solution and act accordingly to solve the problem. The person’s situation’s level of empowerment depends on the professional’s ability and willingness to hand over the power. In the effort of finding a good definition of empowerment, Tengland recognizes that people may not be willing to take the power and responsibility of their situation and of empowerment. Even if they do there is no guarantee that the goal they will strive for is empowering either for a group or an individual. In response to himself, he argues that most people are willing to take on control when the chance is in front of them and that most people are motivated, constructive and active.²⁴

²⁴ P A Tengland, 2008, pp. 80-81, 91-93.
He includes both the individual’s or group’s responsibility and ability to change their situation or quality of life, but also how that ability is limited due to what he calls professionals. The professional could be interpreted as those persons in power within all kinds of institutions of a society or the majority society. One of the constant issues in the discussion of empowerment is an individual’s or group’s ability of decision making or changing the situation and how it is restricted or enabled. Naila Kabeer defines empowerment as change on the basis of the ability to make choices. She argues that when someone is denied to make choices that person is in fact disempowered. Empowerment is therefore referring to the specific process of when people who have been denied the ability actually obtain it. She adds that it is not possible to simply equalize the ability to make choices to empowerment as some people are always able to make choices.25 With these lines of argumentations it is possible to claim that the people always able to choose do not have to be empowered but are rather in a power position compared to those who were denied choices and then obtained them.

When Kabeer discusses empowerment she does it in the context of the Millennium Development Goal for women’s empowerment. In those goals there are indicators monitoring the progress which also, according to her, implies resources; education and employment. These resources are connected to those Tengland stated earlier, to have control of those issues are to reach the goals of empowerment. What Kabeer wants to highlight is that even though there are many studies showing good results of empowerment based on these resources there are other aspects to consider. Education has been shown to have a positive result in the case of health and control over one’s life for women in different states, paid work has given women control over their economic situation and political participation has given power to women. However results indicate the importance of social context and the power relations within them. Education can be empowering, but in some contexts the education is only a status symbol to help girls and women get better partners in marriage. This example show how the change does not have to cause changes in a broader context since the gendered roles have not changed and helped the girls or woman to gain more power. Another aspect to consider is how the education is performed and by who. Is it enabling those in the lower end of the power relation or does it only retain the already existing power relations?26

Paid work can also be disempowering or retaining the situation as it depends on the working conditions, a person belonging to a subordinated group can still be treated badly at work due to his/her group identity. Women are yet again a good example as they can have double responsibility; both for their paid work but also as they are still expected to have responsibility for child care and household. The power relation which in this case is between the genders has not changed which results in the failure of empowerment or even disempowerment as the working load increases. However, Kabeer does not want to diminish the positive findings but rather wants to emphasize the importance of being cautious about the context’s effect.\textsuperscript{27} The thesis will mainly use Tengland’s definition of empowerment as it includes both perspectives of it as goals and as a means. It will however be critical to the aspects of context stated by Kabeer in order to avoid generalization and jumping to conclusions regarding what efforts are empowering.

3.1.2 Power
The concept of power has been mentioned above, especially as relations that prohibits empowerment. The concept itself is much discussed and therefore needs an own section for a better understanding of the complexity of empowerment. The continuing discussion will also relate to empowerment and the considerations connected to this context.

Nira Yuval-Davis claims that power traditionally has been regarded as the effects people with power had on those with less power, which also was a way of measurement. In the 1970s the grass root level activists and feminists promoted a different use of power within empowerment. Instead of power on, was power of and did thereby change the view of power from something having over others to having power over certain issues.\textsuperscript{28} There are several more distinctions one can make about power. There are two types of power stated by Imbrahim and Alkire, the power to cause change and the power which is the ability to gain and do control.\textsuperscript{29} Their two definitions of power are related to power of rather than power on.

Drydyk argues that empowerment cannot be equated with power, a person who has gained power has not necessarily been empowered. What he suggests is that empowerment is more of an expansion of power, where the power is the relationship between two groups’ agency and

\textsuperscript{27} N Kabeer, 1999, pp. 17-20.
\textsuperscript{29} S Ibrahim & S Alkire, 2007, p. 384.
ability to make choices. The level of empowerment in relation to power is also depended on its durability. He gives the example, which suits this thesis very well, of a group which had gained more agency and choices in the political decisions during one government, which then was lost in the next election when the government changed. This emphasizes the power relation’s importance for the long term empowerment of people. Subordinated groups are indeed dependent on the groups with more power as this group state the terms of the subordinated groups agency and choices. In the case of the government and their politicians, they are not reciprocal limited by the choices made by the subordinated group, they have power at another level as the ones stating the terms of the relations. In other words, the choices of the subordinated group’s decisions may not have the same effects on the government as the government’s decisions have on the group.30

The invisibility of power relations can be the most effective way for them to work according to Kabeer. Empowerment is to be able to make choices that leads to change and that for the choices to have a chance to reach this goal there has to be alternatives to choose from. Power relations, visible or not, can however make these alternatives invisible which makes the choices useless. If subordinated groups perceive the situation as impossible to change or if it carries to big social or personal costs they will be more willing to accept their lot in life,31 which is the opposite of what Tengland argues.32 His argument that if an opportunity comes most people would make the best of it can be described as a rather liberal view in contrast to Kabeer’s. However, if the limit is reached people can stand up and fight no matter the personal cost. Preferably measures must be taken before that. It means that one should not take people’s willingness to take an opportunity for changing the situation but rather be aware of that they may need extra support. Tengland continues with that some choices do not lead to change, and the subordinated group can be in a position where they are in asymmetrical group subjection, which is when a group’s choices and alternatives are dependent on another group’s choice. The group in power does not always have to make choices to take part of the power asymmetry, which can be subtle with legislation as an example. Law enforcers use the law to take care of people who committed crimes, but the legislation also prevents people from committing crime just by stating that some actions and choices are illegal.33

32 P A Tengland, 2008, pp. 80-81, 91-93
Bronwyn Fredericks gives an example of how work for empowerment of minorities can be means for white women to keep their privileged position safe in the context of feminism. The minorities are used as guest speakers and exotic elements and also to show how inclusive the work is even though they define empowerment for the minorities. The old power relationship is thus still maintained and the result will be that the empowerment they strive for will not be realized. She stresses in her context, of aboriginal women in Australia, the issue is not empowerment since that implies that they have never been empowered when in fact colonialization disempowered them. She stresses that for many groups it can be an issue of re-empowerment rather than empowerment. The change of terminology would highlight the history and that their power was taken, but it is the minority’s decision of which term they prefer.34

3.1.3 Agency
Agency is another common term used within empowerment, as has been noticed throughout the chapter. Ibrahim and Alkire argue that the empowerment process is not complete if it fails to regard institutional structure, people’s ability to act and various non-institutional changes which they state are instrumental to increased agency. They use Amartya Sen’s definition that agency is a term that is directly connected to freedom of choice, no matter if the persons behind those choices reach what they aimed for. This form of agency is argued to be a process which brings changes, even social benefits.35 Based on Sen’s arguments Ibrahim and Alkire define that agency as when a person is able to act based on his/her values which he/she also has reason to value.36 There is a focus on individual choice of each person but also an awareness of how institutions and other parts of a person’s life affect the possibilities of making choices. Kabeer adds that the agency process involves bargaining, manipulation, negotiations and resistance to achieve the goal of making own choices.37 She puts more emphasis on reaching the goals than Ibrahim, Alkire and Sen. In line with her argument, there has to be more to agency within empowerment other than merely making a choice. There are many choices one can make in everyday life but those which are meaningful for the empowerment process are the ones which are able change or to reach the goals of being

empowered. According to Kabeer, agency can be viewed as both positive and negative. The positive view, power to — is people’s ability to make and act on choices which are their own, even if it means going against others oppression. When people use their agency to override other’s choices they have used it in a negative way — power over.\textsuperscript{38}

If the choices made have been helpful to reach goals or start an empowerment process they also need sustainability in order to be empowering. Drydyk argues against Ibrahim, Alkire and Kabeer. People can value goals and make choices to reach them but it does not necessarily mean that these goals are empowering or valuable in a long term perspective. He would rather see that people would function in a way they regard as valuable, which would look beyond the individualistic perspective and look at others wellbeing as well. The new idea of empowerment lacks aspects of the transformation of social relations, it fails to recognize power relations and is therefore not relational. The terminology is rather focused on decision making and capabilities which includes both agency and power. As empowerment is not reducible to either power or agency this also brings forward the reason to why the concept of empowerment is valuable. It is because it is able to include these other dimensions and thereby being able to recognize the relations between them, but also to see each of their barriers and work in a relational perspective.\textsuperscript{39}

Within the discourse of empowerment there have been changes in regarding empowerment within the capabilities approach, as Sen among other scholars are arguing for, but as have been written before empowerment had another meaning when it was created. It had more attention drawn to it as a process and to power relations.\textsuperscript{40} Not all scholars are all positive towards the focus on agency but the issue of choices is still discussed as an important part of achieving empowerment, as argued by McFadden.\textsuperscript{41} In conclusion, agency has its place within empowerment as long as it includes perspectives going beyond the responsibility and/or rationality of the individual or group. An aspect that could be of value of being repeated is the importance to let persons and groups make decisions that have a certain effect especially for their situation.

Both the discussion of power relation and agency highlights the need for awareness of the relation between the majority society and the Roma people. It also provides an opportunity to

\textsuperscript{38} N Kabeer, 1999, p. 14.
\textsuperscript{39} I Drydyk, 2013, pp. 250-253.
\textsuperscript{40} I Drydyk, 2013, p. 250.
\textsuperscript{41} P Mc Fadden, 2010, pp. 161-164.
use a more critical perspective on the effects the projects' goals can have and what changes they will bring in terms of empowering the Roma people.

3.2 Intersectionality

The Roma people can be divided into several sub-groups, but are still considered a national minority under the collective term Roma.\textsuperscript{42} The historical discrimination they have faced, and which has been stated in the White book by the government, still occurs today and it is of value for the thesis to use an intersectional approach in order to highlight and analyze the complexity of the Roma people's situation emphasizing its heterogeneity.\textsuperscript{43} Intersectionality can help to provide the research with important analytical tools which can contribute to and also relate to empowerment and perspectives on power relations. Kimberle Crenshaw was one of the first to use intersectionality, where she imagined a black woman walking down a road with intersecting streets. Each street has a name of oppression, for example patriarchy or colonialism, which are based on the belongings to different categories that people's identities consist of. These different oppressions form a multilayered blanket to show that a person does not only suffer from one kind of oppression but many in different constellations. That means that people belonging to an ethnic group can be oppressed by fellow group members on the basis of another category, for example sexuality.\textsuperscript{44} Nira Yuval-Davis argues that this carries a risk of falsely assuming that one oppression is easy to separate from another oppression. If a black woman is discriminated it is impossible to tell if it is based on the colour or gender. Nationality, sexuality or other categories also matter in the perception others have of a person. Therefore Yuval-Davis prefers to use the term \textit{intermesh} to highlight the complexity of the categories and argues against the additive perspective as it only gives a one level analysis.\textsuperscript{45} Gail Lewis also advocates a view of intersectionality where the categories work in and out of each other, their relation when structuring an identity is not static but rather processes\textsuperscript{46} which supports Yuval-Davis' claim. Crenshaw's use of the categories and descriptions of women in her article gives an impression that she shares this view even though she does not explicitly state it.

