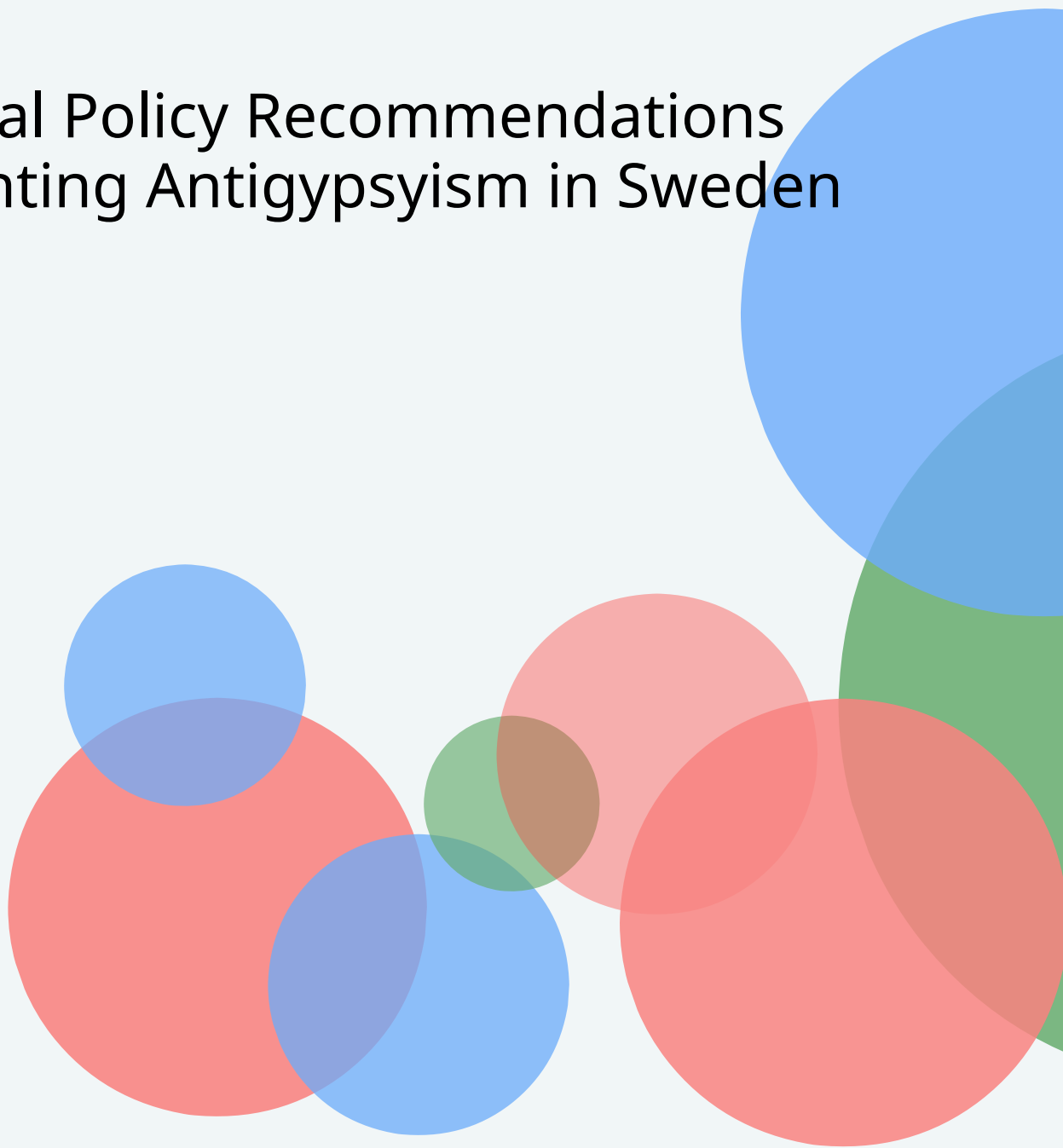

National Recommendation

National Policy Recommendations on Fighting Antigypsyism in Sweden



Trajosko Drom
2025

The JEKHIPE Project

Reclaiming Our Past, Rebuilding Our Future: New Approaches to Fighting Antigypsyism (JEKHIPE) is a CERV-funded project aimed at improving the lives of Roma by addressing systemic and institutional antigypsyism, promoting transitional justice, fostering knowledge-building and awareness, and strengthening Roma identity and participation.

It is a follow-up to an earlier CERV project called 'CHACHIPEN', officially titled 'Paving the way for a Truth and Reconciliation Process to address antigypsyism in Europe. Remembrance, Recognition, Justice and Trust-Building'. Concluded in 2023, CHACHIPEN introduced an innovative transitional justice-based approach to raising awareness of systemic injustice and ongoing antigypsyism in policymaking, while advocating for a comprehensive truth and reconciliation strategy.

JEKHIPE focuses on multiple levels of policy-making, including research, monitoring, advocacy, networking, alliances building, awareness raising, capacity building, and empowerment. It aims to engage with national and European institutions, academia, politicians, justice mechanisms, state authorities, civil society, and Roma communities themselves to challenge the status quo on approaching Roma issues, particularly antigypsyism, and propose mechanisms for increased accountability by national governments.



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1. Executive Summary

1.1 Context and Urgency

Antigypsyism in Sweden is structural, persistent, and deeply rooted. Despite progress—such as the 2014 White Paper on abuses against Roma, the Commission against Antiziganism (2014–2016), the 2012–2032 long-term Roma Strategy, and the 2025–2029 Action Plan against Racism and Hate Crime—Roma continue to face systemic discrimination in education, housing, policing, employment, and access to public services. Trust in institutions remains fragile after the 2013 “Roma register” scandal, and guarantees of non-recurrence are still incomplete.¹

Civil society monitoring highlights ongoing gaps: only about 11% of municipalities actively implemented Roma inclusion measures in 2022–2023; Roma students still face bullying, segregation, and low expectations; hate crimes remain under-reported and rarely prosecuted; and Roma organisations are chronically underfunded and excluded from real co-governance. Meanwhile, ethnic stereotyping in political discourse has resurfaced, fuelling prejudice and exclusion.²

At the same time, new government mandates in 2024–2025—including Brå’s in-depth study of antigypsyist hate crime, Forum för levande historias assignment to strengthen school materials, and the transfer of minority policy coordination to MUCF—create both risks and opportunities. Roma CSOs warn that rushed, non-consultative reforms undermine trust, but also see a window for systemic change if reforms are anchored in transitional justice principles.³

This document synthesises national policy and legal analysis, civil society monitoring, stakeholder mapping, and findings from a national survey of stakeholders on transitional justice and combating antigypsyism. It builds on Roma Civil Monitor reports and independent Roma civil society submissions, while aligning with EU and Council of Europe standards and the JEKHIPE project’s transitional-justice approach.

