

# The Roma's in a color-blind state

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Abstract:

The aim of this study was to explore how the Roma's fit into the colorblind ideology in Sweden. Roma's have been stigmatized and victims of severe abuses by the state as they were classified as an inferior race. Sweden has replaced the word race with ethnicity however, these do not directly have the same meaning. The term race is classified as taboo in Sweden making it hard to address issues regarding racial discrimination. Through my analysis I have discovered that colorblindness is integrated in all aspects of society. Institutions have used colorblind arguments which have diminished the institutional discrimination of the Roma's. The colorblind ideology has hindered Roma inclusion meaning that their progress has been slowed down. They are still exposed in several sectors including labor market, housing market and the educational system. This thesis contributes to more knowledge regarding the relationship between Roma's and colorblindness in Sweden. The subject has not been addressed before and the thesis opens up a new area of study.

Key-words: Minorities, Anti-Gypsyism, Romani, Colorblindness, Gypsy.

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## 1.0 Introduction

This thesis will focus on the relationship between the Roma's and colorblindness. The Roma's are a national minority in Sweden, they were classified as a less worthy race until the late 20<sup>th</sup> century. The Roma's have been in Sweden for over 500 years and have a long and abusive history. I will start with a historical background of the Roma's in Sweden followed by why the topic is relevant for IMER studies. Further along I will give an overview of the research problem, Sweden is an overall interesting case when studying colorblindness and race. The word race is categorized as taboo and this is widely accepted by the Swedish society. Moreover, I will introduce my aim, research question and lastly an outline of the paper focusing on how the Roma's fit into the colorblind ideology.

## 1.1 Background

Roma's is used as an umbrella term for those of Roma descent, their ancestry made them victims of severe stigmatization (SOU, 1923, p. 8; Arbetsmarknadsdepartementet, 2014, p. 3). Racism towards the Roma's is called anti-Gypsism and has been around for as long as the group itself (Nationalencyklopedin). Sweden was very influenced by racial biology and this affected the Travelers and Roma's. Travelers were described as deviant and belonged to a deteriorated race (Åkerfeldt, 2012 p. 251). Historically, the Roma's were seen as an inferior race with low status, resulting in that they were treated badly (Arbetsmarknadsdepartementet, 2014, p. 30). Due to their race's negative qualities, they were prohibited to enter Sweden by law (Cederberg, 2010, p. 39). There were several legislative measures introduced to dispel the Roma's. There was for instance a death penalty for any male belonging to the Roma race just for being in the country. They could be killed for being Roma or Traveler as they belonged to an inferior race (Åkerfeldt, 2012, p. 210 & 213). One of the negative qualities that were associated with the Roma race was that they were criminals (Agarin, 2014, p. 11).

In addition, there was 'Gypsy experts' which had power to determine how to handle the Roma's. Institutions and authorities were able to intervene with their lives due to the so-called scientific expertise. During the 20<sup>th</sup> century the Gypsy experts became an institutionalized actor, controlling the discourse of Roma's (Montesino, 2010, p. 4-5). The state and authorities had all social control over the group and deprived the Roma's of their autonomy (Montesino, 2010, p. 5; Sneddon, 2013, p. 4).

Moreover, Sweden started to systematically map and register Roma's who lived in the country in the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Arbetsmarknadsdepartementet, 2014, p. 30). Ethnic registration was used in several countries including Germany where they used it to later deport them to concentration camps (Cederberg, 2010, p. 73). Roma's were stigmatized and described by the Swedish police for instance as dirty criminals who should be exterminated (Arbetsmarknadsdepartementet, 2014, p. 36). The last official registration named 'Zigenarutredningen' ended in 1955 which addressed the Roma's housing and integration situation (SOU, 1956, p. 7).

Roma's were also sterilized, and children were taken away from them by either police or social services. There is one case which received much attention and is still written and spoken about. A woman, pregnant in the seventh month, had to undergo an abortion and was forcefully sterilized (Arbetsmarknadsdepartementet, 2014, p. 100). Several, in not all, institutions were a part of this racial ideology and Anti-Gypsyism was established within the police department, social welfare, government, healthcare, even churches (Ibid, p. 25-93 & 100). Institutions collaborated with one another and registered Roma's with a (Gypsy) Z-number, Z for Zigenare (Ibid, p. 72). Being Roma had negative consequences as there were several practices that targeted them specifically (Ibid, p. 36). Due to the mistreatment a mistrust started to grow between the Roma's and institutions (Ibid, p. 39 & 96). Roma's were not allowed to go to school, employers would not hire them, and they were not able to get housing. One of the many consequences was that they were not able to register as citizens in a municipality (Ibid, p. 167; Åkerfeldt, 2012, p. 241). This created an evil circle because if they were not able to register, the possibility for work and education disappeared completely. The inability of registration also deprived them from any subsidy from the state (Arbetsmarknadsdepartementet, 2014, p. 201). These measures were put in place to force the group to leave Sweden and never come back (Ibid, p. 174).

## 1.2 IMER relevance

There are many different fields to study within International Migration and Ethnic Relations, this research will focus on ethnic relations. The first notation of the Roma's in Sweden was made in year 1512. In the following years they were subjected to severe racism and discrimination (Åkerfeldt, 2012, p. 212). Year 2021 and the Roma's are still marginalized and victims of institutional discrimination. The discrimination ombudsman has published several

reports confirming the statement. This makes my subject area relevant to IMER and the area is still current for research. However, the complexity occurs when trying to figure out the relationship between the Roma's and colorblindness.

### 1.3 Research problem

As demonstrated in previous section, the Roma's have had a long history of abuses from the state. The Roma's became a national minority in year 2000, this provides them with additional efforts for their inclusion and language (Kulturdepartementet, 2009). Yet, the group is still discriminated against in several sectors, even if there are laws which prohibit discrimination (Diskrimineringsombudsmannen, 2012, p. 37; Arbetsmarknadsdepartementet, 2008: 567). However, I have not come across research focusing on the relation between Roma's and colorblindness. In research on Roma's the concept of Othering is often applied however, there is little discussion regarding the terms race and ethnicity. There is overall little debate regarding the term race in Sweden. Sweden made a political shift during the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and is now claiming to be a colorblind state (Hübinette & Lundström, 2011, p. 4). The word race is tabooed and is more or less replaced with the concept of ethnicity however the meaning of these words differs (Osanami, 2015, p. 127 and 129). In the case of the Roma's, they were firstly labeled as a race. When Sweden decided to change the discourse and made a political shift, the Roma's were described as an ethnic group. Due to the long Swedish-Roma history and the term replacement, I find the Roma's an interesting case. The colorblind mentality is shared by almost the whole Swedish society. However, Roma's are institutionally discriminated which contradicts Sweden's colorblindness. I therefore find importance to analyze the Roma's position within colorblindness ideology.