\textsuperscript{42} SOU 2010:55, pp. 113-116.
\textsuperscript{43} Regeringen, Den mörka och okända historien – Vitbok om övergrepp och kränkningar av romer under 1900-talet,
\textsuperscript{45} N Yuval-Davis, 2006, p. 195-197.
The reason for using an intersectional approach is to acknowledge the complexity of identities and power relations. The categories that have been mentioned earlier are not the only ones used and a common critique is that they are too numerous. Judith Butler argues that too many scholars end the examples of categories with an etc. and that the never ending lists are a way of circle around or to identify a defined subject by the horizontal line of adjectives. These lists are many but one suggestion has been; ethnicity; north/south; gender; religion; age; culture; class; sexuality; race/skin-colour; wealth; ability; sedentariness/origin; nation/state and stage of social development. Even having made this suggestion Helma Lutz, together with Yuval-Davis, claims that it is incomplete. This critique is valid as it could decrease the ability to use intersectionality as an analytical tool, but both Joan Acker and Yuval-Davis argue that when conducting an analysis there is a possibility to make a choice of categories to use, the usability is depending on the context and what relevance each category has.

Another issue that is worth mentioning in this chapter is the question of essentialism or social construction in term of the categories. Crenshaw argues that black women have been exposed to othering because of the category gender. When talking about women’s empowerment Crenshaw asks who these women actually are. The understanding of the category was not including women of colour, instead it was most commonly used for white, middleclass women and with this view it excluded women from other social and economic classes, ethnicity or race. The meaning of categories that constitutes our identities are socially constructed, which does not need to be negative. If a socially constructed category still has a value in our society this is valuable for the analysis, it is not possible to disregard them because of that fact. It is rather when the categories are regarded as natural or essential that there is a problem in the intersectional analysis. Yuval-Davis also sees the problem when people belonging to a group expect all members to share the same attribute, social homogenization, as it also leads to inclusionary and exclusionary practices. Intersectionality therefore prefers to focus on the differences between people, that no one is the same as the other and therefore face oppression differently as well. Is there then no way to work towards

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52 N Yuval-Davis, 2006, p. 199.
larger groups of people? Chandra Talpade Mohanty argues that both matter as it is necessary to be able to change the situations for girls and women around the world. If not seeing the commonalities within a group there is nothing connecting them to work towards the same goal that would benefit them all. That is why the context is important has to be considered when forming strategies and actions. A group can share the same goals but the means can be different.\textsuperscript{53}

Floya Anthias has discovered that the categories of class, gender and ethnicity often are related and is interested in how this could affect the intersectional approach.\textsuperscript{54} As mentioned earlier Crenshaw used mainly ethnicity and gender to show the usability of the approach but also touched upon class when arguing about the poor, coloured women, the white middle class women and the different oppressions they faced.\textsuperscript{55} Class is important in the intersectional analysis but that there is some uncertainty about the meaning. Some view it as mere economic inequalities but she prefers to see it as linked to social and cultural aspects. Some scholars use class in the meaning of the everyday practices that reproduces hierarchal structures by people that do not necessarily have to be aware of the results of their practices. This view is focused on the individual and does not regard that the collective and culture can have an effect on the performances, values and activity of the individuals belonging to the group. There seems to be a gap in this view since class is regarded as something that goes beyond the mere individual but as long the focus is on the performances of individuals something is missing.\textsuperscript{56} Anthias also argues that there is a difference in how the concept of class and ethnicity is used depending on the targeted group. For minorities, status, symbolic effect, deference and valuation are related to their ethnicity in contrast to white persons where identity, lifestyles and images are related to class. She therefore wants to point at the power relation which is connected to the usage of class and also to how intersectionality can both increase the subordination of some groups and increase the domination of others.\textsuperscript{57}

Ethnicity has been mentioned several times in this chapter and it would therefore be beneficial to have a further discussion of the category itself. Both concepts of ethnicity and race are

\textsuperscript{54} F Anthias, 'Hierarchies of social location, class and intersectionality: Towards a translocational frame', \textit{International Sociology}, vol. 28, no. 1, 2013, pp. 123-125.
\textsuperscript{55} K Crenshaw, 1991, p. 1241-1299.
\textsuperscript{56} F Anthias, 2013, p. 123.
\textsuperscript{57} F Anthias, 2013, pp. 125-131.
social categorizations but in contrast to race, which is based on physical attributes that it
categorizes people by and organizes them in hierarchical structures based on power, ethnicity
can be defined as the shared cultural values in a group. This can include language, values and
customs that are more often self-claimed. Ethnicity is in the intersectional approach
regarded as any other category, it is mutually defining, not separate from other categories and
is not additive. By using ethnicity with for example gender, the authors David F. Warner and
Tyson H. Brown argue that intersectionality can define unique social groups and find
hierarchies within different constellations. In the context of health, white men have less
problems in comparison to white women and ethnicized men. However, ethnicized women
are in the bottom of the hierarchy as they have been found to have the most problems. The
concept is important to consider as the Roma people are argued to have their own culture,
with certain rights regulated by the FCNM. Abbey Eisenhower, Karen Suwemoto, Fernanda
Lucceze and Katia Canenguez highlight the problems with the two concepts, how they are
often confused. Black can be equated with African-American even if the former is referring to
race and the latter to ethnicity. The scholars also argue that there is an issue of not having the
right way to identify or being identified by others. Jamaican-Americans for instance can
commonly be gathered under the African-American category within ethnicity, in the
definition it states that the concept is based on the shared cultural values. These two groups
come from two separate countries and cultures which makes even further categorizations
necessary.

Besides the differences between ethnic groups one can regard the intra-group relations.
Crenshaw claims that groups or communities can be very controlling where the importance of
keeping the intra-groups problems within the boundaries of the group/community is
considered more important than contacting people or institutions from the outside to deal with
problems. In the case of black women in the United States some argued that it was better to
keep the problems hidden from the majority society in order to avoid reproduction of
stereotypical images. Therefore, vulnerable persons who stand out can be oppressed within
their group as well as it is considered more important to create a “safe haven” from the

58 A Eisenhower, K Suwemoto, F Lucceze, K Canenguez, 'Which Box Should I Check?: Examining Standard
1035-1037.
59 D F Warner, T H Brown, 'Understanding how race/ethnicity and gender define age-trajectories of disability:
An intersectionality approach', Social Science & Medicine, vol. 72, no. 8, 2011, pp. 1236-1238.
60 Regeringen webplats om mänskliga rättigheter, Ramkonventionen till skydd för nationella minoriteter.
majority society than to seek help from outside the group. Susan Moller Okin argues similarly about the problems of groups and individuals, where the problem is valuing group rights higher than individual rights which only will hurt vulnerable persons within some ethnic and cultural groups. The group could easily, according to Okin, argue the violation of their group rights whenever there would be any intentions to improve the situation of those persons. Will Kymlicka on the other hand argues that he is not willing to disregard groups rights as it will take away one form of security from the persons who already are subordinated and vulnerable due to other reasons. He therefore sees the group right as at least some protection for a very vulnerable group within the group.

4. METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

4.1 Method and material

The method used is qualitative content analysis as the purpose of the thesis intends to analyze projects aimed towards the Roma people. Hsius-Fang Hsieh and Sarah E. Shannon claim that content analysis does not restrict the research by merely counting words but goes beyond and tries to provide understandings and knowledge about the phenomenon which is in the center attention in the research. There are three main approaches to this method; conventional, direct and summative. The direct approach has been found to be more useful to this thesis than the others based on its way of conduct; to find key concepts or variables which are used as coding categories with the help of previous research and/or theories which also will guide the following discussion. These codes or categories are then used to analyze the text data.

The theoretical framework has provided the variables, primarily power relations, agency, and categories used in the intersectional analysis, which in the projects have been found in their aim, goals, results, delimitation and structure. After re-reading the projects several times, more nuances emerged in relation to the variables which helped coding and sorting of material. It made it possible to deepen the analysis. The strengths of the method are that it provides extensions to the existing theory or research and that it can be found to support it. Hsieh and Shannon argue that it will be more unlikely for researchers to work from naïve

perspectives as the research areas will be expanded. The negative aspects are though that it is more likely to reach supportive findings meaning that the focus on a theory increases the risk of “blindness” of the researcher. If seeing only what one want or expects to see there will always be a risk of being bias. That risk is always present when conducting deductive research but there is as much probability to come across contradicting findings. It is then important for the researcher to consider them and include them into the research as they affect the conclusion.

The projects which have been chosen for this thesis have been done so due to the accessibility of reports and to when they were conducted. All started after the year of 2000, the earliest in 2004, and the last one is still in execution. The reason for this delimitation was the ratification of the FCNM as it provided a new, more specific foundation for the work towards Roma inclusion which also was made the work a responsibility for the Swedish state. Each project’s evaluation reports have been analyzed, in some cases together with the project application. There have been two ways of conducting the evaluations, either by the project themselves or by an external agent. The later method gives a higher probability for avoiding overestimating the results and could possibly create a more secure situation for the participants to air their opinions. All except the projects conducted by Malmö museums have used external agents which both me as a researcher, and the reader, should be aware of.

Concerning the disposition of the thesis, the intersectional analysis has been separated in order to avoid shallow repetition and will help to increase the depth of the analysis in light of their shared lack of intersectional perspective, especially in response to the more notable and differing measures for empowerment. The summarization of the projects allows for deeper analysis of these shared factors, outlining the overall picture while maintaining the ability to point out differences between the projects.

4.2 Ethical considerations

As a researcher I find it important to position myself due to the fact that my role will affect the whole process of the research. Within research, which includes people, there will be asymmetrical power relations and the role of the researcher includes power to choose and shape the material and information about others, sometimes also told by others. Brigitte Suter argues that the author cannot determine how the readers will interpret one’s product, but the

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65 Hsieh, Shannon, pp. 1283, 1285.
researcher still has a responsibility to choose the content and to decrease the risk interpretations made to disadvantage to the people they concern.\textsuperscript{67} The researcher thereby has an impact on how the material will be used and also how it will be interpreted. This can also occur on the researchers level as he/she will interpret the material first and it will partly be done by the basis of his/her own perspectives and background. As I am a white, middle class and heterosexual, non-Roma woman these categories also put up frames for interpretation. I find it important to state that this thesis will not attempt to be the voice of Roma people, I will not claim to be representing them and their wishes or needs of improvement to their situation. Instead, my role as the researcher will be to work towards finding a suggestion for future working methods based on the theoretical framework and the information gained from the projects.

The thesis therefore has a weak point but by also including opinions of the Roma people from the project \textit{Rom San} (Are you Roma?), which is a story telling project about how it is Roma today and the Roma history in Sweden\textsuperscript{68}, it is possible to decrease the weak point a bit. Another aspect to keep in mind during the conduction of research that has to do with the Roma people is the historical background of how previous research has been done. Ariadna Munté, Olga Serradell and Theresa Sordé argue many so called contributions to the research field has made conclusions which only reproduce stereotypes and claims that Roma people want to be segregated because of historical and cultural reasons. They have found this to be false and that Roma communities have gotten tired of continuous studies that do not result in changes of their situation.\textsuperscript{69}

The tendency of the research about the Roma people and their situation is that the perspective has been aimed towards them as a group. After the discovery of registration of Roma people within the police in Skåne in 2013, the Roma people’s caution towards the majority society may have been increased.\textsuperscript{70} Much of the focus has therefore been to regard if the perspective in the projects has been on the Roma people or the majority society. Efforts have been made to turn it around to the majority society and their role as it could give new insights. However, no matter the perspective, it is important to avoid regarding the Roma people as a homogeneous group as the sub-groups are different in culture, languages and religious

\begin{footnotes}
\item Suter B. 72-76.
\item C Költing & S Hultqvist, \textit{Vi är romer}, Gothenburgsstadsmuseum, Gothenburg, 2013.
\item Munté, Serradell and Sordé, pp.257-260.
\end{footnotes}
views.\textsuperscript{71} The thesis will use the term Roma or the Roma people unless it is relevant to make a distinction, then the term Roma groups or sub-group will be used. This way of generalizing can be problematic as there are those who does not identify with the issues of discrimination. Even so, studies and the White book show that a majority does and the thesis will therefore continue with this perspective but keeping in mind that it does not have to include all who identify as Roma.\textsuperscript{72}

5. ANALYSIS OF THE PROJECTS

5.1 Malmö museums’ projects

These two projects belong to the areas of culture and history that are important areas and which affect the contemporary situation of the Roma people. Creating knowledge about the Roma people in order to change prejudice was one of the aims of both projects and can be supported by the statement of Berit Kalenders. One of the most common beliefs among the majority society was that the Roma people did not want to be permanent residents and would rather be travelling.\textsuperscript{73}

5.2 Myths, Power and Museum

A Roma association took the initiative and contacted Malmö Museums when the state’s council of cultural affairs was handed the task of investigate how the national minorities should be involved in the cultural life in a larger degree. It was the starting point of Myths, Power and Museum (Myt, makt museum) which started in 2004 and ended in 2009.