¹ Niklas Orrenius, “Over 1000 children in illegal register”, Dagens Nyheter, 23 September 2013, <https://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/over-tusen-barn-med-i-olaglig-kartlaggning/>

² Roma Civil Monitor (2025) Civil society monitoring report on the implementation of the national strategic framework for Roma equality, inclusion, and participation in Sweden. Publications Office of the European Union, Luxembourg, <https://www.romacivilmonitoring.eu/wp-content/uploads/2025/09/RCM2-2024-C3-Sweden-FINAL-ISBN.pdf>

³ Ibid

1.2 Key Policy Analysis Findings

- **Long-term Roma Strategy (2012–2032):** Ambitious but undermined by non-binding municipal obligations, lack of measurable indicators, and reliance on short-term projects (“projectitis”).
- **EU Roma Framework alignment:** Sweden has not revised its national strategy since 2012, leaving it misaligned with EU 2020–2030 objectives and Council Recommendations.
- **National Action Plan (2025–2029):** Welcomed as a step forward, but risks diluting antigypsyism under generic anti-racism without Roma-specific indicators, budgets, or participation mechanisms.
- **Justice chain:** Anti-discrimination and hate crime provisions exist, but remain ineffective; Roma mistrust the system, reporting is low, and prosecutions rare.
- **Education:** Roma history and antigypsyism remain inconsistently taught; teacher training is insufficient; Roma pupils still face high dropout rates.
- **Local governance:** The Minority Act is weakly implemented, with large disparities between municipalities. Roma participation is often symbolic.
- **Civil society role:** Local Roma initiatives show promise but remain precarious without long-term funding.

1.3 Key Survey Insights

Survey responses reinforced these findings:

- **Top challenges:** weak municipal implementation, discrimination, lack of trust in justice institutions, gaps in Roma history education, and underfunding of Roma CSOs.
- **Transitional justice concepts** were seen as highly relevant, especially truth-telling and guarantees of non-recurrence.
- **JEKHIFE’s added value:** stakeholders valued its transitional justice framing, Roma CSO capacity building, EU visibility, and youth/cultural components. Community respondents stressed that remembrance events and education activities were particularly impactful.

- **Priority actions:** establish an Expert Commission on Antigypsyism, embed Roma history in schools with teacher training, create binding municipal scorecards, strengthen DO's supervision and litigation powers, and scale Roma mediators.
- **Civil society's role:** respondents highlighted the need for institutionalised co-governance, multi-year financing, stronger media advocacy, and alliances with international actors.

1.4 Key Recommendations

This report sets out **12 actionable recommendations** spanning transitional justice, equality data, policing and justice, education, housing, participation, remembrance, online hate, and sustainable financing. Highlights include:

1. **Independent Expert Commission on Antigypsyism (2026–2028)** with Roma co-leadership.
2. **Guarantees of non-recurrence** through justice chain reforms and independent audits.
3. **Equality data protocols** with Roma safeguards and pilot studies.
4. **Mandatory Roma history and antigypsyism in schools**, with national teacher training.
5. **Binding municipal goals and scorecards** tied to funding under the Minority Act.
6. **Long-term financing** for Roma CSOs as watchdogs, mediators, and cultural actors.

1.5 Intended Impact

By March 2026, when the JEKHIPE project concludes, Sweden should be in a position to lay the foundation for durable and systemic change. This includes the launch of an Independent Expert Commission on Antigypsyism, the publication of the first municipal scorecards and hate crime dashboards, nationwide training of teachers in Roma history and antigypsyism, and the establishment of a Roma–Government Co-Governance Forum with real decision-making influence. Taken together, these steps represent the shift from pilot initiatives to structural reforms. Looking beyond 2026, the institutionalisation of such mechanisms will be crucial to ensure that Roma inclusion is not reduced to symbolic gestures but embedded in enforceable rights, transparent accountability, and measurable outcomes. Civil society stresses that this is the decisive moment: unless reforms move from symbolic recognition to structural guarantees, Sweden will fall short of its 2032 goal that a Roma child born in 2012 should enjoy the same opportunities as any other child.

2. National Context and the Role of JEKHIPE

2.1 Structural nature of antigypsyism

Antigypsyism in Sweden is structural, persistent, and deeply rooted in both history and current institutional practices. Despite important steps—such as the 2014 *White Paper on abuses against Roma*⁴, the *Commission against Antigypsyism* (2014–2016), the 2012–2032 long-term *Roma Inclusion Strategy*⁵, and the 2024/25 national *Action Plan against Racism and Hate Crime*—Roma continue to face widespread discrimination in education, housing, policing, employment, and public services. Trust in state institutions remains fragile following the 2013 police “Roma register” scandal; civil society monitoring repeatedly stresses that redress and guarantees of non-recurrence remain incomplete. Roma organisations report that many families still feel compelled to conceal their identity in schools, workplaces, and the housing market to avoid discrimination, a defensive practice that perpetuates invisibility and undermines equal opportunities.

In recent years, antigypsyism has not only persisted but resurged in public discourse. Civil society documented how media and political actors used ethnic stereotyping of Roma during the 2022 election cycle, reviving stigmatizing narratives that many had believed unacceptable in mainstream politics. This has had tangible consequences: Roma children report continued harassment and exclusion in schools, while Roma adults face barriers to employment and decent housing. Municipal implementation of Roma inclusion remains inconsistent—only around 11% of municipalities actively implemented Roma inclusion measures between 2022 and 2023.⁶

At the same time, new government mandates in 2024–2025 create a window for targeted reforms: the *National Council for Crime Prevention (BRÅ)* in-depth study on antigypsyist hate crime, the *Living History Forum* assignment to improve school materials, and the controversial transfer of national minority follow-up tasks to the *Swedish Agency for Youth*

⁴ Government Offices, “The Dark Unknown History White Paper on Abuses and Rights Violations Against Roma in the 20th Century”, DS2014:8, <https://www.government.se/contentassets/eab06c1ac82b476586f928931cfc8238/the-dark-unknown-history--white-paper-on-abuses-and-rights-violations-against-roma-in-the-20th-century-ds-20148/>

⁵ Government Offices, Swedish national Roma strategy 2012-2032 “Roma Rights – A Strategy for Roma in Sweden”, <https://www.regeringen.se/rattsliga-dokument/statens-offentliga-utredningar/2010/07/sou-201055/>

⁶ Roma Civil Monitor (2025) Civil society monitoring report on the implementation of the national strategic framework for Roma equality, inclusion, and participation in Sweden. Publications Office of the European Union, Luxembourg, <https://www.romacivilmonitoring.eu/wp-content/uploads/2025/09/RCM2-2024-C3-Sweden-FINAL-ISBN.pdf>

and Civil Society (MUCF). Civil society, however, has strongly criticized the latter move as rushed, non-consultative, and undermining institutional expertise and trust.⁷

2.2 Policy backdrop

Sweden's long-term strategy *Roma Rights – A Strategy for Roma in Sweden (2012–2032)* set ambitious goals in education, work, culture/language, health, social care, and housing. Yet, more than a decade after its adoption, the strategy has **never been revised** to align with the *EU Roma Strategic Framework (2020–2030)* and the *2021 Council Recommendation*. The EU and civil society alike have expressed concern that Sweden's lack of updated targets, indicators, and monitoring weakens its ability to address new challenges, including rising antigypsyism.

In December 2024, the Government adopted a national Action Plan against Racism and Hate Crime (2025–2029), with focus areas in schools, the judiciary, welfare/public services, and working life.⁸ This follows earlier targeted programmes (2022–2024) against specific racisms, including antigypsyism. Complementary new tasks were launched in 2024–2025: *The National Council for Crime Prevention (BRÅ)* in-depth study of antigypsyist hate crime; assignments to strengthen school materials on Roma history and antigypsyism; and the transfer of national follow-up and coordination of minority policy and Roma inclusion from the County Administrative Board of Stockholm to MUCF. Civil society criticised the transfer as non-consultative and destabilising, warning that it risks weakening institutional expertise and trust built up over years.