### 1.4 Aim and research question

Sweden has implemented minority policies and a strategy to enhance Roma inclusion (Arbetsmarknadsdepartementet, 2011; Regeringskansliet, 2019). In Sweden's political domain there is more or less a consensus that Sweden has a color-blind mentality and the country is anti-racist (Hubinette, Lundström, 2014, p. 425-426). Color-blind discourse has been incorporated into state legislation and in minority policies (Osanami, 2015, p. 127). However, there are still cases of institutional racism which contradicts the state's argument of color-blindness and anti-racism (Diskrimineringsombudsmannen, 2011, p. 37; Hubinette,

Lundström, 2014, p. 426). This research will focus on how the Roma's fit in the color-blind paradigm. I will use critical discourse analysis and apply it through Fairclough's three-dimensional model. I will analyze how the colorblind discourse has affected the documents that will be included in the thesis.

The research question I will answer through this paper is:

How does the Roma's fit into the paradigm of color-blindness?

## 1.5 Thesis outline

I will firstly introduce my literature review which consists of two sections, first one will be Roma's contemporary situation in Sweden and the second one on colorblindness. The relationship between these two sections has not been studied before in Sweden. I will thereafter introduce my theoretical framework which consists of six headings. My theoretical framework will include terms such as race, ethnicity and culture. I will discuss the definition of Roma's and if they should be labeled as a race or ethnicity. I will define discrimination, institutional discrimination and stigmatization as these terms are frequently used in this study. Lastly, I will describe the Roma's situation in Sweden today and their stigma and discrimination. The next section is called method, where I have included my methodology, method, data selection, the validity and reliability of the thesis. This will lead to my analysis which is conducted on two documents through critical discourse analysis. Each document is analyzed through Fairclough's three-dimensional model. The last section includes my conclusion and suggestions for further research.

## 2.0 Literature review

As there is no previous literature on how the Roma's fit into Sweden's color-blind ideology, my literature review consists of two parts. The review on Roma's situation will include literature from year 2000. I limited the literature from year 2000 as this was the year the Roma's became a national minority. The second part will focus on colorblindness and the discussion regarding the term race.

## 2.1 Roma's in Sweden

Sweden was a leading country in racial biology and the first racial institution was established in Uppsala (Forum för Levande Historia). In 2014 the Swedish government decided to publish a white book describing the Roma's history of abuses in Sweden (Kulturdepartementet, 2014). Erik Ullenhag was the integration minister at the time, he said that the book had two purposes. The first one was to recognize the victims of race ideology, and the second was to acknowledge abuses caused by the state (Minoritet, 2015). However, this book only covers the historical aspect and does not focus on the contemporary situation of the Roma's (Kulturdepartementet, 2014). The Roma's became a national minority year 2000 as Sweden decided to ratify EU's *Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities* (Regeringen, 1998, p. 1-2). Even though the Roma's have been a national minority for over 20 years there is a lack of research on Roma's contemporary situation. The research that has been conducted are often written from a historical perspective (Broberg & Lennartsson, 2005, p. 8). The main documents published regarding Roma's situation are published by the state or the discrimination ombudsman. Through these reports the evidence is clear that the Roma's are victims of discrimination in the labor market, housing and institutions (SOU, 2010; DO 2004; DO 2012).

The most recent case of structural Anti-Gypsyism was in 2013 and involved the police department (Kott, 2014, p. 45). A Swedish newspaper, Dagens Nyheter, exposed a disturbing police register that mapped Roma's (Ibid, p. 45-46). To register people based on ethnicity violates international customs as well as the Swedish law (UNICEF, 2013). In addition, The Police Data Act further addresses it and declares registration based on race or ethnicity as illegal. The police register of Roma's was illegal and included 4029 people, it was coordinated to present bloodlines and family relations. They were not included in the register because they committed crimes, they were included because of their ancestry. Included in the register was people who are deceased as well as toddlers only a few months old which are unable to commit crimes. The one thing they all had in common was that they were Roma's or had a partner who was Roma (Kott, 2014, p. 46). We can draw parallels between this incident and the treatment of Roma's under the 20<sup>th</sup> century. One of the negative qualities the Roma possessed due to their race was that they are born thieves. The police called them dirty criminals and Roma's were registered based on their race (Arbetsmarknadsdepartementet, 2014, p. 36). Even if this example is excluded, Roma's still do not have the same rights and



are treated unequally (SOU, 2010, p. 19). They do not have enough power nor influence to control their situation or change social practices of racist structures such as these (Ibid, p. 19-20).

## 2.2 Colorblindness

Sayaka Osanami Törngren explains in her article *Does race matter in Sweden? Challenging colorblindness in Sweden* that colorblindness is an accepted concept and often applied in Sweden (2015). Moreover, the usage of the word race is tabooed, in 2009 an effort was made by the parliament to eliminate the word. Five years later, the government decided that race ought to be erased and a new word is to be reinstated in all legislation. This was to enhance their credibility as a color-blind state (Osanami Törngren, 2015, p. 127).

Furthermore, as Sweden was a leading country in race biology, the word is still much associated with biological racial differences. Yet, in contemporary constructivist social sciences there is an agreement that race is socially constructed. Nonetheless, there are Swedish scholars who replace the word race with concepts such as ethnicity (Ibid, p. 128-129). These words are however not synonyms, using ethnicity instead of race can allow the color-blindness to flourish. There are more factors which constitute the term ethnicity while race is more straightforward. There are several studies which show that visible differences are a factor of a person's treatment, not ethnicity but race. This can become problematic as the race issue is not addressed and is ignored (Ibid, p. 131).

Moreover, one of the leading scholars within color blindness in Sweden, Tobias Hübinette, questions Sweden's statement as an anti-racist and color-blind country. In his article *Den svenska vithetens melankoli* (2011) he says that Sweden made a political turn in 1960-1970 taking a stance against racism. The country transformed from a leading country within racial biology and ideology to an open and color-blind state. Issues regarding race were no longer seen current for Sweden. Sweden has even been described as a post-racist country and that they have moved beyond the concept of race.

Moreover, Sweden has a discomfort with the usage of the term race and addressing issues of whiteness however, racism is still prevalent in Sweden. Hübinette argues that whiteness is linked with 'Swedishness', even if a person is the second or third generation living in Sweden, he will not be considered as a Swede unless he has Swedish psychical

attributes. These attributes still matter in today's society he describes in his article *To be non-white in a colour-blind society* (2009).

### 3.0 Theoretical Framework

I will firstly introduce how race, ethnicity and culture are defined and used in this specific thesis. Colorblindness focuses on race not ethnicity therefore I find importance to demonstrate the difference between these two terms. To understand how the Roma's fit into colorblindness I will also discuss if the Roma's should be categorized as a race or ethnicity. I will further explain colorblindness in more detail. The last sections include a definition of discrimination, stigmatization and a description of Roma's situation today.