5.2.1 Aim and goals

A working group consisting of Roma at Malmö Museums was created and it was considered to be of high importance that a Roma national museum should be established. The project’s aim was to create a sustainable platform for a national Roma museum and to give it the conditions to become a well-functioning institution with high status. Another goal was to increase the knowledge among the Roma people of how a museum could function. It is different from the following projects in this thesis, except for one, in that it was trying to establish a long term institution. They saw the importance of also directing the work towards

\textsuperscript{71} SOU 2010:55, p. 113.
\textsuperscript{73} C Köljling & S Hultqvist, 2013, p. 46.
the majority society as the change in the Roma’s situation would need their inclusion. Being a national Roma museum would create legitimacy both in Sweden as internationally and give a helping hand to tie connections with international researchers.\textsuperscript{74} As Drydyk argues, giving power does not equate with being empowered as it also demands durability. It is about two groups’ agency and power and their ability to make choices.\textsuperscript{75} As shown further on in the thesis, much of the efforts towards Roma inclusion are made as projects which mean that they are also sensitive to changes of politics. If the interest in work towards Roma inclusion into the Swedish society decreases, the support for the project would decrease as well. However, if a national Roma museum would be established as an institution it would have the status, legitimacy and a stronger durability making it more empowering in the long term.

One way to reach their goal was by conducting several projects within the projects as a means to create that stable ground for the establishment and by collecting material for the museums coming exhibitions and material bank. The projects within Myths, Power and Museum were constructed to interview and document the Roma people’s history based on memories, songs and experiences as well as encourage them to record and document themselves. Many of the sub-projects were exhibitions aimed to increase the knowledge of Roma culture and history in Sweden with the intent of decreasing prejudice and discriminations and to give Roma the possibility of actively participate in museum work.\textsuperscript{76} By involving and encouraging the Roma people to document their experiences the project were promoting Roma agency. They got the positive agency of power to, which in Kabeer’s line of argument is when people have an ability to act and make their own choices.\textsuperscript{77} It made it possible for the Roma people to decide on what they felt were important and that could bring change, which is yet another aspect on their agency according to Ibrahim and Alkire.\textsuperscript{78}

The Roma working group which was mentioned earlier was regarded as very important in the project Myths, Power and Museum as the national Roma museum should be founded on their terms. Therefore the working group had persons from almost every group of the Roma people, Swedish, Finnish, non-Nordic Roma and travelling, but not anyone belonging to the groups of newly arrived. The project worked to find a representative for this group. The majority of the persons in the working group consisted of men which was why a reference group was made.

\textsuperscript{74} S Bergkvist & E Hansen, 2004, p. 8-10, 16.
\textsuperscript{75} J Drydyk, 2013, p. 254-255.
\textsuperscript{77} N Kabeer, 1999, pp. 14.
\textsuperscript{78} S Ibrahim & S Alkire, 2007, p. 383-384.
which only had women in it. It was a way to get their perspectives on different matters and to
give them a secure place to air their opinions. Debra L. Schultz have after several years of
working with Romani women witnessed that they are a movement to be reckoned with as they
are stressing the multiple discrimination they are faced with, which is why it is of high
relevance that they are included and given place to express their opinions. By having a
separate group of women as a reference group it meant that they did not have the same
decision power as the persons within the working group. However, in February 2004 two of
the women from the reference group were selected to join the working group. The Roma
working with the projects were limited to these groups, there was not any Roma within the
project group or the management. That meant that the Roma people did not have any actual
power to affects the process of the project, only to give suggestions and air their opinions in
the working group.

5.2.2 Working methods
During Myths, Power and Museum the working methods have included discussion, flexibility,
adaption and room to think again. Both Roma and non Roma within Malmö Museums have
been forced to think over habitual ways of thinking. The Roma experienced more hardship
due to that they had to be critical to their own culture when planning the exhibitions. Rosa
Taikon, one of the most known Roma activists in Sweden, states that it was not easy to work
in your own group as both they and the majority society were opposed their activism. It is
likely that the Roma women were in the same situation. Opposition can come from non-Roma
but also from their own group, as Schultz also claims. By bringing up in-group problems they
were faced by the possibility of breaking the taboo of critiquing you own group to the
dominant society. According to Crenshaw the groups could see it as giving fuel for further
prejudice among the majority society and reproduce already existing stereotypes of the group
in question.

The avoidance of reproduction of Roma stereotypes was necessary part of the project, they
therefore decided to exclude the topics of early marriage and social problems. This can be

82 C Kölling & S Hultqvist, 2013, p. 100.
viewed both as positive and negative. It is positive to focus on other themes and issues than the ones a majority already are aware of. The negative aspect is also due to that the majority knows about these themes, and since they often are connected to prejudice it would be beneficial to work against it by giving the Roma people’s view and opinions. There is a difference of constructing “the needy subject”, as Andria D. Timmer argues that the Roma people are, and actually working with a marginalized group’s issues in a constructive way. Roma should not be portrayed at helpless victims which can happen when NGO’s focus on their poverty. However, if the Roma themselves are able to formulate the problem and how it and themselves as a group are to be portrayed the risk of them appearing as helpless victims would be decreased. One problem regarding this is the heterogeneity of the Roma. The many differences between the sub-groups can make it hard to agree on certain issues. As in the Roma working group where a problem arose of which Roma group had the most interpretation rights, based on the length of stay in Sweden, when planning the exhibition of Roma culture and history in Sweden. There were also different opinions of what a museum is and should be. Discussion was the solution and also a part of their working methods as the project group and management argued that the work was a process.

5.2.3 The national Roma museum

As for the main aim of the project, which was to create a sustainable platform for establishing a national Roma museum, they did construct a plan for how the museum would be organized. The carrying idea was that the Roma people would be in charge of operating the institution and the condition necessary would be that they went through education in museum subjects. The projects had developed a basic course, including internships, in Malmö. To have educated Roma personnel was argued to be a necessity for gaining legitimacy and credibility both nationally and internationally. However, many Roma within the project were hesitant about the course since the education could not guarantee work which would risk their financial security. Therefore it also had the risk of being unserious in the eyes of the Roma people. The basic course was postponed until the decision of the national Roma museum had been made. Malmö museums would assist the Roma museum until they would have all their educated personnel, which would take five years according to their estimations. The museum itself would be run by a foundation and a board of directors with members sitting for three year periods. As a means to give the Roma people the majority and decision power five of nine

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people should identify as Roma to secure that the museum would be run on the conditions decided by the Roma people. The Roma representatives would be selected by their own groups and the other members of the board of directors were to consist of representatives for state, municipality and region of Skåne.\textsuperscript{88} The project strongly aimed towards giving the Roma people power over the issues which were concerning themselves, was the definition of power stated by Ibrahim and Alkire; to have the ability to gain and have control.\textsuperscript{89}

Regarding the employees of the Roma museum the project argued that it should be Roma who have all the decision making positions and that the guides also should be by persons who identify as Roma. If it would be a lack of educated and suitable persons who fit in with this description a non-Roma could be hired until there was a suitable Roma person and during this time effort should be made for Roma to be able to work as interns or trainees. They also state that an even gender distribution is to be preferred and worked towards. The project argues that a coherent representation of Roma culture and history would create a possibility to strengthen the Roma people’s status in Sweden’s society by information, problematization and discussion. Their view of how to improve the Roma situation from the perspective of a museum is based on the problematic historic portraits of Roma in previous research which still can be used and believed to be correct. The project regarded culture to be a process which is why they believed it to be important for the future to have the right tools and perspectives—a national Roma museum with Roma staff.\textsuperscript{90}

Malmö museums continued to focus and put in effort on Roma projects even though there were delays with the approval of the national Roma museum reasoning that it would affect the Roma people’s attitudes towards strategies and projects positively.\textsuperscript{91} As of now there is no national Roma museum. Malmö Museums state that they did what they could about establishing one and value the cooperation with Roma, they still work together, but when the decision was beyond their area and on state level the process of establishing a Roma museum was ended.\textsuperscript{92} In the end the arguments of Drydryk was proven to be accurate.\textsuperscript{93} The power relations shows that no matter how much the national museum was wanted and worked for the engagement was not enough. It may have helped the working groups on some empowerment level, in terms of gained experience and having found that others work for improving their

\textsuperscript{89} S Ibrahim & S Alkire, 2007, p. 384.
\textsuperscript{90} S Bergkvist & E Hansen, 2004, pp. 9, 21, 30-32.
\textsuperscript{91} S Bergkvist & E Hansen, 2004, p. 52.
\textsuperscript{92} Email conversation with Eva Hansen 2014-05-13.
\textsuperscript{93} J Drydryk, 2013, pp. 254-255.
situation. However, the strategic and long term empowerment was stopped by the unwillingness at state level. It halted the durability of the empowerment and highlights the complexity of both the concept but also the concept within a context.

5.3 Living in two worlds

*Living in two worlds* (Leva i två världar) was a sub-project within Myths, Power and Museum and its purpose was to create a touring exhibition of how it is to be young and belonging to both the Swedish society as well as to a national minority, in this case the Roma, the Sami or the Jewish group, to enable the creation of more knowledge and understanding. The project wanted the exhibition to open up a discussion about their situation to a larger public by focusing on possibilities as well as problems with belonging to two groups. By letting these groups work and discuss together the project wanted to enable several perspective as well as enable deeper discussions.\(^{94}\)

5.3.1 Structure of the project

The structure of the project groups, the project management and the working group was organized as follows. The overall thought of the project was that the exhibitions should not be made for the young members of the national minorities, instead they were supposed develop the exhibition themselves. The participants had interpretation rights and were responsible for the material of the exhibition. It was stressed by the evaluation report that they were not a reference group but a working group. Therefore the group leaders, steering and working groups were consisting only of members of the national minorities. In the project group the group leaders were the only ones belonging to these groups. The members were chosen by each group’s institution except for the Sami. Malmö museums were the project owners, the project leaders were two exhibition intendants and the other persons who were not explicitly said to belong to the national minorities were the exhibition coordinator as well as designers.\(^{95}\)

In difference to the first project this working group had more decision power as both the steering group and project group had participants from the three national minorities in them. Another aspect that shows their agency is that the national minority groups themselves chose who would be advocates for them.