2.3 Persistent gaps:

- **Lack of disaggregated data:** Without robust equality data, antigypsyism remains statistically invisible, making progress difficult to measure.
- **Uneven municipal implementation:** Only about 11% of municipalities actively implemented Roma inclusion measures between 2022 and 2023, leaving Roma rights dependent on local goodwill rather than enforceable obligations.
- **Fragmented oversight:** The justice chain remains weak—hate crimes against Roma are rarely investigated or prosecuted successfully, fuelling mistrust.

⁷ DIKKO, Minority organisations boycott information meeting – demand real dialogue , 28 May 2025, [Minoritetsorganisationer bojkottar informationsmöte – krav på äkta dialog - Magasin DIKKO](#)

⁸ Government Offices (2024). Action plan against racism and hate crimes. <https://www.regeringen.se/contentassets/c2591c789c8a4e57b6aa8f82c8ada2ab/slutversion-handlingsplan-mot-rasism-och-hatbrott-tillganlig-241212.pdf>

- **Education barriers:** Roma pupils continue to face segregation, bullying, and teacher prejudice. Mother-tongue education in Romani Chib is legally guaranteed but poorly implemented due to lack of qualified teachers.
- **Precarious Roma participation:** Consultation often remains symbolic. Civil society stresses the need for **institutionalised co-governance** instead of ad-hoc, project-based involvement.

2.4 JEKHIPE's added value

JEKHIPE (April 2024–March 2026) advances a transitional justice approach grounded in truth-telling, recognition, justice, and guarantees of non-recurrence—principles that respond directly to long-standing demands from Roma civil society. The project addresses critical gaps identified after previous national efforts, including the Swedish government's 2014 White Paper on abuses against Roma, which lacked binding follow-up and institutionalisation.

Through JEKHIPE, Roma civil society in Sweden has begun to pilot alternative models of accountability and inclusion. For example, coalition members have engaged in dialogue with key public institutions, contributed to shaping educational materials on Roma history, and coordinated commemoration activities for 2 August (Roma Holocaust Memorial Day) and 8 April (International Roma Day). In addition to awareness-raising, several Roma CSOs have used the project's platform to voice concerns regarding the shifting of government responsibility for Roma inclusion to MUCF—calling attention to the lack of consultation and transparency in the process

The project has also contributed to capacity building within Roma-led organisations, offering resources and tools for evidence gathering, advocacy planning, and coalition building. JEKHIPE has enabled coordinated monitoring of state commitments and opened space for Roma voices in national policy discussions. Crucially, it strongly advocates the mandate of Roma CSOs to not only monitor public action but also co-create policy solutions—thus aiming to function as an instrument in moving Sweden's minority inclusion agenda beyond symbolic gestures toward enforceable structural change.

3. Policy Analysis

3.1 Existing frameworks

National long-term Roma strategy (2012–2032)

The Swedish long-term strategy was presented as an ambitious 20-year roadmap with the overarching vision that a Roma child born in 2012 should, by 2032, have the same life opportunities as any non-Roma child. It included seven pillars: education, work, culture/language, health, social care, housing and participation. Civil society acknowledges the symbolic importance of this recognition, yet both EU and Roma CSO monitoring have concluded that the strategy has been undermined by a lack of binding municipal obligations, enforceable indicators, and stable funding. Instead, pilot projects and voluntary participation by municipalities have driven implementation, creating geographic inequality where progress depends on local political will. This has entrenched a pattern of project-based interventions without structural reform, a problem repeatedly highlighted by Roma organisations as “projectitis”.

EU Roma Strategic Framework (2020–2030)

The EU framework introduced clearer objectives, including fighting antigypsyism, reducing poverty, and strengthening participation. While Sweden reports on awareness-raising initiatives, the national strategy has not been revised since 2012 despite new EU obligations. Civil society stresses that this failure to adapt reflects both a lack of urgency and a political reluctance to introduce measurable targets. The absence of revised goals means antigypsyism is still treated primarily as a cross-cutting issue, not as a central and measurable policy priority. Data gaps further undermine monitoring: Sweden does not collect disaggregated statistics, making it difficult to track Roma-specific progress in housing, employment, or education.

National Action Plan against Racism and Hate Crime (2025–2029)

Adopted in December 2024, this plan sets out cross-sector measures in schools, justice, welfare, and working life. It is an important step, but antigypsyism risks being subsumed under generic anti-racism frameworks. Roma CSOs have warned that without dedicated indicators, Roma-led participation mechanisms, and clear accountability lines, antigypsyism

will remain under-addressed. The plan mentions antigypsyism, but does not establish Roma-specific targets or funding streams, leaving implementation uncertain.

Programme against Antigypsyism (2022–2024)

A programme financing educational materials, pilot teacher trainings, and awareness activities. While welcomed by Roma organisations, its short-term nature meant that many initiatives risk ending just as they begin to have impact. Teacher training was piloted but not institutionalised, and materials have not yet reached the majority of schools. Civil society urges embedding these measures in permanent agency mandates, rather than treating them as temporary projects.

Equality Ombudsman (DO) and the justice chain

Legal protections exist under Sweden’s Discrimination Act and hate crime provisions. Yet Roma rarely make use of these remedies. DO receives only a handful of Roma-related complaints annually, which CSOs believe reflects mistrust rather than lack of discrimination. Strategic litigation is nearly absent, and Roma report difficulties in accessing legal aid. Hate crime reporting is hampered by under-reporting and weak prosecution rates; in 2022 only 33 anti-Roma hate crimes were officially recorded, a number widely considered to underestimate reality.⁹ Civil society has called for a dedicated antigypsyism docket within DO, proactive supervision, and class-type remedies that would allow group-based claims. Local governance and the Minority Act.

The Minority Act provides Roma with rights to participation and language support, but implementation varies dramatically between municipalities. Only 11% of municipalities reported active Roma inclusion measures in 2022–2023. Where municipalities like Malmö and Stockholm developed bridge-building initiatives, progress was notable. However, most municipalities remain passive, citing lack of resources or competing priorities.¹⁰ Roma participation is often symbolic, with limited influence on decision-making. This unevenness undermines the principle of equal rights for Roma regardless of residence.

⁹ DO, 2022/2805. Response to the County Administrative Board of Stockholm County and the Sámi Parliament’s request for documentation regarding discrimination against national minorities – 2024.

¹⁰ CABS Annual report on Roma Inclusion 2023 (2024). Available at: [Romsk inkludering årsrapport 2023.pdf](#)

3.2 Trends in implementation

Education

There has been modest progress in increasing awareness: the Living History Forum has developed teaching materials on Roma history and antigypsyism, and some teacher training pilots have begun. However, civil society evidence shows that these measures have not yet reached scale. Roma students continue to experience segregation, bullying, and low expectations from teachers. Around one-third of Roma youth complete only primary education, and about 30% do not continue to further education. Mother-tongue education in Romani Chib remains under-implemented due to local budget considerations, shortages of qualified teachers and stigma around revealing Roma identity.¹¹

Policing and hate crime

Hate crime recording practices have improved somewhat, but Roma continue to under-report incidents due to lack of trust. Police outreach campaigns exist but rarely target Roma specifically. When reported, anti-Roma hate crimes often fail to result in prosecutions, reinforcing the perception of impunity. The BRÅ in-depth study commissioned in 2024 is seen as a critical opportunity to establish reliable baselines and redesign the justice chain. Civil society insists that without Roma participation in oversight and auditing of police practices, guarantees of non-recurrence will remain unfulfilled.

