Tampere University

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Creolizing Nordic Migration Research

Entangled Knowledges, Migratisations, and Reflexivities

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Abstract

Plural subaltern voices are carving spaces for previously misrepresented or misrecognized experiences and perspectives within Nordic migration and minority research, fields which are however still largely dominated by researchers writing from hegemonic disembodied positions. Recent years have seen more voices of BPoC (Black People and People of Colour) migrants and their descendants, but also voices of Eastern European (EE) migrants in Nordic academia. Dialogues between these emerging perspectives can present multiple tensions and disharmonies, and learning from those is an important step towards more mutually reflexive and beneficial collaborations. Voices of EE Roma migrants are however underrepresented or often absent from those dialogues. Nordic Roma-related (migration) research is still mainly carried out by non-Roma researchers. It is thus necessary to continue imagining and practicing new reflexive, collaborative approaches in knowledge production that bring into critical dialogues Roma and non-Roma EE migration experiences and scholarship with the emerging BPoC, critical, activist, decolonial, and artistic scholarships in the Nordics, and with Romani studies. The hope is to generate interconnected transformative possibilities for decolonizing knowledge production and generating plural research practices from the previously ignored or discredited margins, which go beyond hegemonic gazes and approvals for legitimacy, without erasing power differences and tensions.

To contribute to these endeavours, my thesis investigates what is knowledge in Nordic migration-, BPoC-, and Roma-related education scholarship, who produces it, how, and why. To this end, it scrutinizes the power relations embedded in knowledge production practices. It then looks into how knowledge production relates to self-awareness, subjectivation, and worlding. It thus seeks to trouble knowledge production and weave plural knowledges otherwise. Finally, it explores what the realization of these mechanisms and paths does for potentially making the world a better place and relearning to hear each other and think together for the sake of refuturing. Central to these aims is theorizing and practicing research reflexivity anew to allow openings for plural knowledges in research.

To address the above research aims, firstly, I examined how researchers practice reflexivity and make knowledge claims, as well as how research and education power relations constitute knowing subjects in the Nordic context. Researchers practice reflexivity according to their positionings and chosen paradigms, different

positionings determine various affective, theoretical, and practical approaches to reflexivity, and different research paradigms require various degrees of dis/comfort with one's reflexive practices, although there are also overlaps and intersections between these. In parallel I conducted autoethnographic research in Finnish educational settings involving diverse migrants in multiple positionings on both receiving and delivering sides of migration-related services: a migrant 'integration' training at an adult education centre, a pre-'integration' training in a reception centre for asylum seekers, and a cleaning work and training project in an emergency accommodation centre for Roma migrants. By bringing into dialogue those three settings, my thesis inter-relates plural and unequal BPoC and EE Roma and non-Roma migration lived experiences. According to my autoethnographic research in dialogue with the literature review, comfortable uses of reflexivity in both education and research practices remain blind to how intersections between race, gender, class, and ascriptions of migration shape (access to) education and knowledge production by creating divides and hierarchies. They identify knowing subjects on the basis of proximity to or distance from whiteness. In other words, comfortable uses of reflexivity reproduce the coloniality of knowledge.

Secondly, I explored how rethinking and practicing reflexivity and collaborations anew and together with art-based methods can creolize onto-epistemologies and methodologies. Besides being one of the theories used in the thesis, creolization is also the main methodological tool through which the thesis brings into fruitful dialogues plural unequal ways of being, knowing, and doing research. These dialogues connect minor-to-minor theories, methods, and lived realities to challenge the coloniality of knowledge and of migration and imagine new possibilities for living together and doing research together. Conceptually and theoretically the thesis uses a relational framework combining creolization, coloniality, entangled migrations, and migratisation/migratism. This theoretical framework intersects with the methods of autoethnography as Anzaldúan autohistoria-teoría, theatre-based methods, storytelling, and creative writing. I thus use creolization as methodology twofold: creolizing research and creolizing social reality. The thesis creolizes research by reimagining and practicing anew reflexivity, research collaborations, and ethics, through interrelating social research with both oral and written literary and theatrical techniques. The thesis creolizes social reality, in particular plural unequal migration lived experiences, through the conceptual tool of entangled migratisations/migratisms. By analysing entangled ascriptions of migration in a

relational framework and in small localities rather than national containers, the thesis contributes to the ongoing reflexive turn in migration studies.

Overall, the thesis reinscribes previously ignored or discredited knowledges and lived realities into Nordic migration research and social reality. It thus contributes to new ways of inter-relating minor-to-minor knowledges from BPoC, Romani, and EE perspectives in a Nordic context, while at the same time addressing the tensions, social inequalities, and colonial legacies shaping such dialogues. The thesis does not seek to offer prescriptive answers or definite solutions, instead it presents possible suggestions of future alternatives to epistemic and social inequalities, with issues like appropriation and domination to be further addressed in an ongoing manner. Any attempt at dismantling power hierarchies also runs the risk of reinforcing existing hierarchies and inequalities or producing new ones. Rather than prescribing how to do research more reflexively, I embrace the uncertainty and failure that come with not resolving contradictions but staying with the challenges and imagining what new possible entanglements they can generate.

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ABBREVIATIONS

BPoC	Black People and People of Colour
EE	Eastern European

LIST OF ORIGINAL PUBLICATIONS

***Publication* I:** Ţîştea, I. (2020). "Reflexivity of reflexivity" with Roma-related Nordic educational research. *Nordic Journal of Comparative and International Education (NJCIE) 4*(1), 26-42. https://doi.org/10.7577/njcie.3579

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The second author and I jointly wrote the stories that serve as material and analytical tools; these are under the section Stories of world-travelling. I wrote the sections: Abstract, Introduction, Creolization and im/purity, Storytelling: methodological and ethical considerations, and Final reflections. The second author made editorial inputs for those sections.

The publications are referred in the text by their respective Roman numerals.

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Dilemmas driving my research: Captivities, Complicities, Subversions and Utopias

> I am sitting in my study counsellor's office. The year is 2015. The counsellor wonders why I lost my motivation for the migrant integration course. Teachers have complained that I am always late, and punctuality is one of the lessons I have to learn. My Finnish language skills are assessed as above average. Maybe I no longer need the language training. She recommends a more practical course, where I will learn how to operate one of those big machines used to clean the floors in institutions and shopping malls. She ends the meeting by telling me that, after all the months she has been seeing me, she still does not know me, she adds: I am a mystery to her. My study counsellor's frustration perhaps points to what she might perceive as a 'failed' or 'difficult' process of 'integration', despite some potential. I wonder: what would a 'successful integration' into Finnish society entail?

I started the fieldwork for my PhD studies already in 2015 while I was a student in an integration training in Finland as a Romanian migrant woman. Back then I was interested in finding out why it is so hard to find a job in Finland, even for highly-skilled, highly-educated migrants as I considered myself to be. With time I came to realize that focusing on the difficulties of relatively privileged migrants in finding jobs they believe they 'deserve', as a way of problematizing integration systems, would ultimately reproduce the colonial power relations I was critiquing. Experience taught me that, despite my assumed long-term status of being a 'burden' to the Finnish welfare system as an unemployed migrant, I have never been threatened with deportation due to relying on social benefits for too long, as it can happen to Roma and other racialized migrants if they have access to those benefits (Publication III). Furthermore, the fact that I attended a migrant integration training coupled with my university degrees made it possible for me to be employed in mediating the 'integration' of more precariously situated migrants, like asylum seekers and EU Roma migrants. The assessment of my Finnish language skills as above average in the integration course opened the possibility for a job practice in 2016, teaching basic

Finnish to asylum seekers as well as supervising their cleaning work duties as part of their agreements with the reception centre (Publication II). Later in 2021, based on my knowledge of Romanian, English, and Finnish and my previous experience working with migrants categorized as 'vulnerable' I was selected for a job where I mediated the relations between Finnish clients and Roma women for whom they worked as cleaners (Publication III). These multiple entanglements between various migrants, myself included, shows how captivity within particular ruling relationships can situate us in highly unequal positions, in which we may sometimes become complicit with each other's oppression (Lugones, 2006).

I soon began wondering whether I was limiting the possibility of a critical approach to integration if I locate my research in opposition to 'integration' and hereby remain within the same framework that I found so constraining and biased. Each time I tried to rethink migrant 'integration' I would get stuck in a binary, reactive to and dependent on colonizing classifications. Researching those situations in which I found myself helped me develop coping mechanisms to address my complicity and move beyond paralyzing guilt, as well as led to some activist attempts to challenge the system (Publication II). My readings and jobs opened my imagination to new alternatives together with the people whose work I supervised and who became my research collaborators and even co-authors (Publication III). My thesis thus shifted to focusing on the power relations embedded in knowledge production practices that choose to focus on certain problems articulated in a particular way, drawing on selected knowledges and ways of knowing, while subjugating others.

Yet in 2018 when I started my PhD studies, one question I posed was why there were no Roma migrants in the integration training. I did not see the epistemic racism underpinning my research question then. By posing that research question, I put myself in the position of being able to speak for the Roma, while ignoring their own knowledges on a matter concerning them, thus maintaining my own dominance. Epistemic racism refers to disregarding marginalized knowledges to maintain one's own dominance, or including marginalized knowers in systems with targeted gaps about their knowledges. Such systems can extract epistemic labour coercively and in nonreciprocal ways, thus restricting marginalized knowers from shaping the direction of their own labour or research about their lives (Mignolo, 2011; Pohlhaus, 2020). I also ran the risk of reasserting dominant power relations which aim to discipline Roma people through measures like integration practices. Moreover, in

the early days of my diasporic existence, I would often have difficulties with being misread as Roma, like many other Romanian migrants who perceive themselves as white and are sometimes read as Roma and as a result engage in anti-Roma racism to articulate their perceived whiteness (Tudor, 2017a, p. 33). I considered being misread as Roma to be racist, not against the Roma, but against me. Only later, after having my research representations challenged by peers, I understood that being offended or hurt by my misreading as Roma is based on seeing that misreading as something negative while reproducing whiteness as a favourable norm (Publications I, II; Tudor 2017a, p. 34).

Taking offence with my misreading as Roma was not the only way through which I at times reproduced whiteness in my research. Sometimes I also sought to counter the 'silence' and 'erasure' of white Eastern European (EE) women in post- and decolonial feminist research by claiming similarities with women of colour based on assumed shared racial 'victimization' (Todorova, 2018). Roma feminists have criticized the erasure and appropriation of their experiences and those of other EE women of colour in such claims by white EE feminists (Oprea, 2009; Bițu & Vincze, 2012; Kóczé et al., 2018). I then wanted to explore how these claims limit Eastern European feminist possibilities for building bridges and coalitions with Black women and women of colour in a Finnish context, and how such limits could be worked against and beyond. I thought about a call for bridge building that would require unlearning epistemic domination and learning how to listen with care and critical engagement to women of colour across of what has been earlier termed as the 'first', 'second', and 'third' worlds (Publication II). Later after discussions with peers reflecting critically on my call for solidarity, made me read this call as a utopian suggestion towards some kind of unity, collectivity, and understanding across differences that can be achieved if a group of white women learns to listen to women of colour. And while this could be a worthwhile goal, there are limits to this listening, including the benevolence and manifold motivations of white Eastern European women to listen, and structures and histories in place that might hinder such listening, even if the white women in question do their uttermost. Such a utopian call thus reflects wider issues with approaches for producing knowledge otherwise or more reflexively, which often translate to the insertion of a positionality on an issue as a moral rather than political intervention, or in other words an outpouring of guilt for one's individual privileges while leaving wider power structures intact (Gordon, 2021, p. 15).

Still, beyond our collective enmeshment and captivity in ruling relationships from different power positions, there are also grounds for transgressing boundaries and imagining future possibilities (Publication III). Being racist or anti-racist are thus not fixed states, but ongoing processes of un/becoming (Publication II). Racism is about not only holding but also leaving racist beliefs unquestioned, anti-racism thus entailing an ongoing reconfiguration of racist habits (Monahan, 2011, p. 150). Experimenting with new ways of practicing reflexivity (Publication I), autoethnography (Publication II), and collaboration with participants as co-researchers and even co-authors (Publication III) have been ways through which I engaged in an ongoing process of reconfiguring racist habits, including epistemic racism. Yet power differences continued exerting divides and tensions between my co-researchers and I, particularly in my co-authorial collaboration with Gabriela the main Roma co-researcher in the thesis (Publication III). I sometimes slipped into a utopian risk of erasing differences through my paternalistic listening of my co-researcher's stories of victimhood, similar to my earlier claim for white women to listen to women of colour in order to build bridges (Publication II). I again reminded myself that certain tensions and power differences that re-emerge across time and space cannot be undone despite the best efforts of a group of people, such as white Eastern European women. The co-research thus turned towards staying with these unresolvable tensions without trying to offer any solution, but with showing the epistemological and methodological strength in highlighting misunderstandings, disagreements, disappointments with ourselves and each other or our project, as well as our hopes and desires for the future while avoiding idealism. At times there remained idealistic, paternalistic, and victimization tendencies in our co-research, which we kept visible and contested, to show the ongoing nature of mutual reflexivity (Publication III).

Overall, my thesis is not just about reconfiguring my own individual racism, but about seeking to contribute to the reconfiguration of the overall academic infrastructures, such as funding, institutions, 'fieldwork' relations, or publication channels to name a few, which are embedded in colonialist structures and hierarchise knowledges and knowers. These structures and hierarchies legitimate certain forms of knowledge and ways of knowing as scientifically valid, while discarding knowledges and ways of knowing considered as not meeting standards of rigorousness (Mignolo, 2011; Tlostanova, 2015). In addition to questioning the taken for granted assumptions behind choosing certain research topics and ways of doing research to the detriment of others, and of imagining and practicing new ways of

doing migration research in a Nordic context, my thesis also looks into possibilities for reflexive dialogues across differences. Emerging from the reflections in this introduction, I wonder how can more dialogues be enabled between different areas of Nordic migration research, including Black people and people of colour (BPoC), Romani, and Eastern European (EE) perspectives, in terms of imagining new knowledge production practices.

1.2 Research questions

Table 1. Research questions

RQ1. What is knowledge in Nordic migration-, BPoC-, and Roma-related education scholarship? Who produces it, how, and why?	*Publications* **I, II, III**; *Chapter* **2**
RQ2. How does knowledge production relate to self-awareness, subjectivation, and worlding?	*Publications* **I, II, III**; *Chapters* **2, 3**
RQ3. What can the realization of these mechanisms and paths do for potentially making the world a better place and relearning to hear each other and think together for the sake of refuturing?	*Publications* **I, II, III**; *Chapter* **3**

1.3 Reflexivity

Central to my research aims is theorizing and practicing research reflexivity anew to allow openings for plural knowledges in research. Here I critically explore and expand on how other researchers have engaged in rethinking reflexivity. Reflexivity was introduced in the 1970s in anthropology to overcome modernist colonial research methods in positivist and interpretivist/constructivist research paradigms (Hertz, 1997). While positivism upholds objectivity as the measure of rigorous research, interpretivism and constructivism open objectivity to questions, bring into scientific explorations subjectivity and see reality as constructed and truths as many (Lather, 2006). While some of the early qualitative strands of research offered highly subjectivist and reflexive accounts of how their biographies intersect with their fieldwork in the form of confessional tales, others sought to increase the integrity

and trustworthiness of their findings by closely monitoring the research and arguably offering a transparent account of research processes (Finlay, 2002, p. 210).

The critical turn in research considered multiple subjective realities based on power relations and socio-political discourses (Lather, 2006). Within the critical turn, feminist versions of reflexivity argued for ongoingly accounting for how one's positioning affects various aspects of the research, thus arguably reframing power imbalances between participants and researchers (Reinharz, 1992). They further argued for researchers to challenge mis/representations and conduct empowering research in collaboration with participants, thus generating a shift from 'truth' and 'objectivity' to voice and dialogue (Pillow, 2003). Black feminists and feminists of colour further challenged critical uses of reflexivity by revealing colonial research relations that mask researchers' power over participants despite researchers' good intentions. They showed how, when voice is 'given' to the 'disempowered' or when researchers 'let' participants speak for themselves, or if the researcher's main aim is specific data gathering, these may simply imply a self-validating act for the researcher. Instead, they put forth representational impossibilities of 'others' and the socio-political relevance of self-representation (hooks, 1981, 1990; Visweswaran, 1994; Villenas, 1996, 2000).

With the postmodernist/deconstructivist turn, reality became unknowable, knowing became tenuous and always transforming, 'truths' became socially constructed, and subjectivity became multiple, uncontainable, always shifting (Lather, 2006). Research processes and experiences started being seen as relative and socially and discursively constructed (Finlay, 2002, p. 211). Reflexivity in postmodernism thus questions the author's authority and accounts for the contextual, partial, and fragmented nature of knowledge (Finlay, 2002, p. 211). Postmodernist uses of reflexivity quickly proliferated into myriad experimental writing forms using parody, irony, scepticism, creative artistic and literary genres, and other evocative representations that could enable researchers to relate differently to their material (Finlay, 2002, p. 211).

The decolonial turn in knowledge production entailed an epistemic shift of what institutions consider to be knowledge and knowing, by rejecting the universalist conception of knowledge, centred around a disembodied and dislocated subject, and centring embodied, localized, and plural knowledges and modes of knowing (Grosfoguel, 2007; Mignolo, 2009). Debates have been raised on correcting power

structures and human relationships distorted by whiteness and restoring epistemic authority to marginalized knowers and knowledges (Thapar-Björkert & Tlostanova, 2018, p. 3; Ndlovu-Gatscheni, 2021), on the appropriation of marginalized knowledges by hegemonic knowers (Groglopo & Suárez-Krabbe, 2023), and what mutually rewarding collaborations between differently situated knowers entail (Lugones, 2006; Gay y Blasco & Hernández, 2020).

Reflexivity has become the defining feature of qualitative research, generating debates on how to do reflexive research, with multiple competing, but also overlapping, claims to the rationale and practices of reflexivity (Pillow, 2003; Finlay, 2002, 2017; Day, 2012). Some researchers even argue for the need to move beyond reflexivity towards other options that are less focused on mirroring self-narrations that run the risk of solipsistic infinite regress, and more on diffracted co-relationalities and intra-actions with the multiple worlds we come in contact (Barad, 2003, 2007; Davies, 2014; Gale & Wyatt, 2017). Others argue that there is no right or wrong way of practicing reflexivity and that each way offers different opportunities, challenges, strengths, limitations, and implications for research outcomes (Pillow, 2003, 2015; Finlay, 2002, 2017; Day, 2012). Exploring reflexivity in its various forms can thus aid in unpacking key epistemological and methodological dilemmas and underpinnings, research relationships and power relations, what counts as valid knowledge in different paradigms, how do we know and who can claim to know, and how to challenge underlying assumptions about the validity and quality of research (Day, 2012, p. 60). Moreover, researchers often employ several types of reflexivity simultaneously, sometimes without being aware of it, other times based on conscious decisions related to one's epistemological values and methodological choices. Further claims have thus been made for the fruitfulness of bringing multiple approaches to and even against reflexivity into dialogue due to the multiple subjectivities and contexts that these dialogues create, while being continuously reflexive about the practices of reflexivity one approaches alone or together with participants (Pillow, 2003, 2015; Finlay, 2002, 2017; Undurraga, 2020, 2021).

My thesis builds on these claims by arguing for dialogues across and beyond plural and unequal research paradigms, and for the inclusion of those perspectives that might seem from a scientific perspective less rigorous or considered research at all. Here, I particularly highlight those knowledges that come from the research participants' and my own vernacular ways of knowing and being. By vernacular I

refer to everyday knowledges stemming from multiple senses, encounters, and unexpected connections. This may generate fruitful conversations that can disrupt claims to knowledge and the reproduction of power hierarchies in research. Such disruptions can open research to plural knowers and knowledges, and expand the research imagination with regards to what constitute data generation and analysis, co-researching, co-writing, co-authoring publications, and presenting the research to wider audiences. Overall, I argue for creolizing reflexivity as a way to imagine future unforeseeable possibilities in and beyond research.

There are numerous studies analysing various ways of practicing reflexivity in fields like social sciences, health sciences, education, anthropology, and humanities (Finlay & Gough, 2003; Finlay, 2017; Pillow, 2003, 2015, 2019; Day, 2012; Addey & Piattoeva, 2022; Kolman & Matějčková, 2022). Exploring the various definitions and interpretations of reflexivity across different paradigms, along with the various ways in which researchers approach reflexivity, can clarify the ways in which different practices of reflexivity have different implications for knowledge production practices and research outcomes (Day, 2012, p. 61). Despite the impossibility for reflexivity to solve the dilemmas of knowledge production, the importance of discussing and mapping various uses of reflexivity can foreground epistemological and methodological underpinnings and political effects of qualitative research (Day, 2012, p. 81).

In the next chapter, I therefore review how researchers practice reflexivity in Nordic migration research and Romani studies, along with ways in which knowledge is produced in those fields that may offer alternatives to hegemonic knowledge practices. I particularly focus on BPoC (Black people and people of colour), Romani, and Eastern European (EE) contexts and/or perspectives in Nordic migration research. The literature review points to the necessity to continue imagining and practicing new reflexive, collaborative approaches in knowledge production, which can bring into critical dialogues those perspectives, and thus open Nordic migration research to plural knowledges and ways of knowing.

The third chapter then delves into the onto-epistemological and methodological approaches and contributions through which my thesis adds to these endeavours. By looking into how researchers practice reflexivity within, between, and across research paradigms, while addressing research practices' embeddedness in whiteness and white supremacy, the thesis seeks to disrupt the reproduction of the coloniality

of knowledge, being, and migration in knowledge production. This can then carve out spaces for previously ignored or disdained knowledges by rethinking and practicing reflexivity anew, using art-based methods to expand the research imagination, and rethinking ethics towards new ways of co-researching and co-authoring with participants. These are not the only ways to disrupt the reproduction of coloniality, but possible options than can open research to fruitful tensions with unforeseeable results, and with issues such as appropriation and domination to further address in an ongoing process.

In the final chapter, I look back on the publications and this integrative chapter and critique the knowledge I have produced by applying a meta-reflexive lens. Rather than arriving at some comfortable truth on how to do research more reflexively or collaboratively, I stay with the discomfort of challenging confessional tales, prescriptive answers, or definite solutions that end up reinforcing the positivist myths they set out to challenge.

2 KNOWLEDGE PRODUCTION PRACTICES IN NORDIC EDUCATION, MIGRATION, AND BPOC-RELATED RESEARCH, AND ROMANI STUDIES

In this chapter, I start by providing an overview of Nordic educational research showing how knowledge is produced, who has access to making knowledge claims, who is excluded from or discriminated in education and knowledge production, as well as suggestions for alternatives to hegemonic knowledge and education practices in the Nordics. I then review literature in Nordic migration and BPoC-related research and in Romani studies that explores knowledge production practices, namely practices of reflexivity and collaborations with participants or between differently positioned researchers. Finally, I outline possibilities for dialogues between BPoC, Romani, and EE perspectives in Nordic migration research, potential tensions, and the role of reflexivity in staying with and learning from those tensions towards new possibilities in knowledge production.

2.1 Who is a knowing subject in Nordic migration-, BPoC-, and Roma-related education scholarship?

Knowledge production is part of the historical and economic geopolitical configuration of the world, where 'developed' economies dominating intellectual traditions have for a long time functioned as a zero point to which other worldviews are related to and ranked (Mignolo & Tlostanova, 2006). Within this logic, theorization and conceptualizing have been reserved for the 'centres' of the global knowledge economy geopolitically located in the so-called 'west', while the rest of the world has been treated as data gatherers or informants in the so-called 'third world' (Alemu, 2014; Collyer, 2018; Dalu et al., 2018) and 'second world' (Mudure, 2007; Tlostanova, 2015; Silova et al., 2017). The initial critique of knowledge production in education emerged from decolonization struggles of the 'Global South' against 'western' hegemony (Altbach & Kelly, 1978). More critiques have followed since then, showing how the formal validation of institutional knowledge,

the hierarchisation of knowledges, the exclusion of alternative knowledges, and the racial stratification of people determine unequal access to education and to knowledge production (Ndlovu-Gatscheni, 2021). Researchers are increasingly calling for decolonizing knowledge production and education, which has been defined as an endeavour that is simultaneously political–posing epistemological questions to address Eurocentric epistemic hegemony–, material, and structural, including aspects of justice, access, and representation (K. G. Eriksen & Svendsen, 2020). While education has been proven to reproduce "epistemic violence" (Castro-Gómez & Martin, 2002), it also presents potential avenues towards alternatives to socio-economic, racialized, and racist inequalities (Atehortúa, 2020). Such alternatives can be found in alternative educational projects, practices, and pedagogies located outside formal institutions, which employ previously ignored or disdained knowledges, such as indigenous, diasporic, and minoritarian knowledges (Yumagulova et al., 2020). Yet when minoritarian knowers and knowledges enter academic spaces, they are often expected to represent a homogenous group, and their inclusion within academia rests on not disturbing the status quo (Ahmed, 2017; Vergès, 2021). The solution is thus not necessarily inclusion if power structures remain in place due to a forced inclusion that may actually turn into exploitation (Pohlhaus, 2020).

Education in the Nordic context has historically been instrumentalized in the settler colonization of Sápmi (the homeland of the Sámi indigenous people, covering the north of Norway, Sweden and Finland, and the north-west of Russia), the attempted assimilation of Kale and other groups of Romani people living in the Nordics, and the Nordic colonial endeavours in Africa and the Americas (Keskinen, 2019). The continuing widespread denial of these histories reproduces the idea of ethnic homogeneity rather than the transversal plurality characterizing Nordic nation states formation (Hübinette & Lundström, 2014). With the increased migration into the Nordic region during the past few decades and the simultaneous proliferation of anti-migration policies and practices, colourblind discourses continue to abound, which can be seen in anxieties around mentioning racialization and racism in Nordic public discourse, research, and educational practices (McEachrane, 2014; Svendsen, 2014; Mkwesha & Huber, 2021; Vertelytė & Staunæs, 2021; von Brömssen, 2021).

Nordic education research has explored racialized exclusions enacted by educational systems and academic practices (Vertelyté & Li, 2021, p. 107). Education researchers have exposed the roles of formal education in Nordic welfare nation

state racialized formations (Anis, 2005; Moldenhawer & Øland, 2013; Hänninen et al., 2019; Kuronen et al., 2021; Li & Buchardt, 2021), and in producing racialized subjectifications of students (Lagermann, 2013; Chinga-Ramirez, 2017; Fylkesnes, 2018; Hummelstedt et al., 2021; Vertelyté & Li, 2021). They have further explored the centrality of whiteness and coloniality in Nordic education and im/possibilities to dismantle coloniality and structural and institutional racism through anti-racist, intersectional, affective, and decolonial approaches (Røthing & Svendsen, 2011; Alemanji, 2017; Ideland, 2018; K. G. Eriksen & Svendsen, 2020; Vertelytė & Staunæs, 2021). Ideland (2018) for instance has shown that coloniality determines how Black students and students of colour are met and taught in Nordic universities, like being seen as in need of moral fostering rather than as academically literate persons.

The last few decades have seen decolonisation movements among the Sámi, with efforts to revitalise and recognise Sámi languages, cultures, and rights, and indigenize Nordic education through Sámi knowledges (Keskitalo et al., 2013). The aims are for everyone in places with Sámi population to learn about Sámi history, culture, society and rights, and for Sámi knowledges and ways of knowing to be incorporated in teaching and research methodologies (Olsen & Keskitalo, 2021). Yet inclusion of Sámi approaches in Nordic education often does not challenge colonial power relations, which denotes the importance of unlearning epistemological monocultures in order to truly indigenize and decolonize Nordic education (K. G. Eriksen et al., 2023).

Problematizing and even decolonizing Nordic education has also been suggested through Romani alternative knowledges. Knowledge production on Nordic Romani people has historically been conducted by so-called 'experts on Gypsies' who have constructed the Roma as a social problem and legitimated their oppression through measures like forced labour and education that erased Romani knowledges (Montesino, 2001). Training Roma mediators has been argued to improve Roma students' school performance and thus increase equality, yet the Roma mediators are exposed to unequal power relations embedded in education discourses and practices; Roma mediators carry the burden of being made responsible for tackling racializing and racist discourses through knowledge on the Roma that counteracts biases, while the unwillingness of the school community to address inequalities and racism remains unaddressed (Helakorpi et al., 2019). Recent research has further explored Nordic Romani people's attainment of formal education without giving up their

knowledges (Hagatun, 2020). Hagatun (2020) emphasizes the need to focus on malfunctioning educational systems rather than Roma deficiency, on centring Romani counter-knowledges that challenge exoticizing representations and the assumed non-existence of Roma people in education. The author further argues that Romani agencies of historical resistance to forced assimilation through education systems constitute vital contributions to decolonizing Nordic education (Hagatun, 2020, p. 118).

Further critical questions have been raised about racism in Nordic academia and societies. Nunes (2019) and Salinas (2020, p. 16) talked about their experiences with the Nordic education systems before becoming academics. Despite their degrees and many years of education from their home countries, both of them had to re-take high school courses and attend many years of language and preparatory courses until being admitted to university, with teachers often trying to steer them away from their academic aspirations and more towards vocational options (Nunes, 2019; Salinas, 2020). The silencing force of whiteness, white domination, and systemic de-legitimization of Black students and researchers in Nordic academia has been pointed out, along with universities' lack of existing practices to deal with the everyday racism experienced by students in Nordic universities (Githieya, 2017; Custódio, 2017b). Whiteness and racism thus shape access to knowledge production in Nordic academia (Andreassen & Myong, 2017). While whiteness is associated with scientific objectivity and rational thinking, being a privileged site for knowledge production, scholars of colour are marked as subjective and political, which shows how racialization and knowledge production are interlinked in validating specific forms of knowledge to the detriment of others (Andreassen & Myong, 2017, p. 102).

By analysing the equality plans of Nordic universities, Duong-Pedica (2018) showed that, while some guidelines exist to deal with gender-based discrimination and sexual harassment, university policies often do not tackle experiences of racism and racial harassment. Recognizing that such white feminist practices reflect wider societal discourses basing their understanding of equality on racial homogeneity, some Nordic feminists have engaged in attempts to deconstruct white feminist epistemologies and activism (Andersen et al., 2015; Andreassen & Myong, 2017; Keskinen et al., 2021). Still, Nordic feminism continues to exclude feminists of colour, as well as to assimilate Black feminist concepts like intersectionality into white liberal epistemologies (Groglopo & Suárez-Krabbe, 2023, p. 10). In this context, while Nordic feminism has enabled the opening of academic spaces for

minoritized, racialized, migratized, and indigenous peoples, this has rested on the requirement for those allowed to be a part of academia not challenging universities' white hegemony and institutional settings, not voicing alternative opinions and thus not causing discomfort among white peers. As long as one puts in more effort than their white peers to achieve institutional recognition in Nordic academia, these colleagues were allowed in (Diallo, 2019; Ezechukwu, 2020; Ramirez, 2021; Osman, 2021; Groglopo & Suárez-Krabbe, 2023, p. 11). Despite existing efforts to disrupt whiteness and racialized structures, discourses and practices of whiteness still dictate scholarly conventions, academic hierarchies, and access to authorship (Hoegaerts et al., 2022, p. 9).

In addition to overt racism, racialized scholars also experience invisibilization or being ignored in Nordic academic settings. This may have to do with Nordic colour-blind norms that racism happens when one mentions or sees race, whereas anti-racism implies not seeing or talking about it (Mählck, 2016, p. 10). In other words, white researchers choose not to approach or engage with academics of colour in order to claim that they do not see race (Mählck, 2016, p. 10). Relatedly, racialized researchers, particularly Black scholars voicing their experiences of racism may be seen as the 'problem', since one only sees racism if they see race, and seeing race makes one racist within a Nordic colour-blind discourse that ultimately works as a technique of silencing divergent views (Ezechukwu, 2020, p. 101; Osman, 2021, p. 82). In addition to invisibilization, Black scholars can also be rendered hyper-visible in Nordic academia, which causes stress from the constant alertness caused when one feels that they are always being watched, that they always have to consider the way they present themselves, and are even the first to be suspected of bad practice whenever something goes wrong within a research team (Diallo, 2019, pp. 220-221; Osman, 2021, p. 82). This hyper-visibility also stems from the fact that only a few 'others' are accepted into Nordic academic spaces, a way of claiming 'diversity' while keeping power and abilities to define valid knowledge within hegemonic knowers, which ultimately invisibilizes knowledge claims by marginalized knowers (Diallo, 2019, 220). The invisibilization combined with the hyper-visibility and even hyper-sexualization that Black scholars, especially Black women experience, create a conflicting sense of always being "seen without being seen" (Diallo, 2019, pp. 223-224). With the Nordic countries avoiding their colonial pasts and perpetuating colour-blind discourses, academics experiencing racism do not have access to words that can voice their experiences, having to find spaces of belonging outside academia. In this context, merely showing up to work and disturbing universities' white norms

constitutes resistance in itself (Diallo, 2019, p. 227). Additionally, scholars have also disrupted dominant norms when teaching by including in the curricula readings and assignments on unlearning colour-blindness and thinking about postcolonial perspectives (Habel, 2012). Yet this can sometimes elicit negative assessments from mostly white students who have difficulty applying critical race and whiteness theories to their own positionalities (Habel, 2012, p. 113). To counteract such experiences, members of Nordic academic communities are increasingly calling for acknowledging and dismantling racism. For instance, the 2021 collective call to action "Dismantling Antiblackness in Finnish Universities" gathered numerous signatures from students and researchers in support and solidarity, while indicating anti-racist actions and recommending resources for further learning (Raster.fi collective, 2021).

Scholars have explored in detail the mechanisms through which Nordic academia is immersed in coloniality, whiteness, and white supremacy, highlighting the multiple ways through which being racialized, racism, or distance from whiteness may be experienced. For instance, constructing the category of non-white people in opposition to whiteness is problematic because it homogenizes multiple people's experiences and subjectivities, or reiterates whiteness as the norm against which everything else is compared and judged. Such categorizations indeed can have political, epistemic and social justice usefulness, but they also need to be further unpacked in theoretical debates. On a similar note, whiteness is not a monolithic category either, and there are multiple ways of inhabiting whiteness with differing degrees of privilege. Whiteness may not always afford unconditional access to positions of 'scientific neutrality' and 'rational thinking' in Nordic academia (Andreassen & Myong, 2017, p. 102). Contributing to research on "differentiated whiteness" from Eastern European perspectives and to nuancing research on whiteness and racialization in the Nordic context, Lapiņa and Vertelytė (2020, pp. 4, 11) show how, while whiteness often brings them closer to going unnoticed in Nordic academia or in fieldwork settings, it does not always prevent scrutinizing gazes or questions about not being quite white enough, and this affects their perceived legitimacy in knowledge production.

Vertelytė (in Lapiņa & Vertelytė, 2020, p. 7) for instance shows how her whiteness was often questioned based on her accent and phenotype which were claimed to sound and look 'Eastern European'. Furthermore, her choice of research topic was often scrutinized by Nordic colleagues who questioned her ability to

research anything that does not have to do with Eastern Europe, particularly her ability to research the Nordic context itself, or sometimes even questioned her unlikely positionality as an Eastern European researcher in the Nordics (Lapiņa & Vertelytė, 2020, p. 7). Vertelytė further reflects on the encounters with her research participants from Western Asia who, although initially read her as Nordic, they would later bond with her based on shared yet different experiences of migration and marginalization (Lapiņa, & Vertelytė 2020, p. 7). Lapiņa (in Lapiņa & Vertelytė, 2020, p. 8) however reflects on how she has most often been able to pass as Nordic in academic and fieldwork settings. On several occasions she has chosen not to reveal her Eastern Europeanness to Nordic participants due to safety concerns, since Eastern European femininity is often hyper-sexualized (Lapiņa & Vertelytė, 2020, p. 10). While scholars occupying differentiated or liminal whiteness may not always be seen as knowing subjects, they may still be able to navigate Nordic academic landscapes in certain circumstances by passing as Nordic white. Still, I argue that there are also grounds for solidarity and coalitions between multiple ways of passing or not passing. By staying with the tensions that such coalitions entail, this can lead to imagining and practicing new ways of producing knowledge, beyond hegemonic gazes and approvals for legitimacy. I will expand more on this in the final section of this chapter, as well as the third chapter.