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\(^{94}\) Forum förutställare, Leva itvåvärlar, retrieved: 2014-04-06, file:///C:/Users/Susanne/Downloads/Bilaga%204%20Ut%2C%A4ndering%20Tv%C3%A5%20v%C3%A4rlar.pdf, pp. 4-7.

\(^{95}\) Forum för utställare, Leva i två världar, pp. 5, 7-8,
The groups were from different parts of Sweden and efforts were made to increase the possibility for the attendance. The groups themselves also had continuous meetings on their own. They had high attendance in general and the participant were overall satisfied with the open working method, making it possible for them to think in new ways and feel free to do what suited them best.\textsuperscript{96} Tengland argued that most people are willing to take control when they are given the chance which this project is an example of. Here the participants were motivated to do their best as the project had given them much decision power. They were constructive and active which is empowerment as a means. It is a process of empowerment when giving a real possibility to change and the process is continued when the chance is taken.\textsuperscript{97} It goes hand in hand with increasing their agency as they define their goals and trying to reach them.\textsuperscript{98}

However, the openness and flexibility also created problems as the participants did not have experience of project work which delayed their work as they were not given too much structure and guidelines. It was also argued by the participants that the meetings should have been held more often and that the project leaders should have been more demanding. The openness of the working method did however give room for deep and sensitive discussions and the atmosphere created a sense of security which enabled troublesome and personal questions to rise. The report stated that it was because only members from the national minorities were in the working group.\textsuperscript{99} Some meant that the separation of groups could increase the division of \textit{We} and \textit{Them} but they also argued that when the point is to strengthen a cultural identity and when the separation gives a sense of safety and trust it may be worth the risk.\textsuperscript{100} This project has been separating the national minorities from members of the majority society in the decision making process, but they were also inclusive as there were three different groups. By having participants from several groups who all are considered vulnerable, they could meet in those experiences at the same time as they were able to learn about their different experiences.

Many project goals and expectations were reached during the project. They expected that they would produce material for a touring exhibition and activities around it, example visiting schools and theaters. They also wanted to develop pedagogic program in connection to the

\textsuperscript{96} Forum för utställare, Leva i två världar, pp. 11-15, 27-28.
\textsuperscript{97} P A Tengland, 2008, pp. 80-81, 91-93.
exhibition, a touring plan and a plan for marketing. The amount of money given was a lot less than applied for which of course had effects on the results of the project. The project had already started and it was considered too far gone and too important to stop only due to a financial issue and these circumstances taught the participants to prioritize and choose the themes which they considered most important. Time and planning went to save money on the production which suppressed the creativity together with that the participants from the national minorities were not informed about the economic aspects. It meant that they felt excluded and insecure about what was actually possible to do. While they did reach their goals and were satisfied with the result they stated that it would have much more potential if the budget had been larger.101

5.3.2 Power relations within the project

Invisible power relations are those which have the largest impact and it could be manifested in a way similar to this situation.102 To keep information about the economic situation from some people who actually have the most responsibility of planning an exhibition is to demonstrate power. If they argued that it wouldn’t be of their concern or that they were not capable to contribute to the situation it would have been highly condescending and not recognizing their capabilities. The participants were actually responsible for the exhibitions and therefore would benefit to know the economic limitations. The reason for not including them was not stated in the evaluation report but the participants expressed a feeling of exclusion and uncertainty. Kabeer argues that by denying persons choices they are in fact being disempowered and even if being able to make choices some have more power with the result of their choices than others.103 In a way the exclusion disregarded the capabilities of the participants no matter the reason, but could it be that the decision to plan the exhibition was of more value than being included in the economical discussions? As Drydyk stresses not all decision leads to change and wouldn’t be empowering.104 The division between the two forms of participation cannot be made that simply, since the decision over the exhibition is strongly linked to the economic situation and would have been beneficial for the participants to be aware about and not only for the reason of feeling included.

The participants were given remunerations which indicated both seriousness and made the projects leaders able to demand work in return. An aspect which created legitimacy was the

101 Forum för utställare, Leva i två världar, pp. 16-25.
104 J Drydyk, 2013, pp. 254-255.
institutions, Malmö Museums and National exhibitions (Riksutställningar), which were supporting the project. Many of the participants stated that the project group and project leaders had been treating them well and correct, meaning respectfully regarding their competence. However the constant change of the project leaders caused unnecessary repetition of the process. The participants were also worried about how their exhibition and material would be handled when they could not be at the construction at new places.¹⁰⁵

A majority of the participants were insecure of how other members of their group would react as the exhibition raised sensitive themes and taboos. They wanted it to be clearer in the exhibition that the material was based on their individual experiences of living in two worlds and that what they did was to prevent further stereotyping of them as groups. Information spread and work against prejudice was partly done by the exhibition itself, but it was also clear by the report that it also happened during the meetings and discussions in the getting-to-learn-each-other-process. Many felt that they were able to vent thoughts and opinion in the group discussion that they were not able to do with their friends. Another gain for the participants was the contacts with institutions and the projects work gave them knowledge about the general society. Also the ones not belonging to a national minorities within the project concluded that this flexibility and giving the decision power over to the national minorities was a risk taking which gave them back much more than they expected. They stated that it takes a lot for a management to let go of the power and let the participants find solutions and develop the project.¹⁰⁶ This power change was important for both the persons not belonging to a national minority as well as for the members of the national minorities, it proved that this working method works. The project’s conclusion is supported by Timmer who claims that there is a strong need for beneficiaries to change and see themselves differently. This occurred within the project and that benefited the empowerment process.¹⁰⁷

6. PROJECTS FROM WESTERN SWEDEN

One of the many areas of Roma discrimination is the labour market where they often are denied work based on their identity. Projects like the two in this chapter are means to increase the skills among the participants but these projects have also put in effort to change the attitude and prejudice among the majority society.

¹⁰⁵ Forum för utställare, Leva i två världar, pp. 17-18, 24-25.
¹⁰⁷ A D Timmer, 2010, p. 11.
6.1 Empowerment and participation of Roma in Western Sweden

*Empowerment and participation of Roma in Western Sweden* (Empowerment och delaktighet hos romer i Västsvverige) was a project performed from 2010 to 2012. An important guideline was that it should work towards equal conditions for everyone no matter sexuality, age, ethnicity, religion or disabilities.\(^{108}\)

6.1.1 Aim and goals

The overarching goal was to strengthen the interchange and integration between the Roma people and the majority society to enable the access to the labour market and strengthen participation and influence in societal arrangements. In order to reach the goal they wanted to develop the skills of 15 members of the Roma people for them to become health and social coordinators. Their role would thereafter be to educate and develop knowledge about Roma history and culture among the officials in the public sector.\(^{109}\) Thereza Eriksson states that by having the perspective on both the Roma and the majority society, we have taken a step towards changing the situation. There is a need to change the views on each other.\(^{110}\) This project’s perspective corresponds well with Timmers own of the strong need to break the reconstruction of the image of Roma as a needy and helpless subject.\(^{111}\)

The funding was lower than expected, which meant that the project could only hire and develop the skills of seven persons. Five among them were women and two were men due the fact that there were more women considered suitable for the project. These coordinators were part of the project group and are as far as assessed the only Roma working in the project. The local society consisted of Roma and was the secondary group of the aim (the majority society being the primary group). The other members of the project group: the project leader, the teachers and the representatives for Agnesbergs Folkhögskola was not stated to belong to the Roma group. (It is however a school for Roma.)\(^{112}\) Even so, the coordinators had an ability to affect the process of the project.\(^{113}\)


\(^{110}\) C Kölling & S Hultqvist, 2013, p. 70.


\(^{112}\) C Kölling & S Hultqvist, 2013, p. 78.

\(^{113}\) Europeiska Socialfonden, Utvärdering av projekt Empowerment och delaktighet bland Romer i Västsvegen, pp. 2, 9-11.
In order to reach the overall goal of the project, a number of part-goals were set up which were meant to be measurable. This was possibly a way to see the results much clearer but could also be argued to be in line with their theoretical approach of empowerment. In their project application they define empowerment as to strengthen someone’s power, force and strength which would help vulnerable groups to use these abilities to fight suppressing powers and get more influence in their own lives. In the case of Roma they argue that it was to get processes and activities started by the Roma themselves. It would strengthen the Roma’s self-control and improve their self-confidence, increase their knowledge and skills as well as their participation and cooperation. They regarded empowerment in their project as both means and goal.\textsuperscript{114}\ Their view on empowerment seems to go together rather well with Tengland’s definition, what the project strives for is also what he defines as the goals of empowerment.\textsuperscript{115}\ The project has focused on the goals rather than on empowerment as a means since they did not put much emphasis on the power relations of the majority society. It is a clear focus on the Roma people and their skill development but it is possible to interpret awareness of power relations as they want to change the making of activities and processes to be started by the Roma people.

6.1.2 Empowerment and power relations

The measurable part-goals were to improve communication and dialogue between Roma, decision makers and authorities. They also wanted to increase Roma people’s understanding and competence of change and participation processes within health issues and labour life, increase the self-confidence of the Roma people and their feeling of belonging.\textsuperscript{116}\ Ana Ivasiuc argues that one problem within empowerment is the measuring of soft variables such as the sense of belonging. The quantification thus becomes difficult to assess.\textsuperscript{117}\ The projects also had the perspective turned towards the majority society and the officials at municipalities and institutions (1000 persons) by increasing the competence about and the understanding for Roma’s experience of vulnerability, discrimination and exclusion as well as self-perceived health, life quality and wellbeing. The last part-goal was to develop a working model for several groups and for society organization at a local level with the focus of learning by

\textsuperscript{114}\ Europeiska Socialfonden i Sverige, projektansökan för Empowerment och delaktighet hos Romer i Västvärmland, p. 3.
\textsuperscript{115}\ P A Tengland, 2008, pp. 80, 82-89.
\textsuperscript{116}\ Europeiska Socialfonden, Utvärdering av projekt Empowerment och delaktighet bland Romer i Västvärmland, p. 9, 12, 24-25.
practical work. The evaluation argues that the project has been able to create dialogue between the Roma and the majority society but that it mainly happened between individuals. It was found to have several reasons, that the coordinators could not affect who came to the information meetings and that the anchoring work was made during the project and not before the start, which gave less room for gathering many officials from the same authority or institution. However, it could also have been due to the optimistic planning of having time and ability to reach out to too many municipalities.\textsuperscript{118}

Another reason was that the coordinators were not invited to have follow-up meetings at some of the places due to the fact that the institutions or authorities had found that they had been given the information and knowledge they needed.\textsuperscript{119} Brian Belton argues that this is an example of the weak power the Roma people as a group has. The group or community with more power can choose if they want to accept the image or truth another group has about itself and its situation. It is a demonstration of its power which the other group cannot affect. Weak power also occurs when the Roma individuals only are considered as a whole group or community.\textsuperscript{120} The situation above is another example of how beneficiaries or authorities need to rethink and change as the Roma coordinators had a purpose of meeting more than once while the authorities deemed it excessive.\textsuperscript{121}

The working model they created was based on education (elementary and high school), vocational training through the project and work integrated learning where the coordinators would be paid for the meeting with the public sector but not when contributing to increased self-power in the Roma community. The vocational training took place during two day per month from October 2010 to April 2012. It was health promoting work and social organization, presentation technique, dialogue and arrangement of skill developing meetings, the latter intended for the public sector. During the meetings the coordinators and the project leader informed the participant about Roma history and culture. In order to create a dialogue between the participants and the Roma coordinators there was also much room for question and discussion. The project succeeded in skill developing 1000 officials, executives and decision makers from the public sector which made them reach another part-goal. However, which authorities and institutions within the municipality the coordinators could meet was not

\textsuperscript{118} Europeiska Socialfonden, Utvärdering av projekt Empowerment och delaktighet bland Romer i Västsverige, p. 9, 12, 24-25.  
\textsuperscript{119} Europeiska Socialfonden, Utvärdering av projekt Empowerment och delaktighet bland Romer i Västsverige, p. 3.  
\textsuperscript{121} A D Timmer, 2010, pp. 265-270.
up to them to decide. Kabeer state that education does not need to be empowering as it depends on how it is used and in this context it could rather depend on how the officials use their information and if they value it. Also as the coordinators could not choose who to meet, in which areas within the municipality they felt were important, their education or skill development could be less empowering.