Governance and coordination

The 2025 decision to transfer Roma inclusion coordination from the County Administrative Board of Stockholm (CABS) to MUCF has been highly controversial. National minority organisations—including Roma CSOs—criticised the move for being non-consultative and warned it risks deprioritising Roma issues. MUCF has experience with youth initiatives but lacks the institutional legacy and authority of CABS. Civil society calls for transparent KPIs, Roma co-governance structures, and dedicated funding to ensure continuity.

¹¹ Living History Forum (2024). Report on the assignment to map the knowledge of antigypsyism in primary and secondary school, ref. no. 2022/98, <https://www.levandehistoria.se/wp-content/uploads/2024/05/Redovisning-av-uppdrag-att-kartlagga-kunskapen-om-antiziganism-i-grundskolan-och-gymnasiet.pdf>

Civil society as drivers of innovation

Local initiatives demonstrate that progress is possible: Malmö's revised action plan (2023–2025) includes systematic Roma consultations, while Stockholm's *Mutual Bridges* project builds trust through Roma mediators and cultural activities.¹² These examples show the potential of Roma-led participation, but without stable funding and institutionalisation they risk fading once projects end.

¹² Stockholm City 2024, <https://start.stockholm/om-stockholms-stad/stockholmarnas-fokus/nationella-minoriteter-i-stockholms-stad/nationella-minoriteter-i-vara-verksamheter/omsesidiga-broar/>

3.3 Unaddressed areas

Despite progress, several areas remain unaddressed:

- **Transitional justice:** Beyond symbolic recognition (White Paper, Commission against Antiziganism), Sweden lacks a comprehensive mechanism for truth-telling, reparative measures, and guarantees of non-recurrence. Civil society calls for an updated independent Expert Commission on Antigypsyism to fill this gap.
- **Equality data:** Sweden's refusal to collect disaggregated data obscures Roma inequalities. Civil society urges development of voluntary, safeguarded equality data through surveys, audits, and independent ethics oversight.
- **Systematic municipal obligations:** Roma inclusion under the Minority Act is not enforceable. Without binding goals and sanctions for non-compliance, municipalities can opt out of action.
- **Online antigypsyism:** Digital hate speech and disinformation about Roma are growing, but remain outside most official strategies. Civil society highlights this as a new frontier requiring monitoring, platform accountability, and Roma youth involvement.
- **Sustainable funding for Roma organisations:** Roma CSOs remain heavily dependent on project grants, often short-term and insufficient. Cuts in national minority funding in 2024–2025 have worsened the situation. Without multi-year financing, Roma organisations cannot play their watchdog, mediator, and cultural roles effectively.¹³

3.4 Synthesis

Overall, Sweden's policy framework against antigypsyism is **comprehensive on paper but fragmented in practice**. Implementation remains uneven, project-based, and lacking in enforceable accountability. Civil society monitoring underscores that unless Sweden introduces binding obligations, equality data, and sustainable funding, the 2012–2032 Roma strategy risks ending as a symbolic gesture rather than a transformative process. The **JEKHIPE project** therefore provides a unique opportunity: to embed transitional justice

¹³ Sveriges Radio, , "Slaughtering minority policy – opposition harshly critical of the budget", 20 September 2024, <https://www.sverigesradio.se/artikel/slaktar-minoritetspolitiken-oppositionen-hart-kritisk-mot-budgeten>

principles, institutionalise Roma participation, and establish concrete guarantees of non-recurrence.

4. Stakeholder Mapping

Stakeholder	Role & Relevance	Power / Influence / Support	Tools They Hold	What Influences Them	Advocacy Message	Engagement Strategy
Ministry of Justice	Leads hate-crime policy; oversight of police & prosecution framework; statistics governance	Very high power; historically mixed support	Legislative tools; agency steering; mandate for Brå	Media scrutiny, EU/Council of Europe standards, BRÅ's 2025 antigypsyism study	<i>Guarantee non-recurrence and credible justice chain for antigypsyism</i>	Targeted policy briefs; Roma-led evidence hearings in Riksdag committees; cross-ministry task force with Roma CSO participation
Ministry of Culture	Overall responsibility for national minority policy, including Roma inclusion, language & cultural rights; supervises MUCF's new coordination role; funds remembrance and cultural initiatives.	Very high power; political leadership is decisive; support varies depending on minister/government priorities.	Legislative and policy authority; budget allocations for minority policy and culture; ability to issue agency instructions.	EU/Council of Europe obligations (Framework Convention, EU Roma Strategic Framework); political debates on minority policy; media scrutiny of funding cuts; civil society mobilisation.	<i>Guarantee Roma inclusion remains a political priority in minority policy - ensure continuity, sufficient funding, and Roma co-governance.</i>	Bilateral advocacy meetings; build alliances with other minority groups; highlight international obligations; use cultural diplomacy (e.g. 8 April & 2 August commemorations) to anchor Roma visibility; push for structured Roma representation in ministerial follow-up.

Stakeholder	Role & Relevance	Power / Influence / Support	Tools They Hold	What Influences Them	Advocacy Message	Engagement Strategy
Ministry of Employment (& Equality)	Coordinates anti-discrimination & minority policy; supervises DO; labour inclusion	High power; strong leverage	Action Plan governance; budget allocations	EU Roma Framework, labour-market data, civil society shadow reports	<i>Make antigypsyism measurable and enforceable</i>	Co-develop indicators with unions & CSOs; host joint design workshops on equality data
Ministry of Education	Responsible for curricula, teacher training, inspections	Very high power; generally supportive	Curriculum directives; funding lines for CPD and materials	Living History Forum reports; inspectorate findings; student outcome data	<i>Teach Roma history & antigypsyism with accountability, not symbolism</i>	Develop mandatory CPD on Roma history; embed monitoring in Skolverket's inspections; fund Roma CSO partnerships for materials
Swedish Police Authority	Records and responds to hate crime; community trust	Very high power; variable support	SOPs; training mandates; internal oversight	BRÅ's hate crime study; Ombudsman rulings; litigation risks	<i>Zero tolerance for profiling; credible hate-crime investigations</i>	Pilot Roma community policing with mediators; independent audits of hate-crime handling; public dashboards
Prosecution Authority & Courts	Charging, sentencing, legal precedent	High power; low visibility & weak accountability	Guidelines; training modules; case law	EU/Council of Europe judgments; attrition data;	<i>Increase prosecutions and ensure consistent sentencing</i>	Joint training with Roma CSOs & ECRI experts; case review panels