The need to form alternative coalitions in knowledge production beyond hegemonic influences becomes more evident given that, although research with critical race and decolonizing perspectives is growing in the Nordic context, concepts of race, racism, racialization, whiteness, post/colonialism, and de/coloniality have often been either erased from academic vocabulary or used with hesitation in Nordic education research (Mkwesha & Huber, 2021; K. G. Eriksen & Svendsen, 2020; von Brömssen, 2021; Vertelytė & Staunæs, 2021). Von Brömssen (2021) and Vertelytė and Staunæs (2021) explore affective aspects of education research on racialization and racism, such as hesitation, unease, shame, and anxiety in using these concepts or in addressing the power relations that the concepts describe. Mkwesha and Huber (2021, p. 7) show how Nordic denial of historical participation in colonialism coupled with the lack of awareness of the Eurocentric knowledge in Nordic educational resources produce white ignorance that derails and blocks conversations about race, racism, and colonial violence, thus perpetuating racism. K. G. Eriksen and Svendsen (2020, p. 7) see decolonial options in education as addressing the need to reform Nordic education scholarship and institutions in order to interrupt

coloniality and shift to new possibilities, such as plurality of knowing that not only reforms but also abandons academia altogether.

The slowly growing entrance of plural knowers is gradually shaking Nordic universities by exposing universities' connections with global articulations of power that perpetuate elitism and apartheid in knowledge production (Suárez-Krabbe, 2012, p. 42), as well as shedding light on the illusion of "the unmarked and neutral" academic who until recently was able to pass as 'normal' (Ramirez, 2021, p. 2). Yet Nordic academia is still mainly immersed in disembodied knowledge production from "zero-point epistemologies" where the 'neutral' disembodied researcher observes without being observed (Castro-Gómez, 2007), thus producing "bodies out of place" and lack of recognition but also "epistemic disobedience" (Mignolo, 2009) among marginalized knowers who enact alternative possible becomings in academia (Ramirez, 2021, pp. 1-2). On the one hand, marginalized knowers in Nordic academia are expected to hide aspects of themselves and thus be dehumanized into fragmented subjectivities in order to be recognized as 'true' academics (Ramirez, 2021, p. 12). On the other hand, marginalized knowers are slowly shifting the terms of the conversation (Mignolo, 2009) towards valuing embodied alternative knowledges and plural epistemologies and methodologies, transgressive subjectivities, and disrupting dichotomies of who is considered to be a knowing subject in Nordic academia (Suárez-Krabbe, 2012, p. 31; Ramirez, 2021, p. 13). Such transgressive actions towards dismantling power from within can only occur in cooperation between plural marginalized actors within and beyond the Nordic space, and within and beyond academia (Suárez-Krabbe, 2012, p. 43).

Decolonizing education from within, by for instance introducing disobedient epistemologies into the Nordic classroom, poses numerous challenges, since this work is bound to come up against institutional limitations, thus requiring one to become a liminal subversive scholar and teacher-activist positioned both inside and outside of the university (Atehortúa, 2020). Disobedient classroom practices that for instance decentre whiteness and cisnormativity can also cause discomfort among students, which requires creating a safe space for collective learning, enabling students to bravely stay with their discomfort, and to investigate their own positionalities and research interests (Diallo & Friborg, 2021, p. 27). Yet even when education representatives apply pedagogies with tools for critical reflexivity and empowerment and with ways of learning and knowing otherwise, the institutions themselves are still immersed in systems of violence and oppression (Salinas, 2020,

p. 23). Atehortúa (2020, p. 162) therefore encouraged students to develop their capacity to apply classroom lessons into social action. Diallo and Friborg (2021, p. 29) used the classroom experience to reflect on how to disrupt "epistemic violence" (Castro-Gómez & Martin, 2002) within the wider "Academic Industrial Complex (AIC)" from marginalized positionalities, through previously ignored counter-knowledges and collective organizing built on radical care to challenge exclusionary structures and imagine new futures. Pursuing decolonial options can even require abandoning education institutions altogether (K. G. Eriksen & Svendsen, 2020, p. 4). This is where, for instance, lessons can be learned from Romani historical resistance to Nordic formal education as forced assimilation (Hagatun, 2020, p. 118) and from current Romani efforts of introducing their own knowledges in Nordic school curricula, alongside their continued prioritization of Romani community life and relation building that is misinterpreted by hegemonic actors as societal marginalization (Stenroos & Helakorpi, 2021, p. 110).

The review of education research has shown several intersections between how differently positioned researchers use reflexivity. Scholars from BPoC positionalities expose the racism, white supremacy, and coloniality in Nordic education structures, while further imagining and practicing ways of dismantling power structures both within and beyond institutions. Some of them develop critical reflexivity among their mostly white students (Habel, 2012; Diallo & Friborg, 2021), while others are critically reflexive of how they can be complicit in their own subordination when internalizing and reproducing Nordic dominant academic norms (Osman, 2021, p. 63). EE scholars also expose the discriminatory structures they face in Nordic academia, while further nuancing research on whiteness in the Nordic context from their positionalities of liminal whiteness, as well as being critically reflexive of their own privileges in relation to research participants or to other scholars who do not fit whiteness be it normative or liminal (Lapiņa & Vertelytė, 2020). Nordic Roma-related research is mainly conducted by non-Roma scholars, yet some critical research shows possibilities for decolonizing education by learning from the multiple subversive agencies of the Roma participants in their research (Hagatun, 2020; Stenroos & Helakorpi, 2021). Furthermore, BPoC, EE, and Roma researchers studying their own communities need to be reflexive of how they may be considered insiders to those communities in certain circumstances, perhaps by the larger society, while being considered outsiders by the communities in question due to their assimilation within dominant norms as researchers, with some scholars naming this a colonizer/colonized positionality (Villenas, 1996). Marginalized knowers thus

carve spaces for plural subaltern voices in Nordic academia by using reflexivity both to reveal the power asymmetries that researchers from dominant positionings need to be more reflexive about, as well as to assess how identifying with a position of 'insiderness' does not free the researcher from possible biases and prejudices that need to be unpacked (Gathuo, 2019; Custódio, 2017a; Custódio & Gathuo, 2020).

By reviewing Nordic educational scholarship, this section has shown that reflexivity is essential in knowledge production regardless of researchers' positionalities, yet different positionalities determine different applications of reflexivity. Still, positionalities are not fixed, they shift according to shifting circumstances, which means that the same researcher may apply various types of reflexivity simultaneously, and also that there may be similarities between certain reflexivities that BPoC, EE, Roma, and majoritarian researchers apply. I acknowledge that the researchers in question may be among each other's oppressors, or in dominant/subaltern positionings relative to each other, while also taking into account the shifting and context-bound nature of such positionings. Dialogues and entanglements between these unequal power relations can generate fruitful tensions from which future possibilities can be explored. In the next section I therefore review and interrelate how researchers practice reflexivity in Nordic migration and BPoC-related research and in Romani studies.

2.2 Reflexivity and collaboration in Nordic migration research, BPoC-related research, and Romani studies

2.2.1 The reflexive turn in Romani studies

During the past couple of decades, both Roma and non-Roma researchers have been discussing and applying ethical, theoretical, and methodological tools and insights for decolonizing research and engaging critically with racialization and racism (Tremlett, 2009, 2014; Tidrick, 2010; Gay y Blasco & Hernandez, 2012; Brooks, 2012, 2015; Mirga-Kruszelnicka, 2015). A few directions came out of what has been termed the ongoing "reflexive turn" in Romani studies (Silverman, 2018, p. 77), such as the emerging critical Romani studies (Bogdan et al. 2018) and the growing call for reflexive, participatory, and collaborative research practices (Silverman, 2018; Gay y Blasco & Hernández, 2020; Dunajeva & Vajda, 2021; Piemontese, 2021). A growing

number of scholars in Roma-related research are answering these epistemological and methodological calls, a process which generates multiple ongoing questions and dilemmas (Fotta & Gay y Blasco, 2024b, p. 18). Yet they are a minority within the wider field of Romani studies that is still dominated by non-Roma 'experts' unreflexively speaking on behalf of Roma (Ryder, 2019, p. 197).

Reflexivity is often invoked by non-Roma scholars from privileged positionings who constitute the majority in Roma-related research and who indeed have more reasons to use reflexivity as a way to challenge their biases and minimize power imbalances with participants. Non-Roma researchers often use reflexivity to conduct research perceived as more trustworthy by examining if their research representations are harmful or if they convey what is perceived as the 'right' representation of data, while taking into account participants' perspectives in implementing methods and analysing data, approaches that mainly correspond to a modernist paradigm (Lambrev, 2017, p. 102). Furthermore, as a strategy to minimize one's authority, researchers may "give" participants the chance to be active agents in knowledge production (Lambrev, 2017, p. 114). Still, the act of 'giving' opportunities to participants still implies that the authority rests within the researcher who displays willingness to give away some privileges with the aim of gathering more credible data. Lambrev (2017, p. 115) acknowledges this limitation and suggests that future research might do more in using reflexivity towards reconfiguring power relations and towards full Roma participation in knowledge production and decision making. Such calls however had already been put forth by Roma scholars (Lee, 2000; Oprea, 2004; Brooks, 2012, 2015; Mirga-Kruszelnicka, 2015; Matache, 2016, 2017).

For instance, Lee (2000, p. 132) has documented how Roma-related research historically and presently has been dominated by non-Roma academics from privileged positionings and marked by Gypsylorism, a specific form of epistemic violence, which is an equivalent of Orientalism in studying Europe's internal 'others.' Hancock (1997, pp. 39-40) has documented how until recently Roma-related research, art, and literature were constructed by non-Roma, with Roma having no say over those representations. Roma scholars have since challenged the exclusion of Romani contributions from knowledge production and decision making on and for the Roma, demanding discursive and decisional space through the movement "Nothing about us without us" (Ryder et al., 2015). Matache (2016) has highlighted how non-Roma scholars have been invested with power to validate or reject Romani research as valid knowledge based on claims like lack of objectivity due to emotional

and political investments. She advocates for Roma scholars to be taken seriously as knowledge producers beyond the validating approval of non-Roma peers. Non-Roma researchers are thus starting to carefully negotiate their place and motivations within Romani studies (Silverman, 2012, p. 15).

Neither Roma nor non-Roma scholars can claim greater legitimacy over Roma-related knowledge, and sustained efforts should be made to overcome such dichotomies and to recognize both Roma and non-Roma as legitimate voices (Mirga-Kruszelnicka, 2015, p. 45). This can only be achieved through a commitment to reflexivity on all sides, but especially on the part of non-Roma scholars who occupy more positions of power currently and have held more authority historically. Roma scholars encourage uses of reflexivity that explore historical and current power dynamics between Roma and non-Roma in societal and academic contexts; account for one's own positionality in social and epistemic hierarchies, biases and assumptions; scrutinize Roma-related research approaches, investments in 'truth' production, ways to involve people from the researched community without tokenizing them, and disciplinary limitations manipulating inquiries (Matache, 2016, 2017; Brooks, 2015, p. 58). These approaches to reflexivity may disrupt the reproduction of whiteness as the norm against which to explore Romani experiences and the paternalistic intent to "help" or "rescue" Roma, by shifting the focus from Roma marginalization, exoticization, or victimization to multiple agencies of Roma as free thinking and acting subjects (Matache, 2016, 2017). Such uses of reflexivity correspond to a critical/emancipatory paradigm and they have been mainly employed by non-Roma researchers contributing to the emerging field of critical Romani studies. They argue that without incorporating critical theories within reflexive practices, non-Roma scholars may continue to reproduce whiteness and structural and epistemic racism even when their aim is to dismantle racism (Vajda, 2015, p. 48; Howard & Vajda, 2016). They thus use reflexivity to expose and challenge power, practice advocacy, design and implement more engaged research projects, and facilitate and provide resources for various projects without using paternalistic and colonizing stances (Silverman, 2018, p. 93). Non-Roma researchers may use other commonalities with their Roma participants, such as gender or sexuality, to facilitate mutually reflexive relationships in both research and advocacy (Fremlova, 2019, p. 113). Yet scholars should further assess the place of academia in struggles over social justice, what advocacy and action might accomplish or by whom, and the need to engage in advocacy or not (Fotta & Gay y Blasco, 2024a, p. 7). The latter can be achieved by "refusing" to speak on behalf of Roma participants,

a refusal through which Solimene (2024) explores silence as a way for non-Roma researchers to defer to Roma knowledge and honour Roma self-representation.

In addition to carving spaces for Romani knowledges and scholarship and to creating and sharing resources for non-Roma researchers to apply in rethinking the ways they practice reflexivity (Brooks, 2012, 2015; Mirga-Kruszelnicka, 2015; Matache 2016, 2017), Roma and Traveller researchers are further exploring their own uses of reflexivity in challenging dominant representations, centring Roma self-representations, troubling 'insider'/'outsider' dichotomies, and exploring hierarchies and inequalities between Roma researchers and the members of Roma communities they study (Sarafian, 2023, 2024; Friel, 2024). Based on a research project in several marginalized urban neighbourhoods with a predominantly Romani population, a reflection is offered by Sarafian (2023, p. 3) on how being identified as Roma was not sufficient for being accepted in Roma communities, but it was also necessary to present herself as respectable according to gender norms. Being an unmarried and childless thirty-year-old Roma woman influenced the research themes she could have access to, with childcare, the family economy, education, health and discrimination being openly discussed, yet sexuality, marriage and intimate relationships being out of reach (Sarafian, 2023, p. 4). While being Roma and a researcher facilitated her access into the community, being Roma also meant that her reputation was more important than her researcher status (Sarafian, 2023, p. 5). When returning to the community after a prolonged research break, by then being married and having a baby, her new status gave her more entry into the participants' worlds; yet again doing solely research was not enough for community members who required for her to conduct engaged research through collaboration, advocacy and activism (Sarafian, 2023, p. 6). The resulting book provides entrances into multiple Roma worlds through stories of individuals with agency, presented through unexpected standpoints, contradictions, identifications, and im/possibilities that challenge both Roma and non-Roma expectations (Sarafian, 2023, pp. 7-8).

Roma researchers thus highlight the multiple agencies and power differentials within Roma communities and between Roma researchers and participants. On a similar note, the category non-Roma is not a monolith either, and it might not always entail a position of privilege, domination, or epistemic authority. Based on his lived experiences, Escobedo (2022, pp. 2, 14) argues that some non-Roma scholars may choose to conduct Roma-related research due to having gone through similar experiences of racialization and racism, which can question dichotomies between

non-Roma identifications and Roma-related issues, and lead to new Roma/non-Roma mutual identifications, boundaries, solidarities, and collaborations. It is important not to downplay the power a researcher may hold in relation to participants, but to nuance non/belongings to Roma communities beyond binary oppositions (Escobedo, 2022, p. 15). Furthermore, drawing from Lapiņa and Vertelytė (2020), a researcher situated in liminal or differentiated whiteness, such as Eastern European scholars in the Nordics, might also not occupy a position of absolute privilege. Still, the former has to be reflexive of historical and ongoing power differentials between Roma and non-Roma in Eastern Europe and in diasporic spaces, as well as question why they want to conduct Roma-related research and how those histories influence their knowledge claims. Without equating liminal whiteness with non-whiteness and without downplaying power imbalances, I argue that highlighting these various research positionalities can destabilize whiteness as the norm against which to explore Romani experiences, as Matache (2016) urges non-Roma researchers to do in their reflexive endeavours.

In addition to questioning one's own positionalities and claims to knowledge, dialogical reflexivity entails engaging Roma participants and activists collaboratively in designing and implementing projects while discussing divergent interests between the various actors (Fotta & Gay y Blasco, 2024a, p. 3). Including participants in knowledge production should consider power asymmetries between researcher and researched, acknowledge the agency of participants, and challenge damaging attitudes towards Roma people like shaming, infantilizing, pitying, and tokenizing (Dunajeva, 2019, pp. 128, 133), as well as avoiding damaging saviour complexes or miring in guilt over one's privileges or failures (Silverman, 2018, pp. 81, 83). Such collaborative practices can generate new research topics while also interrogating the historical and ongoing authority of white researchers (Vajda, 2015, p. 48). Yet research collaborations are not always possible with people working on the streets and surviving from day to day, whose priorities are firstly to provide for their families and not long-term research projects (Saarinen et al., 2020, p. 67). The situation might be different if financial remuneration was offered for the Roma collaborators' valuable time invested in research projects, but this is often not possible due to institutional limitations (Saarinen et al., 2020, p. 67). Indeed, funding priorities undermine research that includes collaborators whose qualifications are not considered standard (Fotta & Gay y Blasco, 2024b, p. 28), which raises questions like, how can researchers attract funding for their projects while being committed to collaborative research, financially compensating their collaborators, and also

complying with funders' requirements? Can those requirements be challenged? Who is in the position to do that without career-related repercussions? And what are the costs of not attempting to destabilize rigid structures? As Custódio and Gathuo (2020, p. 149) have argued, raising the issue of fair payment is a political statement because institutions have a lot to gain from the collaborators' contributions, while collaborators expose themselves to the risk of having their raw and unpublished ideas appropriated or stolen.

Another option is for researchers to reflect on failures of putting into practice collaborative projects. Failures, limitations, frictions, and conflicts can be important moments of mutual learning and reflexivity in collaborative knowledge production (Silverman, 2018, p. 87). For instance, Tidrick (2010, p. 128) reflects on not knowing how to communicate her aims in a relatable way to the Roma women participating in her project, which shows the need to develop the tools and shared language for such collaborative projects, a process that requires time, compassion, gratitude, and humility. Silverman (2018, p. 86) also reflects on her failure to implement a collaborative project with Roma participants due to the latter being too busy working and supporting their families in precarious economies, but hopes to collaborate and even co-author in the future with younger Roma generations who are "better educated" and "hungry for information." Some studies however have indeed implemented new forms of collaboration, co-writing, and co-authorship together with non-academic Roma interlocutors, including those without formal education, through dialogic texts where Roma co-researchers create knowledge in their own terms and analyse socio-cultural phenomena and other researchers' accounts (Gay y Blasco & Hernández, 2012, 2020; Campos & Caldas, 2023; Montañés Jiménez & Carmona, 2023; Peter & Hrustič, 2023; Montañés Jiménez & Gómez Ávila, 2024; Piemontese & Leoco, 2024). Such works are a very recent phenomenon and they have been strongly guided by the pioneering work of Paloma Gay y Blasco and Liria Hernández (2012, 2020), a Roma researcher and a non-Roma co-researcher who wrote about each other and analysed each other's lives, research encounters and relations, and friendship spanning across many years. They wrote in accessible language without references to academic texts inaccessible to members of Roma communities, and argued for how knowledge is made by ethnographers and participants and should be owned by both (Gay y Blasco & Hernández, 2012, 2020).

In the Nordic context, Nordic Romani studies is already an established field, whereas research on Eastern European Roma migrants has been emerging more

recently. Research focusing on Nordic Roma people is argued to have largely moved from the 'on/for' phases towards the 'with/by' Roma phases (Saarinen et al., 2020, p. 56) through transversal dialogues and reciprocity between Roma and non-Roma actors (Pulma, 2012) and Roma conducting research with their own communities and creating their own policies and reports (Friman-Korpela, 2014). While this might be true for studies written in local Nordic languages, Nordic Roma-related publications in English are mainly authored by non-Roma researchers (Publication I). It has further been claimed that EE Roma migrants in the Nordics are still in the 'on/for' research phases due to not being societally 'integrated' and therefore not having the means of doing their own research (Saarinen et al., 2020, p. 57). Such claims may reproduce binary divisions between 'integrated' Nordic Roma citizens and 'problematic' EE Roma migrants, as well as conflate 'integration' within mainstream society with the ability of being a knowing subject thus invisibilizing alternative Romani knowledges. Yet the 'integration' imperative has already been troubled by the "reflexive turn" in migration research (Dahinden, 2016; Schinkel, 2018).

2.2.2 The reflexive turn in migration and BPoC-related research

The recent "reflexive turn" in migration research has generated several changes in how migration should be approached by scholars (Dahinden, 2016; Amelina, 2021). Calls for more reflexivity emerged from critiques of nation-state- and ethnicity-centred epistemologies that reproduce colonial legacies and nationalist discourses, as well as critiques of embeddedness in institutionalized migration apparatuses and of reproducing essentializing discourses of those apparatuses such as the 'native/foreigner' binary and the 'integration' imperative (Brubaker, 2002; Schinkel, 2018). Based on the concept of "migratisation" coined by Alyosxa Tudor (2014, 2017b, 2018) to define the power relations that ascribe migration and construct migrants, these critiques were followed by pleas to de-migratize research on migration (Dahinden, 2016). To this end, some scholars have proposed destabilizing categories like 'migrant', 'refugee', 'asylum seeker', 'native' and focusing on how and why people are ethnicized, racialized, and/or migratized in different ways, how these categorizations interact with each other and with other systems of power, and how and when mobility or mobile people get turned into 'migration' or 'migrants' (Tudor, 2014, 2018; Amelina, 2021). Scholars have further suggested applying epistemologies and methodologies from outside conventional migration research practices like

mobility studies, entangled mobilities, queer and trans studies, conviviality, de/coloniality, and creolization (Gutiérrez Rodríguez, 2015, 2021; Tudor, 2017a; Wyss & Dahinden, 2022; Boatcă & Santos, 2023).

In relation to the plea to de-migratize research on migration (Dahinden, 2016), similar debates had long been raised by BPoC scholars regarding the need to de-migratize BPoC-related research in Europe. In a European context, El-Tayeb (2011) has urged researchers to move beyond normative culturalist and colourblind discourses, which are often reproduced in migration research, and instead focus on naming 'unspeakable' positionalities, such as Europeans of colour. BPoC scholars, artists, and activists in the Nordics have also started going beyond migration in their work, rather focusing on a range of diverse topics, such as access to knowledge production and decolonizing research and academia as emphasized in the previous chapter, racialized and neo/colonial aesthetics of public spaces or of cultural productions (Sawyer & Osei-Kofi, 2020; Mkwesha & Huber, 2021), BPoC audio-visual and literary artistic expressions through the lens of non/belonging, post/ethnic solidarity, Afro-Nordicness, or BPoC subjectivities and aesthetics (Besigye, 2014; Eklund Nhaga, 2018; Askar, 2019; Kelelay, 2019, 2022a, 2022b; Njoroge, 2021a; Njoroge, 2021b), and BPoC-led feminist, anti-racist, and collaborative activist initiatives and collectives inside and outside of universities (kennedy-macfoy, 2014; Custódio & Gathuo, 2020; Abdulkarim & Lindfors, 2021; Nibitegeka, 2021; Marronage, n.d.; Ruskeat Tytöt, n.d.). They thus avoid reifying essentialist categorizations that often conflate migration and race with the expense of ignoring postcolonial power relations and racializations (Tudor, 2017b, p. 24; Raster.fi collective, 2021). For instance, El-Tayeb (2011) has explored the role of hip-hop and other alternative artistic expressions as crucial cultural spheres through which Europeans of colour create counter-archives and engage their experiences of racialization, gendering, queering, and belonging. This is also the case in Afro-Nordic hip-hop, as Kelekay (2019, 2022a, 2022b) shows with a particular focus on Finland. Afro-Finnish hip-hop can be a site to create counter-narratives of liminality in relation to Blackness, mixedness, and Finnishness (Kelekay, 2022a), as well as to challenge, negotiate, and transcend the stigma applied to certain racialized and classed urban spaces associated with migrant populations in the Finnish cultural imaginary (Kelekay, 2022b).

The reflexive turn has also influenced Nordic migration research, with scholars destabilizing categories like 'migrant' (Lundström, 2017) and introducing approaches

from outside of migration studies, such as conviviality (Hemer et al., 2020), entangled mobilities (Ndukwe, 2017; Roman, 2018; Enache, 2018; Markkanen, 2018), and art-based methods (Aure & Al-Mahamid, 2021; Mainsah & Rafiki, 2022). Migration scholars in the Nordics have further applied reflexivity to scrutinize their privileged positionalities as knowledge producers (Andreassen & Myong, 2017; Hoegaerts et al., 2022), highlight the role of affects in knowledge production (Lapiņa, 2017; Kaukko, 2018; Lapiņa & Vertelytė, 2020), analyse participants' reflexivity (T. H. Eriksen, 2015; Lulle & Bankovska, 2019), (attempt to) engage in more ethical collaborations with participants as co-researchers (Pirkkalainen & Husu, 2020; Saarinen et al., 2020), or to explore (possibilities for) alternative co-authorial collaborations between researchers and artists (Aure & Al-Mahamid, 2021; Mainsah & Rafiki, 2022). Such reflexive approaches however have only been taken up by a small number of migration scholars in the Nordics. The wider field of Nordic migration studies is still dominated by research conducted from disembodied, 'all-knowing' stances, reproducing essentializing binary categories and 'integration' imperatives (Rytter, 2019; Groglopo & Suárez-Krabbe, 2023, pp. 2, 10). The latter is problematic because Nordic migration governance technologies, particularly through 'integration', reproduce neo/colonial practices rooted in inclusion/exclusion mechanisms of Nordic nation-state formation, settler colonialism of the Sami indigenous peoples, and internal colonization of historical minorities, particularly the Roma (Keskinen et al., 2019; Roman et al., 2021; Hoegaerts et al., 2022).

Affective methodologies based on autoethnography and memory work have been developed by Lapiņa (2018), Lapiņa and Vertelytė (2020), and Kaukko (2018) to emphasize the key role of embodied emotions in their own reflexivities. Kaukko (2018, p. 347) applies this methodology to enable wellbeing in research encounters with young unaccompanied asylum seekers and to conduct more ethical and trustworthy research, while being reflexive of her positionality as a white Nordic female researcher and a mother. Lapiņa (2018, p. 12) shows how instances of passing as either Nordic or Eastern European accumulate and transform into embodied knowledges about what migration researchers can or cannot do depending on their proximity to or distance from Nordic whiteness. Vertelytė (in Lapiņa & Vertelytė, 2020) is reflexive of instances where she passes as Nordic white in fieldwork encounters with asylum seekers, while being read as Eastern European by her Nordic colleagues in academia. While Kaukko (2018, p. 348) is advised by colleagues to make her voice and positionality more evident in her research with asylum seekers, the

ability of Vertelytė (in Lapiņa & Vertelytė, 2020, p. 7) to engage in reliable research with asylum seekers in a Nordic context is questioned by her Nordic colleagues due to her Eastern European positionality. Kaukko (2018, p. 353) is mindful that the asylum seekers may see her as a representative of hegemonic institutions and communicate with her in a manner they would communicate with immigration officials, thus emphasising the need to create trust through long involvement in the field. However, Vertelytė's Eastern Europeanness was seen as an asset by the asylum seekers in forming solidarities between differently positioned migrants and thus create trust in research encounters (Lapiņa & Vertelytė, 2020, p. 7). The two latter instances show the importance of also focusing on the participants' reflexivity in addition to the researchers' reflexive practices in research.

The reflexivity of Latvian young women participants has been analysed by Lulle and Bankovska (2019), who looked at stories of how the women moved to Finland as children with their families, seeing participants as knowledgeable interpreters of their own life experiences. The authors focus on how participants are reflexive of structural forces, transnational multi-sited relations, and ruptures shaping their agencies and subjectivities then and now (Lulle & Bankovska, 2019, p. 224). Participants' reflexivity has also been analysed by T. H. Eriksen (2015, 15), who shows how migrants' descendants born in the Nordics develop hybridized subjectivities through reflexive awareness of their lives in-between multiple cultures. Young migrants thus use a type of reflexivity that perceives the self as an ongoing project rather than a given, refashioning biographical scripts as they go along (T. H. Eriksen, 2015). Centring participants' reflexivity is important because, as Day (2012, p. 63) points out, placing the reflexive endeavour solely on the researcher may reproduce the assumption that knowledge production and reflexive capabilities rest solely on the dominant knower, reinforcing the knower/known division. However, neither of the authors discussed here brings their participants' reflexivity in dialogue with their own, which can also be problematic since it reproduces the assumption that researchers are exempt from reflexivity while positioning themselves as expert interpreters of others' reflexive practices. A dialogical reflexivity could acknowledge participants as producers of knowledge while also addressing power relations and collaborative limitations (Day, 2012, p. 80).

Several collaborative methodologies between researchers and participants have further been developed. In a research study conducted collaboratively between Pirkkalainen and Husu (2020, pp. 43-44) and four young participants with migration

backgrounds who are active in Nordic civic and political fields, the participants contributed significantly to the analysis of their own life courses that led them to become politically engaged yet they are not listed as co-authors. The study does not include reflections on academic hierarchies regarding authorship, despite claiming to regard co-researchers as partners in knowledge production (Pirkkalainen & Husu, 2020, p. 42). Other researchers in the Nordics have however co-authored research papers with co-researchers, mainly activists and artists (Custódio & Gathuo, 2020; Aure & Al-Mahamid, 2021; Mainsah & Rafiki, 2022).

A critical reflection on collaborations between researchers, activists, and artists is offered by Custódio and Gathuo (2020) based on their media activism against racism in Finland. The authors reflect on the nuances of doing research about BPoC artist and activist communities to which they belong for being Black, but also do not belong for being a researcher and an activist/journalist respectively in relatively privileged socio-economic situations, thus blurring 'insider/outsider' dichotomies (Custódio & Gathuo, 2020, p. 142). When collaborating with people racialized as white, instead of the authors engaging in a self-reflexive process, they expect for their white collaborators to be reflexive of how they can contribute to anti-racist struggles without defensiveness or self-pity (Custódio & Gathuo, 2020, p. 151). They collaborated with white people in stable institutional positions of power to create possibilities for BPoC legitimized spaces of knowledge production and dissemination (Custódio & Gathuo, 2020, p. 151). Perhaps an additional direction for the authors to take to further nuance collaborations across differences could have been to also collaborate with people positioned marginally within the institutional and structural power afforded by Nordic whiteness, such as Eastern European artists and activists. What might be the obstacles preventing such possible collaborations? I will return to this question later in this chapter.

There have also been co-authorial collaborative attempts with less privileged members of marginalized communities in the Nordics. One such study was co-authored by a researcher and an artist, both Black Africans living in Norway who reflect on their involvement in an artistic event and the potential of art and arts-based methods for exploring migrant and diasporic African youth identities (Mainsah & Rafiki, 2022). Yet the young African migrants who participated in the study did not see the benefit of being named as co-authors of a text written in an alienating academic genre, thus questioning the value of using academic publications as a venue for collaborative knowledge production and dissemination (Mainsah &

Rafiki, 2022, p. 14). The participant-artists shaped the direction of the artistic events and contributions based on each artist's expertise, with the artist who also acted as project leader and second author switching between leading the project and participating in activities led by the participants, in a process of mutual knowledge exchange and learning (Mainsah & Rafiki, 2022, p. 12). The first author developed the analysis, included literature references, applied academic norms to the text structure, and trained the second author on the academic writing genre, while the second author had content and editorial inputs (Mainsah & Rafiki, 2022, p. 13). Perhaps beyond questioning entirely the value of academic publications as collaborative knowledge production sites, it could have also been helpful for the researcher-author to conduct the writing process in the same way that the artist-author acted in her artistic co-production with the artist-participants. This could have pushed the boundaries of the academic writing genre to unforeseeable directions emerging from the co-researchers' creative initiatives, as for instance Gay y Blasco and Hernández (2012, 2020) have attempted to push the boundaries of Roma-related anthropology and co-authorial collaborations with people who are 'semi-literate'.

Questions on im/possibilities of including participants as co-researchers and knowledge producers have also been raised by Saarinen, Puurunen, and Enache (2020) in their research with EE Roma migrants in the Nordics. In order to engage in collaborative research, the authors argue, it is important to reconsider one's methodological choices, discuss findings and interpretations with collaborators, and shift from pre-defined interviews to open ones where collaborators have the chance to challenge the researcher's aims and assumptions and ask their own questions, as well as to narrative or life story methods where one can tell stories in the directions they choose (Saarinen et al., 2020, p. 65). They further highlight the importance of building strong connections with co-researchers over long periods of time based on mutual trust, on sharing with each other difficult problems or happy events, taking part in important moments of each other's lives, and on being actively involved in the everyday struggles of the EE Roma community in Finland while coming up with possible solutions and hopes for the future from the perspectives of Roma themselves (Saarinen et al., 2020, p. 66). However, it is difficult to align researchers' and co-researchers' knowledge interests and views of the benefits of research or even to communicate what research and collaboration are to people who have not had access to formal education (Saarinen et al., 2020, p. 69). Yet, as Gay y Blasco and Hernández (2020) have shown in the product of their collaboration, a book co-authored by a non-Roma researcher and a Roma co-researcher, collaborative

research can benefit from staying with the tensions between researchers' and co-researchers' different views and interests, with not trying to align them, but rather with discussing them, making them visible, putting them side by side, and allowing such friction to challenge academic divides and conventions.

Migration scholars became interested in EE Roma migrants starting with the 2004-2007 so called 'Eastern expansion' of the European Union and the subsequent increased migration of Roma people from Eastern Europe to the Nordic region (Nordberg, 2004; Vesalainen & Leinonen, 2008; Enache, 2010; Engebrigtsen, 2011; Markkanen et al., 2012; Warius, 2011; Roman, 2014; Djuve et al., 2015; Ciulinaru, 2017; Spehar et al., 2017; Tervonen & Enache, 2017; Gripenberg, 2019; Himanen, 2019; Saarinen et al., 2020). Research interest initially arose from the paradox occurring at the intersection of free mobility, EU citizenship, homelessness, poverty, and street work and begging in societies built on work- and welfare cultures. The challenge for many researchers therefore was how to portray this paradox and how to challenge racist public discourses without exoticizing or criminalizing the people impacted by those. Such uses of reflexivity centred on minimizing damaging discourses and attitudes toward making accurate and valid research representations and influencing advocacy and policymaking, yet those approaches risked producing a homogenous image of Roma migrants.

Yet Nordic Roma-related migration studies have also challenged essentializing nation-state- and ethnicity-focused approaches and East/South-West/North migration patterns, by showing the heterogeneity and divergent agencies of Roma people or focusing on alternative and entangled mobilities (Roman, 2014, 2018; Enache, 2018; Markkanen, 2018), thus echoing the "reflexive turn" in migration studies (Dahinden, 2016; Wyss & Dahinden, 2022). One such study was based on interviews with Finnish Roma academics, artists, and social workers on their views regarding the more recently arrived Eastern European Roma mainly from Romania and Bulgaria (Roman, 2014). The respondents tended to detach themselves from EE Roma due to not wanting to be associated with begging and criminality, thus reproducing mainstream public discourses (Roman, 2014, p. 803). They did not want to lose their status within Finnish society which grants them several official rights, nor did they want the resources for the Finnish Roma community to be diminished due to the arrival of EE Roma (Roman, 2014, p. 800). While they invoked common histories of attempted forced assimilation of Roma people as part of European nation state building, they used that as an additional argument for detachment, since

the severe marginalization of EE Roma in Finland currently reminded them of their historical position in the country and ignited fear of going back to something they thought belonged to a distant past (Roman, 2014, p. 803).