The opinions of the meetings of the participant from the public sector were varied with some who were very satisfied and felt that their views of the Roma situation in Sweden had changed. There were others who felt that the meetings did not meet their expectations and that they were too general and could have been adapted to the needs of the specific authority or institution. Some mentioned that the coordinators should be well-integrated in the society as well as having legitimacy within their group in order to show the problem from both the majority society’s and the Roma people’s views. Therefore one could come to the conclusion that the project in part reached their goal of constructing the working model they wanted but that it still needed some alterations to have a better result. The wish to have Roma people with legitimacy can be regarded as a demonstration of power when not valuing the information and competence from the coordinators who are themselves Roma. However, it could also be a valid point since the Roma people are a heterogeneous group which complicates the generalization of their communities and cultures. It is also likely that it was a combination of both.

6.1.2 Focus on the Roma people
The intention of the project was also to have much more focus on the Roma local society but due to the definition of the project as belonging to a certain category within the ESF – European Social Fund (Europeiska Socialfonden), the focus changed and the local society became a secondary group. This had caused some administrative implications as the activities the coordinators planned with the local community, such as swimming, bowling and working out in the gym was put on hold until the ESF authorized it. All the work done towards the local society was conducted during the spare time of the coordinators and therefore also had its limitations. The activities they arranged were health or cultural oriented and meant to increase the participation in the Swedish society. They were directed towards women in order

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122 Europeiska Socialfonden, Utvärdering av projekt Empowerment och delaktighet bland Romer i Västsverige, p. 10, 24-25.
124 Europeiska Socialfonden, Utvärdering av projekt Empowerment och delaktighet bland Romer i Västsverige, p. 20.
to help them get outside their homes, to the youth to bring them off the streets in the evening and to the group in general to increase the physical and mental health of the Roma people. It was also to show the majority society that Roma are active. Many of the local groups created during the project were not active after the project’s end which was believed to be due to the Roma people’s experience of previous empty promises. The project application states that one of the project’s goals was intended to be decreasing prejudice among both the majority society and the Roma people, which would be both very hard to accomplish but also to measure and prove. The evaluation argues the same but some results from interviews and surveys state that the participants from the public sector had their prejudice proven wrong. Others had their prejudice about the Roma exclusion strengthened.

The coordinators found that their health, physical and mental, had improved during the project. They also stated that they found themselves to be more included and participating and some of them also felt an increased interest for further education. Their knowledge of society had also improved and together with their experiences of themselves providing skills developments to the public sector their self-confidence became better as they also felt as a part of the Swedish society. According to the evaluation report it was a sign that an empowerment process had started, but only on individual level among the coordinators. Other results from the project were that some municipalities showed a new or a larger interest in Roma issues and the project’s construction of having the Roma as the experts. Two of the municipalities were interested in employing Roma bridge builders who would help the contact between Roma and the public sector, especially in schools. Ivasiuc claims that empowerment work should have very specific targets in order to be able to be measurable and also work which this project in many ways had and many were reached. Another issue was the sustainability of the project’s empowerment which the evaluation report estimated to be weak as there was not anyone to utilize the gained knowledge. As mentioned earlier in the

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125 Europeiska Socialfonden, Utvärdering av projekt Empowerment och delaktighet bland Romer i Västsverige, pp. 14, 26.
126 Europeiska Socialfonden i Sverige, projektansökan för Empowerment och delaktighet hos Romer i Västsverige, p. 4.
127 Europeiska Socialfonden, Utvärdering av projekt Empowerment och delaktighet bland Romer i Västsverige, p. 21.
129 Ivasiuc, 2013, pp. 14, 34.
thesis, sustainability depends highly on the willingness of politicians in matters like these, which are boiled down to power relations.\textsuperscript{131}

6.2 Newo Drom

\textit{Newo Drom or A new way} started in 2012 and will be completed in 2014. The project is a part of the municipality of Gothenburg’s pilot projects within the national strategy towards Roma inclusion in Sweden. The project had two project leaders where one of them belonged to the Roma people and was also the one who took the initiative for the project. During the mobilization phase four Roma who had experiences of having a company were educated to become culture interpreters. They, together with the Roma project leader, had the responsibility to adapt an entrepreneur education to be from a Roma perspective and to choose the teachers who would work with the project. The project leader was also a guarantor for that the project to keep the Roma perspective and to be by Roma for Roma. Throughout the project they had an awareness of equality regarding men and women which made them reflect on how each decision would affect the participants due to their gender.\textsuperscript{132}

By having Roma people on higher positions and by more decision making power comes a higher probability of changing the power relations as it shows that some of the power has been handed over to persons belonging to a marginalized group. As Tengland defined empowerment as a means, it is necessary for the professionals to hand over power in order to actually make changes.\textsuperscript{133} One can therefore argue that there has been a start of an empowerment process by just having this small shift in power within the project. However, this empowerment process should be considered to have been delimited to the project itself rather than on a wider level.

6.2.1 Aim and goals

Newo Drom started off as an entrepreneur education for the Roma people but changed into a labour market project due to the wishes of the Roma participants, who would rather be employed than to start an own company. The participants had directed the project by defining the problem and how it could be solved. One of the two project goals therefore came to be that at least 50\% of the Roma who had started and/or finished the education within the project would establish their own company, get employment or gone to further studies. The second was that at least 80\% would manage, with adequate knowledge, the education about

\textsuperscript{131} J Drydyk, 2013, pp. 254-255.
\textsuperscript{132} Sensus, Slututvärdering Newo Drom, pp. 3, 10-12, 14, 18.
\textsuperscript{133} P A Tengland, 2008, pp. 80-81, 91-93.
establishing an own company. The project also had seven part-goals which were that the participants’ competences had been documented and made visible and that their trust for authorities and municipalities had increased. As in the previous project Newo Drom had high goals which were also measured by soft variables. Trust for authorities and for municipalities is considered to belong to these variables according to Ivasiuc. Trust is a complicated term to use, to increase and to measure.

The participants should also have new networks within the majority society. A change of attitude towards their own situation was also expected, meaning more self-confidence gained by the education. This would in turn contribute to the creation of role models for others as well as hope and knowledge about the possibilities of changing one’s situation. Two of the seven part-goals were directed towards the cooperation partners of the project which belonged to the majority society. The part-goals were that these cooperation partners would have a change of attitude towards the Roma people and that it would counteract prejudice in the long term. They should also have gained more knowledge about Roma history, culture and contemporary situation. The project also wanted to develop a simple method or process description. When looking at what the project wanted to achieve its possible to argue that it was aware of power relations between the majority society and the minority as it directed its goals towards both.

The project had different courses for the participants, what started as an entrepreneur education became, as mentioned earlier, a labour market project where they were taught about not only establishing a company but also how to write a CV. They also had an economy assistant course, a serving course and also had a drop-in activity with information about the project and the majority society. Due to having fewer participants than predicted the project’s budget allowed them to develop these extra courses where some were in the evening by the wishes of the participants. The culture interpreters were with the participants during these courses as support, role models and sounding boards. Many of the participants mentioned how important it was to have these Roma in the project and for the Roma to spread the information among them to create legitimacy. The legitimacy was needed as there is a general

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134 Sensus, Slututvärdering Newo Drom, pp. 3, 7, 10-11, 28-30.
135 Sensus, Slututvärdering Newo Drom, pp. 7, 28-30.
136 Ivasiuc, 2013, pp. 5-7.
137 Sensus, Slututvärdering Newo Drom, pp. 7, 28-30.
suspiciousness among the Roma people towards the majority society’s projects and they are commonly regarding them as unprofessional.\textsuperscript{138}

6.2.2 Handling anti-Ziganism

Many of the Roma stated that the education was well done based on the pedagogy and the contents of the courses. However, there were also participants who pointed out that the group was highly diverse regarding study experiences and which resulted in that some found the pace too low or too high. Some did not finish the courses but in general the evaluation report stated that the participants were ambitious and eager to learn. The possibility of new courses was considered a positive aspect but as it was not in the plans from the start their construction and information beforehand was poor in many ways. Another reason was the anti-Ziganism among the companies, who were asked to take in interns and when hearing that it was Roma participants, many of the companies suddenly did not have any place for them. The person in charge of finding internships solved the problem by not mentioning the ethnicity of the participants.\textsuperscript{139}

By hiding the participants’ ethnic identity they made it possible for them to gain working experience which could possibly benefit them in the long term. However the question is how this goes together with improving the participants’ self-confidence and how it would change their attitude towards their situation. Many Roma use this strategy in order to have the chance to find an employment.\textsuperscript{140} Also, it wouldn’t change the minds and prejudice of the majority society if the companies taking in the participants as intern never found out that they were Roma. If they did found out their attitudes could be changed to the better, but as nothing is mentioned about this in the evaluation report of Newo Drom it is troublesome to come to a conclusion. This type of discrimination is yet another example of the importance of a shift in power. Even if persons belonging to the Roma people are educated in terms of the majority society they are still not regarded as responsible or qualified. Many Roma have stated that in order to have a chance they have kept their Roma identity to themselves. Angelika Zitron and Fatima Miftar have found that as a Roma one must work twice as hard and that the majority society often can be skeptic to the discrimination as they need proof of it happening.\textsuperscript{141} This is a reason for why it is important for these projects to direct themselves to the majority society in order to create understanding which could change the prejudice.

\textsuperscript{138} Sensus, Slututvärdering Newo Drom, pp. 12-14, 16-17, 27.
\textsuperscript{139} Sensus, Slututvärdering Newo Drom, pp.16-18.
\textsuperscript{140} C Köljung & S Hultqvist, 2013, pp. 10, 25, 29, 37, 60, 72, 84.
\textsuperscript{141} C Köljung & S Hultqvist, 2013, pp. 10, 25, 29, 37, 60, 72, 84.
6.2.3 Relations between Roma and the majority society

The project organized three half days of education with the cooperation partners and this experience of meeting the majority society together with the internships was regarded as valuable for the participants as well as for the cooperation partners. It created an opportunity for the members of the majority society to learn more about and better understand the situation of the Roma people and how the contemporary situation is highly affected by the history of exclusion. It gave the Roma participants an opportunity to learn more about the majority society and therefore created a mutual exchange.\textsuperscript{142} In short New Drom was considered to have reached their two project goals as well as most of the part-goals during the project period. The two goals directed towards the cooperation partners were considered to have been partly reached as they did not get response from all. The part-goal aiming to increase the trust for authorities and municipalities among the participants was argued to be over-ambitious and also partly reached. The participant did state that they had gotten more knowledge about the majority society but that does not necessary lead to trust.\textsuperscript{143}

The evaluation’s view of positive aspects about Newo Drom harmonize with the theoretical arguments of participation and agency regarding the flexibility which was made possible due to both the larger budget but also to Sensus willingness to give room for making alterations.\textsuperscript{144} This working model is possible to use for other vulnerable groups and they argue that the majority society needs new ways to work. At the Newo Drom there are plans to continue developing their working methods and Gothenburg municipality have also started an exploratory study of the possibilities of establishing a Roma information and knowledge center.\textsuperscript{145} It would be similar to the one in Malmö which the next chapter will look further into. What Newo Drom argues are the main aspects, or corner stones, of the work of Roma inclusion is to make use of Roma people’s initiatives, that the majority society should not take interpretation rights in Roma issues and that Roma and the majority society should work together in order to create reciprocal trust. They believe they have shown these possibilities in the project and it is important to continue with initiatives and ventures towards Roma as information spreads fast within the group. It would also show that the majority society is serious with their willingness to improve the Roma people’s situation.\textsuperscript{146} This willingness is

\textsuperscript{142} Sensus, Slututvärdering Newo Drom, pp. 14, 18-20.
\textsuperscript{143} Sensus, Slututvärdering Newo Drom, pp. 25, 28-30.
\textsuperscript{144} S Ibrahim & S Alkire, 2007, pp. 383-384.
\textsuperscript{145} Sensus, Slututvärdering Newo Drom, pp. 13, 21, 30-31.
\textsuperscript{146} Sensus, Slututvärdering Newo Drom, pp. 3, 26-27.
what Bagir Kwick finds to be one of the solutions to the trust issues. The state must be the one to reach out to show that there is security and safety, but also that if they do, the Roma must take their responsibility and accept it.  