Stakeholder	Role & Relevance	Power / Influence / Support	Tools They Hold	What Influences Them	Advocacy Message	Engagement Strategy
				strategic litigation	<i>of antigypsyism cases</i>	to track attrition
Equality Ombudsman (DO)	Supervises anti-discrimination law	Medium-high power; supportive but under-resourced	Investigations; litigation powers; guidance	Political priorities; caseload; budget allocations	<i>Expand proactive & strategic litigation on antigypsyism</i>	Roma-specific docket; litigation support fund; referral pipeline from Roma CSOs
MUCF	New coordinator for minority & Roma policy since 2025	Medium-high power, legitimacy contested by CSOs	Grants; national coordination; municipal follow-up	Government mandate; civil society scrutiny; national minority criticism	<i>Standardise municipal delivery with binding KPIs</i>	Co-create Roma-CSO guidelines; publish annual municipal scorecards; guarantee Roma seats in advisory boards
National Agency for Education & Living History Forum	Develop materials, teacher training, awareness	Medium power; supportive	Curriculum guidance; CPD; educational content	Teacher unions; CSO input; inspectorate findings	<i>Scale training and evaluate student knowledge of Roma history</i>	Create training consortia; evaluate CPD impact; involve Roma CSOs in curriculum co-production
County Administrative Boards, Regions & Municipalities	Implement Minority Act rights; deliver services (housing,	Medium power; uneven commitment	Local budgets; policy tools; housing allocation	National guidance; audits; local political climate	<i>Bind goals to funding and audit compliance with Roma rights</i>	Develop model Roma inclusion plans; peer benchmarking between municipalities; Roma

Stakeholder	Role & Relevance	Power / Influence / Support	Tools They Hold	What Influences Them	Advocacy Message	Engagement Strategy
	education, social care)					monitoring councils
Roma CSOs	Advocacy, mediation, watchdogs, service providers	High legitimacy; limited formal power	Community networks; knowledge; EU-level advocacy	Access to funding; institutional recognition	<i>Nothing about us – institutionalise Roma co-governance</i>	Secure multi-year grants; formal Roma-government forum; role in evaluation & oversight
Academia & Research Institutes	Provide evidence, evaluations, and monitoring	Medium power	Datasets; commissioned studies	Government research calls; EU funding	<i>Independent evidence for Roma policy design</i>	Commission antigypsyism studies with Roma input; build joint Roma-research observatories
Media & Digital Platforms	Shape public opinion; combat online antigypsyism	Medium power; influential in crises	Editorial choices; platform policies	Public sentiment; watchdog pressure; Roma narratives	<i>Tell the whole story—from history to present harms and solutions</i>	Roma-led media briefings; amplify Roma voices in public debates; engage platforms on hate speech codes

5. Key Survey Findings and Analysis

5.1 Introduction

To complement desk research, stakeholder mapping, and civil society monitoring, two online surveys were conducted (a) a **policy-level survey** targeting ministries, agencies, municipalities, researchers, and Roma/non-Roma CSOs, and (b) a **community survey** directed to local associations, youth groups, and individuals. Together, they provide unique insights into how both decision-makers and grassroots actors perceive the challenges, opportunities, and future directions for combating antigypsyism in Sweden.

5.2 Main Challenges Identified

Across both surveys, respondents consistently highlighted the structural and persistent nature of antigypsyism.

- **Weak local implementation of the Minority Act** was the most frequently chosen challenge (over 60% of policy-level respondents). Stakeholders pointed to wide variation between municipalities and lack of enforceable standards.
- **Discrimination in housing and lack of trust in police, prosecution, and DO** were also high-ranking concerns. One municipal official wrote: *“Roma citizens rarely report housing discrimination formally; they simply move elsewhere or give up. This invisibility is a systemic failure.”*
- **Lack of knowledge in schools about Roma history and antigypsyism** was seen as a long-term driver of prejudice. Teachers themselves expressed low confidence: *“I want to teach Roma history, but we have neither the training nor the materials.”*
- Civil society respondents underlined **chronic underfunding of Roma organisations**, noting that project-based support undermines continuity: *“We cannot hold the state accountable if our own organisations live from one short project to the next.”*

Regarding transitional justice concepts, 72% of policy respondents found them *very relevant* or *quite relevant*. Roma CSOs emphasised that “truth-telling” and “guarantees of non-recurrence” resonate strongly given Sweden’s incomplete redress for past abuses such as the police Roma register scandal.

5.3 Perceptions of JEKHIPE's Added Value

Both groups acknowledged JEKHIPE as a positive driver of dialogue:

- Policy-level respondents valued its transitional justice framing (truth, recognition, non-recurrence) and the capacity building of Roma CSOs.
- Community respondents, especially youth, highlighted the visibility of remembrance and awareness events on 8 April and 2 August: *"For the first time, our school invited Roma speakers on 8 April."*
- Several stakeholders underlined the EU dimension as an asset: comparisons with other member states created pressure for Sweden not to fall behind.

Yet some scepticism was noted: a minority of respondents felt JEKHIPE's activities had *"limited practical impact so far"* and urged that results be translated into binding government action.

5.4 Suggested Actions for Government and Civil Society

For government, the most common priorities suggested were:

1. **Establish an Expert Commission on Antigypsyism** with Roma co-leadership.
2. **Make Roma history and antigypsyism mandatory in curricula** and ensure teacher training.
3. **Introduce binding municipal goals and scorecards** under the Minority Act.
4. **Strengthen DO's mandate** with proactive supervision and strategic litigation powers.
5. **Address housing discrimination and indebtedness** through audits, guidance, and Roma mediators.

For civil society, respondents emphasised:

- Coordinated advocacy, including stronger media presence to counter antigypsyist narratives.
- Building alliances across minority groups to amplify influence.

- Developing Roma youth leadership and women's participation.
- Maintaining community-based monitoring to document ongoing discrimination.

5.5 Civil Society's Role in Influencing the State

In both surveys, respondents strongly supported permanent consultation or co-governance forums between Roma CSOs and government. Over half also favoured strategic advocacy/media campaigns and international pressure via EU and Council of Europe mechanisms.

Community respondents were particularly clear that local pilot projects—such as Roma mediators in schools or health centres—should not just be pilots but scaled into permanent structures: *“When the project ends, the trust we built disappears. That is a waste.”*

The most important success factors identified for civil society were:

- **Long-term, multi-year financing** to escape project dependency.
- **Institutionalised participation** with real influence, not symbolic consultation.
- **Capacity to generate and use data** to hold authorities accountable.

5.6 Synthesis and Implications

The surveys confirm what civil society monitoring has already documented: Sweden's frameworks are comprehensive on paper but weak in practice. Stakeholders demand:

- **Binding obligations** for municipalities, schools, and agencies.
- **Truth-telling and non-recurrence guarantees** beyond symbolic recognition.
- **Permanent Roma–government co-governance structures.**
- **Sustainable financing** for Roma organisations to act as watchdogs and partners.

6. Policy Recommendations

1. Establish an Independent Expert Commission on Antigypsyism (2026–2028)

Rationale: While the 2014 White Paper and the 2016 Commission against Antiziganism recognised historical abuses, their mandates were limited and lacked follow-up. Civil society emphasises that truth-telling remains incomplete and non-recurrence guarantees are absent. A permanent Expert Commission can connect historical injustices (forced sterilisation, evictions, police registry) with contemporary discrimination. Stakeholders. Ministries of Justice, Employment/Equality, and Culture; MUCF; Roma CSOs; academia.

Actions:

1. Government decision co-designed with Roma CSOs.
2. Mandate covering historical abuses, institutional racism, and structural antigypsyism today.
3. Public hearings with Roma testimonies; collection of archives and oral histories.
4. Recommendations with **binding government response obligations**.
Indicators. Commission established by 2026; # of testimonies collected; final report adopted; % of recommendations implemented. **Timeline.** 2026 – 2028 **JEKHIPE link.** Transitional justice flagship; EU-level peer exchange.