The research by Roman (2014) contributes to highlighting the heterogeneity and divergent agencies of Roma people, yet it also reproduces certain divisions without putting them into a wider reflexive context. For instance, in their efforts to articulate their Europeanness and aspirations to white privileges, non-Roma Romanian migrants who perceive themselves as white also distance themselves from Roma migrants in Northern Europe, yet they often do so through overt and violent anti-Roma racism (Tudor, 2017a). In the case of Finnish Roma however, their detachment from EE Roma stems from fear of losing certain rights associated with their already marginalized positioning within Finnish society, rights that were achieved after many decades of Roma civil rights movements (Stenroos, 2019). Entangling these different migration-related experiences could show how Finnish Roma fears of being associated with EE Roma migrants are caused by the structural racism they experience in a society built on white supremacy, while white Romanian migrants' attitudes are driven by wishes to overcome their liminal positionings in relation to normative whiteness, to be recognized as fully white, and thus take part in white supremacy.

In her research with Finnish Roma individuals engaging in missionary work with Roma communities in Romania, Roman (2018) applied the entangled mobilities approach. She explored Finnish Roma missionaries' North–South transnational mobility, as well as Romanian Roma representatives' South-North mobility when invited to participate in planning meetings and express their communities' views (Roman, 2018, p. 48). The multiple unequal entanglements between non/believers, non/Roma, missionaries, missionized, pastors, members of local communities, researcher, and researched, occurring trans/locally in small locations and across borders in multiple directions, highlight the necessity of broadening understandings of Roma mobility among migration scholars (Roman, 2018, pp. 49, 52).

The entangled mobilities approach has also been applied by Ndukwe (2017) in studying trans-local and trans-continental mobilities of African migrants to and within Finland and from Finland to other locations, which similarly highlights the necessity of broadening understandings of African mobility in a Nordic context and beyond. Ndukwe (2017, p. 117) starts by entangling experiences of discrimination of

both Black African and white EE migrants in the Nordics who share socio-economic similarities yet differ in terms of racialization and racism due to skin colour. Experiences of racism were the main trigger for the African participants' mobilities within and outside of the Nordic space (Ndukwe, 2017, p. 127). Ndukwe (2017, p. 124) also entangles past and present mobilities and experiences of racism by drawing parallels with Rosa Emilia Clay's 19th century experience of moving to Finland from Namibia (Rastas, 2013). Racism did not diminish once some of the participants acquired Finnish citizenship (Ndukwe, 2017, p. 133). Lundström (2017, p. 85) has similarly shown how Nordic citizens of colour do not automatically enjoy national belonging, and upward social mobility is more easily achievable when one can embody or pass into Nordic whiteness. Driven by multiple structural forces, the African participants in the research by Ndukwe (2017, p. 136) engage in multiple, multi-layered, and sometimes partial mobilities and belongings, during which they acquire entangled cosmopolitan skills and abilities to negotiate their racialization, subjectivities, and belongings across multiple locations. In the case of EE migrants however, as Lundström (2017, p. 84) argues, Nordic whiteness may broaden and include them within its boundaries, especially their descendants.

2.2.3 Reflexivity and Eastern European migration research

Departing from the claim in Lundström's study that children of white EE migrants will be unproblematically 'integrated' into Nordic whiteness (2017, p. 85), an exploration of the racialization experiences of white Polish migrants' descendants who were born or grew up in Sweden is offered by Runfors (2021). The study shows the descendants possess both materialized, physical whiteness, as well as performative abilities of Swedish whiteness (Runfors, 2021, p. 65). Their Polish parents, however, while possessing materialized whiteness, most often cannot enact performative Swedish whiteness (Runfors, 2021, p. 73). Moreover, the descendants of Polish migrants still have to navigate a radar that could make them involuntarily visible when markers of Polishness surface (Runfors, 2021, p. 74). They thus have to consider whether to conceal or reveal their Polishness by reading various contexts and possible unwanted consequences (Runfors, 2021, p. 74). The study by Runfors (2021) shows how Nordic whiteness is still not broad enough to unproblematically include EE migrants and their descendants within its boundaries. Still, passing or not passing into Nordic whiteness is a choice for descendants of white EE migrants, which confers them relative privileges and mobility, while their parents might also pass into Nordic whiteness if they learn how to perform it. Nordic citizens and their

parents who cannot pass as white are however othered regardless of their ability to perform Nordicness due to visual markers like skin colour, which unlike clothing and body movements, cannot be un/learned.

Some research unreflexively equates the discrimination experienced by white EE migrants in the Nordics with racism. It has been argued that claims towards colonial innocence in Iceland make it difficult to acknowledge racism against EE migrants like Poles and Lithuanians, as well as explains how racism against EE migrants is seen as acceptable (Loftsdóttir, 2017, pp. 71, 74). According to that study, the EE migrants' experiences of racism show how racism against people exploited as 'inexpensive' labour intersects with class and nationality, positioning the migrants in the lowest 'step' within the hierarchies of interconnected world of work and nations (Loftsdóttir, 2017, p. 75). The author further argues that Icelanders are keener to work with African rather than EE migrants due to perceiving the former as more 'exciting' and as adding to a presumed multicultural landscape, which she also sees as racism yet argues that has less harmful consequences due to being situated within a discourse of celebrating differences perceived as 'exotic' (Loftsdóttir, 2017, p. 75). What is worrying about Loftsdóttir's approach (2017) is that, rather than using her analysis towards solidarity based on overlapping yet different experiences of non-belonging, she seems to instead reinforce divisions based on competing for who is more victimized, while ignoring wider EE complicity in supra-national racist and neo/colonial structures based on white supremacy (Tudor, 2022, p. 8). Przybyszewska (2021, p. 38) similarly argues that the racism experienced by Polish and other EE migrants in Norway can be explained through a new cultural racism that, drawing from the author's reading of Balibar (2007), has replaced racism based on biological markers like skin colour and shifted the focus from race to migration. However, culturalizing arguments have always been part of racializing ones (Hall, 2000, p. 223; Gunaratnam, 2003, p. 5), 'race' is not just 'biology' but is also a cultural construct, and 'biology' is also not immune to culture (Tudor, 2022, p. 6). Therefore, as Tudor (2017b, p. 29; 2022, p. 6) argues, focusing solely on migration, class, and nationality as categories of difference is insufficient for grasping the functioning of racism.

More critically reflexive perspectives have been offered by Krivonos (2020, 2023) and Kingumets and Sippola (2022), who intersect migration processes related to Russians and Estonians in Finland with postcolonial histories and realities and with power relations shaped by the coloniality of power, racial capitalism, and white supremacy. Krivonos (2023, p. 13) argues that Russian migrants, while expelled from

hegemonic whiteness, tend to remain loyal to the system of white supremacy and anti-Blackness, thus reproducing racial hierarchies and a racial capitalist system that also degrades them. While Krivonos (2020, 2023) highlights how Russians lose white privileges after migration to Finland, Kingumets and Sippola (2022, p. 171) observe how Estonians become more aware of their whiteness after migration to Finland and collectively cultivate their whiteness as useful racial capital in negotiating better places in Finnish society. The authors also notice 'solidarities', or rather complicities between Estonians and Russians when asserting their whiteness through racism against other racialized migrants (Kingumets & Sippola, 2022, p. 172). However, as Krivonos (2020, p. 403) pleas, solidarities should overthrow racial hierarchies rather than attempting to fit within them in a better place.

Still, Krivonos considers Eastern Europeanness to be one form of racialization (2023, p. 1) and claims that all Russian migrants, regardless of how they are ethnicized or racialized, experience racism in Finland (2020, p. 396; 2023, p. 5), associating racism with aspects like language, accent, clothing (2020, p. 402), and having a Russian name (2023, p. 5). By not differentiating between differently racialized EE people, the argument makes it impossible to think of an EE migrant as anything other than white. Intelligible Europeanisation is indeed a privileged racialisation as white, and East Europeanisation can be a less privileged racialisation as white that interconnects with postcolonial and postsocialist conditions, yet this does not mean that ascribing EE migration is racist (Tudor, 2017b, p. 31). Claiming so would render the racism experienced by Roma, Black, Arab, or Asian Eastern Europeans who may migrate to the Nordic countries the same as the discrimination experienced by a white EE migrant, when in fact the former will not be ascribed with Eastern Europeanness but with extra-European migration (Tudor, 2018, pp. 4-5). EE languages, names, and accents may position someone "differentially" in relation to Nordic whiteness and may entail discrimination in the labour market or in academia (Lapiņa & Vertelytė, 2020). Yet they do not automatically construct someone as non-white so they do not imply racism, whereas asking someone where they are 'really' from and positioning them outside both intelligible western/northern Europeanness *and* "differentiated" Eastern Europeanness (Lapiņa & Vertelytė, 2020) is indeed a racist ascription of migration (Tudor, 2017b, p. 31).

Eastern European migration research in the Nordics can thus be seen to conceptualise what is claimed to be racism against EE migrants by equating racism with what Alyosxa Tudor calls "migratism" (2017b). "Migratism" is the power relation that ascribes migration, it is dependent on geopolitical and classist power

relations, and it can also be a strategy of racism, although not every ascription of migration is racist since there can be more or less privileged migratisations (Tudor 2017b, pp. 26, 30). Racism does not only refer to migration, but to underlying power relations constructing hegemonic understandings of Europeanness and European societies (Tudor, 2017b, p. 31). While racism and migratism can be mutually constitutive and entangled, equating them can invisibilize Black Europeans and Europeans of colour within experiences and theories of racism (Tudor, 2017b, pp. 31, 33). The concept of migratism helps theorize the discriminating effects of ascribing Eastern European migration and its interconnections with postcolonial and postsocialist conditions, yet this does not mean that ascribing Eastern European migration is necessarily racist (Tudor, 2017b, pp. 30, 31). I will further expand on this in the next chapter.

As already mentioned, BPoC scholars in the Nordics have started to move beyond migration in their research, thus challenging the conflation of race with migration. EE scholars in the Nordics however largely focus on migration in their research. They treat it as a defining factor of their own or of their participants' lived experiences and aim for more EE representation in migration studies and critical race and whiteness studies. Given these differential research interests, how could BPoC-EE dialogues in a Nordic context and beyond be nurtured? Such dialogues can present multiple tensions. Learning from those disharmonies is an important step towards more mutually reflexive and beneficial dialogues and collaborations. Drawing from Tudor (2017b, p. 27), I suggest that one possible tension can arise from unreflexively equating nationalizing discriminatory readings from white EE social positionings with racializing ones thus risking the reproduction of hegemonic understandings of both "intelligible" Europeanness *and* "differentiated" East Europeanness as whiteness. Tudor (in Tudor & Rexhepi, 2021, p. 193) further reflected on how their suggestion that not all migration-based discrimination can be called racism has been met with defensiveness by some white EE scholars whose agenda is including research on what they perceive as racism against EE migrants into anti-racist scholarship. Rather than pushing for mutually beneficial EE-BPoC solidarities, Tudor claims, the scholars in question seem to express feelings of being left out from anti-racist scholarship due to critical race theory not diversifying its definitions of racism, whiteness, and white supremacy to include racism against white EE migrants (Tudor & Rexhepi, 2021, p. 193; Tudor, 2022, p. 8).

Of course, not all EE scholars express such feelings, as the research by Krivonos (2020, 2023) and Kingumets and Sippola (2022) shows. But as I pointed above, even

critically reflexive scholarship insists on naming the discrimination faced by white EE migrants as racism. Examining racism against EE migrants should however start from the position of people racialised as non-white across EE, such as Roma people and East Europeans of colour, and place their histories and lived experiences at the forefront of the analysis (Rexhepi in Tudor & Rexhepi, 2021, pp. 197, 203). This shows the importance of foregrounding Roma-related research in discussions of EE-BPoC solidarities in Nordic knowledge production. Such discussions should address the role of EE whiteness in the modern white supremacist project and focus on the messy and contradictory relatedness of BPoC, Romani, and EE approaches (Tudor in Tudor & Rexhepi, 2021, p. 194). Research should also take into account that these are not fixed categories but that they often blur within one another since there are of course Eastern Europeans of colour, and since Roma scholars may employ PoC ontologies and BPoC epistemologies when discussing experiences of colonization and racism (Kóczé in Kóczé & Bakos, 2021, pp. 213-214). Nordic Roma-related migration research is still an emerging field and EE Roma migrants do not yet have access to knowledge production, although as this review of literature has shown, researchers in the Nordics have started aiming for more reflexive and collaborative approaches with Roma migrants while acknowledging limitations and obstacles. This research would perhaps benefit from more BPoC scholarly engagement to move beyond dominant representations of Roma by white scholars, and to create new coalitions (Escobedo, 2022).

Overall, drawing from the literature review, I argue that Nordic migration and BPoC-related research and Romani studies can learn a lot about reflexivity and collaboration from each other's emerging approaches. The next chapter shows how more dialogues between and beyond all of the plural and unequal approaches presented in this chapter can creolize Nordic migration research.

3 CREOLIZING ONTO-EPISTEMOLOGIES AND METHODOLOGIES

Recent years have seen more studies approaching migration and education from decolonial perspectives in the Nordics, as the previous chapter's literature review has also shown. Yet, as Groglopo and Suárez-Krabbe (2023) and Tlostanova (2023a) point out, Nordic studies tend to conflate decolonial with postcolonial or with poststructuralist approaches without making the differentiation between these fields' different genealogies and approaches to knowledge production. Therefore, bringing them into dialogue, without subsuming one into another, might be more productive, rather than drawing strict boundaries between plural fields (Donadey, 2011, p. 63). Creolization as a methodological tool can enable dialogues between and beyond seemingly disparate knowing subjects, research fields, epistemologies, and methodologies, exploring unequal power relations that tie them, and the tensions emerging from those dialogues toward imagining and practicing new research possibilities (Lionnet & Shih, 2011, p. 2; Parvulescu & Boatcă, 2023, p. 127). One way of doing that, as the literature review has pointed out, is by bringing into dialogue research from BPoC, Romani, and EE perspectives in the Nordics, while highlighting the tensions that might prevent collaborations based on overlapping yet different experiences of non-belonging. By treating those tensions as opportunities for mutual learning, such dialogues can carve out spaces for plural and unequal subaltern knowledges within Nordic migration research, a field that is still largely dominated by researchers writing from hegemonic positionings. This points to the necessity to continue imagining and practicing new reflexive, collaborative research approaches beyond hegemonic gazes and approvals for legitimacy. The hope is to generate interconnected transformative possibilities for decolonizing knowledge production, without erasing power differences and tensions.

This chapter delves into the onto-epistemological and methodological approaches and contributions through which my thesis joins these endeavours. I bring together theories of creolization from the Caribbean; Latin American decolonial thought; recent critical, decolonial, and collaborative methodologies emerging in migration, BPoC, and Romani studies; theorizations of reflexivity across

and beyond plural research paradigms; autoethnography as autohistoria-teoría, theatre-based methods, creative writing, and Romani storytelling techniques, with the aim of creolizing the onto-epistemologies and methodologies of Nordic migration research.

3.1 Theoretical and conceptual dialogues between creolization, coloniality, entangled migrations, and migratism/migratisation

In this section I review the theories and concepts that offer the lens through which I address my research questions: creolization, coloniality, entangled migrations, and migratism/migratisation. Creolization is also the main methodological tool through which the thesis brings into dialogue various empirical, theoretical, and artistic approaches to expand the research imagination and create the overall thesis framework. Applying a creolized lens to migration studies is a recent emerging approach (Santos, 2020; Gutiérrez Rodríguez, 2021; Boatcă & Santos, 2023). In a Nordic context, creolization has been applied by T. H. Eriksen (2003, 2015) to describe the subjectivities of descendants of migrants in Norway and Denmark who live in-between worlds and mix elements of the multiple worlds they inhabit to ongoingly refashion their subjectivities. Keskinen (2022, p. 134) has also referred to creolization as a way of creating communities of belonging among mixed youth, which she argues occupies a marginal position within wider processes of postethnic activism in the Nordics. In Romani studies, although not using the term creolization, Costache (2018) has proposed applying Glissant's notion of cross-fertilization of multiple histories (cited in Alcoff, 2006, p. 124) to create pluritopic, multifarious Romani counter-histories that engage with other subaltern counter-histories and thus create porous Romani subjectivities (Costache, 2018, p. 39), which is similar to what creolization entails. Parvulescu and Boatcă (2023, pp. 124-125) have used creolization to show neglected and marginalized relational configurations in analyses of coerced labour, inter-relating Roma people's *longue durée* history of mobility with both India and the Caribbean. This thesis contributes to applying creolization within Nordic migration and BPoC-related emerging research and within Romani studies.

Édouard Glissant (1981) introduced the concept of creolization based on Caribbean histories and ontologies, including colonialism, slavery, racial classification, forced displacement, loss of social identity, and a double consciousness based on experiences of oppression and struggles for liberation. Later

in his work, Glissant (1997) engages creolization as a new way of seeing the world in relational and interdependent ways based on multiple, unexpected, transversal encounters and connections. He develops creolization by departing from creoleness. Bernabé, Chamoiseau, and Confiant (1990, pp. 891-892) see creoleness as a transactional aggregate of "Caribbean, European, African, Asian, and Levantine" elements, which forge a new creative humanity from extreme adversities and inequalities. Creoleness is thus an ontological entity emerging from the process of creolization, the latter entailing brutal, non-harmonious, and unfinished mixing between peoples, histories, languages, cultures, etc. (Bernabé et al., 1990, pp. 893-894). While creoleness is firmly rooted in the Caribbean, the authors also see the world as evolving into a state of creoleness, which they present as a convivial alternative of "a world diffracted but recomposed, the conscious harmonization of preserved diversities" (Bernabé et al., 1990, pp. 902-903). Glissant (1997) however moves from the ontological entities or identarian essences of creoleness to the ongoing, relational processes of creolization (p. 89). He thus sees creolization more as an epistemology and methodology rather than a state of being (Glissant, 1997, p. 196), a traveling theoretical and methodological stance functioning as a mode of worlding (Parvulescu & Boatcă, 2023, p. 122).

Glissant also develops creolization in contrast to racial mixing or hybridity. The latter reproduces essentialist racialized social orders inherited from colonialism by relating distinct racial entities to each other, without mutual transformations (Murdoch, 2023, p. 110). In contract, creolization is a limitless hybridization that creates new vocabularies not inscribed in any hegemonic script, with its elements diffracted and its consequences unforeseeable (Glissant, 1997, p. 34). Hybridity can momentarily disrupt dominant knowledge by posing cultural differences alongside one another and allowing them to co-exist without being objectified (Bhabha, 1994, p. 114). Yet the hierarchies, although temporarily disturbed, ultimately remain in place, with distinct entities having to tolerate one another without allowing each other to engage in mutually rewarding and transformative learning processes toward unpredictable consequences (Murdoch, 2023, p. 110). Creolization however results in new unequal configurations that cannot be restored to their initial 'pure' elements because these have been permanently 'translated' (Hall, 2015, pp. 15-16).

Creolization thus speaks about both social *and* epistemic contradictions and conflicts, while engaging with transformative struggles and processes towards common futures and unforseeability (Gutiérrez Rodríguez, 2021, p. 17). It is a

multidirectional, reciprocal, and mutually constituting process that nonetheless always entails "issues of mastery and servitude, control and resistance" (Hall, 2015, p. 15). By keeping these contradictory factors together, creolization is grounds for creative expressions and practices, as well as for making visible and challenging domination, hegemony, and subalternity (Hall, 2015, p. 16). When applied beyond the Caribbean context, creolization should not be romanticized, but rather treated as a mode of transformation and creativity premised on the unequal power relations that characterize modernity/coloniality—dispossession, colonization, violence, and enslavement—and their legacies (Parvulescu & Boatcă, 2023, p. 127). As such, by applying creolization in my thesis, I highlight ways of going beyond the power hierarchies in both migration lived experiences *and* knowledge production on migration in the Nordic context, which are shaped by the coloniality of knowledge and of migration, while also showing how creolization itself emerges within the dynamics of coloniality.

Aníbal Quijano (1992) introduced the concept of coloniality based on the context of Latin America, on how Eurocentrism places Europe as the centre of knowledge, humanity, enlightenment, and democracy, while erasing indigenous knowledges and governance systems that have existed in the Americas before European colonization and dispossession, as well as erasing African knowledges that travelled to the Americas with the trans-Atlantic slave trade. Quijano (2000, 2008) then applied coloniality to a global analysis of racial configurations and epistemological grounds that constitute a global matrix of power deriving from European colonialism and governing our present times. Global coloniality thus controls discourses, technologies, and practices of governing labour relations of production and social reproduction, cultural and political representation, circulation of knowledge and educational endeavours (Quijano, 2000, 2007). Since Quijano introduced this concept with a particular focus on power, economy, labour, authority, and race, the approaches to coloniality have proliferated into coloniality of knowledge (Mignolo, 2000; Grosfoguel & Cervantes-Rodríguez, 2002; Mignolo & Tlostanova, 2006; Castro-Gómez, 2007; Mignolo & Escobar, 2010; Tlostanova, 2015), gender (Lugones, 2007, 2010a, 2010b), being (Wynter, 2003; Maldonado-Torres, 2007), and more recently also coloniality of citizenship (Boatcă & Roth, 2016) and of migration (Gutiérrez Rodríguez, 2018, 2021). Of particular relevance to this thesis are the coloniality of knowledge, being, and of migration.

Coloniality of knowledge controls models of cognition, thinking, seeing, and interpreting the world and people, subject-object relations, disciplinary and academic divisions, and production and distribution of knowledge based on rules set by European modernity and assumed to be universal, delocalized, and disembodied (Tlostanova, 2015, p. 39). European modernity is thus a knowledge generating system, since the idea of modernity needs to legitimize itself by creating its own system of knowledge, which in addition disavows other systems of knowledge by absorbing their content or rejecting them (Tlostanova, 2015, p. 40). Hegemonic disciplines are also grounded in the coloniality of being manifested as the "hubris of the zero-point" as an undisputed locus of enunciation of the disembodied observer who cannot be observed and who is seemingly free from subjective biases in producing 'pure truth' (Castro-Gómez, 2007). Scholars writing from the hubris of the zero-point thus reproduce the coloniality of being by focusing on frozen and de-ontologized disciplines and not human beings in the real world, rejecting unpleasant truths and turning to pleasant self-deceptions, disciplinary rituals, and even deliberate acts of bad faith (Gordon, 2010, p. 54; Tlostanova, 2015, p. 41). To challenge the coloniality of knowledge and being, it is therefore important to enact coalitions between disavowed systems of knowledge and create a transversal coalitional consciousness (Tlostanova, 2015, p. 41). In the previous chapter I touched upon how the coloniality of knowledge and being functions in a Nordic context by shaping who is considered a knowing subject and can make knowledge claims in Nordic academia, as well as sketched possible ways of enacting coalitions between disavowed knowers and knowledges. The thesis enacts such transversal coalitions by bringing into dialogue BPoC, Romani, and EE disavowed knowers and knowledges in a Nordic context through creolization.

Similar to creolized cultures or communities, objects of study that are seemingly separated are in fact also historically inter-related and interdependent, which speaks to how knowledge production practices and politics, disciplines or non/academic fields, and social inequalities are mutually constituted (Lionnet & Shih, 2011, p. 2). Creolizing research thus entails connecting study fields, and their epistemologies and methodologies, which are artificially separated by disciplinary, linguistic, or institutional boundaries (Constable 2011, 138), or in other words siloed and hierarchized by knowledge politics shaped by the coloniality of knowledge. Dominant disciplines position themselves as powerful academic 'centres' validating existing and emerging theoretical 'truths' and thus preventing communication

between marginalized, subaltern, or emergent paradigms of knowledge (Constable, 2011, p. 138).

Of particular importance is therefore connecting "minor to minor" fields of study by placing them in a mutually beneficial relation where they learn from each other and overlap their theoretical frameworks (Donadey, 2011, p. 63), thus transgressing hegemonic disciplines and challenging the coloniality of knowledge (Constable, 2011, p. 138). Creolization foregrounds the knowledge produced as a result of encounters and entanglements between both people *and* disciplines, between uneven but interdependent multiple ways of being and knowing which are marked by socio-economic, epistemic, gendered, and racialized inequalities (Lionnet & Shih, 2011, p. 2). Without idealizing all entanglements, they become situations producing the possibility of a theory or a method that can itself be conceptualized as creolization (Lionnet & Shih, 2011, p. 28). Creolization thus opens spaces for theorizing though and with the translations, mediations, clashes, and discords resulting from unequal encounters and entanglements (Constable, 2011, p. 121). One such form of entanglement through which this thesis engages with a "process of becoming theory of the minor" (Lionnet & Shih, 2011, p. 21) can be found in entangled migrations.

Entangled migrations occur between two poles: the coloniality of migration and creolization (Gutiérrez Rodríguez, 2021, p. 17). The coloniality of migration operates within the colonial matrix of power (Quijano, 2000) by relying on migration policies and apparatuses that reiterate coloniality through producing objects to be governed through management devices, administrative categorizations of a variety of migrant statuses, and restrictions upon entry, mobility, and settlement (Gutiérrez Rodríguez, 2018, p. 201). Who would be considered a migrant of a certain status depends on specific local genealogies of othering intersecting with colonial logics of objectification, which establish racial formations configured on legal grounds and political terms, produce hierarchical orders through processes of application and recognition of different residence permits, and ultimately reproduce the citizen/migrant divide mirroring the entrenchment of modernity and coloniality (Gutiérrez Rodríguez, 2018, pp. 203-204). The coloniality of migration thus entails not only the production of a racialized exteriority to the norm of intelligible European whiteness, but it also operates within the dynamics of exploitation of the colonial-modern world system (Gutiérrez Rodríguez, 2018, p. 205). The coloniality of migration and creolization are two sides shaping entangled migrations, which look at migration as territorially and temporally entangled onto-epistemological

phenomena (Gutiérrez Rodríguez, 2021, p. 1). Whereas the coloniality of migration examines the structural conditions and constraints created by the governance of migration through racial and colonial differences and generating asymmetrical social relations and entangled inequalities, creolization denotes everyday practices and social encounters that escape the logic of racial and colonial hierarchies and create unexpected moments of agency, transformation, relationality, and interconnectedness (Gutiérrez Rodríguez, 2021, p. 19). Brought together, the two concepts show the potentials and limits of multiple unequal encounters across time and space. Entangled migrations thus highlight conflictual moments, tensions between the potential of a transversal living together towards unforeseeable futures and the blocking of that potential through structural forces of domination (Gutiérrez Rodríguez, 2021, p. 17).

By bringing into dialogue Gutiérrez Rodríguez's concept of entangled migrations (2021) with Tudor's concepts of migratisation/migratism (2017b, 2018), this thesis looks at entangled migratisations/migratisms between BPoC and EE Roma and non-Roma people in various small localities I have researched autoethnographically in Finland. Migratisation constructs the ascription of migration and migratism is the discrimination based on the ascription of migration, which may or may not be racist since there are more or less privileged migratisations (Tudor, 2017b, p. 23). Tudor (2017b, p. 24) introduced these concepts to challenge critical approaches emerging from the reflexive turn in migration studies which, although they have successfully moved beyond the 'integration' paradigm of traditional scholarship on migration, they often define migration as a central category of difference in the analysis of racism while ignoring wider power relations shaping racism like neo/colonialisms and coloniality. I have touched upon migratism in the previous chapter, when reviewing tendencies of equating migratism against white migrants with racism in EE migration scholarship in the Nordics, which may invisibilize the experiences of both Eastern and Northern Europeans of colour, including Roma people. Similarly, equating racialisation with migratisation can whiten understandings of migration or reinforce already whitened understandings of Europeanness (Tudor, 2018, p. 3). Migratisation constructs certain people as 'at home' while constructing others as migrants and it does not always rely on the act of crossing borders (Tudor, 2018, p. 8). Migratisation and migratism thus make it possible to analyse both migration-based discrimination and discrimination based on perceived migration (Tudor, 2022, p. 10). Someone who indeed crossed borders may be constructed as 'at home' while a citizen may be constructed as a migrant. Or someone may be constructed as a

privileged migrant with access to social mobility, whereas someone else may be subjected to strict immigration controls or be denied access to certain residence permits. Migratisation thus intersects with racialisation depending on context-specific moments and interactions with other power relations shaped by the coloniality of migration (Tudor, 2018, p. 2; Gutiérrez Rodríguez, 2018).

The multiple possible forms of migratisation denote "differential racialisations" that imply interconnected yet different forms of racialisation and racism (Brah, 1996). More or less privileged white migratisations denote "differentiated whiteness" that implies various distances from or proximities to hegemonic whiteness and the discriminations that may come with that (Lapiņa & Vertelytė, 2020). While differentiated whiteness is indeed a form of racialisation with certain discriminatory consequences, such as reproducing European internal hierarchies and implying that EE people are not white enough, it is not a racist migratisation because it is not constructed in full opposition to and outside of Europeanness or whiteness (Tudor, 2022, p. 12). By entangling plural unequal migratisations/migratisms, the thesis highlights how some migratisations and migratisms are racist while others are not, while also drawing connections between overlapping yet different experiences of non-belonging, which can lead to new creolized interconnections between peoples and knowledges without erasing the dynamics of the coloniality of migration and of knowledge within which those entanglements emerge. Entangled migratisations/migratisms thus turn seeming paradoxes into relational knowledges and solidarities, which are emblematic of ongoing creolization processes where unequal social and epistemic power relations are constantly re-negotiated in unexpected ways (Boatcă & Santos, 2023, p. 8).

To sum up, I apply creolization as a political, ethical, and methodological stance to bring into fruitful dialogues plural unequal ways of being, knowing, and doing research. The outcomes of these are not definite solutions, but suggestions of future alternatives to epistemic and social inequalities. These alternatives are possible ways through which the decoloniality of knowledge, of being, and of migration could manifest. Similar to creolization, decoloniality is an open process and not an attainable or even definable result (Tlostanova, 2023a, p. 146), which entails a defamiliarization of the assumptions of modernity as well as its epistemic tools toward a collective endeavor of re-futuring and re-existence (Tlostanova, 2023b, pp. 127, 136). Decoloniality however is a more abstract onto-epistemological imaginary, whereas creolization is a more concrete methodological tool through which the

thesis experiments with possible manifestations of decoloniality, without erasing the ongoing embeddedness within coloniality. In practical terms, I use creolization as method twofold: creolizing research and creolizing social reality. The thesis creolizes research by reimagining and practicing anew reflexivity, research collaborations, and ethics, through interrelating social research with both oral and written literary and theatrical techniques. The thesis creolizes social reality, in particular plural unequal migration lived experiences, through the conceptual tool of entangled migratisations/migratisms. I thus reinscribe previously ignored or discredited knowledges and lived realities into Nordic migration research and social reality (Parvulescu & Boatcă, 2023, p. 127).

I use creolization explicitly in Publication III, specifically the creolization of subjectivities and relationalities between Roma and non-Roma co-researchers positioned through unequal power relations. Yet the other two publications also contribute to this approach even though I do not explicitly use it there. Specifically, all publications interrelate minor-to-minor lived experiences, theories, and methods, exploring unequal power relations that tie them and the tensions emerging from those dialogues, to transgress hegemonic discourses and disciplines and thus challenge the coloniality of knowledge and of migration and imagine new possibilities of living together and doing research together (Lionnet & Shih, 2011, p. 2; Publications I, II, III). Publications II and III further explore entangled and sometimes inter-dependent migrations between plural actors unequally positioned by the coloniality of migration (Gutiérrez Rodríguez, 2018, 2021). The two publications explore entangled migrations in small localities like a migrant integration training, a reception centre for asylum seekers, a cleaning project, and an emergency accommodation centre. Although I do not specifically mention the concept of entangled migrations in those publications, by inter-relating plural and unequal BPoC, Romani, and EE migration lived experiences, they indeed contribute to this emerging approach that opens possibilities to creolize migration research by reinscribing entangled disavowed knowledges into theories of Nordic migration processes (Gutiérrez Rodríguez, 2021; Boatcă & Santos, 2023; Publications II, III).

Furthermore, by applying the concepts of migratisation and migratism, particularly in Publication II and to some extent in Publication I, I differentiate between various lived experiences of unequal migrations and show how those shape access to making knowledge claims (Tudor, 2017b, 2018). Furthermore, with migratisation/migratism I challenge EE claims at equating racism with

discrimination experienced from a differentially white social positioning, while also critically interrogating experiences of being read as Roma from such a positioning and how that relates to knowledge production (Tudor, 2017b, 2018; Publications I, II). Thus, by bringing into dialogue ideas of Gutiérrez Rodríguez (2021) and Tudor (2017b, 2018), I suggest the concept of entangled migratisations/migratisms. By analysing unequal entangled migratisations/migratisms in relational frameworks and in small localities rather than nation states, the thesis contributes to the ongoing reflexive turn in migration studies (Boatcă & Santos, 2023, p. 10). While I do not explicitly mention migratisation/migratism in Publication III, it also contributes to this approach by exploring the relations between my co-author and I, two women unequally migratised, gendered, and racialised, and thus with differentiated access to making knowledge claims shaped by both the coloniality of knowledge and of migration. I name the concept of coloniality in Publication I, yet all publications contribute to this theoretical and conceptual approach as I have highlighted throughout this and the former paragraphs. Overall, I use creolization as a methodological lens to explore and challenge the workings of coloniality in both knowledge production *and* migration lived experiences in the Nordics, as well as to imagine and practice possible alternatives with unforeseeable results.

In the following sections of this chapter, I show how the theoretical framework presented here intersects with the methods of autoethnography as Anzaldúan autohistoria-teoría, theatre-based methods, storytelling, and creative writing, with the aim of entangling multiple unequal knowers, knowledges, migratisations, and migratisms, and thus creolize reflexivity, ethics, and collaboration.

3.2 Entangling multiple knowledges, knowers, migratisations, and migratisms through autoethnography and art-based methods

3.2.1 Autoethnography as Anzaldúan autohistoria-teoría

Autoethnography implies tenets of autobiography and ethnography, blurring lines between art, literature, and research, and mixing storytelling with theorizing, in order to challenge canonical ways of doing research and representing 'others', to resist colonialist and exploitative research practices, to reconsider what research is and how it can be done, and to open research to multiple ways of knowing and being in the

world that accommodate subjectivities, affects, embodiments, and relationalities (Ellis et al., 2011, pp. 2-3). Autoethnographers usually reflect on and theorize personal experiences and epiphanies stemming from cultural non/belongings in dialogue with other cultural members' experiences, existing research on similar lived experiences, broader socio-cultural narratives, and with other forms of inquiry like interviews, field notes, or examining cultural artifacts (Ellis et al., 2011, p. 4). Autoethnographic writing may include aesthetic and evocative storytelling of inter/personal experiences, combined with literary strategies like characters, plots, and multiple shifting authorial voices, to produce analytical yet accessible texts as socially-just acts, which can reach and inspire wider audiences and hopefully contribute to personal and social transformations (Ellis et al., 2011, pp. 5, 11). There are multiple approaches to doing and writing autoethnography, such as narrative, self-reflexive, interactive, collaborative, co-constructed, or community autoethnographies (Ellis et al., 2011, pp. 6-7).

I conducted autoethnographic research from 2015 to 2022 in Finnish educational settings involving diverse migrants occupying multiple positions on both receiving and delivering sides of migration-related services: a migrant 'integration' training at an adult education centre which I attended as a migrant student, a 'pre-integration' training in a reception centre for asylum seekers where I did my job practice, and a cleaning work and training project in an emergency accommodation centre for EE Roma migrants where I worked as mediator and translator. The material consists of:

1) 116 pages of field notes and reflections taken while attending the migrant integration training for 14 months during 2015-2016 (including 2 months spent doing my job practice in a reception centre for asylum seekers)
2) Interviews with 4 teachers working in the integration training and with 2 teachers working in the reception centre. Each interview lasted between 1 and 2 hours. The interviews with the integration training teachers took place on school premises and I conducted them in Finnish due to school policies on teacher-student interaction only to be carried out in Finnish. Given my limited Finnish language skills at the time, the interviews contained pre-defined questions–based on the knowledge I had then about Finnish society and my experiences as a newly arrived migrant–and my engagement with the interviewees was limited. The interviews with the teachers in the reception centre took place in English and contained more open-ended questions and spontaneous conversations. I audio-recorded, transcribed, and translated the interviews from Finnish to English when necessary, resulting in 72 pages of interview

transcriptions. The teachers gave their informed consent for me to utilize the transcribed recordings in publications.