The project can be argued to have empowering aspects regarding the developing of skills of the persons’ belonging to the Roma people as it may improve their capabilities and help them to gain more control over their everyday lives. However, for it to be sustainable there is a need for directing more attention towards the majority society and regarding it as a long term effort. The working model they have created can be empowering for the Roma people, but it still needs some improvement especially regarding handling anti-Ziganism when trying to find internships for the Roma participants.

7. ROMA INFORMATION AND KNOWLEDGE CENTER

In this chapter only one project will be analyzed, but that is due to the fact that it has been prolonged and transformed into becoming a municipal operation. Therefore the first part will consist of the evaluation of its project form and the second part will look into its contemporary operation.

7.1 Others’ frames our terms - RIKC

The Roma information and knowledge center in Malmö has gained much attention for their work towards Roma inclusion, which is directed both to the Roma community and to the majority society. They themselves believe that it is one of the important aspects to a successful result.

7.1.1 The project’s construction

The center started as a project initiated by Malmö municipality, and financially supported by the Delegation for Roma issues (Delegationen för romska frågor) in 2009 and continued to 2010. The municipality then took full responsibility for the center. The initial intent of the center was to work as an information, advising and guidance center for the Roma population in Malmö municipality, intended for both individuals and associations. The center would help

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147 C Köljting & S Hultqvist, 2013, pp. 15-16.
148 P A Tengland, 2008, pp. 80, 82-89.
149 J Drydyk, 2013, pp. 254-255.

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them with contacts with authorities and institutions but also to act as an information channel the other way around. The intention of the project was therefore not as much directed towards the majority society as towards the Roma groups.

During the time of the project the leadership had been turned over to four persons due to them finding employment elsewhere. The fourth person who became project leader was the project secretary and community councilor. RIKC also had a steering group consisting of the project leader/community councilor, closest operation manager, library manager, Kirseberg district manager, a representative from the integration, the labour market department and a representative from the Delegation of Roma issues. This steering group’s function was to be a support to the project but also acted as a sanctioning organ. No one from the steering group identified themselves as Roma but there were two other community councilors who came from the Lovara group. Another person from the International Roma in Cooperation school (I.R.I.S – Internationella Romer i Samverkan) has also contributed to the work within the project, as well as a bridge builder and voluntary workers. Only one of the persons working at the RIKC was a woman. As all of the previous projects the RIKC also saw a value in having persons identifying as Roma in the positions of councilors. It can be argued to have helped with the trust among Roma people as it increased the legitimacy of the project. However, the negative aspect was that only one group from the Roma was represented. Only in the first project, Myths Power and Museums, they highlighted the importance of having advocates from the five groups.

As mentioned above, the center was supposed to be a place to where Roma people could come for advice and guidance. The center was also supposed to be a support for Roma who wanted to start an association or project or for those already established to obtain help with information and finding funding. It arranged information meetings with important themes with Roma organizations, associations and majority society authorities as well as developed cooperation methods for spreading information and knowledge about the Roma history and culture among the operations within the municipality of Malmö. Another of the responsibilities of the RIKC was to, in long term, create a knowledge bank consisting of questions, wishes and information about the Roma population in the municipality. That knowledge bank would be the foundation from which the work of the municipality would take

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its stand. These were the functions of the center but its aim was to increase the participation of
the Roma people as well as increasing the knowledge about the Roma people’s history and
culture among the majority society in order to meet the Roma people’s needs.\textsuperscript{155}

7.1.2 Information and knowledge rather than culture
The RIKC had a civic office operation where the Roma people could come for information
and guidance. While conducting this work they also kept statistics, divided in gender and age,
over who came and the reason for coming to the center. They had information meetings with
for example the police department which gave positive response. Even though they were
informing about the culture of Roma people the center did not want to be categorized as a
culture center as they wanted to emphasize the term of knowledge. For the RIKC, knowledge
and information for the majority society was seen as tools in the anti-discrimination work.
They referred to article six in the FCNM regarding inter cultural dialogue which was one
reasons for their perspective. It was the foundation for their educational package for the
majority society and their relation to the media but also for the project’s skills development
within their organization. The skills development was meant to give the Roma community
councilors the opportunity to connect their own practical experiences to more theoretical
experience in order for them to be able to work more analytically and to place themselves into
a larger context. The evaluation noticed a possible problem of the project leader’s role of
picking out what he saw as important for them to learn, even though the intentions were to
professionalize the councilors.\textsuperscript{154} However, being more aware of theoretical perspectives
gives more ability for the employees to argue for and against the material given by the project
leader. The information about the internal skills development in an operation plan did not
reveal who was suggesting the readings, and makes the thesis unaware of the actual
circumstances.\textsuperscript{155}

The education and skills development of both the majority society and the employees at the
RIKC can be considered empowering as with the previous projects. Kabeer has stressed the
importance of not being naïve of the empowerment impact of education as it depends on how
it is used, what the purpose is —the entire context around it.\textsuperscript{156} In the context of the Roma

\textsuperscript{153} M Popoola, 2010, pp. 35, 41-42.
\textsuperscript{154} M Popoola, 2010, pp. 69-76.
\textsuperscript{155} Romskt informations och kunskapscenter, Verksamhetsplan 2013, Sociala resursförvaltningen, retrieved
2014-06-13,
\textsuperscript{156} N Kabeer, 1999, pp. 17-20.
people in Sweden, knowledge about their situation is of value both for them but mostly for the majority society. The RIKC use both knowledge and information as tools for intercultural dialogue which could be a more beneficial way to use the terms as it could demand something back. They did not simply inform the majority society but wanted a dialogue which projects as EPRWS also wanted. However, as they experienced the possibilities of dialogue was on the terms of the majority society which, as Belton argued, does not necessarily accept the Roma people’s version of the historical and contemporary situation.\textsuperscript{157}

The information and guidance part of the RIKC had a smaller role than intended and they focused on cooperation with other organizations and authorities instead. The Roma community councilors also work as Roma advocates, rather than representatives, giving suggestions to how education and other strategies could have a better Roma perspective. Malmö University and the institute of public health have been places which RIKC have cooperated with in both informing but also gathering information for. One problem that might occur concerns the cultural information as the Roma who work with the project all belongs to the same sub-group. Do they have the legitimacy to speak about all cultures? There is a risk of over generalizing according to the evaluation but does at the same time state that the method RIKC uses is to clearly state that they talk about individual experiences and thoughts. They also state that other groups may act and think differently and by putting their own experiences in a context during the dialogue with non-Roma they may prevent the over generalization.\textsuperscript{158} That goes in the line of Belton’s other argument considering generalizing groups.\textsuperscript{159}

Other issues found by the evaluation report was administrative problems where the community councilors wanted to create a welcoming atmosphere by serving coffee and cookies. Several times the councilors had to stand for expenses themselves in order to avoid the administrative issues where the steering group often regarded it as outside the budget frames. Even though the steering group changed their mind, it took time to prepare the coffee and in the end of the project the project leader was to be handed the responsibility over the economy and budget which decreasing problems like these. Neither the facility nor geographical location were suitable for the work the RIKC as the facility for example had problems of mobile coverage, it was outside the center and belonging to the section of

\textsuperscript{157} B Belton, 2013, pp. 286-290.
\textsuperscript{158} M Popoola, 2010, pp. 78-80.
\textsuperscript{159} B Belton, 2013, pp. 286-290.
children and youth. Their belonging to these parts of the municipality could have made it more troublesome to reach out to all the groups of Roma in Malmö, as well as the authorities and institutions. It was also a constant problem with planning and economy as there was not any long term planning from the municipality which stood in the way of the center’s work. The project leader argued for the importance of the term knowledge which the evaluation argued is a sign of the projects high aspiration and ambition. The project’s method of working had started to be with a long term focus.\footnote{M Popoola, 2010, pp. 37-38, 42, 70, 81-82.}

Like many of the other projects, they struggled with economic and administrative problems. Projects are in many ways meant to try out different working methods but their purpose is also to create changes. The project process of trial and error also needs openness for unforeseen situations or where the administrative issues are slowing them down or even preventing them from achieving their goals. The evaluation of the RIKC stated that Malmö municipality’s short term financial support was one of the factors which hindered the center’s work. Projects in themselves are short term but in this case the center had long term visions.\footnote{M Popoola, 2010, pp. 37-38, 42, 70, 81-82.}

7.2 After the project’s end

The RIKC became a long term commitment of Malmö municipality and during 2012 it was moved to the social resources administration and became a permanent operation within the municipality. They had previously also been moved to a central location.\footnote{Romskt informations och kunskapscenter, Nyhetsarkiv, retrieved: 2014-06-13, http://www.malmo.se/kommunpolitik/sa-arbetar-vid-med/nationella-minoriteter/romsktinformationsochkunskapscenter/nyhetsarkiv.4.77b107c212e1f5a356a800069558.html.} The change to the social resources relates better to the situation of the Roma people but also because it is stretching over the whole municipality. Becoming a permanent part of the municipality can be argued to be a statement of the seriousness of the long term work as well as appreciation for the work the RIKC is doing. The same year Malmö municipality became one of the five pilot municipalities within the governmental strategy and a big responsibility was handed over to the RIKC which made it possible for them to hire more employees. At this moment there are three women working at the RIKC out of seven persons, and all except from two are belonging the Roma people.\footnote{Romskt Informations och kunskapscenter, Medarbetare på RIKC, retrieved 2014-06-13, http://www.malmo.se/Kommun-politik/Sa-arbetar-vid-med.../Nationella-minoriteter/Romskt-informations--} When reading the operation reports and other documents of the
work the RIKC does has high ambition, which is also mentioned in the evaluation report. The center has three focuses, the Roma people, the majority society and to find strategies and method for the continuous work towards Roma inclusion.\footnote{Romskt informations och kunskapscenter, Verksamhetsplan 2013, Sociala resursförvaltningen.}

7.2.1 The Malmö model

The RIKC is working based on a model they created called the Malmö model where the employees of the information and knowledge center, Roma and non-Roma work together for Roma inclusion. The center is believed to be important in order to create credibility, stability, trust and continuity as well as to make sure that the work is made on both an individual as on a structural level. Internal skill development is still used as a fundamental part of the center and the Roma officials at the center develops the skills of other employees within the public sector and other interested. They thereby create knowledge about the minority legislation, the Roma people’s history, different cultural expressions and their contemporary situation. They want to work from a holistic and interdisciplinary approach where they create a platform from which strategic and operative efforts are made. They also still believe in the importance of a civic office and Roma officials who work within schools and social services as resource personnel.\footnote{Romskt informations och kunskapscenter, Verksamhetsrapporter, retrieved 2014-06-13, http://www.malmo.se/Kommun-politik/Sa-arbetar-vid.../Nationella-minoritetter/Romskt-informations-och-kunskapscenter/Om-RIKC/Verksamhetsplaner och-rapporter.html.}

The trust gap and disbelief can only disappear when the society is mirrored by its inhabitants as Soraya Post puts it.\footnote{C Köljing & S Hultqvist, 2013, p. 66.} This can be achieved if the Roma people are able to formulate both the problems and the solutions, if they also can be part of the work towards the inclusion and be on power positions the society has started to mirror its inhabitants.