2. Guarantees of Non-Recurrence in Policing & Justice

Rationale: Under-reporting of anti-Roma hate crimes (only 33 registered in 2022) reflects deep mistrust. Prosecution rates remain extremely low. Without structural change, Roma see no justice. **Stakeholders.** Police Authority, Prosecution Authority, Courts, Ministry of Justice, BRÅ, DO.

Actions:

1. Independent audits of police/prosecutor practices, especially after the Roma registry scandal.
2. Mandatory CPD on antigypsyism for all police, prosecutors, judges.
3. Redesign of hate-crime pathway: complaint → investigation → prosecution → victim support.
4. Roma mediators embedded in police outreach.

5. Victim support standards harmonised nationally.
6. Quarterly dashboards on hate crime outcomes. **Indicators.** Increased # of reported hate crimes; higher clearance rates; prosecution and conviction rates published; Roma satisfaction surveys. **Timeline.** Pilots 2026–2027; institutionalisation by 2028.

3. Equality Data with Safeguards

Rationale: The absence of disaggregated data renders Roma inequalities “statistically invisible.” Civil society calls for safe, consent-based equality data protocols.

Stakeholders. Ministries of Justice/Equality, SCB, Brå, DO, MUCF, IMY, FRA Roma CSOs.

Actions:

1. Develop voluntary data collection protocols (anonymous surveys, audit studies, service-use metrics).
2. Pilot in housing (discrimination audits), education (drop-out monitoring), and policing (stop-and-search analysis).
3. Independent ethics board including Roma CSOs.
4. Publish datasets annually with safeguards. **Indicators.** Equality data protocol adopted; pilots completed; at least 3 datasets public by 2027; policy changes based on findings. **Timeline.** Pilots in 2026; nationwide adoption 2027+.

4. Make Roma History & Antigypsyism Mandatory in Schools

Rationale: One-third of Roma youth finish only primary school; 30% leave education early. Antigypsyism in schools—bullying, invisibility, low expectations—remains systemic.

Stakeholders. Ministry of Education, Skolverket, Forum för levande historia, municipalities, teacher colleges.

Actions:

1. Integrate Roma history and antigypsyism as compulsory curriculum modules.
2. National CPD programme for teachers (target: 10,000 trained by 2028).
3. Develop Romani Chib learning resources; distribute nationally.
4. Integrate monitoring into school inspections.

5. Assess student knowledge in national surveys. **Indicators.** # of teachers trained; % of schools using new materials; reduction in reported bullying incidents; student knowledge scores. **Timeline.** Rollout 2026–2027; monitoring annually.

5. Bind Municipal Delivery to Measurable Goals under the Minority Act

Rationale: Only ~11% of municipalities actively implemented Roma inclusion. Uneven delivery undermines Roma rights. **Stakeholders.** MUCF, municipalities, regions, County Administrative Boards, Sametinget.

Actions:

1. Develop binding national guidelines with minimum standards (consultation, language support, Roma participation).
2. Tie government grants to measurable KPIs.
3. Publish annual “Roma Inclusion Scorecards” for municipalities.
4. Provide targeted technical and financial support to underperforming municipalities.
Indicators. % municipalities meeting standards; budget allocations tracked; Roma participation quality measured. **Timeline.** Scorecards by 2027; phased adoption 2026.

6. Housing Justice: End Discrimination & Address Debt Barriers

Rationale: Roma face both direct discrimination and structural barriers such as over-indebtedness and credit blacklisting. Housing segregation persists. **Stakeholders.** Ministry of Infrastructure, municipalities, DO, housing companies, tenant unions, consumer credit bodies.

Actions:

1. Conduct national discrimination audits (“mystery shopping”).
2. Mandate inclusion clauses in public housing.
3. Strengthen legal guidance/sanctions for discriminatory practices.
4. Fund Roma housing mediators/advisors.
5. Introduce debt counselling and financial literacy programmes for Roma youth and families.

Indicators. # of audits conducted; reduced discrimination cases; increase in stable

Roma tenancies; participation in debt counselling.
Timeline. Audits by 2026; structural reforms 2027+.

7. Strengthen DO's Supervision & Litigation Capacity

Rationale: Roma rarely use DO's channels, due to mistrust and lack of Roma-specific expertise. Civil society calls for a dedicated focus. **Stakeholders:** DO, Ministry of Employment, Roma CSOs, legal clinics.

Actions:

1. Establish an antigypsyism docket inside DO.
2. MOUs with Roma CSOs for case referrals.
3. Create a Roma litigation fund.
4. Issue sector-specific compliance guidelines. **Indicators.** # of Roma-related cases investigated; judgments won; settlements reached; compliance reports issued.
Timeline. 2026 onwards.

8. Permanent Roma-Government Co-Governance Forum

Rationale: Current consultation structures are symbolic. CSOs demand institutionalised co-governance. **Stakeholders:** Government Offices, MUCF, Roma CSOs, academia.

Actions:

1. Establish quarterly forum with decision-making powers.
2. Guarantee seats for Roma youth, women, and diverse sub-groups.
3. Publish joint workplans and progress trackers.
4. Independent secretariat funded by government. **Indicators.** Forum established; annual workplans published; actions completed; Roma satisfaction levels.
Timeline. Launch 2026.

9. Mainstream Roma Mediators & Bridge-Builders

Rationale: Bridge-builders in Malmö and Stockholm proved effective, but their contracts remain insecure and short-term. **Stakeholders:** Municipalities, MUCF, health and education agencies.

Actions:

1. Secure multi-year contracts for Roma mediators in schools, healthcare, justice.
2. Establish standardised training & accreditation.
3. Set caseload standards and evaluation methods.
4. Scale up pilots nationally. **Indicators.** # of mediators employed; increase in Roma service uptake; reduced absenteeism in schools; health access metrics. **Timeline.** Stabilisation by 2026.

10. Combat Online Antigypsyism

Rationale: Digital antigypsyism has surged; Sweden lacks monitoring or response mechanisms.

Stakeholders: Ministries of Justice/Culture, Media Council, platforms, CSOs.

Actions:

1. Include antigypsyism in national online hate monitoring.
2. Codes of conduct with platforms; enforce sanctions for non-compliance.
3. Rapid-response reporting channels, accessible in Romani Chib.
4. Digital literacy campaigns co-created with Roma youth. **Indicators.** # of reports filed; takedown times; campaign reach (youth engagement). **Timeline.** Pilots 2026; full framework 2027.

11. Recognise, Remember & Educate (2 August & 8 April)

Rationale: Remembrance of Roma genocide (2 August) and Roma Day (8 April) fosters recognition and non-recurrence. Civil society calls for stronger institutional anchoring.

Stakeholders: Ministries of Culture/Education, municipalities, museums, CSOs.

Actions:

1. State-supported commemorations institutionalised annually.
2. Ensure participation of schools and universities.
3. Cultural grants for Roma artists and educators.

4. Partnerships with national media for awareness campaigns. **Indicators.** # of commemorations held; student participation rates; media reach. **Timeline.** Immediate

12. Fund What Works: Long-Term Multi-Year Financing

Rationale: Roma CSOs are systematically underfunded, relying on precarious, project-based grants. Cuts in 2024–2025 worsened sustainability. **Stakeholders:** Government, MUCF, municipalities, EU funds.