3) 23 coursebooks from the migrant integration training on Finnish language, history, culture, work life, and legislation, created by the teachers I interviewed
4) 6 PowerPoint presentations created by the Finnish Immigration Service to teach asylum seekers in reception centres: Finnish legislation; culture and society; working in Finland; health and wellbeing for a normal life during irregular life situations; food, nutrition, and personal finances; gender equality and sexuality.
5) A recorded Zoom lecture delivered in 2021, consisting of 1 hour and 50 minutes in which I performed theatrical dramatizations of the material 1)-4) and received critical feedback from students, which I transcribed resulting in 21 pages of text. The students gave their informed consent for me to utilize the transcribed lecture recording in publications. I also have 17 pages of feedback received during academic conferences where I delivered similar performances.
6) 110 pages of dramatized play-scripts created based on the material 1)-5)
7) 98 pages of creative non-fictional stories written during my 1-year work experience in 2021 in an emergency accommodation centre for EE Roma migrants
8) 49 hours of audio-recorded conversations taking place between Gabriela, the main Roma co-researcher and co-author, and I during two years in 2021-2022. We met on average twice per month and recorded on average one hour of conversations during each meeting. We listened together to the recordings and selected some of them to transcribe. I transcribed 7 hours of conversations that resulted in 83 pages of stories, which I then translated from Romanian to English.

My approach to autoethnography is based on Gloria Anzaldúa's autohistoria-teoría. She coined this method for marginalized knowers' interventions into and transformations of normative, hegemonic autobiographic and ethnographic forms of research and writing (Anzaldúa, 1987). The aims of autohistoria-teoría are to expose limitations in existing disciplinary paradigms; travel between and beyond multiple disciplines; re-read, re-write, and create new narratives of self-growth, epistemic and socio-cultural critique, and individual/collective transformations (Keating, 2009, p. 319). With autohistoria-teoría I craft my creative and analytical space in Nordic migration research from my "differentiated" positionality in relation to Nordic whiteness (Lapiņa & Vertelytė, 2020), as a Romanian migrant, woman, researcher, student, and worker in Finland, and create new stories of multiple becomings and transformations beyond those categories. Autohistoria-teoría implies relationally-reflexive and creative-theoretical acts, mixing cultural and personal

biographies paired with multiple histories and embodied lived experiences, in dialogue with storytelling, poetry, creative non-fiction, fictionalized accounts, or other forms of theorizing stemming from artistic forms and from body-mind-soul-spirit connections (Anzaldúa, 2009b, p. 578; Keating, 2009, p. 319; Gajardo, 2011, p. 19).

Writing from the body, the intellect, and the imagination entails inner-explorations and ways of knowing that deepen one's range of perception, which may open possibilities for building bridges to cross toward one another beyond differences, anger, and victimhood, toward collective transformations through empathy and solidarity (Anzaldúa, 2009b, pp. 543, 556; Gajardo, 2011, p. 20). I approach autohistoria-teoría through theatre-based methods (Publication II), creative non-fictional writing, and collaborative storytelling (Publication III), through which I bring my personal experiences in dialogue with those of differently positioned knowers in unequal power relations. The aim is exploring new subjective relationalities, epistemic and socio-cultural alliances, productive tensions and frictions, and relational theorizing beyond colonial divides that nonetheless emerge within coloniality. Autohistoria-teoría is thus a creolized space of theorizing, creativity, and bridge building through which I go beyond autoethnographic methods that describe, analyse, and map personal narratives of cultural belonging and already-existing cultural practices onto broader sociocultural discursive spaces (Bhattacharya & Keating, 2018, p. 345). This allows me to create new narratives by examining my previously ignored, disdained, buried, or disowned self-knowledges, self-ignorance, practices of knowing others, and ignorant views of others (Bhattacharya & Keating, 2018, p. 345; Pitts, 2016, p. 357), and explore their connections with multiple alternative knowledges, knowers, and ways of knowing to develop new theories, tools, strategies, and collective insight regarding the im/possibilities of building bridges and coalitions in new and unexpected ways (Bhattacharya & Keating, 2018, p. 353; Arfuso, 2022, p. 603).

The disowned, buried knowledge and ignorance I explore with autohistoria-teoría, as a pre-requisite for building coalitions beyond victimhood, has to do with what Tudor (2017a, p. 26) calls "transing", a way of crossing borders and boundaries to create solidarities. Yet "transing" in relation to race is problematic. In my case, it reproduces white women's desires to pass as woman of colour, a technique of epistemic racism that allows the narrativization of the white subject's knowledge of herself through her sympathetic, seemingly 'innocent' incorporation of others within

that narrative (Ahmed, 1999, p. 100; Publication II). In diasporic contexts, I have often been misread as Roma. I sometimes perceived this misreading as offensive. I later found out that "the ascription as Roma of white Romanians is discriminatory—however, not against the white Romanians, but against the Roma. [T]o perceive it as a harm to be named as 'Roma', to understand the appellation as a slur and the misreading as Roma as wrongful, reproduces antiromaism" (Tudor, 2017b, p. 34). At other times, I took up my misreading as Roma as a strategy to equate the migratism I experience with racism (Publication II). Yet performing an imagined racialized subjectivity from a privileged positioning fetishizes racialized 'others' through "an apparatus of knowledge that masters the other by taking its place" and thus becomes "a form of appropriation in which the other cannot and does not speak" (Ahmed, 1999, pp. 99, 100). My passing as Roma involves access to knowledges embedded in white and colonial privilege that approximate a 'knowable' and decontextualized subjectivity and assume that one can pass for others by adopting their ways of being, thus fixing those ways of being as indicators of what it may mean to be Roma (Ahmed, 1999, p. 102; Publications I, II). Thus, a white Romanian who passes as Roma maintains the difference perpetually reaffirmed by reconstituting the 'other' through the hegemonic self and, rather than "transing", reinstates a similar outcome as that of distancing oneself from being read as Roma through anti-Roma racism.

With the risk of self-exposure, my autohistoria-teoría delved right into these disowned aspects of my subjectivity as a way to create new knowledge and collective insights. This requires applying reflexivity both to those experiences as well as to my positioning as 'judge' of those experiences, and accepting that self-knowledge, like all forms of knowledge, is subject to political and social forms of critique (Pitts, 2016, p. 366). Yet before being able to be reflexive without miring in victimhood, shame, guilt, or "negative epistemic resistance" (Medina, 2012, p. 50), I first had to look into what reflexivity is and how it has been applied previously in Nordic Roma-related research (Publication I). While I tended to be very critical towards what I perceived as lack of reflexivity in other non-Roma researchers' writings, I also saw myself in some of those unreflexive practices (Publications I, II). I thus engaged with my own ignorance and complicity with values that I may not endorse, with knowledge that both exposed and removed my fears, which marks the creative and the painful sides of autohistoria-teoría (Anzaldua, 2009a, p. 553; Pitts, 2016, p. 361; Publications I, II). Since reproducing anti-Roma racism through "transing" is a wider phenomenon in both diasporic and local white Romanian communities (Tudor, 2017a), I shared

some of these revelations also in an article in Romanian for a magazine that publishes artistic, activist, and research interventions, thus reaching wider audiences beyond disciplinary and linguistic divides (Țîștea, 2020a). The magazine article presented the thought process that led me to writing the first publication comprising this thesis, on reflexivity in Roma-related research (Publication I). Sharing these confrontations with my ignorance and knowing practices is part of the ongoing, cyclical process of shifting between negative and positive, internal and external epistemic resistance in search for epistemic communities (Medina, 2012; Pitts, 2016, p. 362; Publications II, III). Positive internal epistemic resistance unmasks prejudices and biases, whereas the negative valence involves a reluctance to learn or a refusal to believe (Medina, 2012, p. 50). Positive external epistemic resistance entails beneficial epistemic friction in bringing into dialogue plural beliefs and knowledges toward reassessing those and considering new ones, being more aware and able to communicate one's knowledges, and recognizing limitations; whereas negative friction silences or inhibits those abilities and blocks communication (Medina, 2012, p. 50).

3.2.2 Creolizing migration lived experiences through entangled migratisations/migratisms

Throughout my research and search for epistemic communities I have shifted in-between various internal and external epistemic resistances at different points in time, and I still do, since this is an ongoing process (Medina, 2012). I thus learned that misreadings create opportunities to reflect on entangled migratisations and migratisms towards creating social and epistemic solidarities with those whose experiences of racialisation and racism I cannot claim as my own (Publications II, III). I looked at multiple entangled migratisations/migratisms embedded in unequal power relations and the coloniality of migration, occurring on different scales and temporalities during 2015-2021, in the locations mentioned above, an integration training, a reception centre, a cleaning project, and an accommodation centre. I had multiple shifting, conflicting roles in those places, student, classmate, researcher, migrant, unemployed job seeker, employee, trainee, mediator, translator, supervisor, employer, and friend. These lenses help me go beyond nationality- and ethnicity-centred epistemologies and be sensitive to the multiple inequalities and migration regimes within which entanglements occur, and to how there are more or less privileged/oppressive migratisations/migratisms that may or may not intersect with racialisations/racisms (Tudor, 2017b, 2018; Gutiérrez Rodríguez, 2018, 2021). I

followed three entry points into such entanglements: in those specific locations; within intersections and inter-relationalities between differently migratised people; and within my biographical trajectories (Wyss & Dahinden, 2022, p. 2), which I detail below.

My access to the above-mentioned locations was facilitated by my mobility biography and my own multiple interconnected migratisations and migratisms. I moved from Constanța, Romania to a small town in northern Finland in 2015 for family reasons. Due to being positioned as an unemployed migrant job seeker without Finnish language skills, I was sent to an 'integration' training. During that time, I was migratised as an EE 'love migrant', classed and gendered as a socio-economically dependent woman on her then male Finnish partner (Publication II). Later I moved to Tampere to pursue doctoral studies and write about my experience in the 'integration' training. This time I was framed within privileged migratisation, as an independent white migrant woman engaging in upward social mobility. Yet my precarious positioning within Nordic academia and the need to seek different forms of employment to support my doctoral research made me to move again from Tampere to Helsinki to work as a part-time mediator in a cleaning project with EE Roma women. Here again I was framed within privileged migratisation in relation to the Roma women, whereas in relation to my Finnish employer and to the wider Finnish labour market I occupied a semi-precarious position given the part-time nature of my employment and the low salary that entailed (Publication III).

My own mobility biography shows how certain migratisations triggered other migratisations, how my own multiple migratisations are differently shaped by the coloniality of migration and of knowledge, and how their entanglement shaped the course of my doctoral research. With autohistoria-teoría, by applying reflexivity to these experiences and theorizing them in relation to my own self-knowledge and self-ignorance, and to broader socio-cultural, historical, epistemic, and embodied elements, I created a platform from which to imagine and practice ways of engaging in collaborative knowledge production (Pitts, 2016, p. 357; Publication I). I thus used my own lived embodied experiences as a catalyst toward exploring im/possibilities for new and unexpected solidarities and their productive tensions and frictions (Publications II, III). Instead of taking a nation-state container or a national or ethnic group as a starting point for my research, I explored how and which people become (or do not become) migratised or racialised in small localities, how different migratisations co-constitute those locations and how the localities affect those

migratisations, how those migratisations are shaped differently by migration and bordering regimes, how those migratisations are entangled or interdependent, and what roles class, gender, coloniality, epistemic privileges, and epistemic racism also play in those entanglements (Wyss & Dahinden, 2022, p. 7; Publications II, III).

In the migrant 'integration' training, the students are migratised and sometimes also racialised in various ways, and their migratisation motivates the need for them to be trained towards 'integration' within society. The teachers are non-migratised, positioned as neutral facilitators of a naturalised requirement for 'integration'. The students' 'integration' is dependent on the teachers' assessments, since the latter facilitate or restrict students' access to wider services like job training and further education opportunities or citizenship-related language testing. Yet the teachers' jobs, many of whom are specifically trained in teaching Finnish as a foreign language to adult learners, are also dependent on the migrant students. A wider co-dependency can further be observed between the economic viability of schools offering the training – who participate in yearly competitions and receive substantial financial benefits for providing the 'integration' training – and the construction of an assumed demand among migrant students for this service with the implication of unemployment offices that first assess the need for migrants to join the training. In my attempt to expose and resist oppressive Nordic 'integration' regimes, I sometimes used my misreading as Roma as grounds of solidarity with my classmates from West Africa and South Asia by claiming similar experiences of racism (Publication II). I thus unreflexively equated migratism with racism, by conflating my nationalizing discriminatory reading from a white EE social positioning with a racializing one from an appropriated Roma positioning (Tudor, 2017b, p. 27). My classmates in the training taught me how my appropriation of racism downplays or even renders invisible both their experiences of racialisation and racism, as well as the experiences of their children who may not have a migration history. I thus became aware of how, by distancing myself from an oppressive Nordic 'integration' regime through appropriative acts, rather than transgressing whiteness and its hegemonic norms, I was reproducing them (Publication II). I further learned that, as a white Romanian being misread as Roma, it is important to put my energies in alliances based on solidarity against migratism and racism without self-victimisation and while reflexively accounting for my privileged positioning in relation to Roma and other people of colour (Tudor, 2017a, p. 36; Publication II). These epiphanies and my subsequent shifts of perception were made possible by the multiple unequal migratisations and their intersections with racialisation in the 'integration' training.

The reception centre for asylum seekers (Publication II) and the emergency accommodation centre for Roma migrants (Publication III) reveal intersecting entanglements. In the reception centre, asylum seekers sleep and clean, white Finnish workers lead and offer social assistance, and a white Romanian migrant is doing her job practice as part of an 'integration' plan drafted by the unemployment office. In the accommodation centre, Roma migrants sleep, Roma workers clean, white Finnish workers lead, and non-Roma Romanian and Bulgarian workers supervise, mediate, translate, train, and offer social assistance, showing the interdependence between privileged and underprivileged non/migratisations. As a trainee in the reception centre in 2016, part of my job was to learn from my Finnish work supervisor how to assess the quality of the asylum seekers' cleaning duties. As part of a contract signed with the centre, in order to receive their monthly allowance, asylum seekers had to clean the centre, including the Finnish workers' offices and toilets (Publication II). I explored similar entanglements that unfolded in 2021 in the accommodation centre together with my co-researcher and co-author Gabriela Băncuță, who was also one of the Roma people sleeping in the centre and working as a cleaner, whereas I was one of the non-Roma Romanian workers; together we looked at the co-dependencies between each other and other actors in that setting (Publication III). Both the Eastern European Roma in the accommodation centre *and* the asylum seekers from East Africa and West Asia in the reception centre were framed within oppressive migratisation intersecting with racialisation by being exposed to racialised migration regimes that marginalise them and push them to accept precarious living conditions. Both were pushed to provide precarious labour, although the Roma workers were employed with a contract and received a monthly income, whereas the asylum seekers were forced to clean in order to receive an allowance that was guaranteed to them by law, making this measure at least abusive (Publication II, III).

The measure thus positioned the asylum seekers within economic dependency toward the Finnish workers who supervised their work and decided whether or not they should be paid based on the quality of their cleaning services. Yet the Finnish workers' jobs, and even the functioning of the reception centre, were also dependent on the presence of asylum seekers. Many of the Finnish managers, social workers, and teachers working in the centre had been unemployed before reception centres throughout the country were reopened in 2015 along with the increased arrivals of asylum seekers in the Nordics during that time. I was also entangled within these unequal power relations, being framed within privileged migratisation, as someone

who had to learn the skills needed to become a supervisor, hence the nature of my job practice being dependent both on the oppression the asylum seekers endured *and* on the imperative for me to 'integrate' within Finnish societal and labour hierarchies. Yet at times I was also framed within underprivileged migratisation intersecting with ethnicization when white Finnish social workers read me as 'ethnic', as looking like 'one of them' [one of the asylum seekers], and when subsequently I received a negative review of my performance during the job practice due to allegedly not being willing to learn the 'proper Finnish' way of performing the job and due to interacting too much with the asylum seekers outside official work duties (Publication II).

Roma workers were also economically dependent on both EE non-Roma workers and Finnish workers. The EE non-Roma were framed within privileged migratisation and mediated the Roma's access to the Finnish labour market or to Finnish welfare services. Yet, as Gabriela explored, those privileged migratisations, and even the existence of the accommodation centre, depend on the oppressive migratisation of the Roma to whom the mediators provide labour and social services, thus revealing similarities with the entanglements in the reception centre (Publications II, III). Gabriela criticizes the exploitative working conditions that she and her colleagues endure and the privileged workers' ignorance of their dependency on the Roma's hard labour. She further reveals the absurdity of situations where they are present in the office cleaning but deprived of access to board meetings and conversations that draw boundaries and make decisions regarding their livelihoods, and often uses my voice to express her opinions and influence decisions in the board meeting (Publication III). I explored how the exploitation of Roma workers unfolded in the context of multiple other power asymmetries between white Finnish, Romanian, and Bulgarian workers based on race, gender, class, and nationality, in which some people are seen more as migrants than others based on their proximity to or distance from Finnish whiteness, hierarchies which I had also previously observed in the reception centre (Publications II, III).

Possibilities to reveal complicities with all three systems presented here are constrained by the captivities the systems engender between differently non/migratised people, although entanglements between different non/migratisations constituted the very possibility for the existence of those locations. At the same time, in the three localities, both the interdependence between privileged and underprivileged migratisations, and the interconnections between

how people become or do not become migratised or racialised, reflect inter-subjective creolization processes where unequal power relations are constantly re-negotiated in unexpected ways between the differently positioned actors. The entangled migratisations approach thus creolizes multiple unequal migration lived experiences. It further creolizes migration research by decentring normative epistemologies and methodologies in migration studies, focusing on unequal entanglements of more or less privileged or oppressive ascriptions of migration shaped by the coloniality of migration and of knowledge (Boatcă & Santos, 2023, p. 8). Importantly, these entangled migratisations also constitute entangled knowledges shared between the differently migratised actors, with their distinct, materially rich histories and enacted practices of meaning-making, which generate shifts and transformations into each other's understandings and ignorance of oneself and those around us (Pitts, 2016, p. 359). I explored such entangled knowledges with the help of art-based methods, which also enabled me to engage with my own ignorance without victimisation, enter collaborations with co-researchers across differences in terms of epistemic privileges and migratisations, and reach a wider audience who can engage in meaning-making in a sensuously embodied way.

In the next sections, I detail my use of art-based methods along with various ethical dilemmas and choices. Art-based methods relate to autohistoria-teoría's aims to question one's own ignorance and wider conventional knowledge practices through creative acts involving the body, intellect, and imagination, toward understanding the inter-dependency between authors/researchers, co-authors/co-researchers, readers, those whom the authors write about in their stories, and the peoples and histories that shape the stories even without the storytellers' conscious awareness of them (Anzaldua, 2009b, p. 542). It further relates to autohistoria-teoría's aims not to exclude readers through inaccessible academic language, to engage readers on multiple levels, to sensibilize them towards opening doors to unexpected meanings and connections through their engagement with multimodal texts (Anzaldua, 2009a, p. 171). With each new reading of a text that stimulates multiple senses, the text is given new possible meanings, and new author-reader relations are forged, thus attesting to the relational, fragmented, and ever-shifting nature of knowledge. While a conventional academic text is prescriptive with clearly stated intentions, an artistic presentation of research requires for readers/audiences to actively construct meaning and accept the text as fragmented knowledge (VanSlyke-Briggs, 2009, p. 336).

3.2.3 Theatre-based methods

With the use of theatre-based methods, or ethnodrama, my aims were to reach a wider readership and to engage readers/audiences with their body, intellect, and imagination (Publication II). Ethnodrama is a literary genre entailing the art of writing a play script by adapting qualitative data or empirical materials (Saldaña, 2011, p. 12). The data that went into the ethnodrama consists of field notes and personal reflections on my lived experiences in the migrant 'integration' training and the reception centre for asylum seekers, interviews with teachers, and feedback received from students and audiences after performing the drama through reader's theatre in a lecture and in conferences. I wrote the drama in accessible language, submitted it to an open-access journal, and shared the article widely on social media and other channels. Yet the introduction and conclusion of that article still reproduce alienating academic language (Publication II). I therefore rewrote those parts in more accessible language and, together with a few scenes from the drama, included them in a co-authored pedagogical resource guide for teachers working with Roma students of all ages, prepared together with participants in the summer course New Frontiers in Romani Studies (Bergman et al., 2022). The seven co-authors shared the guide on various academic and non-academic channels, with the ethnodrama thus reaching even wider audiences. Publishing parts of the ethnodrama on the CEU Romani Studies Program's platform and referring to the original publication was also an attempt to bridge Romani studies and Nordic migration research.

Why did I use ethnodrama to reach wider audiences and not another creative medium? I used ethnodrama to parody my ignorance in relation to my BPoC classmates in the 'integration' training and my appropriation of Romani voices. The context of a play script dispersed my ownership of autoethnographic material and memories, more than for instance creative nonfictional writing could. The material and memories set in dramatized scenes no longer seemed mine, and thus I could play with them in multiple ways. Imagining those events being played and parodied on stage took away anxieties on how they could be perceived or how I could be judged, since theatre plays are meant to arouse all kinds of feelings in audiences, to approach all kinds of topics, even shocking ones, and to make use of various techniques to emphasize certain acts, sometimes in exaggerated ways. This enabled me to go beyond the paralysis of shame or guilt and create something new and relatable based on reflexive revelations and shifts of perception, setting non-fictional stories on an imagined stage in dramatized scenes rife with tensions and contradictions.

To fulfil ethical requirements toward my former classmates, the ethnodrama turned out to be a critical reflection on power relations and hierarchies, productive research failures, and researcher positionality. I also created composite multivocal characters that include participants' and my own multiple voices to protect the anonymity of participants (Morrissey, 2023, p. 377). The themes the ethnodrama approached were: learning about one's own ignorance regarding power relations in the classroom and beyond and creating knowledge from that, who has the right to write which stories, and whose voices I silence or appropriate with my voice (Publication II). And indeed, portraying those experiences through an ethnodrama was an ethical choice in itself, since it complicated the representation of migrant 'integration' processes and experiences and recalibrated power hierarchies within both classroom and research contexts (ZIN & Gannon, 2022, p. 235). This further allowed me to focus on power hierarchies that were being reproduced in various settings, from the 'integration' training classroom to the academic conference room, regarding multiple entanglements between people who are differently migratised and with unequal access to making knowledge claims. I approached those topics in a humoristic and aesthetically pleasing manner with the ethnodrama, as an ethical choice on how to engage with readers and audiences (Publication II). The 'integration' training classroom thus became a catalyst to analyse wider issues about power relations in education and research contexts, including reflexivity on obstacles preventing EE-BPoC dialogues in knowledge production.

I performed the drama in a lecture where I sought the participation of Bachelor's and Master's students to engage with my performance as reviewers and knowledge producers, thus destabilizing what it means to be an academic reviewer. I also performed the drama in conferences and its content changed with the responses I received to each performance, thus challenging academic conventions on what knowledge is and how it can be analysed and disseminated, and showing the partiality and ever-shifting nature of knowledge. A performative text engages audiences' multiple senses and triggers their emotional investment, sometimes eliciting unexpected, even confrontational answers (Saldaña, 2011, p. 42). Yet it may require considerable effort on behalf of the performer to break certain barriers for audiences to open up, particularly in official contexts like university lectures or academic conferences (Morrissey, 2023, p. 377). Performing the ethnodrama thus became an ethical choice that extended beyond exposing taken-for-granted practices in spaces where people are differently migratised and have differing access to making knowledge claims, toward opening spaces for dialogues and personal connections with these issues (Morrissey, 2023, p. 376). It was also important for me to seek

ethical responses from audiences that challenged biases and blind spots, and offered constructive criticism on the potentials and limits of ethnodrama (Ellis, 2007, p. 22).

Still, I did not have the opportunity to design a long-term project with the students to build trusting relationships and help them feel they could open up and engage with the text and performance with all their senses (Morrissey, 2023, p. 378). The students only saw me perform the drama once in a guest lecture. Prior to the lecture I sent them a written version of the drama and some academic articles providing the context. Within the lecture setting with everyone present, the students were reluctant in sharing personal stories, they tended to refer to theory and literature, and to Finnish society, mostly speaking in third person. I tried to motivate them toward making deeper personal connections with the drama, yet it mostly triggered uncomfortable silences and stares. Humour turned out to be more productive. I performed the drama through reader's theatre by using humour and irony, which also took away from my anxiety of presenting personal stories with the risk of self-exposure. Humour engages readers and audiences with all their senses and facilitates their multi-layered engagement with the material. Some of the students also stayed after everyone had left and shared more personal stories with me, allowing me to even use some of these more intimate accounts as data in further working on the script. Their intimate reflections showed the potential of ethnodrama to trigger self-reflexivity and reflexive dialogues. The conference settings showed similar patterns in the responses I received from audiences, who at first mainly spoke within the conventions of normative academic discourses:

> Thanks a lot for your beautiful presentation! I was wondering about what pedagogies of affect does the integration courses produce?

> Thank you for this great and very scary talk! I have two questions: First, can you please elaborate a bit more on how you chose autoethnographic drama as a method over other ethnographic techniques? What do you think this adds to your case? Second, what do you think about the role of migratism in framing hierarchies of migrants along lines based on socio-economic status and place in the labour market–notably, the distinction between '(im)migrants' and 'expats'?

> Thank you, was inspiring but I still miss: what do you take from this? Research reproducing categories of belonging?

> How does not addressing the reproduction of whiteness stand in the way of solidarity in relation to anti-Blackness and anti-immigration discourses, ideologically, materially, and in research?
>
> How reliable is the information presented in the drama? Like, when applying to join an integration training it takes way longer than a couple of weeks or months to get in.

Some conference attendants however shared more personal stories and ways in which the ethnodrama touched them. These mostly came from people who could identify with the drama by connecting it with their own embodied experiences:

> Since I saw your presentation in the seminar, I felt how it was more engaging to hear you, using art and performance to get your message through. The performative way of reporting an academic topic definitely touches us in different layers. And it also brings joy to the academic universe that is so often left behind. It even reminds me of what Audre Lord calls our attention in the use of erotic as power.
>
> I just read your article, and it was a pleasurable reading. How often do we get pleasure from reading academic pieces? It felt inspiring to see your work published because in the current academic environment, sometimes it feels like there is no way out and that we are 'alone' in our fights. Seeing and reading your work inspires me to still believe in collective resistance and that those of us who do not bend to the mainstream way of conceiving life are out there!
>
> Personally, I felt very connected to your ethnodrama. Very much related with the fact that I am a colonial subject myself, a [non-European] migrant in [European] academy, trying to challenge the Eurocentric ways of conceiving knowledge, to push the legitimacy of using a plural theoretical framework, mainly relying on thoughts from authors from the Global South. It is an ongoing, non-stop fight, in different aspects of migrant life, from the basic conversations we have here with Europeans to academic discussions. It is not easy, and my subjective (as so many others) does not go without harm in this challenge of fighting coloniality in the land of my colonizers.

As some of the excerpts above show, the ethnodrama triggered a few embodied responses involving multiple senses, and reflections on the coloniality of knowledge in migration, education, and academic settings, which attests to the potential of ethnodrama as a decolonial strategy (ZIN & Gannon, 2022). Methodologically, ethnodrama can thus creolize research. The ethnodrama entangled multiple knowledges, migratisations, and migratisms, and the responses and reactions to my

ethnodrama from audiences further constituted entangled knowledges. With ethnodrama I exposed various cracks and tensions through the interactions between characters and their entangled migratisations/migratisms, which together with the tensions and contradictions between the multiple reactions and responses it engenders from readers and audiences, can be openings from which to disrupt established ways of seeking knowledge and to imagine new possible ways of creolizing both inter-subjective and cross-disciplinary dialogues. These show unexpected connections and inter-relations that nonetheless occur within dynamics shaped by the coloniality of knowledge and migration (Publication II).

3.2.4 Storytelling and creative non-fictional writing

To further creolize both migration and Roma-related research, my co-author Gabriela and I used storytelling and creative nonfictional writing to entangle our multiple knowledges and migratisations as co-researchers from highly unequal positionings shaped by the coloniality of migration and of knowledge (Publication III). I refer above to the entangled migratisations within which our collaboration occurred in the context of the cleaning project where Gabriela worked as a cleaner and I as a mediator. Unlike my use of ethnodrama, with our co-authored chapter our initial aim was not necessarily to reach a wider audience, although possible future circulations of the chapter may indeed enable a wider reach. Still, the book where it is published is not open access thus limiting who can read it and reproducing hierarchies in terms of access to knowledge. We used art-based methods to make it possible for Gabriela to act as a knowledge producer. An artistic presentation of research can be better communicated with co-researchers who can engage in meaning-making and offer their own views on how the research should represent them (VanSlyke-Briggs, 2009, p. 342). Gabriela has not attended formal education, does not have a degree, and is semi-literate. Yet her contributions as storyteller, co-researcher, and co-author were not limited to a descriptive representation of her own life, but at using her personal experiences towards elaborating analyses helpful for understanding broader social phenomena she had experienced first-hand (Piemontese & Leoco, 2024). Her relational, dynamic, and radically subversive vernacular viewpoints thus provided not just raw material in the form of the stories she shared with me, but indeed theoretical narratives through which she criticized socio-economic and epistemic hierarchies, and taught me when to remain silent and defer to Roma knowledges (Constable, 2011, p. 120; Solimene, 2024).

I wrote my own non-fictional stories based on my work experience in the cleaning project and as analytical responses to Gabriela's analyses of the entanglements we found ourselves in, addressing the unequal power relations between us shaped by coloniality as well as our multiple interconnections through which we challenged divides. I read the stories to her, she told me more stories, and so it went in an ongoing process of knowledge exchange. Gabriela's aims, beyond engaging in a collaborative research process with me, was to have a written piece targeting academic audiences and university students, to make her stories known in her own words to people she would otherwise not have access to, and address the lack of knowledge on EE Roma migrants in the Nordics by Roma themselves. Our mutual aims were thus to reinscribe previously ignored, disdained, or discredited Romani knowledges into Nordic migration research, entangle multiple unequal EE Roma and non-Roma knowledges creatively, and challenge what is considered valid knowledge, thus creolizing research (Parvulescu & Boatcă, 2020, p. 19). Gabriela also imagined that students may read our text in class as part of their curricula and, among them, there might be Roma students who will find sources of inspiration and strength. She associated images of Roma students reading our text with hopes for her children to attend university in the future. She thus also saw an empowering pedagogical function in the text for students from marginalized positionings (Publication III).

Addressing a scholarly audience through storytelling is not unique to Gabriela. Other Roma storytellers and literary writers have also brought in direct conversation the literary/creative and academic worlds, a dialogue in which artists are seldom given the opportunity to enter, particularly marginalized creative writers and storytellers like the Roma whose subjectivities have often been misused and manipulated in both research and literature (Marafioti, 2021, pp. 117, 120). Roma people have a rich multifarious history of both oral and written storytelling. Oral storytelling means more than just the act of telling stories, representing the cultural and historical memory of Roma communities, encompassing biographies, cultural histories, lived experiences, social structures, inter-generational wisdom, etc. Romani storytelling mixes elements of European and Ottoman folk literature with elements of Indian and Persian heritages, which makes it a creolized art form. It includes "fairy-tales, heroic epics, tales of magic, farces, instructive stories and parables, fables, erotic stories, personal first-hand accounts, ghost stories, sayings, poems, and sung poetry," some of which have been documented, including by Roma themselves, since the mid-1950s (Cech, n.d.).

Romani storytelling has mainly been considered an oral endeavour, although especially in Eastern Europe during state socialism where many Roma entered the education system, a lively written literary scene existed among Roma in majority languages. Whereas oral storytelling developed independent of group membership and national origin, EE Romani written literature however developed alongside anti-imperial ethno-nationalist movements in the region to later become a medium for self-affirmation and empowerment among Roma writers. The history of EE Romani literature thus goes against perceptions of a 'young', 'undeveloped', or 'belated' phenomenon (Zahova, n.d.). After the end of state socialism, EE Romani literature witnessed an unprecedented boom, with authors networking locally and transnationally, many of them now writing and publishing as migrants all over the world. Some of the themes approached by Roma writers include identity and self-affirmation, inter-connections between Roma-ness and Blackness in a white world, relations and tensions between Roma and those non-Roma who benefit from white privilege, historical displacement in relation to India and the lack of a place of origin or belonging (Zahova, n.d.). Given Roma people's lack of strong links with an 'original' homeland (Chirila, 2021, p. 15), the Roma diaspora can be said to resemble the Afro-Caribbean diaspora (Glissant, 1997), or even Europeans of colour who experience feelings of displacement in relation to both Europe and the countries of origin of their parents (El-Tayeb, 2011).

Despite the vibrant Romani oral and written literary scene, Roma authors' marginalization remains a serious issue (Chirila, 2021, p. 13). To address this, and to expand the reach of the Romani literary canon, writers and researchers have proposed to blur the divides between oral and written literature, to give them both equal importance and place them in a mutually beneficial dialogue as a link between dispersed Romani communities (Chirila, 2021, p. 14). The deterritorialization of Romani communities has led to a creolization of Romani literatures as dispersed, multi-directional, with fragile and transitional attempts for creating one collective memory, relational in ambivalent and less tangible ways, multilingual, multimodal on a spectrum from oral to written with various combinations in-between and thus difficult to place within rigid categories (Chirila, 2021, p. 15). By proposing an extended definition of what constitutes Romani literature beyond rigid literary or ethnic categories, as a multifaceted literary complex based on proximities, unregulated contacts, and moments of adjacency, Chirila (2021, p. 17) sees opportunities for reinscribing Romani literature within various fields of academic research from world literatures to cultural and social studies, thus also blurring divides between the social sciences and the humanities, and between literature and

research more widely. Parvulescu and Boatcă (2022, pp. 15-16) write that initiatives to break such disciplinary divides and attempts for dialogue are rare, despite a vast genealogy of intersections between social sciences, anthropology, and literary studies, with social scientists and ethnographers often employing literary writing techniques in writing up fieldwork experiences (see also VanSlyke-Briggs, 2009). Researchers are increasingly blurring genres with regard to what is typically considered academic writing (VanSlyke-Briggs, 2009, p. 335). Yet while challenging the divides between art and science may be seen as a new phenomenon, researchers like Zora Neale Hurston (1937) have been applying literary and dramatized presentations of social research since the 1930s. Trinh T. Minh-ha (1989, p. 119) has also long claimed that storytelling is story, history, literature, music, magic, philosophy, and science, all in one. Artificial divides sustained by the coloniality of knowledge oppose the factual to the fictional, truth to lies/myths, science to literature, the scientist to the story-writer, the story-writer to the storyteller (Minh-ha, 1989, p. 120). The chapter co-authored by Gabriela and I contributes to these ongoing attempts to cross divides between oral storytelling and creative writing, art and research, storytellers and researchers, stories and knowledge, imagination and 'truth' (Publication III).