The interest in the RIKC’s working methods is illustrated by the fact that Gothenburg municipality has started an exploratory study with the purpose of seeing how a RIKC in Gothenburg would be shaped. It was the interest developed by Newo Drom which started this process.\footnote{Romskt informations och kunskapscenter, Om RIKC.} In the application for the exploratory study they state that the RIKC in Malmö is an example to strive towards as it is an institutionalized operation which would provide security for the Roma. Even so, they do realize that it is not possible to copy the operation as it needs to be adjusted for the needs and wishes of the Roma in Gothenburg and its surroundings. They also state that it is up to the majority society to take the responsibility of

\footnote{Sensus, Slutförvärdering NewoDrom, p. 21.}
breaking the exclusion of the Roma people as the groups are not in a position of power to do so themselves.\textsuperscript{168} This shows yet again an awareness of the importance of power relations between the majority society and the Roma people.

8. INTERSECTONAL ANALYSIS OF THE PROJECTS

Empowerment, power and agency have been more clearly visible throughout the projects but the intersectional analysis would benefit from having a more summarizing part. Brief analytical remarks have been made in the chapter of the projects, but it has to be developed further. Therefore this chapter will focus on the intersectional perspective of projects in relation to the concept of empowerment.

As intersectionality is an approach which focuses on intersection and problematizes identity categories, it is very useful for considering discrimination and oppression. It shows the complexity of identity, but also how groups and communities are more complex due to the individuals who identifies differently, in the many categories, than the majority.\textsuperscript{169} The main issue with the projects in terms of intersectionality is how they have considered the Roma group and the sub-groups. As stated in the chapter regarding the situation of the Roma People there are five sub-groups which also are separated by linguistically, cultural and religious differences.\textsuperscript{170} Other categories, to mention what might be argued to be the most important in this context, are sexuality as in LGBTQ, disabilities, class and age, but it is argued to be an incomplete list.\textsuperscript{171} Myths, Power and Museum, EPRWS, Newo Drom and RIKC are the projects that highlight their work for equality. In this context they are regarding equality between the genders man and woman. EPRWS also mentioned that they would regard the categories sexuality, age, and disabilities. The RIKC considered age in their statistics, and the only projects that problematized the cultural sub-groups of the Roma people were Myths, Power and Museum and the RIKC\textsuperscript{172}

\textsuperscript{168} Europelska Socialfonden i Sverige, projektansökan för Empowerment och delaktighet hos Romer i Västsvrige.
\textsuperscript{170} SOU 2010:55, pp. 113-116.
While stating that these categories should be considered within the work of the projects, there is not much that written of how it was carried out. Newo Drom was aware and reflected on how decisions affect men and women differently, but there is no more concrete information to how or what that did with that knowledge. It would have been interesting and productive to learn how they used their awareness in practice as it is that kind of knowledge which can be used in other projects as well. Myths, Power and Museum stated that they wanted all sub-groups to be part of the working group, as well as including the Roma women.\textsuperscript{173} It is important that women have separate space to air their opinions, as power relations are not exclusive for the relation between majority and minority, but also for intra-group relations. However, it is of the same importance that the women’s opinions should also have been raised in the mixed group in a higher degree. Despite the fact that it is rewarding for women to have a separate and safe space, it will not have any wider effect if they cannot get any room outside of that group. It may be a first step, but the next needs to be taken right after. Another important aspect to keep in mind is that only referring to man and women is binary in relation to the term gender. Gender includes many other ways to identify oneself.

The employees of the RIKC clearly stated that they could not speak for other Roma sub-groups, but only of their own experiences, in information meetings. However, the evaluation states that they all belonged to the Lovara group, which could have the risk of decreasing the chances to reach out to the other sub-groups.\textsuperscript{174} There is a general importance of including all the Roma sub-groups in the work towards Roma inclusion as their differences affect their experiences of the society and their situation. These differences lead to that the work for inclusions needs to be more flexible towards them, and more sensitive for what the different sub-groups’ or individuals’ need. It is nevertheless of value to be aware of the similarities which ties the group together and should be used to reach the common goals. The categories which persons can identify with, and the combinations of these identities, create these sub-groups within the Roma people. It is however not exclusive to minorities but to the majority society as well, which therefore can make it possible for persons belonging to the Roma people to feel a belonging to members from the majority society which identifies similarly in categories other than ethnicity. Even so, as argued by Warner and Brown, the combination of the categories divides people who share one category on the basis of another. In other words,
the discrimination possibly directed to two homosexual men may differ on the basis of one for example being an ethnic Swede and the other belonging to the Roma people.175

What initially was believed would to have been more prominent within the projects was that the perspective of the category class, especially when two of the projects directed themselves to skill development within the labour market. Anthias argument regarding class, is that by having a lower class status it changes how you are perceived and treated by others, even if you share the same ethnicity or gender.176 How would this then apply to the Roma people as some, for example Oprea, argue that they are the most vulnerable due to their low status within the categories of ethnicity and class? She has written several articles regarding Roma women and their vulnerability and she identifies herself as Roma. Oprea argues that Roma women are the most vulnerable due to patriarchal structures and their ethnic belonging.177 Both Crenshaw and Oprea claim that discrimination and subordination can come from within the group but Roma women, in contrast to Roma men, are also often faced with worse discrimination from the majority society due to that many women are easily identified by their clothing.178 Belongings to different social and economic classes also play a part in Roam individuals can be treated. Soraya Post has this year been elected to the European Parliament which means that she belongs to another social and economic class than an unemployed and uneducated Roma person.179 She could therefore be treated differently, possibly better, since can viewed as belonging to better social and economic classes.

As Anthias argues, ethnicity, class and gender are the categories most commonly related to intersectionality and has also been seen to be used when considering marginalized groups such as the Roma people, one can wonder why other categories, for example disability or sexuality, does not have more focus.180 There have been opinions in the projects of how to address sensitive questions, mainly in the Living in two worlds and Myths, Power and Museums, and they dealt with it in different ways. One chose drew attention to it and explained the Roma view and the other one chose to exclude the themes entirely. As mentioned previously in the

thesis, Rosa Taikon had experienced the problems of raising sensitive issues which regarded the group, to the majority society. She and other Roma activists faced opposition from both their own group and the majority society.\textsuperscript{181} One can view LGBTQ, or disability questions as sensitive as it differs from the norm also in the majority society, and these persons face discrimination based on that difference. That is why it is important to use an intersectional approach as it can give room for the vulnerable persons within an already vulnerable group. There is also a question which should be asked about the construction of the working groups, culture interpreters and coordinators, not only regarding gender, LGBTQ and disability but the other categories as well.

What matter did religion, age, nationality etc. have in the selection of participants? How did the decisions made, and the tasks within the projects affect those who differed from the norm. In order to make it as much inclusive as possible the projects has to be made from the perspective of the participants. Some projects are stating that it did not matter and that there would be no selections based on those categories. In the context of Newo Drom’s internships, how did they adapt it for a disabled person for example? However, nothing is mentioned about who the participants, coordinators and culture interpreters were regarding the the categories. Some of these issues are rather sensitive and perhaps the projects reasoned that it they were better to be left out. Even so, the outcome will be affected by the participants and how they identified in different ways within different categories, which is why it is of high importance to use an intersectional approach in the analysis and evaluation of the projects, but also during the construction and process of them. As the projects stated that they would consider different categories it would have been beneficial for a more complex understanding of their achievements if they also explained how they did it and also used the intersectional analysis on their result. It would increase the possibilities for improving methods and attitudes in the future work.

9. DISCUSSION
At this point, all the projects have been presented and analyzed from an empowerment perspective, which includes power and agency, as well as from an intersectional perspective. There have been both similarities and differences of how the projects have been constructed.

\textsuperscript{181} C Köljing & S Hultqvist, 2013, p. 100.
in their goals and regarding what role the Roma people have played. This chapter contains a summary of the analysis as well as a discussion its main findings.

9.1. Information and knowledge

Many of the projects have had goals in forms of giving information and knowledge to both Roma and the majority society in order to develop understanding which in turn would change the prejudice about Roma. It is an important key in the work towards Roma inclusion that more people are informed about the group, but it needs to be done with consideration to the complexity of their heterogeneity and in relation to both the history and the contemporary situation in Sweden. The analysis has shown that many projects have found that it would be beneficial to put that information and knowledge in perspective to the situation in Europe and other parts of the world, as it affect the Roma in Sweden as well. Some may still have another nationality than the Swedish and many of them have roots in other states. It would furthermore be of interest to compare different states’ policies and strategies regarding the Roma people as it could help develop the work further, and it would draw attention to the width of the issue.

However, a constant gathering and expression of this information and knowledge should be on the groups’ terms and interpretation. The Roma are the core of the work and they should have the ability and power the portray themselves. How they experience their situation and themselves should be in the center. That would give them the capacity and power to change the image and prejudice about them. As power relations are at least two sided, it would also mean that the majority society would need to accept their truth. In Living in two worlds the ones responsible for the project had to turn over power of decision making to the working groups consisting of young, national minorities who did not have any experience of the kind of work they were supposed to do. It was a gamble of the success of the project as well as one of the key components of it. The aim of the project was to give these members of the national minorities an opportunity to reflect on them and to create what they wanted to share with others.\textsuperscript{182}

The flexibility of shaping the projects in response to the wishes and needs of the Roma people is another factor which is related to information and knowledge. Many of the projects have been rather flexible during the conducts and they have been open for the Roma’s interpretations. The adaption was very clear in the project Newo Drom which adapted its new

\textsuperscript{182} Forum för utställare, Leva i två världar.
course to be in the evening as it suited the Roma participants better. In that project the culture interpreters also worked with the Roma participants in order for them to show up to the courses as many of them did not have any study habit. This shows an understanding for the Roma people’s context and was used to construct a solution which benefited both the project and its participants. Some may argue that Living in two worlds working method was only possible due to its context of an exhibition. The prejudice can regard the Roma as incapable which has meant that being Roma includes being forced to work twice as hard to prove to the majority society that you are good enough. The RIKC in Malmö has proved, by having hired Roma municipal officials, that these prejudices certainly are false. Therefore, giving room for the Roma people to define themselves and shape the work accordingly is not a problem as it has been done and continues to be done. If the Roma people are in charge of the image of the group and if the majority society is willing to listen to them, this would change and their efforts would be valued as much as others.

In conclusion, the projects have been found to be reasonably aware of the Roma people’s perceptions of their situation and context and have made some efforts to adapt their methods accordingly.