Actions:

1. Introduce 3–5 year framework agreements with Roma CSOs.
2. Blend EU (CERV) and national funding.
3. Pilot pay-for-results tied to Roma inclusion KPIs (education, employment, housing). **Indicators.** # of multi-year agreements signed; continuity of Roma services; measurable improvements in outcomes. **Timeline.** From 2026 budget cycle.

7. Future Outlook and Sustainability

By March 2026 (end of JEKHIPE), Sweden can: (a) launch the Expert Commission; (b) complete policing/justice pilots and publish the first hate-crime pathway dashboard; (c) train an initial 1,500 teachers on Roma history/antigypsyism with evaluated learning outcomes; (d) publish municipal scorecards and minimum standards under the Minority Act; (e) establish the Roma–Government Co-Governance Forum and adopt a two-year joint workplan.

Post-project institutionalisation: (1) embed the Commission’s follow-up into Government Offices with annual reporting to the Parliament; (2) maintain MUCF’s municipal oversight with KPIs; (3) continue teacher CPD and materials procurement with inspection hooks; (4) sustain mediator programmes via regional and municipal budgets; (5) maintain remembrance and media partnerships as standing lines in Culture/Education budgets.

Civil society’s role: Roma CSOs co-chair the forum, co-design metrics, run community monitoring, lead remembrance and youth programmes, and partner on evaluations.

By March 2026, at the close of JEKHIPE, Sweden has a unique opportunity to institutionalise lasting structures against antigypsyism. The project’s transitional justice lens enables a shift from symbolic recognition to binding guarantees. If the recommendations in this report are acted upon, several concrete milestones can be achieved:

1. **Truth and recognition:** The Expert Commission on Antigypsyism can be launched, ensuring a structured platform for Roma testimonies, historical truth-telling, and binding state responses. Civil society stresses that this is the missing link between the 2014 White Paper and contemporary reforms.
2. **Justice and non-recurrence:** Policing and justice pilots can be completed, with the first public hate-crime pathway dashboard published, enabling monitoring of reporting, prosecution, and outcomes. This would directly address Roma mistrust in the justice chain, documented repeatedly in Roma Civil Monitor reports.
3. **Education:** At least 1,500 teachers can be trained in Roma history and antigypsyism by 2026, with measurable improvements in student knowledge and classroom climate. This will address the gap identified by both the Living History Forum and Roma CSOs—that without teacher training, Roma history remains absent from practice.
4. **Local accountability:** Municipal scorecards can be piloted and published under the Minority Act, providing transparency on which municipalities meet Roma inclusion

standards and which do not. Civil society underlines that uneven municipal delivery has been the greatest bottleneck for the NRIS.

5. **Participation:** The Roma–Government Co-Governance Forum can be established with a two-year joint workplan. Unlike existing reference groups, this body should have decision-making weight, transparent reporting, and diverse Roma representation (women, youth, sub-groups).

7.1 Post-project institutionalisation

The sustainability of the project's achievements depends on embedding them into permanent state structures and budgets rather than relying on temporary project-based solutions. By 2027, several institutional mechanisms should be in place to ensure that Roma inclusion becomes a matter of systemic responsibility.

First, the recommendations issued by the Roma Expert Commission must not remain static or symbolic. They should be anchored within the Government Offices, with formal mechanisms for annual reporting to the Riksdag. Roma civil society organisations should be actively involved in the oversight and follow-up process, ensuring that these recommendations inform policy and institutional development over time.

At the municipal level, the Swedish Agency for Youth and Civil Society (MUCF) must uphold its commitment to oversight through continued use of scorecards and key performance indicators (KPIs) to track local implementation. Given the concerns raised by Roma organisations regarding MUCF's legitimacy and mandate, these indicators must be co-designed with Roma civil society to ensure credibility and ownership.

In the education sector, the integration of Roma history and antiziganism into teacher continuous professional development (CPD) and national curricula must be made part of the Swedish National Agency for Education's (Skolverket's) inspection and evaluation system. Without institutional accountability, the knowledge generated by awareness-raising projects risks fading over time.

Moreover, Roma mediators and bridge-builders—key actors in facilitating access to services—must no longer rely on precarious project-based funding. These roles should be formalised and funded through stable municipal or regional budgets.

Cultural and historical remembrance also requires institutionalisation. The national commemorations of 2 August (Roma Holocaust Memorial Day) and 8 April (International

Roma Day) should be secured as standing budget lines within the Ministries of Culture and Education. This ensures continuity and enables Roma-led programming in perpetuity.

Finally, the experimental pilots on equality data collection must evolve into a formalised and permanent framework. Oversight should rest with an independent monitoring board that includes Roma representatives, thereby ensuring that measurable progress continues to be tracked well beyond the 2030 horizon.

7.2 Civil society's role

Roma CSOs are the guarantors of accountability. Their functions should include:

- **Co-chairing the Co-Governance Forum** and setting joint agendas with government.
- **Designing and monitoring indicators**, including education outcomes, hate crime data, and municipal compliance.
- **Running community-based monitoring** of housing discrimination, employment access, and health services, complementing official data.
- **Leading remembrance and awareness programmes** on 2 August and 8 April, ensuring Roma narratives are central.
- **Youth empowerment:** Roma youth councils should be embedded within both municipal and national structures, ensuring intergenerational continuity of advocacy.

7.3 Long-term sustainability

Civil society stresses that unless reforms are backed by multi-year financing, the gains of JEKHIPE risks being lost. Project dependency has repeatedly undermined progress since 2012. A sustainable model requires:

- 3–5 year framework agreements with Roma CSOs.
- Blended funding from EU programmes (CERV, ESF+) and national budgets.
- Transparent evaluation mechanisms with Roma organisations as equal partners.

Vision beyond 2026

Looking towards 2030, Sweden can position itself as a European frontrunner if:

- Antigypsyism is systematically measured and addressed in every policy field.
- Roma history is embedded in curricula and public memory.
- Municipal obligations are binding, with compliance tied to funding.
- Roma CSOs are institutionalised as co-governors, not consultants.

This vision would ensure that by 2032, the original promise of the National Roma Strategy—*that a Roma child born in 2012 will have the same opportunities as any other child*—becomes reality, not rhetoric.

8 . Annexes

- A References
- B Survey Questions

Annex A – References

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13. United Nations Human Rights Council (2023). *Universal Periodic Review – Sweden (UPR, Fourth Cycle)*. Geneva: UN HRC.
14. International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) (2020). *Working Definition of Antigypsyism/Anti-Roma Discrimination*. Berlin: IHRA.

Civil Society & Independent Monitoring

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Annex B Survey Questions (Translated from Swedish)

Survey: Combating Antigypsyism in Sweden (Policy-Level Version)

Purpose:

The aim of this survey is to gather perspectives from a broad range of stakeholders – government agencies, municipalities, civil society, researchers, educators, and others – on the main challenges and possible solutions in combating antigypsyism. The results will feed into **Trajosko Drom’s work within the JEKHIPE project (2024–2026)** and into national policy recommendations. Responses are anonymous and will only be presented in aggregated form.