Gabriela told stories spontaneously, depending on what triggered her memory on a specific day or at a specific moment, what mood she was in, what kind of day she had, and what experiences she wanted to focus on from childhood to present day. When working face to face, mostly at my apartment, we were constantly communicating, often non-verbally, responding to each other's emotional and bodily reactions, thus influencing what was being told and its meanings in those moments. I am not a storyteller, so after hearing her stories I would take some time to reflect, write down my thoughts, and then read them to Gabriela who would then tell another story. Gabriela is a good storyteller, a skill she learned from her mother who used to tell stories to her and her siblings when they were young. She thus used Romani storytelling techniques, like linguistic expressiveness, specific turns of phrases, language rich in metaphors, variations in tone of voice, pitch, and style to keep the listener engaged, bodily movements, mimicry, and gestures along with the spoken words to give life to the stories (Cech, n.d.). After witnessing her performances for some time, I also found myself being more expressive and using all my senses when reading to her my written stories, and our mutual engagement with time became more interactive and creative. Many of these non-spoken details were lost when I audio-recorded, transcribed, translated her words, and placed them alongside mine, though in the transcriptions I tried to convey both our embodied

expressions and gestures from my memories of our interactions, and discussed with Gabriela potential changes to these representations. With time and with our friendship evolving, we allowed each other to be more honest, express disagreements openly, and stay with the tensions triggered by our differences, keeping them visible in the final written product without trying to resolve them (Publication III). Staying with those tensions meant that sometimes words were "like fire", wounding and soothing at the same time, showing how destruction and creation are not opposing processes but one collective process of healing (Minh-ha, 1989, pp. 127, 132). Beyond expanding the (research) imagination or illuminating the intellect, storytelling with all the senses thus opens doors to unforeseeable consequences that may not be grasped into words (Minh-ha, 1989, p. 126).

Still, the final written text does attempt to structure our multisensorial stories and grasp them into words (Publication III). Researchers often believe that, by reproducing a story in the participant's own words, they will tell it the way it was told instead of imposing a structure (Minh-ha, 1989, p. 141). I also believed that during the process of putting all the various pieces together into our chapter. As the one with grasp of the norms and conventions of academic writing and publishing, I was operating from a position of power and privilege, and could manipulate the piecing together of our stories into my own version of 'reality', despite my best intentions. Gabriela and I identified a few themes we wanted to focus on, we chose which of our individual stories fit within each theme, and combined them into eight collective stories in which we weaved together multiple speaking/writing genres and multiple diffracting layers. Yet I was the one who did the editing work of those eight main stories, using literary strategies for developing the storylines through consecutive scenes, with each scene having at least one message, a conflict that characters are involved in, hints of what is likely to happen next, and emotions and rhythms (ZIN & Gannon, 2022, p. 243; Saldaña, 2013).

Through the ways I edited the stories with Gabriela's input, we speak together and apart, with each other, about each other, with ourselves, and with the readers, sometimes reflecting on or critiquing the other's accounts (Publication III). I claimed that we thus assert our divergent agencies toward becoming ambiguous, unclassifiable, unmanageable (Lugones, 2003b, p. 100), that the stories do not offer closures but moments of transition, traveling from one time/space to another through affective connections, interferences, dis/harmonies, and transversal encounters, thus creolizing our subjectivities (Glissant, 1997, pp. 58, 199). Yet when I read the stories now, it seems that by applying 'western' literary strategies, I might

have domesticated, tamed Gabriela's stories into a structure that made sense to me. Normative literary conventions imply that a 'good' story must have a beginning that rouses interest, an orderly succession of events, at least one main conflict and other smaller ones, a climax that forms the story's point, and an end that leaves the mind at rest (Minh-ha, 1989, p. 142). While I tried to avoid such cliches, these are deeply embedded within a mind that was trained in this manner during many years of formal schooling. Yet Gabriela's stories, the way she told them, did not follow these criteria of what makes a 'good' story. I sought her feedback and approval in editing the stories, yet it is possible that sometimes she might have validated my biases and assumptions. In her own words, "Gadje [non-Roma] have this habit of making everything about themselves, so I tell Ioana what she wants to hear" (Publication III). What was it then that I did *not* want to hear? The words of Trinh T. Minh-ha (1989) come to mind:

> "Life is not a drama of four or five acts. In life, we usually don't know when an event is occurring; we think it is starting when it is already ending; and we don't see its in/significance. The story is a living thing, an organic process, a way of life. The story is as complex as life and life is as simple as a story." (pp. 142-143)

Did our creative exercise challenge the hegemonic fragmentation of our subjectivities and worlds into rigid categories, and assert our mutually ambiguous states toward creolizing our subjectivities (Publication III)? Or did I fragment Gabriela's stories–and thus her subjectivity–, organized the fragments according to my own logic, and inserted them into new storylines based on hegemonic ways of transcribing a living thing that cannot be grasped? I would say it is a bit of both and more, and keeping these tensions visible is what creolization entails. By keeping these contradictory factors together, we creolize research through creative expressions and practices while also making visible and challenging issues of inequality, hierarchization, hegemony, and subalternity (Hall, 2015, p. 16).

3.2.5 Ethics

In the ethnodrama, through my use of composite characters, there are no identifiable participants (Publication II). There I applied what may be called "procedural ethics" to ensure participants' confidentiality, privacy, and consent in relation to the autoethnographic 'fieldwork', as well as "situational ethics" to deal with the

unpredictable, subtle ethically important moments that arose throughout developing the ethnodrama (Ellis, 2007, p. 4), as I discuss below.

I used responses from students and attendants to my performances of the ethnodrama in lectures and conferences to further rework the script for the ethnodrama. But why did I not also engage with my former classmates in the 'integration' training as knowledge producers (Publication II)? Ethically, it is recommended to seek permission from participants before creating characters based on them for an ethnodrama, to consult them on how to create those characters, seek their input throughout the ongoing development of the drama, check how they feel about someone else interpreting them in a performance, and negotiate disagreements (Saldaña, 2011, pp. 39-40). But what if the researcher is no longer in contact with the participants due to considerable time and space distance? Although the participants knew I was doing research at the time, they did not know this would many years later turn into an ethnodrama that I will solo-perform through reader's theatre. Back in 2015, I informed my teachers and classmates that I was taking notes and writing about the training from an autoethnographic perspective, which would help me in applying for a doctoral programme later on, since I officially started my doctoral studies three years later. The participants gave their consent for me to conduct the research. I read about autoethnography from sources offered to me by a classmate in the 'integration' training who was already doing a PhD. Still, I did not make my role as researcher clear in each and every interaction with my classmates. After some time, perhaps they even forgot that I had informed them at some point that I was doing research, so they were perhaps just treating me as a classmate and some also as a friend. I did not find it necessary to remind them at every point that, hey, remember my research? I was also not confident in my abilities as a researcher, since I was not even affiliated with any university at the time and carried out this activity in the hope of 'becoming' a researcher. Yet I had never done research before, or whatever I thought at the time research meant, and had not had a course in ethnography or research ethics. I thought being a good ethnographer implied being immersed within a community for a long period of time and not disturbing the natural flow of everyday interactions, while taking observational notes that would one day turn into theory. Shortly after the training ended, I moved to another bigger town to seek employment opportunities and to apply for a doctoral study position.

By the time I went back to the material from 2015 and decided to create an ethnodrama based on it, much time had passed since the 'integration' training. I was living in another town far away, and my former classmates and I grew apart. I

changed so much as a person during those years. Many things had happened in the meantime. I felt that my former classmates had also moved on with their lives, why would they be interested in having that conversation with me? In retrospect, perhaps I let fear of the unknown prevent me from contacting them. Also, I felt like the story I finally told diverted so much from the story I initially wanted to tell. When reading my field notes years later, I realized they were not even about my classmates, although they included things my classmates had shared with me or that I had observed about them. Yet the material was mostly about me, about my ongoing struggles and frustrations with navigating the system I found myself in, and about my ignorance about power relations and hierarchies in the classroom and beyond. What would my classmates even gain from discussing with me my ignorance about them many years after those events occurred? After all, researchers should not ask too much of participants who may get little out of being part of their study (Ellis 2007, 25). As an ethical choice to protect the participants' anonymity, the characters' composite voices became a mixture of some of the things my classmates shared with me, the reflexive notes I took at the time, my readings of literature, and reflexive meditations on past events and memories enabled by the passing of time and emotional distancing from those past situations. I felt my former classmates would not even recognize themselves in those characters, that they would feel misrepresented, if I even claimed to represent them. Each character indeed became a composite of multiple classmates, selectively piecing together various scattered pieces. How would they feel to recognize some of their traits mixed together with someone else's traits in the same character? Would they feel betrayed? Or would they feel it was a sound ethical choice to protect their confidentiality and anonymity?

I also included verbatim responses to the ethnodrama from students in a postscript to the play (Publication II). I added the postscript at the peer-reviewers' request to add an academic discussion after the script, since the initial version of the article did not include any discussion in the spirit of ethnodrama being both data *and* analysis, as in implying the analysis within the script (Petersen, 2013, p. 293). The postscript thus reproduces academic norms. I wrote it as a Q&A, with questions or comments from students to which I provided answers in an academic language. I claimed this emphasized the multiple possible readings the drama triggered without centring my authorial voice, thus entangling multiple knowledges triggered by the drama's entangled knowledges and migratisations. But did it actually emphasize these entangled knowledges? Did it really decentre my voice? I wrote the postscript in a conventional, sanitized manner, rather than as another scene to the drama like the other scenes rife with embodied interactions, tensions, and theatrical aesthetics. This

recentred my voice as the one who provides answers, solutions, and closures to the students' multiple readings, capturing and seizing their narratives within my own interpretations (Publication II). The postscript thus went against the aim of the ethnodrama to trouble dominant modes of knowing that privilege the academic text over the body and the relational (Morrissey, 2018, p. 419). Sharing such stories of productive failures, ethical entanglements, and unresolvable tensions, and applying hindsight that only the passing of time and critical detachment offer, show the importance of ongoing practices of reflexivity in helping the ongoing development of theatre-based methods in research (Cox et al., 2023, p. 254). All this shows how not only are there unanticipated ethical questions and uncertainties about doing autoethnography and ethnodrama based on it, arising ongoingly throughout a project, but autoethnography and ethnodrama themselves are ethical practices (Ellis, 2007, p. 26; Cox et al., 2023, p. 253).

In the chapter Gabriela and I co-authored, although we did not work with participants and used pseudonyms for characters that were not ourselves, we shared stories that include intimate or identifiable others, such as family members and some of our co-workers in the cleaning project (Publication III), which raises the question of "relational ethics" (Ellis, 2007). How did we value the mutual respect and dignity between us and our intimate or identifiable others, protect our relationships with them, and decided whether or not to consult them on what we said about them in our stories (Ellis, 2007, p. 6)?

We discussed with some the Roma women who also worked in the cleaning project, with whom Gabriela had some difficulties getting accepted due to being a new employee, and received their consent for us to approach those events without going into too many personal details. We did not however discuss the stories with our white co-workers and supervisors, even though we talk about them and some of them might potentially be loosely identifiable within certain small circles of social workers and project managers working with the EE Roma community in Finland. We however discussed things we wrote about our white co-workers and supervisors with the Roma women who gave us ideas and insightful inputs to add to Gabriela's memories about certain events she included in her stories, events which I had not been part of but which decisively shaped the course of the Roma women's lives throughout their years in Finland. Still, the final text is inaccessible to the Roma women due to being written in English and published in a book that has to be purchased. Both Gabriela and I received free copies of the book as co-authors. Although Gabriela knows what is written there through my mediation and

translation, she too cannot read it. Perhaps one day she will, but until then she does not enjoy the opportunity of multiple readings of the text throughout time, and for now has remained with a memory or impression of it that I mediated. I explained above that it was our aim to target an academic audience and why we chose to do so, yet given the ethical limitations discussed here, was the academic publishing industry really the appropriate medium for our collaboration? While our motivation to work within academic structures was reinscribing disdained knowledges within Nordic migration research, there are certain paths we foreclose with our choice of audience and certain marginalized audiences whom we further marginalized. To address the foreclosure of some of these paths, and in relation to our aim of crossing divides between art and research, with Gabriela's consent I later wrote a reflection on our collaborative process for a magazine that mostly caters to artistic audiences (Țîștea, 2023). Future projects involving co-authorial collaborations between privileged researchers and semi-literate co-researchers may consider the role of art-based methods in fostering dialogues with the co-researchers' community members.

Furthermore, while it is important to inform the people whom we tell stories about and get their consent, researchers may sometimes decide not to take their work back to those they write about, in which cases they should be able to defend their reasons for not seeking those responses (Ellis, 2007, p. 25). In some cases, getting consent would have put us in harm's way or would have damaged the relationships we were keen on nurturing (Ellis, 2007, p. 24; Publication III). We did not seek consent from those in positions of power due to fear of losing our jobs. At the time of sharing those stories with one another, we were both employed in the cleaning project, Gabriela precariously and me semi-precariously, in a highly hierarchical system with Gabriela at the bottom and me at the middle of that hierarchy. Talking against power was a risk for both of us, particularly for Gabriela, and we considered that people who are already powerfully positioned would not have much to lose by potentially being loosely identifiable in our text. By the time the text was published, Gabriela had joined a Finnish language and literacy course, and I had received a grant to finalize the thesis. Since we were no longer working for that project, we were no longer indebted to its rules and regulations, which minimized the risks we could have been exposed to. As an ethical choice, we saw the Roma women's input on events that had impacted their lives to be more relevant than the input of those in positions of power implicated in those events, and more relevant to the overall aims of our chapter to contribute to socially just causes and foreground Romani knowledges (Publication III). In that sense, we thought of the greater good of our research, if it justified the potential risk to others, and were careful not to use a definition of greater

good created for our own personal good (Ellis, 2007, p. 23). We were also careful to minimize that potential risk to others through ethical strategies like pseudonyms, altering plots, fictionalizing parts of those real-life events, and positioning certain stories within other stories (Ellis, 2007, p. 24).

Moreover, we did not discuss the stories with some of our family members whom we talk about. Some of them are no longer alive to give their consent, like Gabriela's former husband. Yet if he were alive, she would not have been able to talk openly about him, given the abuse she had experienced with him. Again, someone more powerfully positioned perhaps does not have that much to lose. We did not include all the stories she shared on that topic to avoid reproducing certain stereotypes about Roma women as 'victims' and Roma men as 'abusers.' Gabriela used humor in telling stories about her former husband, as a form of self-empowerment. She did not discuss with her children the stories that mention them either, due to fear of harming relationships she is keen on nurturing through this text. While they are still too young to be exposed to certain things, Gabriela looks forward to one day in the future gifting her children the book where the chapter is published. I did not discuss with my mother the story I wrote about her either, perhaps due to embarrassment. My parents however read the text once it was published. They did not agree with everything I wrote, but have always been and continue to be supportive of my professional and creative choices, and are aware that those are my own interpretations of certain memories that might differ from theirs. This last point indeed applies to all the stories Gabriela and I shared that include intimate or identifiable others. The chapter is based on our friendship, and we speak from our own perspectives, rather than from the point of view of the people whom we worked with or our relatives who are briefly figured in our stories (Publication III). Their accounts would be very different from ours, and some of them may even view our stories with negative feelings, yet the chapter is a dialogue between two very specific individuals, rather than a collaboration between a community or a group and a researcher (Gay y Blasco & Hernández, 2020, p. 21). While we are aware that we do not own our stories and that they are also other people's stories (Ellis, 2007, p. 25), our stories are just one possible version of what had happened, we do not claim authority to know and represent others, but rather stay with the uncertainties of our choices (Gay y Blasco, 2021, p. 5) and share our productive failures as sources to imagine future possible ways of doing research (Publication III).

The co-authorial collaboration between Gabriela and I raises additional important ethical dilemmas. Ellis (2007, pp. 19-20) writes that co-constructed dual

autoethnographies where co-researchers are also co-authors circumvent some of the ethical issues from both normative and relational perspectives, since each co-author who is also participant has similar control over the process, shares similar research goals, and clearly gains professionally and personally from the collaboration. Yet this assessment assumes the co-authorship takes place between researchers with similar privileges, with access to education or institutional affiliation. What happens when one of the co-authors is illiterate or semi-literate, or has no affiliation or formal degree, as in our case? While similarly positioned researchers seemingly would not need to gain consent from each other, make sure that each of them knows what collaboration or research means, or affect each other through unforeseen negative repercussions (Ellis, 2007, p. 20), although that is debatable even for collaborations between two more or less privileged researchers, these issues have great relevance in a co-authorial collaboration between a semi-illiterate co-researcher who works as a cleaner and a PhD student who is also the co-researcher's work supervisor (Publication III).

Our collaboration's aim, as explained above, was reinscribing previously ignored Romani knowledges within Nordic migration research, thus making an ethical and political statement against framing universities as the only sources of valid knowledge. It also contributes to shifts toward doing research with rather than on participants, which raises ethical questions on the culture of research, writing, and authorship, and calls for changes in the institutional requirements surrounding these aspects (Sinha & Back, 2014, p. 483). When co-authoring their publication, Back, Sinha, and Bryan (2012), two researchers and one participant, encountered several institutional limitations. Bryan's status as author was queried due to her being a participant and not having an institutional affiliation, it was suggested to use a pseudonym as standard practice, and ethical issues were raised on revealing her identity, yet the co-authors argued for making an ethical point by giving Bryan credit and that she herself did not want to use a pseudonym (Back & Sinha with Bryan, 2012). Still, the two researchers claimed that, while Bryan contributed significantly to the authorship, she was not one of the co-writers of the paper, attributing her as "with" rather than "and" Bryan in the paper's reference, thus still maintaining certain hierarchies regarding mastery of writing academic articles. Sinha and Back (2014, p. 484), reflecting back on their collaboration with Bryan, argue that the obstacles encountered were an anxious symptom of "ethical hypochondria", which limits the opportunities to rethink authorship and innovate new formats for research that blur divides between data and analysis, participants and analysts, as well as limits future possible circulations among, for instance, students who may identify with co-

researchers like Bryan and find sources of inspiration for future possible projects and collaborations. The authors' arguments thus intersect with Gabriela's wishes for our co-authored chapter to potentially circulate among Roma students who are highly underrepresented in universities and may find sources of inspiration and strength in her stories (Publication III). Yet unlike these authors, Gabriela and I did not encounter institutional obstacles when publishing our book chapter with Routledge. The editors were more than willing to accept Gabriela's contribution as valid knowledge and even pushed our collaboration in unexpected fruitful directions, and so did my doctoral supervisors. Of course, the fact that the book focuses on coloniality and decolonisation in the Nordic region motivated the editors' positive reception of our chapter.

Does our publishing experience signal some kind of progress within the academic establishment? How would our experience have differed had we tried to publish in one of the top-ranking journals in social sciences, since chapters in edited books tend to be given less credit than journal articles? Our experience might have been shaped by existing hierarchies in terms of publishing metrics and currencies. It does not erase how co-researchers' inclusion within academic co-authorship, particularly those who are not affiliated with an institution or do not have any formal schooling degree, may also entail epistemic exploitation. While opening universities to plural knowers and knowledges may decrease the harm they exert, incorporating alternative knowledges within academic publishing practices may also re-assert universities' hegemony (Publication III). Institutions thus stand to gain social and racial capital and good assessments of diversity and inclusion practices. But what do the co-researchers gain? It could be self-representation, control over the research process, recognition through authorship or official presentations, financial compensation, learning new skills, or learning about and entering new worlds. Still, who decides on the terms and potential gains of co-researching? Can such collaborations be truly reciprocal? How did I make sure Gabriela knew what research means and that she understood what the future unintended consequences of her going public could be? What were the possible negative repercussions we encountered? What did each of us gain from the collaboration? Gabriela and I address these questions in our publication by staying with their unsolvable tensions, without knowing the potential results of our experimental collaboration, using contradictions as openings toward unforeseeable, unexpected outcomes. We do this without romanticizing our collaboration, which is based on highly unequal power dynamics, and we keep visible and challenge issues like appropriation, dominance, and dependency, while reflecting

on our attempts and failures to imagine possibilities for mutually transformative research methods and inter-human relationships across differences (Publication III).

The collaboration between Gabriela and I is not unique, contributing to a very recently emerging strand in Romani studies in which an academic and a non-academic interlocutor write ethnography together whilst analysing the collaborative process itself (Gay y Blasco & Hernandéz, 2020; Piemontese & Leoco, 2024; Montañés Jiménez & Gómez Ávila, 2024). Another recent collaborative project in Romani studies brought together Roma and non-Roma activists, street sellers, academics, community mediators, NGO workers, and policy advisers to co-author chronicles on the impact COVID-19 has had on Romani communities in five countries in Europe and Latin America (Gay y Blasco & Fotta, 2023). Within these projects there are multiple ways to conceive and legitimise collaboration, and negotiate asymmetries of power, authorship, and expectations, depending on the co-researchers' positionings. Collaborative research with officials, activists, or artists may see their expertise as resonating with that of researchers, an expertise formed prior to the research encounter, and position them as equal "epistemic partners" (Piemontese & Leoco, 2024, p. 126). Research with people perceived as vulnerable and oppressed may function through the aim of supporting struggles for social justice, like in the case of Gabriela and I, which may risk neglecting the capabilities of members of subjugated groups when these are detached from the urgency of collective social transformation (Piemontese & Leoco, 2024, p. 126).

For disadvantaged collaborators to be considered epistemic partners it is thus necessary to disregard normative notions of 'expertise', value alternative knowledges by people with the least power in society (Piemontese & Leoco, 2024, p. 126), and make practical adjustments to working methods and practices to recognize the analytical contributions of interlocutors who are neither activists/artists nor formally educated (Fotta & Gay y Blasco, 2024a, p. 8). Interpersonal affinities and commonalities beyond the hierarchical research relationship, embracing uncertainty and failure, and becoming vulnerable to each other can be helpful in working towards equal epistemic partnerships in such cases, as Gabriela and I have also learnt (Piemontese & Leoco, 2024, pp. 126-127; Publication III). Still, the legitimation of alternative know-how as valid knowledge relies on the privileged researchers' channels, resources, and mediations within established institutional patterns, which makes clear the deep inequalities onto which such projects are built (Fotta & Gay y Blasco, 2024b, p. 25). All this shows the importance of "'collaboration with friction at its heart" where co-researchers do not necessarily share similarities, affinities,

understandings of research goals and problems, hopes, or agendas (Tsing, 2005, p. 264). As our collaboration has also shown, tensions are fruitful toward imagining and enacting new subjectivities and research possibilities, yet they also reinforce existing hierarchies and inequalities or produce new ones, and embracing uncertainty and failure comes with the discomfort of not resolving this contradiction while also challenging it, which is also a complicated task generating additional uncertainty (Publication III).

This chapter has explored how entangling plural unequal migratisations, migratisms, knowers, and knowledges through autohistoria-teoría and art-based methods can creolize research, together with reflections on ethical dilemmas encountered throughout the research process when using these methods and when collaborating with participants and co-researchers. Through ethnodrama in conversation with autohistoria-teoría, the thesis engages with self-knowledges, self-ignorance, and ignorance of others to enact a satirical and performative questioning of academic norms and practices. It further invites readers and audiences of those performances at guest lectures and conference presentations to actively engage as knowledge producers with all their senses. Through autohistoria-teoría and creative writing in conversation with my co-author's storytelling practices, the thesis enacts new methodologies, which allow people without so-called 'literacy' skills to co-author research papers. Art-based methods thus allow experimenting with the unknown and the unforeseeable, challenging academic norms from multiple entangled and unequal perspectives, and carving out spaces for previously ignored realities. All these entanglements creolize both research and social reality by showing how various research and artistic approaches are already interrelated and mutually constituted despite them seeming divided or antithetical, while at the same time showing how their interrelatedness is imbricated with social inequalities and colonial logics. Still, some parts of this section may read like confessional tales rather than reflexive contributions to the creolization of research. How to further apply reflexivity to the reflexivity I have practiced in this section (Publication I)? I approach this question in the next chapter.

3.3 Creolizing reflexivity, collaboration, and ethics

Throughout this integrative chapter and in the three publications, I have used several types of reflexivity, some of which may even seem to be in contradiction to each other. At times I used a more essentialist reflexivity relying on representationalism

and confessional accounts about how as a researcher I impact the research processes (Undurraga, 2021, p. 1). I did that when, for instance, I positioned myself as an Eastern European non-Roma migrant woman and researcher with an interest in contributing to EE-Roma-BPoC dialogues in knowledge production to challenge epistemic racism in a Nordic context (Publication II). This is a kind of emancipatory reflexivity that takes responsibility in seeking social and epistemic transformations, justice, and empowerment, based on an understanding of subjectivities as relational yet stable and unitary, and on the impact that one's subjectivity has on the research produced (Undurraga, 2020, p. 7). While I take into account that EE, Roma, and BPoC are not fixed categories but that they often blur within one another, as well as how some within these dialogues may be among others' oppressors, I also see the usefulness in temporarily using these contested categories for contributing to epistemic transformations and social justice. At other times I practiced a more discursive and performative reflexivity that understands subjectivities as socio-culturally constituted and entangled in multiple unequal and unexpected ways, focusing on how discursive practices and institutional workings impact those entanglements and the overall research (Undurraga, 2021, p. 2). I did that when I focused on entangled migratisations, on how one may be constructed as a more or less privileged migrant who may or may not be racialised in various ways depending on institutional and discursive settings and in relation to others' migratisations and racialisations (Publication II). I also practiced a performative reflexivity in my use of autohistoria-teoría or in dialogue with Gabriela's storytelling practices, to delve into unconscious, unarticulated dynamics of relating to oneself and others, which tolerate the ambiguous, uncertain, and unknowable that cannot always translate into verbal articulations (Publication III). This type of reflexivity creates suspicious distance to one's experiences, embraces embodied but unthought knowledge, and relies on intuitive and bodily feelings in advancing an inquiry that does not close down meaning (Undurraga, 2020, p. 6).

In terms of how I see subjectivity in relation to reflexivity, at times I focused on my multiple ongoing role performance conflicts between student, classmate, migrant 'client', researcher, trainee, employee, supervisor, mediator, friend, lecturer, their inter-relations with the role performances of participants and co-researchers, and how that shaped the course of the research. At other times I went beyond fixed, though inter-related, roles to look at how subjectivities are shifting, co-constructed within research settings, in an ongoing process of inter-subjective transformations (Publications II, III). While in the former use of reflexivity I imported conceptual understandings of multiple roles from preestablished categories, in the latter I

approached subjectivity as emerging from the perspectives of participants, audiences, and co-researchers (Day, 2012, p. 72). I thus used both a reflexivity that has an implicit notion of subjectivity as well as one that produces subjectivities (Undurraga, 2020, p. 4). Still at other times I went beyond an inter-subjective perspective or a context limited to the research setting, to consider wider relational aspects in the construction of subjectivities like multiple socio-historical and material entanglements, such as how coloniality shapes present relational im/possibilities. I did that when for instance I looked at how hegemonic understandings of knowledge attempt to transcribe into rigid structures living, organic knowledges, and how undermining the will to structure can open unforeseeable possibilities of creolizing subjectivities (Publication III). In such cases, I treated reflexivity as producing the very possibility of conceiving of inter-subjectivities in particular ways, by decentring subjectivity through engagements with multiple histories, senses, and elements that cannot be grasped into words (Undurraga, 2020, p. 7).

All this shows that each type of reflexivity has its usefulness depending on the context. Even if I am critical toward a certain theory on reflexivity, I may still use it without being aware of it (Pillow, 2003, p. 181). Misrepresentations in research happen despite one's best intentions, and brushing those aside or looking for accuracy and truthfulness reproduces positivist research assumptions of mastery and disembodiment, whereas treating tensions and contradictions as opportunities for further learning may open unexpected and fruitful possibilities (Minh-ha, 1989, p. 64; Day, 2012, p. 80). Reflexivity is relevant not just to the steps taken in a research process, but also the development of theories and concepts (Day, 2012, p. 78). Theorizing the ways we practice reflexivity can therefore help us see in which ways we are being reflexive at any given moment, without assuming that we already know it, and without looking for definite answers or solutions (Undurraga, 2020, p. 9; Publication I). For instance, we might look for a solution to research misrepresentations through renouncing altogether the need to represent and know and embracing performativity instead. Yet representing is not something we can completely stop doing, and the boundaries between representationalism and performativity are more blurred, which means that we continue representing even when we explicitly argue against it, since developing any research argument, and even the conceptualisation of performativity, rely on representations (Undurraga, 2021, p. 9). Embracing multiple entangled reflexivities, underpinning their theorizations, potentials, and limitations, while also critiquing them, can thus produce new ways of relating to oneself, others, one's worlds, and other worlds, and can even produce those very subjects and worlds (Undurraga, 2020, p. 8; Barad, 2007). Different

theories on reflexivity offer different ways of relating and understanding, in that process of relating also producing the very boundaries of subjects and worlds (Undurraga, 2020, p. 4). Different reflexivities also offer different ways of relating to theories as affective engagements, which explains how there are affective needs in embracing or rejecting certain theories and certain types of reflexivity (Undurraga, 2020, p. 7; Publication I). Entangling these multiple ways of producing worlds, subjects, and theories can open us to multiple ways of sense- and world-making, making spaces for complexities and nuances that can lead to unforeseeable possibilities (Undurraga, 2021, p. 5; Publications II, III). In what follows I delve deeper into the multiple reflexivities I used throughout the research and show how their entanglement creolizes research.

In early attempts to destabilise my authority as researcher and apply a performative lens to my multiple shifting subjectivities, I wrote and performed creative narratives based on poetry and storytelling in multiple voices (Țîștea, 2020b). Before creating the ethnodrama (Publication II), I first experimented with creating characters based on my multiple subjectivities, in dialogue with interrogating broader discourses on racialization, whiteness, and 'Eastern Europeanness'. A white migrant observes the 'integration' training as an 'insider' and takes self-victimizing notes to cope with the loss of her privileges. She arranges her notes into a poem for an enhanced artistic effect, to impress her readers. A trainee in a reception centre for asylum seekers acts as a 'white saviour', contributing with short, anecdotal stories based on her brief time in the centre. Her stories cut through the poem by her fellow character, the 'white victim'. A 'wannabe' researcher interviews representatives of these institutions under the mask of self-righteousness and then presents her study results in conferences without reflecting on her complicity with the power structures she critiques. Her interventions consist of text boxes placed next to the poem and stories by the other two characters, as side notes commenting on their accounts. By speaking within closed boxes, she shields her narrative from potential criticism and maintains her knowledgeability unquestioned and intact, thus parodying the positivist myth of objectivity, neutrality, and representability. Each character has its own particular voice and mode of playing with text and language (Țîștea, 2020b).

With the use of multiple voices, I tried to follow Minh-ha (2019) who sees the multiplicity of voices as part of the process of decentralizing, dehierarchizing, and destabilizing knowledge, and presenting subjectivity as assembled, decentred, and multiple. I performed the characters in various settings with the help of masks and costumes reflecting my unsettled, flexible, and constantly shifting subjectivities,

while visually documenting these performances (Figures 1-3). But what happens when I fix the subjecthood of my subjectivities/roles/performances behind rigid masks? How is it productive and for what?

Figure 1. 'White victim' performs her poem

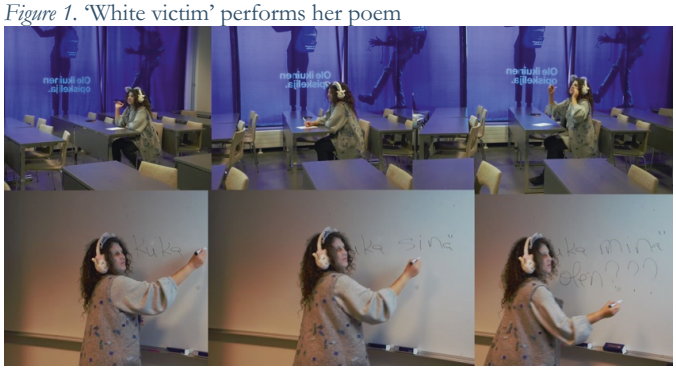

Figure 2. 'White hero' plays her stories

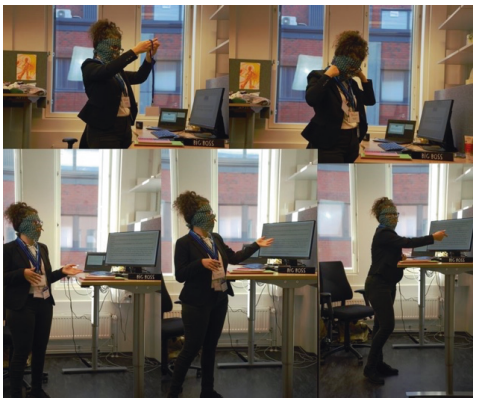

Figure 3. 'Wannabe' researcher speaks within the box

After discussions with my supervisors, I realised that the masks and their multivocal performances solidify rather than destabilize subjectivity and authority by drawing boundaries between each voice and reinforcing strict distinctions between essentialist, fragmented, and unitary selves. Multivocality is not transgressive when juxtaposing voices that continue to speak within identified boundaries or used to better mask "the Voice"—that very place from where meaning is put together (Minh-ha interviewed by Chen, 1992, p. 85). The masks enable the characters to hide, to take refuge, to speak within boxes or against each other. They conceal. But through concealment they also reveal. By taking refuge behind self-parodying masks, the characters find the courage to speak about their biases and internalized racism, the courage to say what otherwise they could not. The characters were indeed thought-provoking through my use of irony and evocative performances, yet my

self-conscious, 'clever' presentations also became alienating and pretentious (Finlay, 2003, p. 15). The characters were not actively listening to each other. They spoke about each other and about others with authority, but not with each other and not with or nearby others. Speaking nearby means speaking as if the others are present and can engage and fill in the blanks, it means speaking with intimacy and understanding, rather than pointing fingers at others' faults and speaking from a position of detachment (Minh-ha interviewed by Chen, 1992). How can the characters open up, break the boxes from which they are speaking, pierce through their masks, become porous, and engage in mutually rewarding dialogues with each other? How can the characters reach out and transversally connect with plural others, thus allowing for broader resonance emerging from their specificities, and epistemic and political ramifications toward non-appropriative solidarity? My supervisors also helped me see the potential of ethnodrama in answering these questions by placing the characters in more dynamic situations and conversations with plural other characters emerging from the participants in my research, and placing my performances in interactions with audiences as knowledge producers (Publication II). Multivocality can therefore open up to a non-identifiable ground of possibilities when boundaries are constantly undone while also being accounted for, in ongoing processes of collective entanglements and transformations (Minh-ha interviewed by Chen, 1992, p. 85).

Dialogues emerging through multiple unequal entanglements do not always result in transgressive transformations. Sometimes there may be communicative difficulties that need to be negotiated, in which cases reflexive strategies grounded in what Lugones (2006) calls complex communication can be helpful. Complex communication happens at intersections between communicative openings and impasses, requiring tolerance for the opacity of other ways of being and knowing without attempting to break them down within one's familiar sense-making, and without necessarily relying on shared vocabularies or interests (Lugones, 2006, p. 75). Through complex communication, people who are differently positioned by relations of power can reach a liminal space where new coalitional possibilities are created, yet this requires reflexivity on the spatiality and historicity of the journey that leads each individual to that liminal space (Lugones, 2006, p. 76). Through reflexive accounts of such journeys, the intersectionality of entangled oppressions becomes clear, where some may be among others' oppressors in certain contexts, which ultimately can enable outward movements between multiple affiliative groups (Lugones, 2006, p. 77). This reflexive strategy can be useful in negotiating communicative difficulties toward BPoC-Romani-EE coalitional possibilities in

knowledge production. As I have argued in the previous chapter, for such coalitions to be possible, reflexivity is required regarding EE people's complicity with oppression grounded in white supremacy despite their liminal positioning within hegemonic whiteness. Explaining this positioning requires negotiating communicative difficulties with BPoC and Roma people who may be oppressed by systems of power EE may be complicit with. At the same time, BPoC and Roma individuals may also need to engage in complex communication regarding the latter's subalternized positioning in relation to whiteness, which may not always be clear due to assimilatory policies and practices of European nation states building. Once each subject's liminality is recognized, once they can see one another beyond what they may be within a given structure of power, they can move on to deciphering each other's resistant codes. Their words and gestures can thus be given new possible meanings, and new possible worlds and relational ways of being and knowing be imagined beyond structural, dominant meanings (Lugones, 2006, p. 79).