#### 3.1 Race, ethnicity and culture

Historically, scientists believed that people could be categorized in different subgroups defined as races. Within each race, individuals shared specific characteristics, physical attributes and intellect (Yudell, 2014, p. 2). They believed in race ideology and conducted race biology to find genetical differences between races (Ibid, p. 3-4). However, in the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century an argument was presented that race is socially constructed (Ibid, p. 5). More scholars started to relinquish from the idea that race is fixed and started to see race as a construct (Delgado, Stefancic, 2017, p. 85). At the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century the linkage between race and genetics was more or less discarded (Fenton, 2010, p. 18). The majority of researchers nowadays do not believe in race ideology however many do believe that the construction of race still exists (Delgado, Stefancic 2017, p. 85). Today, race is most commonly understood as categorization of a people which come from the same tribe or nation (Fenton, 2010, p. 12). Categorization is made based on shared physical attributes such as skin color and these attributes are indicators for difference and inequality (Smedley, 2020; Fenton, 2010, p. 22).

Ethnicity however, includes more than just race and physical attributes, added to this term is for instance the people's language, culture and religion (Fenton, 2010, p. 13). Ethnicity in the English language was used to describe a group which was foreign or different from the majority (Ibid, p. 14). Ethnic groups are still strongly linked with foreign as ethnicity was used to describe the 'Other'. Ethnicity occurs when two groups with different cultures interact with one another. Meaning that there is a difference, mainly cultural difference

between a minority and majority (Ibid, p. 51). In addition, ethnicity has a self-identification principle. The group itself has a right to decide how to define their ethnicity and what makes them Roma's for instance. The self-identification principle also enables individuals to identify or un-identify with an ethnic group (Ansell, 2013, p. 64). However, the majority has also some kind of power to influence and form an ethnicity. This is possible because the word was used to describe non-natives (Jenkins, 2008, p. 25). Race on the other hand, is mainly used when the dominant group defines a minority (Jenkins, 2008, p. 29). Race is forced upon a person depending on how she gets apprehended by people, ethnicity is the persons' choice to identify with (Jenkins, 2008, p. 56). Race is physical differences while ethnicity focuses on cultural differences (Jenkins, 2008, p. 82). Moreover, ethnicity is much highly connected with culture as culture is the meaning and values of a specific group. As group formation is socially constructed, so is culture, it is not fixed and gets reproduced through communication (Jenkins, 2008, p. 48). Ethnicity and culture can change over time but a person's race is static and unchangeable even as a social construction. Included in culture are for instance traditions, norms, religion, language, clothing etc. shared within a specific community (Fenton, 2010, p. 20). Culture is a non-static practice, always changing and it is not something a person is or has but practices (Jenkins, 2008, p. 21).

### 3.2 Roma's: Race or ethnicity?

The Roma's originate from India and migrated from the country, the most common thought is that they fled from India due to invasion and war (Cederberg, 1998, p. 3). The Roma's were defined as a race up until Sweden's political shift towards the ideal of an anti-racist state (Arbetsmarknadsdepartementet, 2014, p. 30; Hübinette, 2011 p. 3). The stigmatization and racial stereotypes that started to emerge through the 16<sup>th</sup> century still live on (DO 2012, p. 9). The elimination of the word 'race' did not eliminate racism in itself (Osanami Törngren, 2015, p. 127). Stigmatization and stereotypes that were grounded on race has not been eradicated (DO 2012, p. 9). Even though we have moved beyond the idea of race as biological, the social construction of race is prevalent in society (Delgado, Stefancic 2017, p. 85). Individual and structural racism towards the Roma's is documented and they do get discriminated based on their ancestry, on race (DO 2012, p. 9). Race however, is not included in the Swedish discrimination law (Arbetsmarknadsdepartementet, 2008, 5 §). Ethnicity has replaced the term and this is widely accepted by the whole Swedish society, including the

minorities (Osanami Törngren, 2015, p. 126). As defined earlier, ethnicity includes more than just race however, the Roma's are not a homogenous group. They do not have the same religion, traditions or culture, the only thing binding them together is their ancestry (Sandberg, 2009 p. 29). Another contradiction when classifying the Roma's as an ethnic group, is the self-identification principle. Some individuals within the subgroups of Roma's would not identify themselves as Roma (Cederberg, 1998, p. 2). However, the majority would force upon them that they do belong to the race. This is for instance the case of Kale and Sinti due to their origins (Cederberg, 1998, p. 2; Lundqvist, 2013). In Sweden, this is most common for the Sinti's, called Travelers (Regeringen, 2011, p. 6). Even if they do not identify with the Roma's, they are still discriminated against based on it. Some of them are still victims of Anti-Gypsyism due to their relation to the 'inferior race', Roma (FRA, 2020, p. 1).

Moreover, the Council of Europe has defined anti-Gypsyism as "a specific form of racism, an ideology founded on racial superiority, a form of dehumanization and institutional racism nurtured by historical discrimination, which is expressed, among others, by violence, hate speech, exploitation, stigmatization and the most blatant kind of discrimination" (European Commission, 2018, p. 3). Through these arguments and definitions, I would define the Roma's as a race and not as an ethnicity. To clarify this further let us take the Afro-Americans for instance. To be black is to belong to a race, however, there are different kind of blacks. A person can be from Jamaica, Zambia or Somalia, that is their ethnicity while black is their race. The same can be applied on the Roma's, being Roma is a race. However, a Roma can be Balkan-Roma, Polish-Roma, Rumanian-Roma which becomes their ethnicity and forms their culture and traditions.

### 3.3 Color-Blindness

There is a belief within colorblindness that race does not exist, and race is not an important attribute. Color blindness can be divided in two branches, one is color-evasion and the second branch is called power-evasion. Color-evasion covers the argument where a person states that he does not see race and sees everyone the same, as humans (Neville, et, al. 2016, p. 6). This becomes problematic as it may lead to some kind of denial of racial differences. The denial of differences results in rejection that there is privilege and white superiority (Neville, et, al. 2013, p. 456). In addition, the usage of the colorblind discourse does not per se mean that discrimination and institutional racism does not exist (Alcoff, 2006, p. 5-6). If there is

institutional discrimination and people keep using this argument, it shows that the problem is not tackled. The way to exterminate racism is not to ignore it, the inequality that exists should not be combated through ignoring race (Ibid, p. 8).

The second branch of color blindness is power-evasion where there is a belief that race does not affect a person's opportunities or life chances. If a person is unsuccessful and a failure, it is the persons' own fault. They do not believe that there are any external factors or discriminatory practices that deprive people's opportunities. The blame is put on the individual or group which further denies stigmatization and marginalization of people (Neville, et, al. 2013, p. 455-456).