Part 1. Main challenges in combating antigypsyism

1. What do you see as the **biggest current challenges** in combating antigypsyism in Sweden? (multiple choice, select max 3)
 - Lack of reliable data and statistics
 - Weak local implementation of the Minority Act
 - Lack of knowledge in schools about Roma history and antigypsyism
 - Discrimination in the housing market
 - Lack of trust in police/prosecution/Equality Ombudsman
 - Insufficient funding for Roma organisations
 - Other (open field)

2. To what extent do you find **transitional justice concepts** relevant in the Swedish context?
 - Very relevant
 - Quite relevant
 - Partly relevant
 - Not relevant
 - Don't know

3. Please give an example of a situation where **truth-telling, recognition, or guarantees of non-recurrence** could make a difference in practice. (open field)

Part 2. The role and added value of the JEKHIPE project

4. How would you assess the contribution of the JEKHIPE project so far in Sweden?
 - Very positive
 - Quite positive
 - Limited but relevant
 - No noticeable effect
 - Don't know
5. Which elements of the project do you see as most valuable? (multiple choice)
 - Focus on transitional justice (truth, recognition, non-recurrence)
 - Capacity building for civil society
 - Policy dialogues and recommendations
 - International comparisons and EU perspective
 - Youth and cultural components (e.g., 2 August, 8 April)
 - Other (open field)
6. What would you like to see as **possible next steps** after JEKHIPE (2026 and beyond)? (open field)

Part 3. Recommended actions

7. What actions should the **government** prioritise in the coming years to effectively combat antigypsyism? (open field, 2–3 suggestions)
8. What actions should **civil society** prioritise? (open field, 2–3 suggestions)

Part 4. Civil society's role in influencing the state

9. How can civil society best **motivate or pressure the state** to act? (multiple choice, select max 3)
 - Permanent consultation or co-governance forums
 - Strategic advocacy and media campaigns

- Legal action (DO, European Court of Human Rights)
- Cooperation with international actors (EU, Council of Europe, UN)
- Local pilot projects that can be scaled up
- Other (open field)

10. What do you see as the **most important success factor** for civil society to influence effectively? (open field)

- ✓ Estimated time: 10–15 minutes
- ✓ Target groups: Authorities, municipalities, schools, researchers, CSOs, Roma and non-Roma actors.

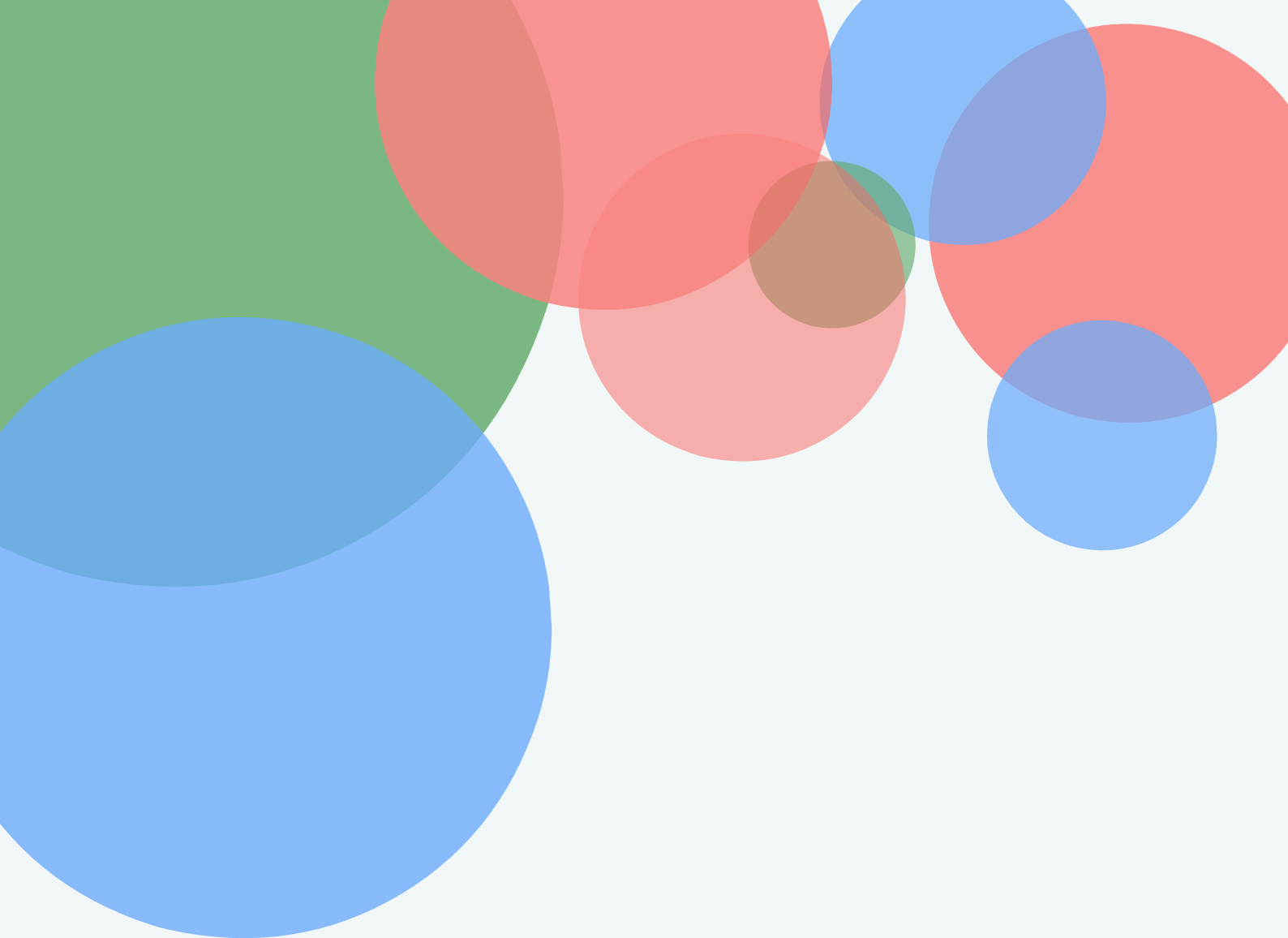
Short Survey: Combating Antigypsyism (Community Version)

Purpose:

This short survey is part of the **JEKHIPE project** and aims to collect ideas from local organisations, youth groups, and individuals about how to fight antigypsyism. Your answers are anonymous and will be used in Trajosko Drom's work to influence policy.

1. What do you see as the **biggest problems facing Roma in Sweden today?**
(open field, or multiple choice with options: discrimination in school, work, housing, healthcare, police/hate crime, other)
2. What do you think the **government** should do more of to combat antigypsyism?
(open field, 1–2 examples)
3. What do you think **Roma organisations and civil society** should do more of?
(open field, 1–2 examples)
4. Have you heard about the **JEKHIPE project**? If yes, what impact do you think it has had?
 - Yes – positive
 - Yes – limited
 - No
 - Don't know

5. How can civil society best **influence the government to act** against antigypsyism? (multiple choice: through media, through legal action (DO/ECHR), through cooperation with international actors, through local projects, through sitting in decision-making bodies, other)
- ✓ Estimated time: 5 minutes
 - ✓ Target groups: Local associations, youth, individuals who want to contribute.



JEKHIPE

Reclaiming Our Past, Rebuilding Our Future:
New Approaches to Fighting Antigypsyism