With complex communication it becomes possible to practice reflexivity as a mutual collaboration between people unequally entangled in multiple unexpected liminalities. This goes beyond merely representing multiple voices as superficial juxtaposing, which masks "the Voice" as the one authorial account assimilating the other voices (Minh-ha interviewed by Chen, 1992, p. 85). Reflexivity as mutual collaboration can often claim egalitarianism and divert attention from power imbalances, thus paradoxically laying claim to more authority (Finlay, 2002, p. 222). I have fallen into this trap multiple times during the research, by trying to legitimate my study through receiving validation from participants and co-researchers or positive feedback from academic communities to further advance my arguments, while smoothing out tensions arising from unequal social and epistemic positionings (Finlay, 2002, p. 220). With the ethnodrama, I would sometimes seek positive reinforcement from audiences as a way to validate the relevance of my methodological choices (Publication II). In the collaboration with Gabriela, she would sometimes tell me what she thought I wanted to hear in order not to shake my confidence in our project or in myself as researcher, or not to shake my white fragility (Publication III). Complex communication creolized my practices of reflexivity as mutual collaboration by making me stay with the discomfort of receiving honest critical feedback from my interlocutors. Complex communication can occur in at least three ways: it disrupts dominant discourses through individually-created counter-discourses; it disrupts dominant discourses through collectively-created counter-discourses; and it goes beyond the vertical axis colonizer/colonized through minor-to-minor creolized communication (Lugones, 2006, pp. 82-83).

The first strategy is an oppositional address to colonizing discourses and knowledges through direct and defiant interpellation, but without an intention of communicating anything other than that disruption. It is directed to audiences imagined as possible dialogical companions sharing similar struggles (Lugones, 2006, p. 82). I have used this strategy in initial stages of creating, developing, and circulating the written play-script of the ethnodrama (Publication II), as well as in my previous theorizations of reflexivity uses in Nordic Roma-related research (Publication I). After mapping various reflexivities practiced by researchers in Nordic Romani studies against multiple theories on reflexivity and applying those theories to my own readings of others' reflexivities, I concluded the latter publication by expressing my hopes to provoke future conversations among researchers on what a decolonial turn would entail for practices of reflexivity in Nordic Roma-related research. I thus enacted an oppositional address to what I perceived as colonizing research practices and directed it to readers imagined as possible allies in decolonizing reflexive knowledge production (Publication I).

The second strategy is a collective confrontation of dominant discourses, which imagines knowledges created otherwise and lives lived differently (Lugones, 2006, p. 82). Here variously positioned speakers address each other from positionings based on already-existing categories, such as EE migrant woman and researcher, or Roma co-researcher and co-author, or Master's student interested in theatre-based methods in research. We jointly fashion our message and address it to colonizing forces by speaking back to power through a speech inclusive of multiple unequal voices, which nonetheless share vocabularies and intentions (Lugones, 2006, p. 83). I used this strategy in subsequent developments of the ethnodrama when engaging with audiences to my performances and inviting them to relate their own experiences to the drama, utilizing their stories in further reworking the play-script's thus collectively fashioned counter-knowledges (Publication II). Gabriela and I used this strategy in our story-sharing and in addressing academic readers through our collaboratively created stories, thus reinscribing disdained knowledges within Nordic migration research and Romani studies (Publication III).

This third strategy can be seen as a more subversive metacommunication that does not rely on any pre-established categories or shared vocabularies and interests (Lugones, 2006, p. 83). This entails creative changes to our vocabularies, senses of selves, collective memories, and ways of relational living, thus creating new meanings that did not precede the encounter (Lugones, 2006, p. 84). Gabriela and I used this strategy in an attempt to unpack our complicities grounded in unequal power

relations, recognize each other's unequal liminalities, see each other beyond limiting categorizations, and decipher each other's resistant codes toward creating new meanings and imagining future possible worlds. Our attempts have not always been fruitful, and we have failed many times, yet we kept visible our productive failures as openings toward unforeseeable possibilities (Publication III). While I did not enact complex creolized communication with the ethnodrama, I did reflect on my failures to enact this strategy with my classmates in the 'integration' training. My classmates did not see me as inhabiting a liminal space, so we did not reach complex communication because we did not negotiate our communicative difficulties. The impossibility for them to see my liminality related to my failure to move beyond ignorant and arrogant perceptions of the world that position me as a 'victim' without seeing my complicity to their oppression (Publication II). I see the failure on complex communication with my BPoC classmates and the fruitful tensions in my collaboration with Gabriela as productive for the overall aim of the thesis to contribute to discussions on im/possibilities for BPoC-Romani-EE coalitions in knowledge production.

Complex communication shows the relevance of paying attention to the participants' and co-researchers' reflexivities, thus avoiding the reproduction of knowing/known divides (Finlay, 2002, p. 218). This varies from involving participants in reflexive dialogues during project design and development, to mutual reflexivities between co-researchers where we analyse each other's practices, and can also translate to involving students and members of academic communities in reflexive processes and dialogues (Day, 2012, p. 80). I outlined above how I have involved students and academics in reflexive dialogues around the ethnodrama (Publication II). The mutual engagement of co-researchers in analysing each other's reflexivities resonate with how the ability to engage in creolized complex communication requires the interlocutors to be reflexive of each other's accounts of their different journeys to the liminal space where creolization happens (Lugones, 2006, p. 76). For Gabriela and I to recognize each other's unequal liminalities and see each other beyond limiting categorizations, we first applied mutual reflexivity on the different spatialities and historicities of the journey that led each of us to a shared liminal space, or to our collaboration (Publication III). In inter-relating our different journeys we spoke with our reflexive middle voices which, as Sandoval (2000, pp. 155-156) explains, is a voice that becomes constituted as it both acts and is acted upon, hovering between active and passive, past, present and future, enabling us to act on the world while transforming our relation to it, recreating ourselves as we

create our actions in an ongoing loop of transformation with no predictable outcome other than transformation itself.

With her reflexive middle voice, Gabriela told multidimensional and complex stories about her life while utilizing a plurality of strategies from varying standpoints tactically employed for addressing various subjugations. At times she presented herself as virtuous and innocent; at other times, she transpired subversiveness, creativity, and humour; in some instances, she denoted impressive strength and resilience, whereas in others she expressed her hopelessness and disappointments with the spaces and structures she navigates; in certain moments she constructed powerful resistant visions of collective transformations for Roma emancipation, whereas in others she focused more on her own individual growth and interests. She adopted different tactics for navigating different worlds. Some of her strategies may not be visible to ignorant or arrogant perceivers, since the subversiveness of Roma women, and women of colour more widely, does not make sense in a world marked by wilful white and epistemic ignorance, which constructs them as pliable, foldable, and classifiable (Lugones, 2003a, p. 14). Her different tactics may also be interpreted as disloyal to the different worlds she inhabits, as in betraying a certain imagined 'authenticity' of what it may mean to be Roma. Such a perception would see her subjectivity as fragmented, fragmentation which could be used for purposes of social control. Gabriela, however, creatively defied norms that subdue her, thus asserting her multiple states toward becoming ambiguous, unclassifiable, and unmanageable (Lugones, 2003b, p. 100). Gabriela also showed me how some of my decisions both as researcher and as work supervisor ignored the plurality and agencies of Roma women, thus recalibrating our collaboration with each other and how we consulted members of Gabriela's community during the process (Publication III).

With my reflexive middle voice, I transformed the arrogant and ignorant perceptions I had been indoctrinated in through schooling, upbringing, and what I had observed during childhood and later in life in family and social dynamics. Arrogant perception means to ignore, ostracize, render invisible, stereotype, leave completely alone, interpret as crazy, detach, or disidentify from those one perceives arrogantly (Lugones, 2003a, p. 5). I have also been the object of others' arrogant perception, yet the extent to which one perceives or is perceived arrogantly intersects with gender, race, class, etc. I have also internalized arrogant perceptions of myself and applied it onto myself, or onto similarly positioned subjects in an attempt to dissociate from them and position myself as above or beyond them. But mostly I have perceived arrogantly those whom I have seen as being for myself and from

whom I thought I could arrogate their substance, such as people positioned lower in socio-economic hierarchies (Frye, 1983, p. 66; Lugones, 2003a, p. 2). Yet arrogant and ignorant perceptions can also occur when one attempts to 'help' or 'empower' disadvantaged 'others.'

Even though it is important for Roma women to have access to the same systems and opportunities as other women, it is important to look out for any paternalism that might show up in our work together. A well-intended, privileged non-Roma Romanian migrant woman 'helped' a migrant Roma woman with no formal education who was street-vending in Helsinki to raise her three children living in Romania. The non-Roma woman even convinced the Roma woman to write together a research paper about their experiences of working together and their friendship. This paper will help the former earn a PhD. She thought the research collaboration would be egalitarian if the Roma woman were a co-author. The two authors tried to blur divides and hierarchies between them while acknowledging the impossibility of fully diminishing those divides by keeping the tensions and disagreements between them as generative sources of knowledge in the text. They tried to practice egalitarian ways of working together, each leading different parts of the process and consulting each other at every step. Still, instead of imagining a new world, the process risked taking them to the Roma woman being co-opted in the non-Roma world and, in that process, the Roma woman learning how to govern herself according to the norms of that world. That is because, despite our best intentions, we could not sometimes overcome the oppressor/oppressed, perpetrator/victim, saviour/saved binaries, and colonising narratives of me empowering Gabriela in my terms, even if we intended the opposite. Perhaps the problem was us intending the opposite, which still relies on the same, although inverted, categories, which simply turn Gabriela into a self-governing subject liberating herself in the coloniser's terms, and me into an accomplice who incorporates Gabriela's success story into existing power structures (Publication III).

Through Gabriela's analytical stories that challenged socio-economic and epistemic hierarchies, in dialogue with my stories of unlearning perceptions grounded in white and epistemic ignorance and arrogance, our collaboration became a creolizing research practice that disrupts the reproduction of whiteness as the norm against which to explore Romani experiences, and the paternalistic intent to "help" or "rescue" Roma, by shifting the focus from Roma marginalization, exoticization, or victimization to multiple creative agencies of Roma as free thinking and acting subjects (Matache, 2016, 2017). Our co-authored book chapter (Publication III) in

dialogue with the ethnodrama (Publication II) contribute to the creolization of research collaborations through creative and disruptive expressions and practices, while also making visible and challenging issues of domination, hegemony, and subalternity (Hall, 2015, p. 16). Specifically, they challenge how the "epistemic violence" (Castro-Gómez & Martin, 2002) of the white academic agenda in Nordic migration studies and the dominance of non-Roma researchers in Romani studies intersect with the hierarchies of knowledge production in which an Eastern European non-Roma migrant, student, researcher, mediator, and interpreter–who is usually side-lined from the discussion–can be elevated as a knowing subject while silencing the resistant, divergent, and creative agencies of Roma and BPoC migrants, co-researchers, and participants.

Engaging in the mutually rewarding yet painful process of speaking to each other with our reflexive middle voices (Sandoval, 2000, pp. 155-156) further allowed Gabriela and I to travel to each other's worlds and see ourselves through each other's eyes, thus becoming complex subjects to each other, with all our contradictions, fears, hopes, and dreams (Publication III). Reflecting on each other's journeys to liminal spaces enabled us to engage in complex communication with what Lugones (2003a) calls a playful attitude of world-travelling. This involves openness to surprise, to being a fool, to re/construction of ourselves and the worlds we inhabit, to risking the ground that constructs us as oppressors, oppressed, or as collaborating or colluding with oppression, while embracing uncertainty and lack of self-importance (Lugones, 2003a, p. 13). I further applied playful world-travelling to the overall thesis by entangling multiple reflexivities, traveling between the worlds each reflexivity produces.

Each reflexivity I used in the thesis has been helpful in different contexts due to the way it produces those very contexts, subjects, and worlds (Undurraga 2020, p. 1). Undurraga (2021) also shows the relevance of entangling mutual reflexivities toward what she calls, following Barad (2007), a "diffracted reflexivity" that continually produces subjects and worlds that are relationally, affectively, culturally, and materially entangled. A diffracted reflexivity shows how there is movement in reflexivity that blurs divides between various theories on reflexivity, or between theories embracing reflexivity and those rejecting it and proposing something else like diffraction (Undurraga, 2021, p. 3). Diffraction troubles the reliance on the optical metaphor of reflexivity that wants to represent or mirror how things are, and focuses instead on the multiple interferences or intra-actions that are produced when understanding ourselves as continuously defined by and defining the worlds we study

(Barad, 2007). Yet defining diffraction in opposition to one single definition of reflexivity as representationalism produces practices of exclusion that disregard the multiple ways in which reflexivity has been theorized (Undurraga, 2021, p. 3). Blurring divides between diffraction and reflexivity, Undurraga (2021, p. 6) argues, diffracts reflexivity as ways of relating that produce selves and worlds through relational onto-epistemologies that stop assuming an already-formed subject waiting to be represented. This relates to the playful world-travelling proposed by Lugones (2003a, p. 13), which abandons particular preestablished constructions of oneself, others, and one's relation to them toward playfully and relationally reconstructing multiple selves and worlds.

Diffraction refers to intra-actions between different elements of the realm of the human and the nonhuman, between discursive configurations and corporeal materialities, which produce ontological realities and material bodies that do not pre-exist their interactions but emerge through and as part of their entangled intra-relating (Barad, 2003, p. 803; 2007, p. 439). While diffraction is useful in understanding entangled onto-epistemological processes of becoming, as Gutiérrez Rodríguez (2021, pp. 3-4) shows, it disregards the historically sedimented relations of domination and power within the intra-active configuration. Gutiérrez Rodríguez argues for inter-relating Barad's (2003, 2007) spatial-relational entanglements with Mbembe's (2001, p. 229) colonial entanglements that are constantly shaped and mediated by multiple, overlapping modes of self-fashioning in which the past and the present function relationally. Colonial entanglements show the lasting effects of historical processes on present configurations and, by configuring the colonial in the present, intersect with coloniality (Gutiérrez Rodríguez, 2021, p. 5).

Entangling diffraction with coloniality leads to creolization, since the difference between diffraction and creolization is that the latter emerges within the dynamics of coloniality. At the same time, creolization creates new vocabularies not inscribed in any hegemonic script, with its elements diffracted and its consequences unforeseeable (Glissant, 1997, p. 34). It explodes multiple entangled elements into an arc, diffracting them into new dimensions, allowing each element to be there and elsewhere, rooted and open, in harmony and in deviance, in confluence and in distance, scattered and consensually assembled in unexpected ways (Glissant, 1997, p. 33). By bringing creolization in dialogue with Undurraga's (2021) diffracted reflexivity, I propose a creolized reflexivity that also accounts for the dynamics of coloniality within which diffraction or entanglements occur. Each reflexivity I have used in the thesis produces a worlding, and creolizing reflexivity entails travelling

between multiple worlds with a "playful" attitude (Lugones 2003a). Each reflexivity also produces shifting subjectivities, which is why creolizing reflexivity through world-travelling entangles multiple unequal subjectivities. Creolizing subjectivities brings them in complex communication where they inter-relate their diffracted synchronicities of multiple unequal stories (Glissant, 1997, p. 221) through which they can enter liminal spaces where they engage in complex communication (Lugones, 2006). Each reflexivity is shaped by certain theories, so traveling between the worlds created by multiple reflexivities also entails creolizing theory through minor-to-minor theoretical relations beyond dominant paradigms (Lionnet & Shih, 2011). As I have shown throughout this chapter, such processes of creolization allow producing knowledge through and with the fruitful tensions resulting from unequal entanglements of reflexivities, subjectivities, and theories, which are both shaped by and look for ways to go beyond coloniality.

Reflexivity is relevant to understanding the nature of ethics in qualitative research and how ethical practice can be achieved through ongoing identification and examination of ethical issues as they arise in research activities (Guillemin & Gillam, 2004, p. 263). Reflexivity is also relevant to developing ethical theorizations and conceptualizations that account for epistemic inequalities between various theories and research paradigms (Day, 2012, p. 78). Similar to the entanglement of multiple reflexivities, the thesis has also entangled various approaches to ethics depending on each context, as I have shown throughout the previous section. These approaches included self-reflexive ethics in reviewing other authors' texts (Publication I); procedural and situational ethics with anonymous participants (Publication II); situational and collaborative ethics with anonymous co-researchers (Publication II); relational ethics with intimate or identifiable characters in the stories shared (Publication III); and transversal co-authorial ethics with Gabriela across highly unequal power relations (Publication III). These entanglements enabled me to apply a "nonviolent revolutionary ethical consciousness" to the thesis by being critical of the general tendency within normative ethics to reinscribe "enlightened modernisms and truth orientations toward morality", while at the same time acknowledging the ethical orientations that underly research questions, epistemologies, and methodologies (Lincoln & Cannella, 2009, p. 279). Through the creolization of reflexivity in dialogue with the ethical entanglements, the overall thesis argues for a decolonial ethical premise of living together on mutually beneficial terms, an ethics of inter-relational transversality driven by the unexpected toward possibilities of just worlds, which counterbalances coloniality as a modern colonial social reproduction system of entangled racialized and gendered inequalities and hierarchies (Gutiérrez

Rodríguez, 2021, p. 17). Given creolization's roots in slavery and plantation economies, creolizing reflexivity also implies an ethics of responsibility and care for fragile and subaltern lives, thought in connection with emergent social movements, while overcoming arrogant perceptions grounded in oppressed/oppressor binaries (Vergès, 2015, p. 40; Maldonado-Torres, 2011, p. 198). Through the decolonial ethics at the heart of the creolization of research that the thesis puts forth, it becomes possible to imagine and enact transversal social and research entanglements with responsibility for the subalternized and a commitment to transformative possibilities in living together and producing knowledge together, which can be further applied to new BPoC-Roma-EE coalitional possibilities in Nordic knowledge production.

This section has highlighted tensions between multiple entangled reflexivities that have the potential to dissolve oppositions through movement between and beyond paradigms, and thus contribute to connections between seemingly disparate knowledges, knowers, and ways of knowing. By creolizing reflexivity across interconnected yet unequal research and artistic approaches, while applying creolization reflexively, the thesis imagines and enacts ways of inter-relating research onto-epistemologies and methodologies that bring into dialogue plural and unequal migration lived experiences *and* scholarship in a Nordic context, which generate similar transformative possibilities, without erasing power differences, complicities, and tensions.

4 SYNTHESIS AND META-REFLEXIVITY

4.1 Synthesis of arguments and contributions

To address the research questions posed in the introduction (see *Table 1.* Research questions), this thesis (***RQ1***) scrutinized the power relations embedded in the knowledge production practices of Nordic education scholarship, to then (***RQ2***) explore ways of opening Nordic migration, BPoC- and Roma-related research to plural knowledges being weaved otherwise through dialogues between and beyond these fields. Finally, the thesis looked into (***RQ3***) ways to interrelate and contribute to emerging alternative approaches in those fields.

To scrutinize the power relations embedded in research (***RQ1***), the thesis looked at how research and education power relations constitute knowing subjects in Nordic academia. Drawing from Nordic educational research, it placed a special focus on how the coloniality of knowledge and white supremacy restrict access to making knowledge claims or shape the experiences of researchers and students, particularly BPoC, Roma, EE, and other marginalized knowers. This generated insights on what knowledge is in Nordic education scholarship, who produces it, and how. To explore ways of opening knowledge production (***RQ2***), the thesis then explored researchers' practices of reflexivity and collaborations with participants. Reflexivity is essential in knowledge production regardless of researchers' positionalities, yet different social positionalities determine different applications of reflexivity. For instance, according to the literature review, BPoC researchers may apply reflexivity to carve spaces for their own knowledges, to efforts of dismantling white supremacy in academia, to analyse their complicity in their own subordination when internalizing and reproducing Nordic dominant academic norms, or as pedagogical tools for their mostly white students to reflect on whiteness and privilege. Roma researchers may carve spaces for Romani knowledges, create and share resources for non-Roma researchers to apply in rethinking the ways they practice reflexivity, as well as explore their own uses of reflexivity in challenging dominant representations, centring Roma self-representations, troubling 'insider'/'outsider' dichotomies, and exploring hierarchies and inequalities between

Roma researchers and the members of Roma communities they study. Researchers from majoritarian positionings who seek to disrupt the status quo may focus on whiteness as a privileged site for knowledge production, their possible reflexive blind spots that can reify privilege, and on how to collaborate ethically with research participants without claiming to speak on their behalf while also challenging institutional ethical constraints that limit complex relationalities. EE researchers may nuance what whiteness is in the Nordic context from their positionalities of differential whiteness and relative academic marginalization, while being reflexive of their own privileges in relation to participants or to other scholars who do not fit whiteness be it normative or differential. Still, positionalities are not fixed, they shift according to shifting circumstances, and there are overlaps and intersections between these various approaches to reflexivity.

Researchers' practices of reflexivity further intersect social with epistemic positionings. Reflexivity in modernist paradigms may translate to accurately describing or claiming to know an objective reality and making universalistic truth claims from the perspective of a disembodied knower. Such uses of reflexivity may entail remaining within one's subjective, epistemological, and methodological comfort zones, which can reproduce power hierarchies. In postmodernist paradigms, reflexivity may imply productive self-questioning, openness to plural perspectives, challenging and minimizing harm in interactions and collaborations with participants, addressing and facilitating participants' self-representation, and practicing new ways of producing knowledge ethically and collaboratively. Such uses of reflexivity may enable researchers to question their assumptions, biases, and habituated forms of onto-epistemological and methodological domination, all of which are relevant to scrutinizing power relations in research. Decolonial options to reflexivity may entail restoring epistemic authority to marginalized knowers–researchers and participants–who shape the direction of their own labour according to their own knowledges and ways of knowing. The latter move from scrutinizing power relations to disrupting the reproduction of power hierarchies and imagining future alternatives. One thing that different paradigms have in common is the usefulness of reflexivity in working through ethical dilemmas, although ethics might mean different things in different paradigms. In modernist paradigms, ethics can refer to how informed the participants are with regards to the research aims, process, and results, how the research portrays participants and if that is in line with what participants want or expect, and to what extent the research respects participants' privacy and anonymity. Ethics can also refer to good research practices like sound and reliable data, and sound and reliable ways of generating, storing, sharing, and

analysing that data. In postmodernist paradigms, ethics can include accountability with regards to unequal relations between researcher and participants at the intersection of multiple power systems, challenging the researcher's authority to counter epistemic privileges, respecting participants' voices and agencies, knowledgeability and respect for participants' socio-historical and cultural contexts, and conducting research more from the participants' perspectives and initiatives. Decolonial ethics may imply responsibility and care for fragile and subaltern lives, overcoming oppressed/oppressor binaries, and inter-relational living and working together toward possibilities of just worlds.

Researchers usually practice more than one reflexivity simultaneously, since studies occur across various socio-epistemic contexts and each context requires different approaches to reflexivity. This shows how divides between different paradigms and theories are in fact more blurred. Furthermore, my account of researchers' practices of reflexivity so far seems to rely on preestablished positionings that researchers bring into the field or their writing, which is an essentialist view on reflexivity. A more discursive or performative view may see reflexivity as producing subjectivities and worlds, thus producing the very contexts in which practices of reflexivity occur. All this shows how exploring possible entanglements and tensions between different practices and theories on reflexivity, and the usefulness of rethinking reflexivity in staying with those tensions, can open pathways to new possibilities in knowledge production. Such entanglements of multiple reflexivities from unequal standings show (***RQ2***) how knowledge production relates to self-awareness, subjectivation, and worlding.

There are several emerging approaches in Nordic migration, BPoC- and Roma-related research that generate overlapping transformative possibilities for decolonizing knowledge production, which nonetheless hardly engage in dialogue with each other. When looking into ways to interrelate and contribute to these emerging alternative approaches (***RQ3***), I started from my own non-Roma EE positionality. I chose certain strategies that can enable more reflexivity from this positionality when engaging in dialogues with BPoC and Romani perspectives, such as the concepts of migratisation/migratism and their intersections with racialisation/racism. This relates to the recent reflexive turn in migration studies and BPoC-related research that seek to de-migratise research by going beyond restrictive categories and methodologies commonly used in research on migration and minorities, and focus instead on unthinkable positionalities, unexpected entanglements, creative expressions that do not conflate race with migration, or how

people are ascribed with migration and/or race or not depending on various shifting circumstances. I entangled multiple migratisations, migratisms, knowledges, and knowers through autoethnography and art-based methods, thus creolizing both lived migration realities as well as research practices like reflexivity, collaboration, and ethics.

I looked at multiple entangled migratisations/migratisms embedded in unequal power relations and the coloniality of migration, occurring on different scales and temporalities during 2015–2022, in three locations I have researched autoethnographically – a migrant 'integration' training in an adult education centre, a reception centre for asylum seekers, and a cleaning project in an accommodation centre for Roma migrants. Entangling those locations interrelated plural and unequal BPoC, Romani, and EE migration lived experiences. I followed three entry points into such entanglements: in those specific locations rather than in nation-state containers; within intersections, inter-relationalities, and interdependencies of differently non/migratised people; and within my own biographical trajectories, thus contributing to the recent reflexive turn in migration studies. I showed how those entanglements constituted the very possibility for the existence of those locations. Both the interdependence between privileged and underprivileged migratisations, and the interconnections between how people become or do not become migratised or racialised, reflect inter-subjective creolization processes where unequal power relations are constantly re-negotiated in unexpected ways. This approach creolizes both migration research *and* lived realities by decentring normative epistemologies and methodologies, and focusing on unequal entanglements of more or less privileged or oppressive ascriptions of migration shaped by the coloniality of migration and of knowledge. Importantly, these entangled migratisations also constitute entangled knowledges shared between the differently migratised actors, with their distinct, materially rich histories and enacted practices of meaning-making, which generate shifts and transformations into each other's understandings and ignorance of oneself and those around us. I explored such entangled knowledges with the help of art-based methods, which also enabled me to engage with my own ignorance without victimisation, enter collaborations with co-researchers across differences in terms of epistemic privileges and migratisations, and reach wider audiences who could engage in meaning-making in sensuously embodied ways, with their body, intellect, and imagination.

I used ethnodrama to parody my ignorance in relation to my BPoC classmates in the 'integration' training and my appropriation of Romani voices. Arranging the

autoethnographic material within theatrical settings facilitated my parodic distancing from my ignorance. Performing the drama through reader's theatre entailed humour and irony, more than reading a story in front of an audience would, which further took away from the anxiety of presenting personal stories with the risk of self-exposure. I actively sought the participation of students and conference attendants to engage with my performances as knowledge producers and relate them to their own personal experiences, utilizing their responses in further reworking the drama, thus showing the fragmented, partial, contested, and ongoing nature of knowledge. The ethnodrama exposes various cracks, tensions, and contradictions through the interactions between characters and their entangled unequal migratisations and migratisms, which together with the tensions between the multiple reactions and responses it engenders from readers and audiences, can be openings from which to disrupt established ways of seeking knowledge and to imagine new possible ways of creolizing both inter-subjective and cross-disciplinary dialogues. These show unexpected connections and inter-relations that nonetheless occur within dynamics shaped by the coloniality of knowledge and migration.

To further creolize both migration and Roma-related research, my co-author Gabriela Băncuță and I used storytelling and creative nonfictional writing to entangle our multiple knowledges and migratisations as co-researchers from highly unequal positionings shaped by the coloniality of migration and of knowledge. We used art-based methods to make it possible for Gabriela to act as a knowledge producer, since she has not had access to formal schooling. Gabriela used Romani storytelling techniques and, based on her personal experiences, elaborated analyses helpful for understanding broader social phenomena she had experienced first-hand, developing theoretical narratives through which she criticized socio-economic and epistemic hierarchies, and taught me when to remain silent and defer to Roma knowledges. With her analytical stories, beyond engaging in a collaborative research process with me, Gabriela wanted to have a written piece targeting academic audiences and university students, to make her stories known in her own words to people she would otherwise not have access to, and address the lack of knowledge on EE Roma migrants in the Nordics by Roma themselves. We both argue for the usefulness of art-based methods in reinscribing previously ignored, disdained, or discredited Romani knowledges and lived realities into the Nordic context, and entangling multiple unequal EE Roma and non-Roma experiences and knowledges creatively, thus creolizing both research *and* social reality. Furthermore, we contribute to a very recently emerging strand in Romani studies in which an academic and a non-academic interlocutor write ethnography together whilst analysing the

collaborative process itself. Such collaborations are rife with friction and tensions, which are fruitful toward imagining and enacting new subjectivities and research possibilities, yet they also reinforce existing hierarchies and inequalities or produce new ones. Both our co-authorial collaboration between *and* the ethnodrama embrace uncertainty and failure, which come with the discomfort of not resolving contradictions while also challenging them, which is also a complicated task generating additional uncertainty. Moreover, they both challenge what it means to be a knowing subject and contribute to ongoing attempts to blur genres regarding what is considered academic writing, by crossing divides between oral storytelling and creative writing; theatre, oral/written literature, and research; storytellers and researchers, stories and knowledge, imagination and 'truth'.

Throughout the thesis I used several types of reflexivity, some of which may seem to be in contradiction to each other, which shows how each type of reflexivity has its usefulness depending on the context. Entangling multiple reflexivities brings together multiple ways of producing worlds, subjects, and theories, which can open us to multiple ways of sense- and world-making, making spaces for complexities and nuances that can lead to unforeseeable possibilities. I delved deeper into the multiple reflexivities I have used throughout the research, and showed how their entanglement creolizes what is considered reflexive research. By bringing creolization in dialogue with reflexivity and diffraction, I propose a creolized reflexivity that also accounts for the dynamics of coloniality within which diffraction or entanglements occur. Each reflexivity I have used in the thesis produces a worlding, and creolizing reflexivity entails travelling between multiple unequal worlds while unlearning arrogant and ignorant perceptions and learning playful and loving perceptions. Each reflexivity also produces shifting subjectivities, which is why creolizing reflexivity through world-travelling entangles those multiple subjectivities toward becoming ambiguous, unclassifiable, and unmanageable, thus creolizing them. Creolizing subjectivities inter-relates their diffracted synchronicities of multiple unequally entangled stories through which they can enter liminal spaces where they engage in complex communication by inventing new vocabularies beyond preestablished structures and categories. Each reflexivity is shaped by certain theories, so traveling between the worlds created by multiple reflexivities also entails creolizing theory through minor-to-minor theoretical relations beyond dominant paradigms. Such processes of creolization allow producing knowledge through and with the fruitful tensions resulting from unequal entanglements of reflexivities, subjectivities, and theories, which are both shaped by and look for ways to go beyond coloniality. Overall, they (***RQ2***) show how knowledge production relates to self-

awareness, subjectivation, and worlding and (***RQ3***) how the realisation of these mechanisms and paths can potentially make the world a better place by relearning to hear each other and think together for the sake of refuturing.

Similar to the entanglement of multiple reflexivities, the thesis also entangles various approaches to ethics depending on each context. These entanglements enable me to apply a decolonial ethical lens by being critical of the limitations of normative ethics while at the same time acknowledging and accounting for the ethical orientations, issues, and dilemmas that underly research questions, epistemologies, and methodologies. Through the decolonial ethics at the heart of the creolization of research the thesis puts forth, it becomes possible to (***RQ3***) imagine and enact transversal social and research entanglements with responsibility for the subalternized and a commitment to transformative possibilities in both living together and producing knowledge together. This can be applied to new BPoC-Romani-EE coalitional possibilities in Nordic knowledge production, toward creolizing Nordic migration research in dialogue with Romani studies. Ethics is thus central to the thesis both as a topic of research and as a meta-methodological approach, being an integral part of the proposed creolized research entangled with political and onto-epistemic considerations.

4.2 My creolized meta-reflexivity

Throughout this thesis, I have engaged in a continuous application of a creolized meta-reflexivity as I produced knowledge and reproduced ignorance, and as I interrogated the knowledge/ignorance re/produced in the integrative chapter and in the three publications, a reflexivity of my multiple reflexivities in relation to other people, with texts, and with theories. I have acknowledged my slippages and inconsistencies and embraced the ways I enact what I also reject, thus enhancing my responsibilities as part of ever-becoming worlds and broadening possible thinking on what divergent onto-epistemologies and methodologies can create (Undurraga, 2021, pp. 11-12). A creolized meta-reflexivity is thus an ongoing questioning of the entanglements and inter-relationalities created through reading, writing, dialoguing, collaborating, telling stories, performing, researching, practicing, etc., a questioning that creates new entanglements with their ongoing and emerging inequalities. It is not more comprehensive, it does not offer solutions or closures, but shakes already uncertain grounds with more uncertainty, further entangles already existing entanglements towards unforeseeability (Serra Undurraga, 2021, p. 7). With this

section I therefore try not to provide an ending to a 'good' story that will leave the mind at rest (Minh-ha, 1989, p. 142). As Trinh T. Minh-ha (1989) writes, "the words passed down from womb to womb, body to body are the remembered ones. Words that come from the *mind* and are passed on directly from mind to mind are highly suspect" (p. 136).

As I am slowly and painfully birthing this thesis, while at the same time anticipating the birth of my son, I am filled with overwhelming and contradicting emotions, fear, joy, anxiety, relief, hope, loss… My body and mind are constantly changing in ways I have not experienced before, my swollen feet turn me away from the desk, my aching back turns me away from the sofa, the vivid dreams and the movements in my womb turn me away from sleep, dizziness and breathlessness tell me it's time to take a walk and refresh… the mind? I hope this thesis does more than just refresh the mind, I hope I am engaging your body, intellect, and imagination… I feel nostalgic for previous selves and lives as I embrace uncertain yet hopeful possible futures. Once I finish this PhD, a very long chapter will have ended, a chapter that started back in 2015 and has defined my life on so many levels. I have grown together with this project, with all the peoples and histories it has brought me in relation with, with all its tensions, contradictions, and conflicts. The growing continues. Once I give birth to my son, a completely new chapter will begin. Life growing inside of me, giving life, loving, nurturing, raising, guiding, no right or wrong way of doing things, or so I assume. I imagine this thesis is a small contribution to making the world a better, more just place for future generations… I also feel frustrated with my slowness and tiredness in writing this text. Slow research, something I have been advocating for throughout the project, maybe also as a way of justifying why I have still not finished this yet, has acquired new meanings during the pregnancy. I also feel content with how the pregnancy is teaching me to live in the moment and let go… I let go of mastery, of running toward a goal or a tram or a deadline, of expecting for things to go according to plan, of trying to grasp, to give meaning to the unforeseeable… Yet I also see my need to sometimes grasp, to hold on to familiar patterns, to some sense of security amongst all the uncertainty…

Have I lived up to the high expectations I set for this research project? Have I indeed creolized Nordic migration research? It sounds like such an impossible task. It indeed is an impossible task. It is probably not something that can ever be achieved, it is a project with no end in sight. And who am I to claim that I can even do that or contribute to that? Am I in the position to even understand what creolization means, to dare to apply it in my thesis? I have met a lot of raised

eyebrows and rolled eyes when discussing my thesis with others. I have often stuttered and mumbled when uttering words like creolization and migratisation and entanglements. These are concepts that do not offer easy solutions, that do not have clear-cut definitions, that entangle and puzzle more than they illuminate, and are thus often met with scepticism. They are concepts I do not master, that I engage with playfully, sometimes hesitantly, other times courageously… I guess the point is not even living up to some high expectations, but opening pathways and embracing the failures of doing what we love, of working with concepts, theories, and methods we are affectively drawn to while not outwardly rejecting others, of being open to unexpected connections even with things we often rejected, of doing things differently without alienating those we wish to connect with.