The color-blind perspective is ideal and would work if race did not matter in society however it does (Neville, et, al. 2013, p. 456-457). Scholars have found that the color-blind perspective is not effective and reinforces prejudice as the problems are not faced (Neville, et, al. 2013, p. 455). Denying racism does not make it disappear, racism has transformed from direct to indirect yet, is still harmful (Neville, et, al. 2013, p. 456-457). It can harm the vulnerable people in at least three ways. Firstly, color-blindness feeds the myth that all are the same and have the same opportunities which is simply as stated, a myth (Neville, et, al. 2016, p. 8). Secondly, it blames the people for the situation they are in and denies that there are external factors which deprives them of opportunities and contributes to their marginalization. Lastly, those who assure color-evasion are given a self-perception that they are good people and convince them that they truly do not see race. This can reproduce and justify privilege, uneven distribution of power and social status (Neville, et, al. 2016, p. 9-10).

### 3.4 Discrimination and institutional discrimination

Before defining the term institutional discrimination, I will define discrimination to clarify the difference between these two. According to the encyclopedia, discrimination is when an individual or specific group gets treated differently than the rest. Departing from the principle of equality as it enhances injustice (Nationalencyklopedin). There are seven grounds for discrimination in Sweden, gender, transgender identity or expression, ethnic belonging, religion or other belief, disability, sexual orientation and age. If a person gets mistreated based on any of these grounds and it results in a violation or disadvantage, the offender can be convicted of discrimination (Diskrimineringsombudsmannen, 2021).

There is moreover another term with importance in this thesis called positive discrimination, more known as active measures. Active measures in Sweden is only used regarding gender and women's positioning. Using active measures concerning ethnicity has been discussed, especially in a strategy regarding Roma inclusion (Regeringen, 2007, p. 165-166; Andersson, 2013, p. 18). These kinds of measures are introduced when there is inequality between groups. This gives underrepresented groups precedence or advantages to reach a more equal treatment and same opportunities (Regeringen, 2007, p. 166).

Lastly, the definition of institutional discrimination which are for instance norms, practices or approaches. These are incorporated in the structure of an institution or sector that differentiates between people (Justitiedepartementet, 2003). As all are not treated the same it results in deprivation of opportunities for a specific group and enhances injustice. Institutional discrimination can be direct and indirect as well as unconscious as its incorporated in practices. Institutional discrimination can be established in several sectors such as judiciary, education, healthcare, and so forth (Ibid). There is evidence that the Roma's are subjected to discrimination as well as institutional discrimination (DO, 2004, 23-24). They are in a vulnerable situation as they often get discriminated in many aspects of society (Ibid, p. 24 & 28).

### 3.5 Stigmatization

Stigma comes from the Greek language, the word was used to describe people who were marked by for instance burns. This made persons noticeable and it became a feature that deemed them as bad people. The burned mark has disappeared however the term lives on and is mostly used for attributes and characteristics today (Goffman, 1986: 11). There are still attributes which are considered as negative, if a person gets mistreated based on the attributes, the person gets stigmatized (Ibid, 12-13). A person can be stigmatized for different reasons and race is one of these attributes which can lead to stigmatization. The results of stigmatization can have several negative outcomes for the person or group. If stigmatization is combined with institutional discrimination a group can be severely excluded from the housing market for instance (O-Neel, et, al. 2012).

### 3.6 Roma's Today

The Roma's are discriminated in several sectors including education, housing and labor market (Diskrimineringsombudsmannen, 2014, p. 9). There are discriminatory structures leading to institutional discrimination of Roma's. Resulting in that the group does not have equal treatment which contributes to marginalization (Ibid, p. 10). They are discriminated in the education system, the children as well as the adults. Sweden has been criticized for this by the UN committee for economic, social and cultural rights. The discrimination ombudsman has also conveyed their worries regarding the treatment of the Roma's within education (Arbetsmarknadsdepartementet, 2011, p. 30). The discrimination within education and other sectors are dependent of the racial stereotypes and prejudice the society has regarding the Roma's (Ibid, p. 44). Many individuals within the group lack higher education and this consequently affect their integration on the labor market (Diskrimineringsombudsmannen, 2004, p. 21) Those who have higher education and competence may be subjected to discrimination on the labor market as well. The unequal treatment of the group starts as early as elementary school and follows them throughout life (Arbetsmarknadsdepartementet, 2011, p. 44-45).

Another sector where Roma's are discriminated against is the housing market, they do not have equal access to housing (Diskrimineringsombudsmannen, 2014, p. 41). Roma's are one of the most exposed groups within the housing market and are often referred to segregated residential areas (DO, 2008, p. 24). Residential segregation can have further consequences for the group and increase the risk for more exclusion (Dzafic and Huseinovic, 2010: 10-11). Some Roma's have said that they have been denied renting and buying apartments/houses because they were Roma's (DO, 2008, p. 24). The exclusion on the housing market makes it more difficult for Roma's to get a job and good education for their children. They are a part of a vicious circle and it is hard to determine where to start. It is a structural problem with institutional discrimination in several sectors (Arbetsmarknadsdepartementet, 2011, p. 51).

Moreover, the discrimination ombudsman examined all reports from 2004-2010 regarding ethnic discrimination. Ombudsman concluded that 20% of all the cases concerns social services. This has highlighted that there may be negative structures and practices within the social services (Ibid, p. 56). All these limitations, exclusions and discriminations increase the risk for health issues (Statens Folkhälsoinstitut, 2010, p. 10). Studies show that Roma's in

different countries are more likely to have heart problems, diabetes, mental illness and so on (Ibid, p. 24). Institutional discrimination in labor, housing, social services, education etcetera affects the Roma's living situation, opportunities and health. There are considerable consequences, and this is only an overview of the problems they face (Arbetsmarknadsdepartementet, 2011, p. 51).

## 4.0 Method

The first section will cover my methodology, a description of constructivism and how this will influence my work. I will include my personal experience in this chapter as it further influences how I interpret the world. My method of choice is critical discourse analysis and I will use Fairclough's three-dimensional model for my analysis. As critical discourse analysis must be complemented with a concept, I will apply colorblindness to the analysis. Thereafter, the data collection will be presented, and questions of validity and reliability will be addressed.

### 4.1 Methodology

The methodology I choose to use is constructivism as I will study the social world which I believe is not fixed. My methodology will be influenced by my worldview therefore, there is an importance to discuss two philosophical terms, ontology and epistemology. Firstly, there must be an establishment of the philosophical term ontology which is the study of the world and what is real (Moses & Knutsen, 2019 p. 4). I believe that people construct their reality and that the social world differs from the naturalistic Real World. From this standpoint, there is not a fixed world, the world is understood differently, dependent on a person's perspective (Ibid, p. 198). Within this worldview a weight is laid on the historical development of today's situations (Creswell & Creswell, 2018 p. 6). The historical context of the Roma's in Sweden is important to understand as stereotypes have existed for several centuries (Cederberg, 1998, p. 2-3).