9.2 Power relations

The awareness of the existing power relations between the majority society and the Roma people is an important aspect in the work towards Roma inclusion from the discussed perspectives of empowerment and intersectionality. All the projects seem to have incorporated this knowledge and tried to adapt their work in accordance with it by directing themselves to both majority society and the Roma community. Many of them also wanted to create knowledge based on the Roma people’s terms instead of the majority society’s terms. Sadly enough, the results from some of the projects showed that the majority society is not willing to accept the interpretation rights of the Roma people in the issues concerning the group. In both projects in western Sweden, they stumbled upon resistance from the majority society by not acknowledging their working plan or by not being willing to take in Roma persons as their interns.

The last issue was solved by not mentioning the Roma identity of the participants when continuing to find internships. The basic idea of the solution was to hide their identity, it is a

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183 Sensus, Slututvärdering NewoDrom, pp, 12-14, 16-17, 27.
184 Europeiska Socialfonden, Utvärdering av projekt Empowerment och delaktighet bland Romer i Västsverige and Sensus, Slututvärdering Newo Drom.
strategy used by many Roma throughout history and even today, which has not done much to improve their situation. While it is a strategy used by some Roma, the project took the decision for the participants. There is no mention that it was a decision made with each Roma individual’s will, rather over their heads. It may have gotten the participants out to gain experience and it may have changed some prejudice among the majority society when, or if, they found out the identity of their interns. Even so, the experience of the situation for the Roma participants was not something new. It was yet again a denial of their identity, and creating a feeling that they still were not good enough to be accepted by the majority society. It is also an example of how the responsibility is perceived to remain with the Roma people. They should gain experience, they should search for jobs, they should educate themselves, but there is no possibility to change if the majority society keeps discriminating based on ethnic identity. The Roma are then in a situation without power as even if they took what is perceived to be their responsibility, the majority society still has an issue with accepting their definitions of the problems. Power relations are relations and that implies that there are at least two sides who have different amount of power, for one to gain more the other one has to let some of it go. Therefore, when the situation clearly does not improve, the majority society will not be regarded as trustworthy by the Roma people. The responsibility therefore largely lies with the majority society.

Another important effort to reduce the asymmetrical power relations is that Roma people could be participating on every level in a project or in general work towards Roma inclusion. Living in two worlds and Newo Drom are the two projects which have done that to a great extent, but others such as the EPRWS and the RIKC in Malmö had Roma persons who were employed within the projects, and who also had authoritarian positions such as skill developers. Giving Roma important positions with responsibility and authority could create role models. By combining education and skill development with positions of power, they would then have a larger probability to make actual change. This change may furthermore actually contribute to the problems understood by the Roma, rather than those assumed by and enacted from the perspective of the majority society. Also, as it has been argued by several of the projects, that the legitimacy of a project or information partly develops from the interaction between Roma individuals within their group.

185 C Köljting & Hultqvist, 2013, pp. 10, 25, 29, 37, 60, 72, 84.
9.3 Intersectionality

In the previous chapter the projects were analyzed from an intersectional perspective and the heterogeneity of the Roma group is essential to keep in mind, but it seems to be common that the main divisions of the sub-groups are based on the categories of ethnicity, culture and religion. Other categories which people can identify with are invisible. Some projects have mentioned that they take other categories as sexuality, gender and disabilities into account. For example, the project EPRWS had certain activities for Roma women only. They together with other projects also wanted to have an equal number of men and women among the participants. As Oprea argued, women are more vulnerable than men even if they belong to the same marginalized group. Therefore the focus on genders is good, but it is binary since it only regards women and men. It excludes other identities such as non-binary and how individuals identify differently within this category.

Intersectionality is an approach which many projects could struggle with as it consists of many different categories where the list seems endless. However, there is a possibility to focus on the categories which are most relevant for the specific context while still being aware of the effect of other categories. Scholars in the theoretical chapter have argued that it is difficult to include all in equality work, and the risk is that it focuses too much on differences and forgets commonalities. That would mean that the work becomes individualistic and more troublesome to use in a broader way. In order to better harmonize with the theoretical concepts, the projects could have needed to include awareness towards individuals’ needs and wishes, at the same time as focusing on a broader and common goal. Even so, groups belonging to a certain category may need more attention due to the fact that they are not the norm and therefore other aspects need to be considered apart from the main group, as Roma, and the individuals.

In the projects, the categories of sexuality and disability were not visible in the working method, only mentioned in an “equality chapter” in the evaluations or projects applications. Therefore, there were no real adaption for the persons who differs from the norm and the goals of the projects were directed towards issues where sexuality and disabilities were not understood to matter to any great extent. Two of the projects were concerning developing exhibitions and establishing a national Roma museum, two of them wanted to empower Roma and help them on the labour market and the last one was to establish an information and

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knowledge center, which was for both Roma and the majority society. Regarding the first two it would be a central issue for, and also most likely helpful for those with disabilities and an identity other than hetero to be given more room and attention to their opinions on these matters. In the other two projects it would be valuable to include these categories as for example people with disabilities or who are in a certain age also are discriminated which could affect their chances on the labour market. Lastly, a RIKC could benefit from using an intersectional approach as one part of its efforts to support Roma. By identifying with these categories they are subjects of discrimination on additional levels. Of course other categories than those previously mentioned are relevant to work with as well, depending on the context. As a majority of the projects have been mentioning several categories there has been some degree of awareness. Even so, this awareness often ended in mentioning on what basis exclusion would be prevented, without further conscious intersectional awareness of usage of the approach. With that they could have regarded both discrimination of the majority society towards the Roma people but also how different types of discrimination can occur within groups. It would have been valuable and beneficial to make it visible and thereby working with the issue of multiple levels in order to counter exclusion and discrimination against all.

9.4 Empowerment and sustainability

Empowerment needs to be seen as both a goal and as a mean in order to be achieved. Some scholars have regarded it as individualistic and tended to forget the impact of communities and the majority society, as well as the power relation between them. When regarding the Roma people and other marginalized groups, it is of utter importance to remember these relations. Even if it only was one project that was explicitly meant to be empowering to the Roma people, many if not all had elements of empowerment in their structure and in their intention of what they wanted to accomplish. All projects wanted to change the situation for the Roma people, that they as a group would have more ability to make decisions and have power over the decisions which had a direct impact on them. That meant that a large amount of the Roma participants in the projects had influence and that their opinions were acknowledged and turned into action.

It was taken further in some projects; the Roma participants’ decisions actually formed the projects result in another way, for example just passing an educational course. Living in two worlds, within Malmö Museums, wanted the Roma to form the exhibition. That resulted not only in them developing their skills of project work and increased their contact with institutions within the majority society, it also gave them the power over the actual result.
which others would look at and listen to. The EPRWS too gave room for the Roma coordinators to construct the skill developing meetings with the municipalities. That gave them the power to choose the information and their view of the Roma situation they wanted to bring forward. From this perspective one could say that it was empowering, but as the long term sustainability was depending on the good will of the majority society cannot be argued to meet the empowerment criteria.

The work for Roma inclusion has been shown to be a long term commitment as it cannot be changed in a short time. That has a lot to do with power and agency. The scholars, whose work is making up the theoretical framework of this thesis, share the view that empowerment is nothing without these two concepts, but power and agency on their own are not empowerment either. As mentioned previously, empowerment could be viewed as both goals and as a means, which is also the value of the concept and the projects’ way of working could be regarded as both. Adapting the work towards Roma inclusion by giving the Roma individuals better tools to cope with their contemporary situation — education and skill development, can be regarded as empowerment as a goal. Persons identifying as Roma have stated that by having Roma working with and within the majority society it can create role models. One can be critical to the division between goal and means as the role models in this case would work as both, the persons employed have been empowered but are also catalysts in the process of empowerment. The skill development of the Roma people does not end in their individual situational improvement but can also have an effect on others.

10. CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the most important aspects of the work toward Roma inclusion have been that the work would be more empowering for the Roma people if they were the narrators and the interpreters. The FCNM stipulates that they should have the power over the decisions that directly affects them, and it is therefore of high relevance in these kinds of projects. By education and skill development, Roma individuals can be empowered. If they were to become role models it could have the impact of improving the relations between the majority society and the Roma people as it creates legitimacy according to statements of Roma.

On the basis of the findings of both the projects and of the research of the thesis, one can come to the conclusion that it would be beneficial if the majority society stands back and gives room for the Roma people, handing over power and trusting them to be capable and
committed in order to reach their goals. In terms of the work being more empowering the majority society also needs to improve the knowledge about the Roma people as much of the knowledge today is based on old assumptions and prejudice created by non-Roma. The Roma people should be able to show their understanding of themselves and how they want to be portrayed. However, in order to enable the Roma people to be empowered and make use of their decision making power the majority society would have to actually listen and respect the interpretation rights of the Roma people in the matter. The active part of Roma people in this work, as employees, volunteers, or working groups, is of vital importance due to several reasons. Trust issues and the strive for empowerment are two examples. Having Roma people work for Roma rights and within the majority society’s efforts could have a higher probability for increasing the legitimacy according to the EPRWS project. The trust has been found to increase and it would give them an opportunity to change the majority society’s image of them.

Intersectionality is an important aspect to consider due to the heterogeneity of the Roma people, no one can be a representative for all of the Roma sub-groups. Advocating for Roma rights is however still possible, but it needs to be clear that the experiences mentioned are personal. The person advocating should also have the best interest for the minorities within the group in mind and act accordingly in order to be inclusive. Some are more general but the discrimination takes many forms and some Roma sub-groups are more vulnerable since their identity is visibly expressed by their clothing. It would therefore be beneficial for the overall work to first and foremost have advocates from all of the Roma sub-groups. That would create a firm foundation of all perspectives which would develop the work as well as open up for further inclusion. The Roma people also consist of individuals with different identities within the categories of class, sexuality, nationality, culture, religion, age, nationality, disability etc. It is of vital importance that the work towards inclusion is directed to all Roma, no matter how they define themselves within each category. Some will be more vulnerable than others in certain situations and that vulnerability changes depending on the context. By including more intersectional approach and having more focus on vulnerable groups for example disabled persons or LGBTQ the work would be more inclusive. It would also be possible to reach out and improve the situation for the more vulnerable individuals within the group who face other kinds of oppression besides the one based on their ethnicity.
For the work to be empowering, these mentioned aspects needs to be incorporated in the method. This can be done by working on both structural levels as well as point operations which targets narrower issues but with long term visions.

The Roma people’s situation in Sweden is complex and will not be solved easily or in a short time. It is deeply rooted in many levels of society and among its residents which is why it needs to be handled from different angles at the same time and during a longer period of time. Nevertheless, the form of the project allows for trying new and bold methods of work as well as targets, which are beneficial for the long term goal. Established municipal operations such as the RIKC in Malmö could be valuable for working against Roma exclusion as they have been proven to have more room to work strategically and directed towards the majority society as well as the Roma population with their Malmö model.

10.1 Further research

Working methods always require further development in order to keep up with the changes of the contemporary context, as well as to be adapted for other marginalized groups. One may regard projects as one step where the second step has to be taken soon after to have the possibility of reaching the goal of equality for all. Evaluations are important tools as they can analyze the successes and the failures of the projects in order to improve the next step. Yet these have also been found to require a perspective of intersectionality and empowerment to truly grasp the potential issues that need amendment. This opens up for further question and research of the marginalized groups within the Roma communities. One of the conclusions made by the thesis is that ethnic groups will have members who differ from other norms and identifies differently within certain categories. Discriminated people are also able to discriminate, and it is possible to illuminate and/or work with these issues without further oppressing the group. The study has also shown how it is possible to direct the gaze of the scholar towards the perceptions and measures of the majority society, becoming an advocate as a scholar. By increasing the knowledge and understanding of those people who differ from the norm within their ethnic group, new adapted method of work can be developed.
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