I embrace my inconsistencies. Drawing on Trinh T. Minh-ha (1989), I embrace both the wounding and the healing this thesis engenders for me and hope for its future possible circulations to do the same for others, to entangle our entire beings in writing-reading-weaving-procreating, to show how destruction and creation are not opposing processes but one collective process of healing, a motherly act. Or not. I embrace also your, the readers', possible suspicious distancings from or even outward rejections of the ideas the thesis puts forth, failures to connect with you intellectually, affectively, or spiritually, your constructive criticisms to build on these ideas and create future entanglements, and other possible engagements unbeknownst to me now. Have I refreshed your intellect, expanded your imagination, puzzled you in unexpected and sensually embodied ways? Or have I been too pretentious? These questions could go on and on and I could articulate infinite more answers to them, filling infinite more pages with my uncertainties. How to end this when there is no end in sight? No predictable outcome to these ongoing loops of transformations but transformation itself…

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"Reflexivity of reflexivity" with Roma-related Nordic educational research

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"Reflexivity of reflexivity" with Roma-related Nordic educational research

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Abstract
In this article, I reflect on the various uses of reflexivity in Roma-related educational research focusing on the Nordic context, in my own and other authors' writings. I respond to the call of the recently founded *Critical Romani Studies* journal for reflexivity, which has been raised since mostly non-Romani scholars produce Roma-related research. I purposefully selected 34 academic texts, which I closely read in relation to various research paradigms and their typologies of reflexivity, after which I further reflected on my own readings. The article contributes to recent debates arguing for reflecting on uses of reflexivity, or for a reflexivity of reflexivity, as a strategy to address the reproduction of epistemic privileges in research.

Keywords: reflexivity; Roma; Nordic; education; coloniality; epistemic racism

Introduction
A discursive shift in academic, cultural, and policy discourses occurred around 2000 in Europe, from assimilation of Romani people towards historical justice, political

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responsibility, and Roma rights. In a Nordic context, several late 1990s societal changes can be understood to have led to this shift. The Finnish, Swedish, and Norwegian churches and governments apologized for their historical roles in discriminating against Romani people and recognized for the first time Romani groups as national minorities[2] (Selling, 2018). More recently, Romani academic and artistic voices have initiated debates on access to knowledge production, addressing topics like voice, positionality, epistemic racism, self-representation, and reflexivity (Kóczé, 2015). A group of Romani curators, artists, and academics launched in 2015 the digital archive of Roma arts and cultures *RomArchive*, telling the history of important Roma contributions to what are considered European arts and cultures[3]. A special 2015 issue of the *Roma Rights Quarterly* journal was titled "Nothing About Us Without Us?". The title refers to the persisting exclusion of Romani contributions from knowledge production and policymaking on and for the Roma. The special issue introduced a new critical paradigm for Romani Studies, which then the *Critical Romani Studies* open access journal, founded in 2018, took further. The journal seeks to challenge homogenizing tendencies of mainstream Romani studies with new avenues that de-essentialize how knowledge is produced[4]. In this endeavor, researchers, and particularly non-Romani researchers, should reflect on their epistemological and methodological underpinnings and on how they use reflexivity towards disrupting the reproduction of whiteness in their research (Bogdan et al., 2018; Fremlova, 2018).

Whiteness in critical whiteness and social justice studies is seen as a socially constructed category sustaining power structures that reproduce and normalize white supremacy. It is not just about skin color but also about inhabiting a position of privilege, which becomes invisible for those who inhabit it (Applebaum, 2010). Zembylas (2018) goes beyond social constructivism and representation, and theorizes whiteness as assemblages of affects, materialities of bodies and spaces, discourses, encounters and power relations that are "continually emerging in an open-ended process" (p. 5) to constitute white supremacy differently in different historical, social, and political circumstances. Reflexivity can guide researchers towards mindfulness of how they navigate and potentially reproduce whiteness and *epistemic racism* – what is considered valid knowledge, reliable theory or method, and whose work is cited according to norms shaped by whiteness (Fremlova, 2018).

During the 1970s and originating in anthropology, a post-colonial form of reflexivity was introduced to overcome colonizing research methods (Hertz, 1997). Feminist and critical race studies argued for reflexivity at each step of the research process and collaboration

[2] Although the presence of Romani groups in the region has been attested from the beginning of the 16th century (see Pulma, 2006; Tervonen, 2010).

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[3] https://www.romarchive.eu/en/about/history-of-romarchive/

[4] https://crs.ceu.edu/index.php/crs/about

between researchers and researched. Feminist women of color challenged the problematic gesture of 'giving voice' to the disempowered (hooks 1981, 1990; Spivak, 1987; Villenas, 1996, 2000). The "epistemic decolonial turn" (Grosfoguel, 2007) has shifted the attention from the research process, relations and representation, to the unevenness of knowledge production. Reflexivity on colonial power relations vested also in research, thus focused on knowledge claims by those people who found themselves at "crossroads of imperial and colonial differences" and who were denied their humanity (Thapar-Björkert & Tlostanova, 2018, p. 3). The decolonial turn further entails a "coalitional consciousness" across affiliative groups that can challenge hierarchies and exclusions in knowledge production (Sandoval, 2000, p. 4).

In this article, I respond to the call for reflexivity put forward by various authors published in *Critical Romani Studies* and *Roma Rights Quarterly*. I write from the position of a non-Romani Romanian researcher living in Finland. Both in my home country and in diasporic contexts, I am often read as 'white'. I can thus benefit from structural privileges based on white supremacy. When I am read as Eastern European in western/northern Europe through classed readings, I may be seen as coming from Europe's 'developing' semi-periphery. At times, I am identified through gendered and racializing readings as 'woman of colour', as in potentially Roma. However, passing is not equivalent with becoming. This raises questions about appropriation, solidarity, and "abjectification" of/with an 'other' (Ahmed, 1999; Tudor, 2017b).

With the decolonial turn away from reflexivity of representation, is the confessional tale I just told reflexive enough? How could I further disrupt my own claims to knowledge? This article answers two research questions:

1. How is reflexivity used and what roles or purposes does reflexivity play in Roma-related educational research focusing on the Nordic context?
2. How can a reflexivity of reflexivity disrupt claims to knowledge and allow opening for pluriversal knowledges in research?

In the next section on methodology, I explain how I constructed my data and how I answer my research questions. The analysis then has four sections. Each section covers a research paradigm or option. Researchers writing in different paradigms use reflexivity differently. I start each section by defining the paradigm/option and its corresponding reflexivity, and identifying the texts from my data belonging to that paradigm. Each section of the analysis has one or more subsections according to the uses of reflexivity I identified in my data. Each subsection has two parts, each part responding to each of research question. The part below constitutes autoethnographic gestures to trouble my claims to knowledge from the part above. I conclude the article with open-ended reflections towards a conversation on reflexivity and decoloniality in Roma-related educational research.

Methodology

Reflexivity seems to be a difficult concept to define, which nonetheless qualitative researchers see as common practice "without defining how they are using it" (Pillow, 2003, p. 176). Researchers commonly treat reflexivity as a methodological skill or tool to produce trustworthy research. This may translate to ethical, contemplative, collaborative, inquiring, or unsettling research purposes, practices, and representations (Berry & Clair, 2011; Calderon, 2016; Dohn, 2011; Madison, 2011). Reflexivity may answer questions like: How does the researcher's subjectivity affect all the various research steps? How, should or can one represent or know others or truths?

Given the ambiguity surrounding reflexivity, I read reflexivity in the texts comprising my data while acknowledging the impossibility to fully know or convey how reflexively a text was written. I answer my first research question with "hermeneutic generosity" (Benei, 2011), reading reflexivity within the authors' paradigmatic position. Pillow's (2003, 2015) discussion of uses of reflexivity in different research paradigms assists me in this process, accompanied by decolonial options to reflexivity discussed by Sandoval (2000) and Lugones (2006) (*Figure 1* in Appendix).

To answer my second research question, I reflect on the knowledge I produce as I read others' reflexivity through autoethnographic gestures. With "reflexivity of reflexivity" (Pillow, 2015), I attempt to show where epistemic privileges and theoretical alliances (in my own and others' writings) may reproduce whiteness and epistemic racism, focusing on affects and discomfort with established ways of knowing. I question the mechanisms, ideologies, and biases in my analysis with views from further literature, towards opening space for pluriversal co-existence of knowledges (Tlostanova & Mignolo, 2009).

I constructed the data by selecting 32 articles that explore Roma related topics within the Nordic context through a rigorous search and selection process in university library databases[5]. I added to the sample one article published in the Critical Romani Studies journal written by a Roma-identified researcher (Stenroos, 2019) and one book chapter discussing antiracist education with some references to Roma struggles in the context of solidarity across affiliative groups (Alemanji & Seikkula, 2018).

[5] This was done by combining the terms Roma or Romani or Gyps* or Traveler*, with education* or school*, and Finland or Sweden or Norway or Denmark or Iceland or Nordic or Scandinav*. I did not include Greenland in my sample because of the lack of Roma-related research. I searched for academic articles in peer-reviewed journals in English, with full text available, published after 1998 to reflect the discursive shift from assimilation to historical justice and political responsibility. I searched through four EBSCO international databases – Academic search ultimate, Education research complete, Teacher reference center, Sociology source ultimate – and two ProQuest international databases – Education Collection (including Education Resources Information Center) and Social Science Premium Collection. The EBSCO and ProQuest searches generated 148 and 175 results respectively, among which there were many duplicates when comparing the two samples. I removed the duplicates and those articles that were off-topic, did not approach at all education and schooling, or did not refer primarily to a Nordic context.

Modernist paradigms: reflexivity toward the familiar

Modernist paradigms reflect Enlightenment modernity values like reasoning, clarity, truth and progress. In post-positivism, research describe, clarifies and explains an objective reality through rigorous scientific studies. Researchers transmit knowledge to readers with the aim of knowing the world (Lather, 2006). As reflected in my data, this can be done through mixed methods (Mattila, 2018; Özerk, 2013) and historiography (Montesino, 2012), among others.

With the interpretivist turn, reality becomes subjective and constructed based on many truths. Discourse creates reality instead of reflecting it, based on a dialogical, albeit not necessarily collaborative, transaction of knowledge, to understand the world (Lather, 2006). As shown in my data, this is often achieved through interpretive mixed methods (Crondahl & Eklund, 2012), phenomenology (Eklund Karlsson et al., 2013), classic ethnography (Engebrigtsen, 2011; Puskás & Björk-Willén, 2017), historiography (Engebrigtsen, 2015; Ericsson, 2017), content analysis (Granqvist, 2006; Harris et al., 2017; Lipott, 2012; Saukkonen & Pyykkönen, 2008), and grounded theory (Alex & Lehti, 2013; Berlin, 2015).

Modernist uses of reflexivity translate to situating oneself as non-exploitative, tolerant, and compassionate towards research participants, conducting ethical research and creating less distorted and more legitimate research accounts. Pillow (2003) identified four typologies as the most common uses of reflexivity in modernist paradigms – reflexivity as recognition of self, recognition of the other, truth, and transcendence. All four uses interact with each other and are often mutually dependent methodological tools to represent truth and subjects as knowable, or to be reflexive toward the familiar.

Reflexivity as truth and recognition of self/other

These types of reflexivity entail scientific rigor, exposing the context in which research is conducted, situating oneself closer to the other and representing the other while pointing to limits of such recognition.

Mattila (2018) reflects on 1935-1970 Finnish eugenic sterilization. He describes power structures through triangulation across multiple sources – policies, sterilization orders, and quantitative statistics from archives – to confer authority and validity to his research, which shows that eugenic sterilizations mainly targeted Romani women due to their lack of formal education associated with social disability. He problematically uses the term “gypsy” throughout the entire article, without reflecting on its racist connotations. The author seems to use reflexivity for sound methodologies and scientific rigor.

In her comparative analysis of relationships between Roma and non-Roma in Norway and Romania, Engebrigtsen (2011) frames her ethnographic study within perceptions and practices of self and other in intercultural interactions. The author positions herself through her own life experiences – being head of a kindergarten for Roma children, working as a cultural expert, having a Romani husband, and having conducted fieldwork on Romanian Roma communities as part of her PhD (p. 124). She seems to claim a cultural insider and expert status to validate her ability to define the Roma, treating reflexivity as storied confessions to situate herself closer to her subjects through disclosure. Her findings reveal

Roma people's simultaneous identification/dependency on majoritarian society and distancing/oppositionality to that society. She seems to recognize an otherness of self and the self of others by, for instance, flipping the concept of Orientalism to explain how Norwegian Roma Orientalize white Norwegians while at the same time wanting to be like them and thus Orientalizing themselves:

> With their orientalist perspectives, they ridicule everything of gažé and particularly Norwegian as hopelessly naive and even immoral, while at the same time idealizing and mimicking the affluent gažo lifestyle and morality. Their hostile engagement with local government agencies strengthens this orientalist view and renders the world 'outside' strange and even threatening (Engebrigtsen, 2011, p. 142).

According to my reading, the voice in the above telling is indicative for the rest of the article, which lacks a reflexive account of power relations between the analyzed groups. By flipping Orientalism without accounting for the impossibility of also flipping power positions, the telling might contain the other within the self and keep hierarchies in place. Through ethnography of multilingualism in a Swedish preschool and interviews with Romani/Arabic language teachers, Puskás and Björk-Willén (2017) reveal dilemmas arising from lack of rules that would, the authors argue, help children reach their full bilingual potential. Through mixed interviewing methods, Alex and Lehti (2013) represent Roma and Sami women's perceptions of well-being in Sweden. Both studies use strategies to share data and interpretations with participants data for them to check for accuracy or potential misinterpretations. Their strategies point to a feminist shift from truth to voice and collaboration. However, women of color feminists have critiqued white feminist attempts to give voice or "let" participants speak for themselves (hooks, 1981, 1990; Villenas, 1996, 2000; Visweswaran, 1994), which may serve the findings' validity and accuracy and the researchers' affirmation and validation.

I seem to criticize these studies quite harshly for proliferating hegemonic knowings. Is this hermeneutic generosity? Still, when does hermeneutic generosity become hermeneutic complicity? Postcolonial feminists highlight colonial research relations that shape researchers' power over participants. By learning from them, I acknowledge how researchers might use their power positions towards temporary acts of solidarity with their participants, while more uncomfortable reflexivity would also require questioning the very terms of this research relation, accounting for the impossibility to represent others, and acknowledging the political requirement for self-representation.

How could the researchers have questioned their expert position on the Roma? A study by Montesino (2001) disrupts the unquestioned historical expertise of so-called 'gypsy experts' in post-World War II Sweden by exposing how they reinforced the distance between Roma and non-Roma through constructing Roma communities as inaccessible to non-'experts'. Are some of the researchers here continuing the historical legacy of 'gypsy experts'? From these studies, I learned that researchers might maintain the distance from the other perpetually reaffirmed when claiming an expert position but also when positioning

themselves close to the other. How could researchers learn with the other in a non-subsuming manner? Panikkar's method of "im-parative" philosophy, as explained by Tlostanova and Mignolo (2009), considers learning with the other as a "dialogic and experiential (not interpretative as in Western hermeneutics) learning from the other, thus enriching our thinking by the other's intuitions and revelations" (p. 17).

As this section has shown, although modernist types of reflexivity contribute to gaining insights into workings of social worlds, if those are not accompanied by insights into how this knowledge is produced, it may ultimately reproduce Eurocentric ideologies. Importantly, and as will be seen in the following sections, Pillow (2003) stresses that these common uses of reflexivity are not only present in modernist paradigms. Research framed as critical/emancipatory or as postmodernist also uses reflexivity toward the familiar when it questions ways but not notions of knowing.

Critical paradigm: seeking emancipation

With the critical turn, research unravels power structures of modernity beneath the surface, paving the way to postmodernism, with a shared focus on interpretive and deconstruction techniques. Reality is subjective and constructed based on many truths that form a system of socio-political power, while discourse is controlled by rhetorical and political purposes (Lather, 2006). Knowledge is produced to change the world by building alternative power systems or alternative modernities through, as my data shows, praxis-oriented critical ethnography (Ravnbøl, 2017; Tervonen & Enache, 2017) and critical discourse analysis (Al Fakir, 2019; Alexiadou & Norberg, 2017; Avery & Hoxhallari, 2017; Keskinen, 2019; Montesino, 2001; Montesino & Al Fakir, 2015; Olesen & Eklund Karlsson, 2018), among others.

In a critical paradigm, reflexivity is ongoing accountability for how the researcher's interests and positionality – across gender, race, class, sexuality, ethnicity, nationality, religion – affect all stages of the research process. Researchers ask themselves how they know what they know, question representations and investigate ways of empowering through research, based on advocacy and reciprocity with participants (Pillow, 2003). Critical reflexivity often has a shared focus on discovering links through interpretivism *and* postmodernist discursive strategies and problematized subjectivities in play (Pillow, 2015).

Reflexivity as critical interpretation

This type of reflexivity operates through a hermeneutics of suspicion – seeing realities below surfaces, identifying power constructions, and deepening understandings (Pillow, 2015).

Tervonen and Enache (2017) and Ravnbøl (2017) conducted critical ethnographies of everyday bordering practices against Eastern European Roma in Helsinki and Copenhagen respectively to shed light on precarious health, housing, labor and education conditions sustained by citizenship institutions and lack of access to welfare. Both studies deconstruct stereotypes and highlight migrants' agencies, using reflexivity as a methodological tool to

focus on representations and uncover injustice and inequalities. Furthermore, both studies offer policy recommendations for reducing the marginalization experienced by participants, also using reflexivity in relation to advocacy to seek systemic changes.

Alexiadou and Norberg (2017) conducted a critical discourse analysis of Roma inclusion policies in Sweden to address the racism and lack of Roma voices in debates about themselves. They also contrast policy representations with the opinions of Roma consultants and activists to problematize representations without claiming to reach representativeness. They use reflexivity to question authority and misrepresentations, and reveal power and privilege in policymaking.

Montesino and Al Fakir (2015) and Al Fakir (2019) problematize knowledge production that legitimates the marginalization of Roma people in Sweden by focusing on different aspects of post-World War II Roma inclusion policies and how they affect present circumstances. Montesino and Al Fakir critically deconstruct the labeling of Roma as a socially disabled, homogenous racial group whose members should turn into useful citizens through schooling and forced labor, with implications in current inclusion/exclusion mechanisms of education and labor policies and practices. Al Fakir examines literature that informed the 1940s-1960s discursive shift from *tattare* to *zigenare* in categorizing the Roma in relation to the concept of purity that was instrumental to gaining citizenship, with legacies in present categorizing between tolerated and 'failed' citizens. These studies use reflexivity to unsettle present assumptions through close readings of socio-historical conditions and structures for deep understandings, critical historical awareness, ethical and historical responsibility.

In a critical paradigm, researchers tend to reveal power structures and advocate for social justice. Given my own migrant rights' activist background, am I reading these texts with a certain degree of comfort and familiarity? I may thus associate high quality and reflexive research with the ability of authors to write from an activist standpoint, a position of awareness of structural inequalities, of willingness to expose, confront them, and envision change and justice. If a change occurs from within the system to offer alternative power systems or alternative modernities, it may reproduce systemic injustices. If the authors acknowledged the potential futility of their advocacy, would that make them more reflexive? Can one expose systemic inequalities from within the system while at the same time envision not just alternative power systems, but alternatives to modernity altogether? Such a move away from the familiar to a position of discomfort towards research representations would perhaps also require acknowledging one's complicity with the structures one critiques (see Tudor, 2017a), which seems to be missing in the above texts.

Reflexivity as transcendence

This type of reflexivity builds on and departs from the other three types commonly used in modernist research – reflexivity as truth and recognition of self/other – by claiming to transcend one's subjectivity and socio-cultural context and position oneself as free from misrepresentations (Pillow, 2003).

Dahlstedt and Olson (2016) make general claims about the non/belonging of Roma in Sweden (and Hungary) through an individual case study – interviewing Ana, an ethnically mixed Romani-Hungarian woman living in Sweden. The authors theoretically frame their research within Fanonian studies on colonialism and colonized mentality. They make links between Fanon's theorizations of lived experiences of Blackness and colonialism and Ana's story about adapting to Swedish society and internalizing and expressing anti-Roma racist views in the process.

> The essential difference between Fanon's colonized negro and Ana is that she can pass as a non-Roma, if she is not self-disclosing her Roma origin. Negro skin color is black and - on the contrary - always visible. There is no way to get rid of it, other than to annihilate itself and become white. The same applies to the 'typical' Roma. […] Ana describes an almost ancestral mentality that in itself helps to restore Roma's existence in the margins of society. By describing herself as an atypical Roma she emerges as a free individual, while they [the Roma] appear to be more dependent and deeply rooted in discrimination (Dahlstedt & Olson, 2016, p. 5).

Although the authors position themselves within critical studies of race and colonialism, they do not reflect on the political and colonial implications of their research. They repeatedly use the term "negro" without critically reflecting on what this reproduces, nor do they reflect on why they are telling Ana's story. In describing Ana as an 'atypical' Roma who maintains divides against 'typical' Roma, the authors may overlook how Ana might have borrowed the oppressor's discourse as strategic essentialism, a tactic of resistance and survival often employed by racialized minorities (see Costache, 2018). Although the authors later mention that "the Roma themselves have been actively involved in defining both problems and solutions" (p. 16) to the racism they face in Europe, they do not provide any research accounts by Roma authors in which these issues are addressed. Their critical interpretations may serve to free themselves from the weight of misrepresentations, by claiming to know/capture the other and truth.

I seem to be quite critical of how this study is framed theoretically while using a type of reflexivity not in line with its paradigmatic position. Despite its reflexive limitations, it is the only article from the sample thus far connecting lived experiences of Blackness and Roma-ness to account for how racism shapes the lives of Roma in Europe, as well as focusing on in-between Roma identity and using Fanon's theories is this endeavor. Still, the theories' reflexive use would require reflecting on who the knowing subject is and why this subject is interested in "encounters with Roma in Sweden and in Europe" (Dahlstedt & Olson, 2016, p. 16). As Tlostanova and Mignolo (2009) write, while

> the formula of encountering the other is a catchy metaphor to be found in various scholarly publications, […] otherness and encounters with otherness [are] necessary for the successful self-reproduction of culture [and help] to define the same as the norm (p. 12-13).

Postmodernist paradigms: poststructural, postcolonial and disruptive

With postmodernism, reality becomes unknowable and attempts to understand it subvert themselves. 'Truths' are socially constructed systems of signs which contain the seed of their own contradiction. Discourses are contingent, vulnerable and inseparable from subjects. Knowledge is produced to challenge its own nature and disrupt unquestioned ways of knowing (Lather, 2006). As reflected in my data these can be achieved through, among others, poststructural feminist theory (Helakorpi et al., 2018, 2019), Foucauldian discourse/policy analysis (Vesterberg, 2015, 2016), genealogy (Pyykkönen, 2015), performative ethnography (Roman, 2018a, 2018b), and autoethnography (Stenroos, 2018).

Reflexivity in postmodernism should disrupt the author's authority and focus on how reflexivity is theorized to counter epistemic privileges. This requires a genealogy of reflexivity and reflexivity thought through and with genealogy, or what Pillow (2015) calls reflexivity as genealogy, which is what informs the reflexivity of reflexivity I am applying in this article.

Reflexivity as critical interpretation informed by genealogy

Pillow (2015) shows that postmodernist research often uses a combination of reflexivity as genealogy and reflexivity as a critical interpretation. In other words, emancipatory and postmodernist reflexive strategies need each other, while being in irreducible yet linked tensions.

Helakorpi et al. (2018, 2019) problematize subjectifications of Roma minorities (in Finland, Sweden and Norway) and Roma school mediators (in Finland) respectively through ethnography and policy analysis of basic education informed by poststructural feminist theories. Against the current responsibilization of minorities for their own (lack of) educational attainment, and against the requirement for Roma mediators to perform and teach the roles of tolerable subjects, the authors offer alternative solutions such as antiracist education targeting members of majority populations. They thus deconstruct claims to power with poststructuralist theories in dialogue with an emancipatory focus on envisioning pathways toward liberation.

Why did I read the reflexivity in these texts as being informed by genealogy? Is it due to the authors' use of poststructuralist theories? Still, as I wrote above, researchers from critical standpoints are increasingly using deconstruction discursive techniques. In my reading of these authors' reflexivity, I may have taken for granted their postmodernist standpoint. Petersen (2014) has challenged the realism in policy research in education that cites authors associated with poststructuralist thought:

> There does not appear to be much discomfort with standard and foundationally based social scientific practices. Rather, the practice of offering realist 'descriptions' seems unabated as does the reliance on scientistic accountability (p. 156).

Reflexivity of discomfort

In postcolonial studies, women of color feminists have challenged white feminist desires to 'know' and 'give voice' to the other (Visweswaran, 1994) by adding to discussions of voice and representation the question of ideology, the history of colonialism and the political economy of global capitalism (Spivak, 1987). Reflexivity becomes a relation that defines both the subject written and the writing subject – the 'postcolonial self' as a site where multiple centers of power inscribe (Chaudhry, 2000). Mindfulness of these requires writing oneself as researcher-colonizer-colonized, a contradiction of complicity and oppositionality (Villenas, 1996).

By learning from postcolonial feminist reflexivity, Pillow (2003) suggests a reflexivity of discomfort to go beyond claims to represent knowable subjects, which re-inscribe difference. Reflexivity of discomfort questions whether and how differences are constructed and how they are linked with structures of power.

Roman (2018a) conducted a two-year ethnography "with" Pentecostal Kaale Roma in Finland and Romania to disrupt mainstream Roma mobility discourses that mainly focus on east-west migration, political and socio-economic marginality. The study challenges those discourses with mobility of Roma for ethnic solidarity, missionary and humanitarian purposes. She is reflexive about the heterogeneity of Roma participants and their relationships – beyond missionary/missionized binaries – and her multiple conflicting roles – as translator, researcher, and local guide for the Finnish Roma missionaries in Romania (p. 48-49). Based on feedback she received on her previous research from Roma people in Finland who do not necessarily live by 'traditional' standards, Roman (2018b) engaged in further ethnographic research with people whom she calls "in-between" Kaale Roma:

> I met most of them throughout my fieldwork with "traditional" Kaale families, yet often through different channels […] youth movements, artist groups, and human rights organizations. As they knew of my research within the Finnish Kaale community more broadly, they recurrently expressed their disappointment in the lack of academic representation (both my own and others') of those who do not fit within the overwhelming images of "the" Finnish Roma. This article was written in direct response to their subjective invisibility and in close connection to the overwhelming absence of "non-traditional" voices within broader research (p. 244-245).

By applying this criticism in further research, she admits to knowing as being tenuous, never quite right, always transforming, thus challenging the constructs and assumptions she had brought to her previous research. With the concept of in-betweenness, the author shifts from identities to identifications. She questions whether and how differences are constructed by showing how "experiences of marginality are recurrently constructed and re-constructed within and between groups" (p. 242). Still, her aim is to "give voice" to in-between Roma and to "understand" their complexities (p. 242). The text thus also presents elements of *reflexivity as recognition of the other*, while accounting for in-between Roma's "constant

struggle for recognition and of finding their belonging," (p. 242), or their political requirement for self-representation.

Stenroos (2018) conducted a two-year autoethnography of a Finnish Roma inclusion project, focusing on Roma agency to disrupt discourses of objectification and precarity. He positions himself as Finnish Roma and addresses his dual power/subordination researcher subjectivity that challenges the research process:

> I had a double role in the Finnish Roma project. I was both an ethnographer doing fieldwork and a project worker with a Roma background. […] The project workers were both Roma and non-Roma (21 out of 30 project workers were Roma). […] Those who participated in the planning sessions already were involved with Roma politics and therefore represented only a small segment of the Roma community, that is, so-called "ordinary" Roma were absent from the process. […] Outsiders to Roma communities might assume that Roma ethnicity implies one shared history and the "same culture." If there is one representative from the community, it is thought to be enough to facilitate the objectives of the projects among Roma (Stenroos, 2018, p. 10, 7, 9).

The telling above exemplifies a researcher-colonizer-colonized position – as in *postcolonial feminist reflexivity* – through which power structures expect representativeness of a whole group from the presence of a few of its members. The author then disrupts those expectations and the existing assimilative structures with arguments from Roma people's "own social organizations," showing that 'integration' "would require changes in ways of seeing and experiencing the world" (p. 11). Without considering these, the author observes that inclusion projects "end up contributing to processes of marginalization" (p. 8). Still, the alternatives he recommends seem to remain within dominant structures by envisioning for Kaale Roma to "become part of the power structures" (p. 11) – denoting also a use of *reflexivity as critical interpretation*.

I identified two authors whom I believe practice reflexivity of discomfort while also presenting elements from interpretative and critical uses of reflexivity. Are the tensions between reflexivity towards the uncomfortable and reflexivity towards the familiar problematic? Are they "fruitful" in the sense that they dissolve oppositions through movement between paradigms (Lather, 2006, p. 40)? Through hybrid reflexivity, can researchers address epistemological and methodological underpinnings towards "connections between seemingly contending intellectual communities generating similar models for psychic and social transformation that can lead to postcolonial futures" (Sandoval, 2000, p. 135)?

Towards a decolonial turn?

Historically and conceptually, coloniality is the darker and hidden side of modernity, a colonial matrix of power that regulates and validates fixed modes of knowing and being in the world (Quijano, 2000). These continue existing after formal decolonization, independence or desegregation through divisions in education, labor and housing, historical,

political, academic, literary and artistic exclusions or misrepresentations (Maldonado-Torres, 2016).

Decoloniality is then a collective effort at "rehumanizing the world" and "breaking hierarchies of difference" through "counter-knowledges and counter-creative acts" (Maldonado-Torres, 2016, p. 10). Reality and 'truths' are non-intelligible to oppressors (Lugones, 2006), while discourses recreate agents as agents create actions and spaces (Sandoval, 2000).

With the decolonial turn, reflexivity entails producing knowledge from the geohistorical and epistemological locations and memories connected with "historical agents who were erased as cognitive subjects" (Tlostanova, 2015, p. 43) and learning with those knowledges in a non-appropriative way through complex communication (Lugones, 2006) towards differential social movement (Sandoval, 2000).

Reflexivity as liminality and the reflexive middle voice

According to Lugones (2006), deep coalitions against intersecting oppressions in a liminal space lead to plural movements outward towards other resistant affiliative groups. This requires what Sandoval (2000) calls a "reflexive middle voice" moving within and between past, present and future, active and passive to recreate the agent as the agent intervenes in social reality in an ongoing loop of transformation. Liminality thus consists of multiple realities, perceptions, praxis, consciousness, which are beyond the reach of oppressive, paralyzing, and reductive descriptions.

Alemanji and Seikkula (2018) co-wrote a dialogical text about their teaching experiences on topics of race and racism in Finnish universities, as Black and white teachers respectively. The two researchers address each other questions and answers to "explore how racialization shapes teaching" and show "different possibilities to challenge racialized structures" (p. 173). They mainly write from a critical race and whiteness perspective to reveal difficulties towards building solidarity with (mostly white) students against racial injustices. Their critical paradigm standpoint also intersects with certain aspects of a reflexive middle voice and complex communication from the limen. Alemanji (in Alemanji & Seikkula, 2018) identifies common struggles in differences with Roma people as a Black African living in Finland:

> Inquiries into how a black man is called in Finnish language left me smiling, as it seemed like I had to make a choice between mustalainen (black) or just tumma (dark). Majority opinion leans towards tumma as mustalainen in Finnish refers to the Romas. Before coming to Europe, I would not have been able to distinguish between the whiteness of the Roma and a 'white Finn', as growing up we referred to every white looking person (not of visible black decent) as Whiteman (or Whiteman woman). Interestingly, today, I still struggle to make such distinctions. However, what intrigues me in this case is that the identity of blackness was given to the Romas long before huge groups of blacks started coming into Finland in the early 1990s. This identity of blackness was given to the Roma to distinguish them from white Finns and place upon their identity characteristics binding them with their name 'black people'—mustalaiset. Such

> characteristics include their inferiority, inaptness and backwardness associated with the black or African identity (p. 174).

Seikkula (in Alemanji & Seikkula, 2018) discusses the invisibility of whiteness which masks racial privilege, particularly for those who inhabit that privilege, such as herself "as a light-skinned, natively Finnish speaking secularised Christian in Finland" (p. 175). She problematizes the difficulty of positioning herself as having white privilege when whiteness is the invisible norm against which institutional and societal structures hierarchize people based on race.

The authors share teaching experiences from their different positions. When teaching, Alemanji (in Alemanji & Seikkula, 2018) uses personal experiences through storytelling and humor to exemplify racism in Finland. Still, students often find his classes confrontational. His challenge is to make these tensions productive with the aim for students to become allies in "the fight against racism in Finland" (p. 181). Seikkula (in Alemanji & Seikkula, 2018) often shares her students' privileged racial position, which makes them "feel too at ease to make uninformed comments" (p. 177). She therefore constantly deconstructs her (reproduction of) whiteness in the classroom.

A coalitional limen emerges from subversive communication across liminal sites and negotiation of communicative difficulties to decipher resistant codes (Lugones, 2006), as the two authors attempt with this text. They reflect on the spatiality and historicity of their journeys to a limen, while highlighting how these journeys constitute liminal spaces differently.

What might be missing from the authors' mutual reflections? Perhaps an attempt to engage in complex communication with other potential affiliative groups, such as Roma people, towards deep coalitions against oppression. By reflecting on historical and current oppressions in Europe, Romani researchers have also found similarities between lived experiences of Roma-ness and Blackness (Kóczé, 2015; Fejzula, 2019). It would perhaps have been fruitful to engage with Romani scholarship to further address these similarities. By not going beyond mainstream racializing discourses, the reflexive tale may remain within the oppressor's reality (Lugones, 2006).

Final remarks

In this article, I read various uses of reflexivity in several academic texts within, between and beyond research paradigms. I disrupted my own readings and attempted an opening for pluriversal knowledges with the help of further literature.

According to my analysis, much of Roma-related educational research focusing on the Nordic context apply comfortable uses of reflexivity as a methodological tool to get data that are more comprehensive and create more trustworthy representations. Authors may thus reproduce whiteness and epistemic privileges in their research, even with – or sometimes due to – their good intentions. The analysis also shows attempts to move away, although not completely, from comfortable uses of reflexivity in the works of a few authors. As my

autoethnographic interventions show, I may also practice comfortable uses of reflexivity while attempting to disrupt the familiar in others' writings. By applying a position of discomfort towards my own research beyond this study, I may see beyond my good intentions when, for instance, delivering conference presentations on problematizing Roma integration policies without challenging my positionality, in the context of sometimes being read as Roma in such settings. Reflecting on those conferences and their lack of Romani voices, I retrospectively wonder, did I perform an imagined Roma identity as part of my presentations? Did I enact this performance as an Eastern European migrant resisting assimilation within a white Nordic narrative? Did I thus fetishize the Roma through "an apparatus of knowledge that masters the other by taking its place" (Ahmed, 1999, p. 99)? Was I complicit in constructing the Roma as the "abjects" of discourses on migration and racism (Tudor, 2017a, p. 31)?

By documenting research inconsistencies, which inevitably occur, researchers may reassess their positioning in colonial hierarchies of the knowledge economy and contribute to an ongoing, incomplete departure from colonizing research, with no predictable destination. In the spirit of unpredictability, my analysis has an open ending.

The question mark in the final section's title points to an unfinished project, hopefully, a conversation among educational researchers towards what a decolonial turn would entail for practices of reflexivity in Roma-related research. Romani scholars have recently entered the academic stage and are now in a historical moment of speaking back to dominant representations by others. Non-Romani scholars producing Roma-related research should make space for Romani authors and learn with Romani knowledges in a pluriversal, non-subsuming way.