The second philosophical term is epistemology which will be important within this thesis. Epistemology is the study of knowledge, identifying the 'truth', where it came from and if the knowledge is reliable (Moses & Knutsen, 2019 p. 4). As this paper is written from an ontological perspective where humans construct their reality, the same applies for knowledge. The knowledge produced is always someone else's knowledge, the author decides



what to include based on his interpretation of the data collection. This is important within this study as I will use critical discourse analysis. Through my whole analysis I will be in contact with another person's text (Ibid, p. 199). Knowledge can as well change over time; the Roma's were not defined as an ethnic group until the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Shahar, 2007, p. 8).

Furthermore, this will be a qualitative research which is suitable for studying social phenomena (Creswell & Creswell, 2018, p. 4). I will use constructivism as my approach for the qualitative research (Ibid, p. 7). Constructivists believe that the patterns we observe in the social world are influenced by the context such as discourse, ideas, experiences and so on (Moses & Knutsen, 2019 p. 168). They believe that human beings construct their society through interactions, values, norms and so forth (Creswell & Creswell, 2018 p. 8). These values and norms also affect the individuals in a society (Ibid, p. 168). Moreover, creating a social norm or value takes time, from a constructivist perspective there is an importance to look how this emerged historically. History may explain some factors of a phenomenon which still are incorporated in contemporary society (Ibid, 2018, p. 8). The society does not only form individuals, but individuals do form the society as well (Moses & Knutsen, 2019 p. 9). The society that was considered normal in the 1960's would be apprehended as peculiar today (Ibid, p. 169).

Constructivists differentiate themselves from naturalists as they believe that the perception of the world is constructed by humans. Naturalists believe there are patterns, independent of human's existence, this is the main difference between them. Constructivists would argue that we only know of the Real World as we interact with it and it is created through our mind (Ibid, 175). There are several differences as well as similarities between these two methodologies however their philosophical worldview differs (Creswell, 2018, p. 168). The constructivist methodology complies with my philosophical stance as I believe that the social world is non-static. I agree with the argument that people live in different realities and interpret the world in their own way (Ibid, 2018, p. 8).

In addition, groups who are subjected to racism on a daily basis will not interpret the world the same as privileged groups (Moses & Knutsen, 2019 p. 9). Our interpretation of the world is partly based on the culture we are raised in and the perspectives which are formed within our groups (Creswell & Creswell, 2018, p. 8). How we produce and engage with knowledge is much based on sense perception as humans observe, interact and engage with each other (Moses & Knutsen, 2019, p. 181).

## 4.2 Personal experience

As I myself belong and interact with the social world there are two important reasons to state my own positioning (Moses & Knutsen, 2019 p. 189). Firstly, stating one's positioning will give more credibility to the thesis. Secondly, the reader will be able to comprehend from which perspective I am writing from. The reader will be given an understanding of my worldview and how this may influence how I interpret reality (Silverman, 2014, p. 77). I am born and raised in Sweden and belong to the Roma group. Since I was a child I knew it was unacceptable to use the term race. The colorblind ideology was strongly incorporated in society, ethnicity was the 'right' word to use. As I belong to the Roma I have witnessed discrimination and racism from a very young age. I started to study our history in Sweden and compared it to our situation today. I realized that we still are marginalized and started to work for Roma inclusion. This has influenced me and my perception of the world as I constantly have observed how others stigmatize and have prejudice towards the Roma's. I would argue that racial hierarchies and structural racism is still implemented within Sweden's structure. Thus, I would like to examine how Anti-Gypsyism fits within the discourse of Sweden as a color-blind state.

## 4.3 Critical discourse analysis

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is often used when trying to explore if there is injustice and marginalization of a disadvantaged group (Le & Le, 2009, p. 4). It focuses on power distribution between groups within society and how inequalities are reproduced through discourse (Ibid, p. 7). Through a critical discourse analysis, a person should aim to see how a state provides and denies people possibilities in life. In addition, how and if the state justifies its positioning (Ibid, p. 4). Discourse takes time to form, this is why the method focuses on the historical aspect as well (Ibid, p. 8).

Discourse is not only written text or language, scholars throughout the years have even included discourse as a social practice. Foucault argued that discourse as a social practice also shapes the knowledge which is produced or reproduced through social interactions (Ibid, p. 5). He patched a way for researchers to analyze not only texts and speeches but also to incorporate worldviews, concepts, everyday interactions and so forth. However, texts are still a big part of a CDA, yet a larger weight is laid on the writer's perspective and on the social context. If a writer had a different worldview and political

stance, the text would probably differ from what has been written. The same applies for the social context. If it would have been written from a different social setting, it could result in the production of an entirely different text (Ibid, p. 6). Sweden for instance has a color-blind mentality resulting in that texts have been influenced by the state's perspective on race (Osanami Törngren, 2015, p. 127).

Moreover, CDA is concerned with social power and social control such as a groups status or power within institutions (Ibid, p. 11). Social power enables a group to manifest their positioning within a certain subject and to a big extent control the debate. Therefore, social power includes the power to control people's minds and thoughts through discourse.

Furthermore, a key component of CDA is ideology, that is a person's worldview and how he interprets the world. Within ideology is included a person's values and beliefs, which present themselves on a daily basis. A person's ideology affects the production of a text as the selection of data, concepts, arguments are influenced by the writer's worldview. There can always be a debate regarding objectivity and a person's worldview. Therefore, to address this question is important within constructivism (Ibid, p. 12). Ideology can also represent the values held by a group. These values shape the groups discourse that influence social practices and reproduces their discourse and positioning.

Lastly is the definition of social practices, where a discourse manifests itself. Social practices can be performed by individuals as well as groups through interactions. Social practices can be widely accepted in society even if they are discriminatory. Social practices can occur within institutions, health care, businesses or through traditions and customs (Ibid, 2009, p. 13).

To analyze documents the CDA must be complemented with a strategy on how to analyze materials. As critical discourse analysis is not in itself a method but an approach I decided to use Norman Fairclough's three-dimensional model.

#### 4.4 Fairclough's three-dimensional model

Within this method there is a belief that not only does the society influence an individual but social practices as well forms the society. Social practices can reproduce and change identities, relations, norms and so forth (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002, p. 58-59). Fairclough questions the discourse analysis which only focuses on texts. He believed that the relationship between texts and society should also be analyzed (Ibid, 2002, p. 59). Classified as texts are

for instance visual pictures, writings and speeches. Fairclough's three-dimensional model consists of three separate categories which are related to one another. The categories he identified are *discourse as text*, *discourse as discursive practice* and *discourse as social practice* (see figure 1), (Le & Le, 2009, p. 8). Discourse as text is the actual text and language that is being used, it can include the wordage, examples, statistics and so forth. Discourse as practice is how the text has been produced and received. The production of a text may be influenced by genres, discourses, concepts etcetera. Lastly is discourse as a social practice, how the text or discourse expresses itself through interactions. Social practices are where a discourse manifests itself (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002, p. 61-62). The social practice can be analyzed from two dimensions, the first one is called *the communicative event*, how language is used within a specific sector. The second dimension is *the order of discourse*, this is when discourse and genres are applied within a specific social domain and where discourse displays itself such as media or politics (Ibid, p. 60 and 64). These two have a relationship as the communicative event can affect the order of discourse. The events can either constitute and keep the discourse as it is or change it. The order of discourse shapes to an extent what can be said and what cannot be said as it is inappropriate. Yet, the discourse within the order can as well be changed by people's language in the social domain (Ibid, p. 64).

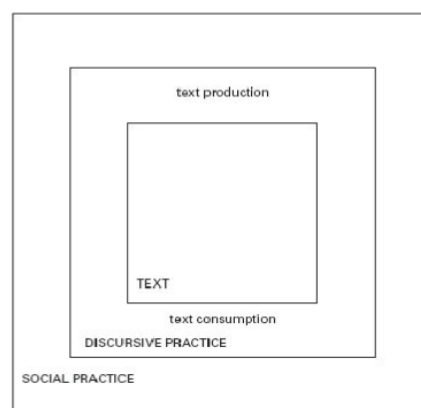


Figure 1: 'Fairclough's three-dimensional model for critical discourse analysis'' (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002, p. 61).

The first step as mentioned is to analyze the actual text, I will analyze two governmental documents. The text analysis will focus on which words the writers have chosen to use and the significance of these words. In the first document I will further include the examples given

in the text. The second step is to analyze the discursive practice, how former genres and discourses has influenced the text. The genre I will use is colorblindness, I will analyze how colorblindness is integrated and has influenced the production of the text. Last step is to analyze social practices, I will analyze this from both dimensions. The communicative event as well as the order of discourse as these two are interrelated. Analyzing from both dimensions will give a better description of how colorblindness and Anti-Gypsyism is intertwined.

#### 4.5 Data collection

The data collection consists of two texts, the first is an investigation issued by the state to determine how to exterminate the term race from legislation and official documents. I choose this report as this was the first issued investigation regarding the abolishment of 'race'. However, it was already influenced by the discourse of colorblindness which manifests itself through the text. The second text that will be analyzed is the government's strategy for Roma inclusion called *En samordnad och långsiktig strategi för romsk inkludering 2012-2032*. This strategy was introduced to enhance Roma's opportunities in life. The aim of the strategy is that the Roma's who reach the age of 20, year 2032 will have same opportunities in life as those who are not Roma's. The strategy was put in place as Roma's often do not have the same good conditions as the rest. Sweden has been criticized by the EU and UN concerning the treatment of Roma's in the country. The strategy has three main goals, minimize the welfare gap between Roma's and other groups, to lift the inferiority of the Roma and to build trust between Roma's and the society. The strategy enrolled in 2012 meaning that colorblindness was already highly accepted in Swedish society. This further influenced the formation of the strategy and what was included. Through this data collection I will be able to answer my research question which is *How does the Roma's fit into the paradigm of colorblindness?* I will only use two documents which can become problematic when discussing credibility of the thesis. However, these is a limitation by time and wordcount, I will try to compensate this with a thorough analysis and discussion of validity and reliability.

#### 4.6 Validity and reliability

The validity and reliability are more questioned when using a qualitative method compared to a quantitative method (Silverman, 2014, p. 77). Reliability refers to stability and replicability

of a study. The usage of constructive methodology can become problematic and the reliability can be challenged. There may be a lack of transparency as constructivist studies often use induction. People can analyze in different ways meaning that two persons can come to different conclusions. The conclusion can differ even if the same materials are used, creating a difficulty for researchers to replicate. However, there are two ways to enhance the reliability in a qualitative study (Ibid, p. 83). Firstly, is to be transparent by describing in detail how the data will be used. This has been done under the title 'Fairclough's three-dimensional model' and will be further elaborated in the analysis section. Secondly, to have a theoretical transparency, defining the theory used to show which perspective the text will be analyzed from. This has been done in previous sections, I will use governmental documents to give more reliability (Ibid, 80). Using governmental documents will decrease the risk of using materials that are forged (Ibid, p. 87). To give more validity to the study I have included my personal experience. As all humans, my beliefs are influenced by my personal and cultural experiences. This strengthens my validity as the reader gains knowledge of my worldview (Moses & Knutsen, 2019 p. 17). To further strengthen my validity, I will provide an explanation of how I will do my analysis. I will go through it step by step and introduce key concepts I will use in my analysis (Creswell, Creswell, 2018, p. 200-201).

## 5.0 Analysis

I will firstly analyze SOU 2001:39 *Ett effektivt diskrimineringsförbud – Om olaga diskriminering och begreppen ras och sexuell läggning*. The second analysis will be conducted on the government's strategy for Roma inclusion. I will follow Fairclough's three-dimensional model and start off with a text analysis and later on analyze the discursive practices and lastly the social practice on both texts. I will use colorblindness as my perspective which will be applied through the whole analysis.

### 5.1 SOU - investigation

Before analyzing the actual text, I will turn to the authors of the text. There were 10 people who were involved in forming the content. I went through all the authors of the text and nine out of ten people were white. There was a lack of representation within this investigation which influenced the text. All people have an ideology and perspective which reflect how they think and produce a text. In addition, the specific chapter addressing the term race was

developed by one individual, Marianne Håkansson. Resulting in that this chapter gives an even more one-sided picture.

### 5.1.1 Text analysis

The investigation included two subjects, race and sexual orientation. I will only focus on the relevant part which is race and discrimination. The investigation was issued by the Swedish parliament to explore if the term race can be avoided and to which extent. Even before the investigation, a statement was made, race should be terminated in official documents.

Moreover, described in the summary, the author Håkansson says that the term race has different meanings for different people. Therefore, I would argue for the inclusion of people with different perspectives and opinions in the production of the text.

The argument put forward in the text for abolishing the term is the linkage between race and racial biology. In Swedish ordinances where race is used it's often followed by the word skin color, which is interesting as there was a separation between race and skin color. This separation concretizes that all so called races cannot always be identified based on the color of their skin. As discussed earlier, Roma's were classified as a race and most of them were darker than ethnic swedes. Yet, there were differences in skin color between different Roma groups. However, their skin color did not matter, what mattered was their affinity to an inferior race. This distinction between race and skin color is likewise made in European Convention on Human Rights and United Nations *International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination* which Sweden has ratified. States who have ratified the convention have to work against race discrimination in all its forms and prevent discrimination through legislation. The most common ground for discrimination is 'race, skin color, nationality or ethnic origin'. The most frequent of these are nationality and ethnic origin, race is seldom used in Swedish sentences. However, the UN were concerned as discrimination based on race had increased in Sweden. The UN identified three areas where racial discrimination had increased, public spaces together with restaurants and admittance to services. Yet, the text focuses on termination of the term and argue for a term replacement such as ethnicity.

Furthermore, she argues that ethnic origin *could* include race, skin color, nationality, origin and so forth. She did not however make the statement that it does include and can replace the term race. She argues that the word should be replaced, however it would be the

legislators' job to decide which word is to replace race. The main argument for abolishing the term is that race is highly linked with racial biology in Sweden. Yet, she also mentions that there is a social construction of race. The main term discussed for the replacement of the term race has been ethnicity. The definition of ethnicity in the document is the same as I have used in my theoretical framework. The focus is mainly laid on cultural differences and interactions between groups.

Moreover, there are 23 examples and cases given in the text regarding discrimination due to race and ethnicity. Eight are examples of Roma's making it 34,78 % of all the cases about the Roma's. 5 examples were given when addressing discrimination in a shop and 3 of the five cases were Roma's. They also wrote that this group is especially vulnerable to this kind of discrimination. Another interesting case is that a Lebanese man got denied to a camping area as the personnel thought he was Roma. As discussed earlier, ethnicity has the identification principle while race is more or less forced upon you. He was denied entrance because they thought that he belonged to another race and believed he was Roma.

### 5.1.2 Discursive practice

The main goal for this investigation was to determine how the term race is to be eliminated from Swedish legislation and regulations. The argument behind this statement is that there is no scientific evidence that humans can be biologically divided into races. Therefore, race does not exist and usage of the term in official documents should be inappropriate. The formation of the assignment for this investigation is already highly influenced by a color-blind perspective. The main argument within color blindness is that race does not exist and has no importance within today's society. Color-evasion is clearly used and, in this case, applied to the whole country. As they would eliminate the word from the discrimination law meaning that the country and its citizens do not see race. A proposal from Elisa Abascal Reyes to the parliament initiated the debate regarding the term race. The writers for the proposal thought it was strange that race was used even if skin color and ethnicity was followed by the term. However, I found it interesting as the separation between these two words confirm that race is a special term. Discrimination could be based on skin color and ethnicity however, not on race according to the investigation and proposal. This can become problematic as race as a ground for discrimination is eliminated. Moreover, the social construction and compliance of the term is not mentioned in the assignment for this investigation. The mission for this



investigation is conducted from a color-blind perspective which is shown in the text.

Colorblindness discourse has been the main influence and formed the production of the text.

### 5.1.3 Social practice

There is a section where Håkansson addresses how the term race is used in daily newspapers. This is more or less a perfect example on how discursive practices can form social practices and vice versa. Sweden's political shift and discursive practice of colorblindness influenced social practices in for instance media. An investigation conducted by Språknämnden, the language committee, shows that newspapers specifically, have stopped using the term race within their jobs. Håkansson uses this social practice within media to confirm that the term can be terminated within sectors. As colorblindness is used in daily newspapers the perspective is spread as well as reproduced through text. The decision of not using the word race erases the term from the newspapers and makes it inappropriate. The discursive practice by politics influenced the media as they decided to stop using the term. As well as the social practice of not using the word influence the debate on the political level. This creates an interaction between the two practices and affect one another. This forms the order of discourse, they further give an example of communicative events. In the proposition by Elisa Abascal Reyes, it is mentioned that the term race can be used in everyday language. The term ethnicity is more abstract and is not as negatively loaded. Their argument for this is that the word was more established overall in the society and has a more concrete meaning. However, there should be an initiative to try to change the communicative event with the usage of order of discourse as media and politics. The formation of the text and examples of orders of discourses together with social practices enables social power. As this entered the political domain there is a specific social power given to politicians. The debate enables high ranked politicians which were mainly white at the time, to control the social power and the discourse regarding the terms race and ethnicity.

## 5.2 Governments strategy for Roma inclusion

The strategy for Roma inclusion will be analyzed according to Fairclough's three-dimensional model. The text analysis will be conducted in the same way as the previous text. I will analyze the words used in the document and how this affects the text. As I will use CDA much focus will be put on unequal power distribution and Roma's autonomy. The concept

ethnicity will be much used when analyzing the discursive practice. Social practice will be analyzed from both the communicative event and order of discourse.

### 5.2.1 Text analysis

Firstly, it is stated that there are independent examples how individuals belonging to the Roma's are subjected to discrimination. This expression at the beginning of the text is already highly influenced by colorblindness. Using the wordage *independent examples of individuals*, denies the institutional discrimination of the Roma's. The group is still one of the most stigmatized minorities in Sweden and Anti-Gypsyism is systematic as DO's reports shows. The government does agree with that there are common issues for the whole group such as discrimination, Anti-Gypsyism and exclusion. They do not however acknowledge that this is systematic and incorporated in their structures.

Moreover, the Delegation for Roma Affairs wanted to appoint and entrust in a secretariat for the strategy. Included in the secretariat job would be to give advice and evaluate efforts made by institutions. This request by the Delegation was denied by the government, their argument for the rejection was that there would be a shift of responsibility. They believed that the secretariat would take more responsibility that otherwise would be on institutions. It is also mentioned that if the secretariat is to influence institutions there must be some kind of means of power given. Furthermore, it is written in the minority law that the state shall strengthen national minorities position and autonomy. Autonomy can be reached when minorities are given a possibility to participate and influence affairs which affect them. The key word is *possibility* to participate, *possibility* to influence. This does not give them actual power nor autonomy based on the wordage of the text. Institutions and municipalities have to give possibilities and opportunities but nothing more. If a municipality decided to go against Roma's recommendations it would be possible. This would, by law be accepted as the Roma's do not have concrete power over decisions. The Roma's have been given an illusion of autonomy, in practice they do not have the power over their own affairs. Depriving them from changing their situation and structures. This is further confirmed by the Delegation who have voiced that some Roma's have not been given real power to influence decisions. This together with the governments' rejection for the secretariat justifies the unequal power distribution. This further denies Roma's possibilities in life and enables the state to keep the social power.

### 5.2.2 Discursive practice

In the background section of the strategy, it is stated that a person cannot be forced into becoming a minority. According to the government, a person can choose to belong to a minority. Minorities in Sweden distinguished by ancestry, are categorized as ethnic minorities. As they use the concept of ethnicity, the self-identification principle is applied. This makes it hard for the state to acknowledge that Roma's are institutionally discriminated. Therefore, a weight is laid on individuality and discrimination of individual persons belonging to the group. Roma's are systematically discriminated however, the state refuses to recognize this due to colorblindness.

Race is not used nor accepted by the majority and Sweden decided to use the term ethnicity instead. This means that the self-identification principle must be applied. Institutional discrimination and racism are contradicting to the color-blind ideology. Moreover, it is acknowledged that not all Travelers in Sweden identify with the Roma's due to big cultural differences. There is nothing about discrimination specifically of Travelers however the FRA rapport shows that Travelers are as well discriminated as they descent from Roma's. As discussed earlier, race is forced upon a person, as it is for some Travelers. Even if some of them do not identify with Roma's they may be subjected to Anti-Gypsyism.

Moreover, the state agrees that the ignorance of Roma history contributes to blame the people for their unsuccessful integration. In addition, their exclusion from society, some may even argue that the Roma's want to be excluded. This is explained as one of the branches in colorblindness called power-evasion. Where the blame for a marginalized group lies on the group itself as there is a belief that there are no external factors which causes this. Furthermore, there has been a discussion regarding active measures as there is inequality between Roma's and other groups. The Delegation for Roma Affairs argued for active measures to increase equal treatment and opportunities. They were criticized by several municipalities and they referred to equal treatment for all. Those who argued for active measures saw it necessary to combat Anti-Gypsyism and unequal differences. Those who argued against active measures said it was a departure from equal treatment as one group gets some kind of advantage. Some municipalities believed that these measures would disfavor the group. As these active measures can display the group as unable to take control over their own lives. The argument the municipalities use, that they treat all the same is the main argument within color-evasion. This becomes problematic, the Roma's are structurally

discriminated yet municipalities argue that they treat all people the same. As described in my theoretical framework on colorblindness, denying the inequalities does not mean that they do not exist. Color-blindness can be harmful in three ways and all are included in this strategy that is supposed to enhance Roma inclusion. Firstly, is the myth that all humans are treated the same and are provided with same opportunities in life. Secondly, that the blame for the situation the Roma's are in is put on themselves. Thirdly, the justification of discriminatory social practices and unequal distribution of status and power. The whole strategy is influenced by colorblindness and was formed from a color-blind ideology. Race is exterminated and replaced with ethnicity, color-evasion is used by municipalities and power-evasion is integrated in society.

### 5.2.3 Social practice

There are laws which provide institutions and municipalities with efforts to ensure Roma's their rights. Two examples given are the Education Act and the Social Services Act, there are more laws which municipalities can assign to their work. However, there are problems with the implementation of enabling Roma's with their rights. The municipalities which oppose active measures are using an order of discourse. Arguing that active measures would worsen the perception of the Roma's. The communicative event in this text is the example when persons claim that the group itself is to blame for their own situation. If the overall perception is that Roma's are to blame, the municipalities can oppose active measures. The communicative event is intertwined with the order of discourse. This can further be related to Sweden's colorblindness and the argument that race does not exist. If the truth was that all were treated equally, inequality would not be a huge issue. Sweden's shift from race biology to anti-racist state changed the laws but not attitudes. The racial stereotypes were still passed down from parents and influencing all, from state institutions to individuals.

## 6.0 Final results and further research

This section will provide a conclusion and how researchers can do further research. The summary will focus on how the Roma's fit into the paradigm of colorblindness.

## 6.1 Conclusion

The elimination of the term race was supported by the argument that there is no evidence which supports that there are human races. However, constructivists believe that the social construction of the term still applies in today's society. The aim of this study was to examine how the Roma's fit into the paradigm of color-blindness. Roma's were defined as an inferior race up until the 20<sup>th</sup> century however, the exclusion of the term race affected how the Roma's were classified. Ethnicity replaced the term race, yet they are not synonyms. One of the main problems with using the term ethnicity is the self-identification principle. This creates an unwillingness from the state to acknowledge institutional discrimination of Roma's. If self-identification principle is applied, institutional Anti-Gypsyism cannot exist. However, the Roma's are subjected to institutional discrimination and their race is forced upon them. There are problems with defining Roma's as an ethnic group and the description of the term race is more suitable. However, not acceptable in Swedish society due to colorblindness which becomes problematic. I found that colorblindness is widely accepted by the state, institutions and overall society. Colorblindness is integrated in all aspects of society and has affected the Roma's as well. Both color-evasion and power-evasion is used in the case of Roma's. The first example of color-evasion was given in the analysis of the SOU investigation. It is stated that the term can be eliminated as race does not exist. The term is further classified as tabooed gives the perception that racial discrimination is not possible. Color-evasion was also used by municipalities in the second analysis conducted on the governments' strategy. They stated that they see equally and do not differentiate ethnic groups. Which once again is an argument that contradicts institutional discrimination of the Roma's. The assertion that a person, institution or municipality does not see race and sees all humans equally does not mean discrimination cease to exist. In addition, people still do not have much knowledge about the Roma's and their history in Sweden. This contributes to power-evasion where the Roma's are blamed for their own situation. Power-evasion is established in the whole society even institutions. This is demonstrated in the Roma strategy with the example of municipalities opposing active measures.

Moreover, these discursive practices influence social practices, such as the elimination of the usage of race in media. These social practices reproduce the discourse through mediation and interactions. This forms an order of discourse as Fairclough calls it, how concepts are used within sectors. Order of discourse is likewise used within institutions which

have had problems with changing their negative social practices. In addition, an example of a communicative event is how individuals can blame the marginalized for the consequences this brings. Order of discourse is connected with communicative event as these two influence one another. Discursive practices and social practices create social power over the discourse, the social power is not entrusted to the Roma's. It is entitled to them however, it is once again detained by non-Roma's. This deprives them from reaching real autonomy and as discussed, they are provided with an illusion of power. Colorblindness harms the Roma's in at least three ways, the myth that all are treated equally. Blames the group for its own situation and justifies the unequal distribution of status and power. They are discriminated against in several sectors and have a harder time to get jobs and housing. This further affects their physical and mental health. My analysis shows how colorblindness has affected production of documents as well as the Roma's themselves.

## 6.2 Suggestions for further research

There has not been much research regarding the relationship between Roma's and colorblindness. There are several directions a researcher can take this phenomenon further as there is little knowledge regarding this subject. I would recommend conducting interviews with Roma's regarding the term ethnicity. I personally know that the Roma's would not like to be classified as a race. The word is automatically linked with racial biology, especially by the Roma's as they were victims of it. However, the focus could be laid on the self-identification principle. It would be interesting to hear if the Roma's themselves agree with the principle and what it means in practice. The aim could be for instance if a white person who has been a part of the Roma community for some time can identify as Roma and be accepted by the community. The research question can be formulated as: Can a person who does not belong to the Roma's identify with them? Then further examine if a privileged person really can identify with a marginalized and stigmatized minority. Another but more time-consuming direction could be to see how the self-identification principle and institutional discrimination correlates. As the self-identification principle and institutional discrimination contradicts one another, a study could be conducted on a group of Roma's. The study's aim should be to answer if Roma's are discriminated based on their race or ethnicity. Since ethnicity has the identification principle, I wonder what would happen if

Roma's stopped identifying as Roma's. Would they stop being discriminated or would Anti-Gypsyism still exist?

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