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Appendix

Figure 1: Reflexivity mapping

Modernist paradigms: (post)positivit and interpretivist/constructivist	**Critical/emancipatory paradigm**	**Postmodernist/deconstructivist paradigm**	**Decolonial turn**
Reflexivity as truth Reflexivity as recognition of self Reflexivity as recognition of the other Reflexivity as transcendence	Reflexivity as critical interpretation Reflexivity as critical interpretation informed by genealogy	Reflexivity as genealogy Reflexivity as critical interpretation informed by genealogy Postcolonial / women of color feminist reflexivity Reflexivity of discomfort	Reflexivity as liminality (Lugones, 2006) Reflexive middle voice (Sandoval, 2000)

(Pillow, 2003, 2015)

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***'Ain't I also a migrant?'* An ethnodrama of weaving knowledges otherwise in Finnish migration research**

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'Ain't I also a migrant?' An ethnodrama of weaving knowledges otherwise in Finnish migration research

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ABSTRACT

Previous Nordic migration and minority studies focus little on who produces research about migration and migrant education and in what ways. In contrast, by inquiring into how migrants and researchers themselves as knowing subjects are constituted through research and educational practices, this article seeks to destabilize established modes of knowing and of performing research. Through ethnodrama, it explores the effects of performing abilities to pass as non/not-quite/white, and the related abilities to pass as a knowing subject or not. This enables enquiring what counts as valid knowledges and ways of knowing, and who is considered a legitimate knowing subject in migrant educational and research settings and practices in Finland. This study joins a growing body of auto/ethnographic research exploring Eastern European proximities-to/distances-from whiteness in the Nordic space, through embodiment and discomfort with established ways of knowing. The ethnodrama brings into dialogue discussions on (epistemic) racism and (contested) whiteness with current controversies on racialized researcher positionality in feminist circles.

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Introduction

When I came to Finland from Romania in 2014, I considered myself a so-called economic migrant, although my residence permit later was based on cohabitation with a Finnish partner. I also considered myself cosmopolitan and tolerant. I would later grasp the unequal power relations that only allow certain (white) bodies to pass as cosmopolitan, and the paternalism of tolerance. Shortly after my arrival, I joined a migrant integration training in an adult education centre, as suggested to me by the unemployment office. The training I attended in 2015–2016 consisted of one-year daily courses on Finnish language, 'culture' and work life coupled with job practices, supposed to prepare students aged 17 or higher for further secondary or vocational education or for employment, according to the 2012 National core curriculum for integration training for adult migrants.[1] Migrant students' possible higher education plans were seldomly discussed in class. My classmates were mostly from

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postcolonial and postsocialist spaces, and instances of both solidarity and racism would occur. Later I joined a doctoral studies programme to write about transformative shifts that come with migration, and deep reflections on privilege, racism, and what constitutes solidarity. As I progressed in my studies, I became interested in voices, whose voices matter in migration research, whose voices are silenced, and who has the right to write about which topics.

Previous Nordic migration and minority studies focus little on who produces research about migration and migrant education and in what ways (Alemanji, 2018; Keskinen et al., 2019). Migrants themselves are considered mainly as subjects in research, who can share their experiences but can contribute little insights if at all as knowledge producers (Țîștea, 2020). This can be seen as a form of epistemic racism that hinders migrants' contribution to knowledge pro- duction on and for themselves (Dotson, 2014). In contrast, by inquiring into how migrants and researchers themselves as knowing subjects are constituted through research and educational practices, this article seeks to destabilize established modes of knowing and of performing research.

Epistemic systems tend to be shaped around some unmarked privileged epistemic agents, thus having disabling consequences for marginalized agents due to gaps in how those systems are built (G. Pohlhaus, 2020, p. 6). Dominant knowers tend not to notice the gaps in a system that validates their worldview, which puts pressure on marginalized knowers to identify and explain those gaps. This leads to exploitation insofar as they vertically engage with dominant knowers' wilful epistemic/hermeneutic ignorance in decolonial terms (G. Pohlhaus, 2012) or their white ignorance in critical race and whiteness terms (Mills, 2007). Epistemic ignorance means ignoring marginalized knowledges to maintain one's own dominance or including marginalized knowers in epistemic systems that contain targeted gaps and extract epistemic labour coercively or in nonreciprocal ways, restricting marginalized knowers from shaping the direction of their own labour (G. Pohlhaus, 2012, 2020). White ignorance shapes whiteness, an orientation of seeing, inhabiting, and claiming to 'know' the world by placing certain things and actions within reach, rendering other worldviews invisible or inferior (Ahmed, 2007, p. 154), and normalizing white supremacy (Applebaum, 2010). Whiteness is not just about skin colour but also about upward social mobility towards the habitus of the white cosmopolitan body, by inhabiting or passing as such a body, or internalizing its style to varying degrees (Ahmed, 2007, p. 160). Within the Nordic space, Finland has had a historically shaky relation to whiteness given its in- between 'east'-'west' position, and inter-imperial position between the Russian and Swedish former empires, which intensified Finnish scientific and poli- tical efforts at asserting the nation's whiteness (Keskinen, 2019).

Through ethnodrama, this article explores the effects of performing abilities to pass as non/not- quite/white, and the related abilities to pass as a knowing subject or not. This enables enquiring what counts as valid knowledges and ways of knowing, and who is considered a legitimate knowing subject in migrant educational and research settings and practices in Finland. The study joins a growing body of auto/ethnographic research exploring Eastern European proximities-to/distances-from whiteness in the Nordic space (Krivonos, 2020; Lapiņa, 2018; Lapiņa & Vertelytė, 2020; Loftsdóttir, 2017; Van Riemsdijk, 2010) through embodiment and discomfort with established ways of knowing.

In what follows, I discuss Eastern European people's attempts to pass as non/white currently and historically, and how this shapes knowledge production. After I describe my methodological choices for ethnodrama, follows the script that draws on auto- ethnographic research I conducted during 2015–2016 in an adult education centre for migrants and a reception centre for asylum seekers in Finland, and attempts to analyse that material during earlier stages of my PhD studies. The ethnodrama brings into dialogue discussions on

(epistemic) racism and (contested) whiteness with current controversies on racialized researcher positionality in feminist circles.

Eastern European people's attempts to pass

'Eastern Europeanness' is a contested category based on discourses that conflate the geopolitical and racialized configurations of the various regions grouped under 'Eastern Europe', which are shaped by imperial histories. Regions that have been under the Austro-Hungarian and Prussian empires may be seen as (almost) part of Central Europe, while regions that have been under the Ottoman and Russian empires may be seen as more 'backward'. My own geohistorical position from which I theorize my lived experiences connects to Southeast Europe's status of periphery to the Ottoman empire and then to Europe, positioning it as semi-'Oriental', semi-'civilized', semi-'developed', and making aspirations to 'proper Europeanness' (or whiteness) in the region 'the dominant attitude' (Boatcă, 2013, p. 6).

Passing is flexible, fluid, ongoing, and performative through actions or behaviours that maintain or break societal norms, that make one readable in a non/conventionalized way (Tudor, 2017a, p. 24). Passing may uphold societal norms through 'a re-enactment and a reexperiencing of a set of meanings already socially established' that prompt societal legitimacy and approval (Butler, 1988, p. 526). Passing may contest and disrupt societal norms by refusing to assume and by re-signifying social categories (Butler, 1990), though it can also secure the power in place through its very potential for destabilizing systems of power (Ahmed, 1999, p. 89). A transgressive performativity of social categories can also reproduce constraining discourses through the way subjects become intelligible in others' eyes–how they are read by others through conventionalized habits of seeing and perceiving, which may differ from how they wish to pass (Tudor, 2017a, p. 21). Intelligibility produces a separate realm of 'unthinkable, abject bodies' (Butler, 1993), for instance, when subjects distance themselves from a disadvantaged positioning to claim a privileged one (Tudor, 2017a, p. 21) or when they fetishize marginalized knowledges to pass as 'other' (Ahmed, 1999, p. 99). Passing is conditioned by prior histories and knowledges that are stored in the body (Ahmed, 1999). Bodies are read with gendering, sexualizing, and racializing gazes in varying degrees due to the unfinished histories that they inherit, which condition the way different bodies inhabit spaces that may or may not be shaped comfortably around the body (Ahmed, 2007).

Whiteness is the system of power sustaining post- Cold War tripartite divisions of the world and normalizing the supremacy of the 'first world' as unmarked centre of power and knowledge production, conferring positions of privilege that become invisible for those who occupy them (Applebaum, 2010; Bhambra, 2014). Eastern European people's attempts to pass as white emerge from these divisive positionings of the 'third world' as postcolonial, the 'second world' as postsocialist (marking territories of the former state socialist countries), and the 'first world' as the 'center' (Cervinkova, 2012). In area studies, the 'third world' is racialized and the 'second world' is ideologized, and their being marked differently constitutes obstacles to bridge building and collaboration in knowledge production (Suchland, 2011). In critical race and whiteness studies, the 'second world' is seen as 'too white' to be postcolonial, yet always 'catching up' with the 'first world' (Tlostanova, 2015). Whiteness in Eastern Europe has historically also been claimed in opposition to Roma people, the region's largest ethnic minority and most marginalized internal 'other', through displacement, genocide, enslavement, and forced assimilation (Law & Zakharov, 2018; Matache & Bhabha, 2021). Currently, anti-Roma racism constructs Roma people as 'prone to crime and misconduct', but also attributes assumedly 'positive' cultural traits–'roman- tic', 'exotic',

'free-spirited', 'mysterious', 'nomadic'–all of which feed the stereotypical assumption of essential and irreconcilable difference between Roma and non-Roma (Mirga-Kruszelnicka, 2018, p. 11). Anti- Roma racism intensified after the 2000s expansions of the European Union eastward, which rested on the degree to which Southeast European countries could 'overcome' their 'connection to or overlap with the Ottoman, and therefore Oriental, legacy, constructed as the opposite of politically desirable Europeanness' (Boatcă, 2013, p. 8). Discourses of unwanted migration from Southeast Europe abounded during the EU expansions and constructed the Roma as the scapegoat in both the 'west' and the 'east', and these dis- courses still have resonance to present day (Țîștea, 2020; Tudor, 2017a).

In these contexts, Eastern European claims to knowledge production or to non/whiteness, though perhaps requiring considerable efforts, are also often made at the expense of knowledge producers, migrants, or Europeans racialized as non-white (Krivonos, 2020; Lapiņa, 2018; Lapiņa & Vertelytė, 2020; Todorova, 2018; Tudor, 2017a). Lapiņa (2018) and Krivonos (2020) show how Eastern European migrants in Denmark and Finland respectively may put additional effort into passing as white even when they already carry embodied markers of whiteness, such as working on their employability, education, accents, 'hipness', presentability, or changing their names, while racializing and exoticizing other bodies. Tudor (2017a) shows how, in their efforts to articulate their Europeanness and aspirations to white privileges, Southeast Europeans who perceive themselves as white and who are read as Roma in northern/western Europe convert their phenotypical whiteness into white capital through anti-Roma racism. Furthermore, Todorova (2018) interrogates recent studies from Eastern Europe that seek to counter the 'silence' and 'erasure' of postsocialist women in transnational feminist research by mapping and theorizing shared experiences with women of colour. However, she argues, these studies claim 'racial and historical "innocence"' and 'shared racial victimization', without 'confronting the racial and racist formations' and the 'historical ethno-racial privilege' from which the researchers speak (Todorova, 2018, pp. 117, 134). I approach some of these discourses and controversies with the ethnodrama.

Methodology: Ethnodrama and autoethnography

Theatre-based methods are increasingly being used for conducting and disseminating academic research in various fields, including education sciences, social sciences, anthropology, and health sciences (Balabuch, 2021; Beck et al., 2011; Davis, 2014; Malhotra & Hotton, 2019; Petersen, 2013; Saldaña, 2018). Ethnodrama (which is short for ethnographic drama) is a written script with dramatized narratives selected from interview transcripts, observation notes, journal entries, memory stories, or secondary print/digital sources (Saldaña, 2018, p. 662). Researchers use it for its theatrical immersiveness to evoke deep reflections in readers/audiences. Ethnodrama comes with the responsibility to create an 'entertainingly informative, aesthetically sound, intellectually rich, and emotionally evocative' experience (Saldaña, 2018, p. 664). It has been used in education to, for instance, vocalize tensions regarding participants' school experiences while honouring their voices (Davis, 2014), examine the role of positionality in education and invite readers to reflect on their own positionalities (Malhotra & Hotton, 2019), or to help students better understand social justice issues and inform educators on the possibilities of ethnodrama for social justice education (Balabuch, 2021).

By suspending the conventions of 'traditional' academic writing for the conversational tone of dramatic texts, ethnodrama enables me to delink from the standpoint of the authoritative researcher, *the-one-who-knows*, thus destabilizing the knowing, 'meaning and

writing subject' (Minh-ha, 1989, p. 42). However, I am still the one creating the drama's characters as research representations, which runs the risk of recentering my voice, unless I apply a reflexivity of discomfort with my representations (Petersen, 2013, p. 297). With ethnodrama, I therefore question how the characters' positionalities are constructed and linked with structures of power, challenge representations, mis/readings, and the problematic tendencies of giving voice and empowering or speaking on behalf of others, envision new subjectivities and relationalities, and acknowledge how knowing is tenuous, never quite right, always transforming, to show where epistemic and white ignorance may perpetuate (epistemic) racism (Pillow, 2015; Țîștea, 2020).

I collected the data through autoethnography, and then represented and analysed the data through ethnodrama. The data consists of daily autoethnographic notes taken while attending a migrant integration training in an adult education centre in 2015–2016, and during my job practice (as part of the training) in a reception centre for asylum seekers, before starting my PhD studies in 2018. I also conducted interviews with five Finnish language, society, and work life teachers for migrants working in the adult education centre. Furthermore, I used as data my attempts to analyse my autoethnographic material during earlier stages of my PhD studies. I informed the school and reception centre representatives, my classmates, and the teachers that I intended to apply for PhD studies to write an autoethnography of my lived experiences with Finnish migration systems, and they gave their informed consent for me to utilize this data in research publications. None of the participants is identifiable through the ethnodrama. The notes consist of reflections on my daily classroom or job practice experiences and interactions. Given my lack of critical race and post/decolonial knowledge at the time, the notes present conflicting and biased views within my own thinking on racialization and belonging. The interviews with teachers took place on school premises. I conducted them in Finnish due to school policies on teacher-student interaction only to be carried out in Finnish. Given my limited Finnish language skills at the time, the interviews contained pre-defined questions–based on the knowledge I had then about Finnish society and my experiences as a newly arrived migrant–and my engagement with the interviewees was limited. I audio-recorded, transcribed, and translated the interviews from Finnish to English. For the adaptation of interview transcripts into the ethnodrama, I included both verbatim extracts *and* edited and slightly revised passages, while trying to remain faithful to the interviewee's voice (Saldaña, 2018, p. 667). For the adaptation of autoethnographic notes, I transformed the 'in-my-head' reflective narratives into engaging performances and added plausible conversation exchanges between characters (Saldaña, 2018, p. 677). I then considered how the resulting dialogues may be performed on stage and inserted italicized stage directions between brackets, like movements, gestures, acting recommendations, and interactions with other characters or with objects.

My autoethnographic data reflects my ongoing journey of unlearning internalized prejudices and 'habituated forms of epistemic domination' (G. Pohlhaus, 2020, p. 11). With ethnodrama I turn this data into representations that remind readers of their responsibility to reflect on their own problematic histories, uncomfortable complicities, and subconscious racism, while using humour to help readers breathe. I thus use ethnodrama as a vehicle for scripting and mocking the daily social performances I observed with autoethnography, to prompt in readers deep reflections on the problematics of passing in everyday life. Passing in ethnodrama differs from passing in everyday life. The latter refers to social performances of daily interactions that may or may not involve a self-conscious awareness that those interactions are socially scripted, while passing as enacted in ethnodrama involves self-conscious scripted acts set within certain cultural, political, or aesthetic conventions (Sughrua, 2020, p. 6). I performed a previous version of the ethnodrama through reader's theatre in a

guest lecture with bachelor's and master's students. The students critiqued the script, offered recommendations for improvement, and reflected on their own positionings in Finland in relation to paradigms of power, privilege, and oppression within which we all play different parts. I thus engaged with students as active producers rather than passive consumers of knowledge who were willing to accept ethnodrama as knowledge, relate their own knowledges to the drama, and to take part in meaning-making (Petersen, 2013, p. 297).

The script is composed of various characters in multiple, different positionings, interacting in scenes rife with dramatic tensions, 'glitches', discrepancies, mis/partial-understandings, and (sometimes conflicting) perspective shifts, which open it to multiple possible readings. The script is followed by a postscript presenting a few possible readings based on the recorded discussions I had with the students who engaged with the ethnodrama in my guest lecture and to whom I am deeply indebted. The students gave their informed consent for me to utilize the transcribed recordings in the analysis. In the postscript, I wrote the direct quotes from students' feedback in *italics* for them to be recognizable. The students' readings also present tensions and discrepancies, thus resisting the urge to synthesize the plotline, which would go against the ethnodrama's rejection of a totalizing, authoritative interpretation of data (Petersen, 2013, p. 297). Both the script and postscript thus explore the potential and performativity of ethnodrama as a disruptive and decolonizing way of seeking knowledge.

'Ain't I also a migrant?' The script

Act 1 Adult education centre for migrants

Scene 1 Classroom

Three small desks and chairs on the stage, arranged in a triangle. One character is standing in the middle of the triangle. Three characters are sitting on the chairs, facing each other.

Talvikki: [*standing in the centre*] Welcome, students. My name is Talvikki. I'll be your teacher.

The students are distracted. Two of them are whispering to each other, one is checking her phone.

Talvikki: In Finland, especially in adult education, the student has a major role, and the teacher is more of a guide. Perhaps in your countries the teacher is more of an authority. Am I right?

Parimala: Um … Maybe … [*shrugs her shoulders*]

Ibiyemi: [*addresses Talvikki while smiling suggestively*] Well, the way you're standing there in front of us, sorry to say, but you also look like an authority, to be honest …

Talvikki: Oh, sorry … [*sits on the floor, her head at the level of the desks, then addresses Ibiyemi facing her upwards*]: What I mean is that, in this training, you as students should strive to be active agents in your own learning process. In that sense, my teaching is modern.

Ibiyemi: [*crosses her arms and addresses Talvikki facing her downwards*] What is modern teaching?

Talvikki: [*stands up and addresses Ibiyemi*] Meaning, I don't provide any ready answers, and you must teach yourselves. I as a teacher cannot learn on your behalf, so you must take responsibility and keep yourselves motivated. In traditional teaching, teachers give

instructions and students follow. But I believe the best way to learn is independently, through one's own mistakes and revelations. My role is just to guide you in your journeys.

Parimala [*addresses Ibiyemi while smiling*] Oh, that sounds nice! Looking forward! [*Ibiyemi forces a smile back, hopelessness in her eyes. Parimala then addresses Talvikki*]: So, what will we learn here?

Talvikki: [*smiles delighted at Parimala and addresses her*] In this training you'll learn about mutual tolerance and multicultural collaboration. You'll learn basic skills to survive in Finnish society. If you keep yourselves motivated and maintain a positive attitude, you'll have the same opportunities as Finnish people.

Parimala: Mm-hmm … Just like Finnish people? [*a look of slight disbelief on her face*] Could you tell us more about the attitude we should have?

Talvikki: Well, you need to have a certain kind of flexibility, a kind of … You must learn and understand how Finns act in certain situations, environments … and that's what we try to teach here. It's an attitude question on how to react to certain things. You *must know*, understand, and *accept* that people do things differently in many ways … One needs this attitude of accepting that, and to accept oneself as being different also, so you can be yourself within the mainstream …

Ibiyemi: [*nods her head in disapproval and whispers to Parimala*] Shouldn't Finnish people also accept that we might do things differently in many ways?

Talvikki: [*addresses Ibiyemi*] I hear you, but my advice is that you should not try to fight against the majority culture, because you won't win that fight.

Ibiyemi: [*sighs, rolls her eyes, and addresses Talvikki*] Um … Okay, but you were saying earlier that we'll learn about this nice idea of multiculturalism, but it sounds like we can only be tolerated here until we become like you … and also like we have to do all the work …

Parimala: [*addresses Ibiyemi*] Well, of course we must put in more work to learn the Finnish ways … It's their country after all … That attitude won't get you far in this country.

Ioana: [*addresses Parimala*] I agree with Ibiyemi. I always hear, this is how we do it in Finland. But I do it my own way. I brought here my own self when I came from Romania, my own culture, background, skills … I'm *not* gonna change my name to Minna.

Ibiyemi: [*addresses Ioana while smiling*]: You *could* be a Minna …

Parimala and Ibiyemi slightly laugh between each other suggestively. Ioana looks at them puzzled. Talvikki taps Ioana on the shoulder. End of scene.

Scene 2 Lunch break

Ibiyemi, Parimala, and Ioana are sitting at a table and eating

Ioana: Wow, the teacher was so racist! Assuming we all come from places with 'traditional teaching' [*shows quotation marks with her fingers*] where teachers are authorities …

Parimala: I wonder how much she *really* knows about the places we come from …

Ibiyemi: [*looks at Ioana intrigued and addresses her*] Mm-hmm … So how was that racist?

Ioana: [*looks around as if lost for words, gathers her thoughts, and addresses Ibiyemi*] Well, we all have our own unique backgrounds, skills, many of us are highly educated … And still, we're treated based on assumptions, lumped together as 'migrants' [*shows quotation marks with her fingers*] irrespective of our backgrounds …

Ibiyemi: Um … I'm not sure if you understand what racism means … Let me try to explain … Once we leave this classroom, even if all three of us will speak Finnish equally well, who will have more difficulties or obstacles in getting by or getting a job?

Ioana: Um … I'm not sure if that kind of divisive thinking is helpful …

Parimala: Me neither. And as the teacher said, here we should focus on multicultural collaboration and mutual tolerance …

Ibiyemi: [*laughs slightly, then addresses Parimala*] Alright, but think about it … While we're here learning about tolerance, the employers and bureaucrats out there, do *they* learn about tolerance? I don't think so. The first thing they see is skin colour. [*sighs and addresses Ioana*] You are a white European in Europe. You have it easier than us.

Ioana: [*sighs, nods her head in disapproval, and addresses Ibiyemi*] Yes and no. As an Eastern European, I'm not seen as fully European or white … So, I think we have more things in common than you may think …

Ibiyemi: Hehe … [*eats a spoonful of her food slowly, while Ioana watches her suspensefully, then addresses Ioana*] Alright, you're not fully white, as you say. But when I look at you, I see a white European. I could even say you're Finnish.

Ioana: Um … [*clears her throat*] You might see me like that, but most white Finns don't, they notice that I have darker, curly hair or that I dress somehow differently, and they stare, and when I start to speak it's all clear for them. And I still think this kind of thinking is divisive. Us women *must* stick together.

Ibiyemi: You can say that because you're white. I know so many African women in Finland who end up doing the jobs white women don't want. Are you sticking together with us then?

Parimala: Come on, Ibiyemi, don't say that. I'm sure you also know successful African women here in Finland. I for example, have met quite a few South Asian women with well-paid jobs. We need to keep our faith, stay positive, and share our success stories as inspiration for more women …

Ioana: [*nods approvingly at Parimala and then addresses Ibiyemi*] There are also many Eastern European women with a lot of work and education experience who work as cleaners and domestic workers when they migrate. Many also work as sex workers, others are looked at as sexual objects … So, we also struggle, just like you.

Ibiyemi: [*clears her throat and addresses Ioana*] Okay, that happens, but think about this … You will not have to worry when your children will go to school here because they will not stand out. My children are seen as less capable than other children at school because they are Black. And no matter if they lived all their lives in Finland, they will still be treated as migrants.

Ioana: [*addresses Ibiyemi in a slightly raised voice*]: My children might assimilate within Finnishness, depending on whom I have them with, but is that necessarily a good thing? They are still streamed into a different Finnish language class in school, for example, … Anyways, me looking white, does that cancel the discrimination I experience? Also, not all Eastern Europeans are white. What about Roma people?
Parimala: Oh … Are you Roma? [*looks at Ioana with increased interest*]
Ioana: No, but sometimes Finns think I'm Roma. So sometimes I experience the same racism that Roma people experience.
Ibiyemi: Mm-hmm … The *same* racism … [*a look of slight disbelief*] Why does *that* happen?
Ioana: When I say I'm from Romania people assume I'm Roma. I guess it stands for seeming exotic in their eyes …
Ibiyemi: Right … So, a Roma person would not think you're Roma …
Ioana: Um … [*looks around as if lost for words*] I don't … I don't know … Probably not …
Parimala: Are there any Roma people in this training?
Ioana: I haven't met any.
Ibiyemi: Then maybe you should not speak on their behalf …
Ioana: What makes you say that? [*defensiveness in her eyes, her voice trembling nervously*] I never claimed to speak on anyone else's behalf but my own.
Ibiyemi: [*takes Ioana's hand into hers and gently squeezes it*] Alright, calm down. Let's have some coffee.
Parimala: Oh, yes! Just the words I wanted to hear.
Ioana smiles relieved. End of act.

Act 2 Reception centre for asylum seekers

Ioana is standing in the centre of the stage, facing the audience
Ioana: [*addresses the audience*] I'm doing my job practice in a reception centre for asylum seekers. It's part of my integration plan. I'm always accompanied by one of the social workers when walking within the centre's premises. They don't trust me to be alone with asylum seekers. Or maybe they don't trust the asylum seekers …
Aino enters the stage. She walks towards Ioana and stops, standing by her side and facing the audience.
Aino: [*addresses the audience*] Asylum seekers must clean the reception centre premises as monthly work duties. If they fail to complete their duties, sanctions are applied as monthly allowance cuts of up to 30%. We distribute these work duties amongst residents, supervise them, and check if they've cleaned properly. If not, we tell them to come back and finish the job. [*turns to Ioana and addresses her*]: There you are! I was looking for you, but couldn't recognize you … When you're around them, I guess you also look ethnic, you blend in … [*slight laughter*] Anyway, Mustafa is late for his cleaning duties. Let's go check on him.
Mustafa enters the stage. He lays down on the floor. Aino and Ioana walk towards him.

Aino: [*addresses Mustafa*] Wake up, it's time for your work task!

Drowsy, Mustafa stands up and follows Aino and Ioana to the other side of the stage, where some cleaning products are lined up on the floor. Aino instructs him how to clean with some demonstrations.

Aino: [*addresses Mustafa*] This product is for the floor. This is how you do it. [*she takes one of the cleaning products, pours a small amount in a bucket, soaks the mop, and then mops the floor briefly*] These products are for the toilet [*she grabs another cleaning product in one hand and a toilet brush in the other hand*] When cleaning the toilet, it's important to also lift the seat and clean thoroughly with circular motions, with special attention to the backside of the toilet bowl. Now you do it.

Mustafa takes the cleaning products for the toilet and mimics in the air the circular gestures of cleaning a toilet bowl.

Aino: [*addresses Mustafa as he mimics cleaning a toilet*] Good. No, not like that, remember how I showed you. Good. Keep it that way. [*addresses Ioana, who is observing them*] Alright, now that you've watched and learned from me how to do this, it's your turn to supervise Mustafa. I have some office duties [*she leaves the stage*]

Mustafa: [*addresses Ioana*] After I finish with this, can you help me with my Finnish course?

Ioana: Sure, I'll do my best. My Finnish is not that good yet …

Mustafa: Oh, you're not Finnish? Where are you from?

Ioana: Romania …

Mustafa: Oh … [*he leaves the stage*]

Ioana arranges the cleaning products in a neat row. End of act.

Act 3 Conference

Scene 1 Presentation

A podium in the centre of the stage. Ioana is standing on it.

Ioana: [*addresses the audience*] My conference presentation is titled 'Disentangling others' misreadings of me as a migrant in Finland'. A white male Finnish musician claims Romanian language sounds sensual and that I smell like a trip to India, perhaps due to misreading me as Roma. How did it become possible for the categories Roma and Romanian to become conflated and exoticized? A white Finnish social worker in a reception centre for asylum seekers reads me as ethnic when she sees me in proximity to migrants from the Middle East. A migrant from the Middle East reads me as Finnish when he sees me among white Finnish social workers. Social work seems to be associated with normative whiteness, and my inclusion within that normative whiteness seems to be fragile and conditional.

Most audience members are watching the stage confused. Some are whispering to each other. Two of them raise their hands to ask questions.

Audience1: Thank you so much for this enlightening presentation. It looks to me like your experiences are very similar to those of women of colour. It's good you're fighting for your people.

Ioana: Thank you so much for this comment. Just a small clarification if I may. Whom do you refer to by my people?

Audience1: Um … Roma people … No?

Ioana: Um … yeah … no … I am not Roma myself. In my presentation I tried to show how processes of racialization are contingent and relational.

Audience1: [*clears his throat and addresses Ioana*] Right, I see … What then are the practical implications of your study? What do you plan to do with these findings?

Ioana: I want to help Roma migrants living in Finland, work for their rights. Most of them do not have access to any state or municipal systems such as education, welfare, or employment services. They rely on activists like me, or on NGOs.

Audience2: Thank you for your presentation and for your noble intentions. I am a bit confused by the statement 'how did it become possible for the categories Roma and Romanian to become conflated'. Since you are speaking about Roma migrants from Romania, they are already Romanian. So why problematize their national belonging and frame it as conflation?

Ioana: [*gazes at the audience puzzled, remains silent for a few seconds, gathers her thoughts and answers*] Um … Thank you so much for the comment and question … Um … I do not wish to question the multiple national belongings of Roma people across Europe, they indeed belong to the countries where they were born, or those where they settled if they migrated elsewhere, although governance mechanisms do not allow them to belong.

Audience2: You should make that clearer in your study, because now it seems to me that you place the Roma in the background to highlight your experience of not fitting within normative whiteness, and I wonder how that benefits social justice. It also seems that you have an issue with being read as Roma, that you are offended by it. But is it you who should be offended, or is it the Roma?

Ioana: [*bewilderment on her face*] Wow, you gave me a lot to reflect on! Thank you for that … [*to herself as she leaves the stage*] Am I reproducing anti-Roma racism? [*her voice fading away*]

Applauses from audience. End of scene.

Scene 2 Coffee break

Four audience members are standing on stage, sipping coffee from small cups. They are divided in two groups, at a slight distance from each other. The first group engages in conversation.

Audience3: That was such a waste of time, don't you think?

Audience4: Oh, yes! Feel like I've heard all this before …

Audience3: Exactly! Another white researcher who thinks she suffers from racism. For them, racism goes beyond skin colour now, it's *cultural*.

Audience4: Ah, tell me about it! They claim their experiences are just the same as ours. I'm so glad someone from the audience picked up on that!

Audience3: Oh yes, such a brilliant intervention! I keep hearing these claims lately … about how racist attitudes from white Eastern European migrants against people of colour should be understood in the context of them experiencing classism and precarious employment.

Audience4: Oh my … They just refuse to engage with race and make it all about *class* instead.

Audience3: Right?! And I wonder, so what? Is that an excuse for their racist behavior? Should we be more understanding and tolerant towards their racism just because they suffer too? Ah, give me a break!

Audience4: The thing is, *they* must do the work! *They* must dismantle their racism and whiteness. Sounds like they are asking *us* to do it for them just because they entered the stage later and are now catching up on the social justice warrior agenda.

Audience4: Oh, those white social justice warriors …

They burst into laughter. The second group engages in conversation.

Audience5: Such a wonderful presentation!

Audience6: For sure! We need these fresh new voices. It's about time our voices get heard.

Audience5: We have been saying it for so long, that as postsocialist scholars we have so much in common with postcolonial ones. But they still refuse to engage with us.

Audience6: But now we have learned the postcolonial language, we *know* how to make our case. I really hope we will start listening to each other.

Audience5: I hope so too! By the way, what did you think about the second intervention from the audience?

Audience6: It was very harsh! I mean, there aren't that many young scholars decolonizing knowledge on Eastern Europe. Why discourage them? Aren't we all in the same boat, after all?

End of act. To be continued…

Postscript

In integration discourses Finns are presented as morally superior, as if they know better and can tell migrants what to do. They present it as if all Finns belong to one homogenous group and all migrants belong to another (although they come from different backgrounds and countries), and as if there's a clear distinction between the two groups. But at the same time, we're saying that we're equal, but that's not equality, it's the opposite. I think the discourse of equality is very misleading. We want migrants to be like Finns and claim they have equal opportunities, but that's a myth, it's not true even for Finns. We claim we are multicultural but in fact we want to assimilate migrants. There are so many contradictions.

I don't want to criticize that you are criticizing the system, but there were very shocking things that happened, and I was wondering if those were the worst cases, or was it always

like that? Did you find that there were also good things about the integration training or the reception centre, or was it always just like shit? Also, where are the 'normal' Finnish people in the script? Not just authorities and teachers, but equal people. The ethnodrama explores how migrants, teachers, social workers, and researchers navigate educational and research settings/practices in Finland. It highlights discrepancies and conflicts because, from those tensions, openings/cracks can emerge as disruptive ways of seeking knowledge.

I think it's important to remember that we're all part of social reality and social structures that are racist even if we don't agree with them and feel like we ourselves are not racist. To reflect on which ways and processes is a start to find out how I can be a part in breaking and transforming them. Being anti/racist is not a fixed state, but an ongoing process of un/becoming. Being racist is not just about holding racist beliefs, but about not questioning those beliefs. Being anti-racist is thus about being open to reconfiguring racist habits as an ongoing process (Monahan, 2011, p. 150).

There are differences between characters, how critical they are towards the system. It happens everywhere, like for example, in school, if a teacher or authority says something, someone is like why are we doing this, and someone is like shut up and do it, trying to please the teacher. Also, because you are in a minority position it does not necessarily mean that you must be a social critic. One may be incorporated within whiteness from a non-white social positioning, since the assimilation of differences legitimates the national phantasy of multiculturalism (Ahmed, 1999, p. 101). Still, passing as white from a white social positioning implies a degree of comfort and security, whereas passing as white from a non-white positioning brings with it fear of being caught out that limits one's mobility (Ahmed, 1999, p. 93).

As I was reading the lines by Finnish characters from the script you sent us in text format, before you performed it to us, I was imagining white, blond, blue-eyed bodies. So, it was refreshing in a way to then watch you perform those characters. This made me reflect on how the performance of these characters by non-white bodies can challenge these assumptions of what it means to be Finnish. It is tempting to try to pass as non-white in attempts for bridge building with racialized migrants, especially when one is already sometimes read as 'ethnic' by others. But passing as non-white from a white positioning involves access to knowledges embedded in white and colonial privileges that approximate a 'knowable' and decontextualized subjectivity and assume that one can pass for 'others' by adopting their ways of being, thus fixing those ways of being as indicators of what it may mean to be 'woman of color' for instance, as the drama explores (Ahmed, 1999, p. 102). *Do you think that the people who are constructing or maintaining power relations, are they aware of that? Do they intentionally maintain the hierarchies? Or is it something that they are not aware of?* It can be both, but even if it is unintentional, that does not make it innocent. White female desires to pass as 'woman of color' may be a technique of epistemic racism that allows the narrativization of the white subject's knowledge of herself through her sympathetic, seemingly 'innocent' incorporation of others within that narrative (Ahmed, 1999, p. 100). Claiming shared racial 'victimization' with women of colour from a white Eastern European positioning (Todorova, 2018) invisibilizes and appropriates the experiences of Eastern European women of colour, especially Roma women, who would have more reasons to claim shared experiences with women of col- our across the 'three worlds' (Brooks, 2012; Kóczé et al., 2018; Oprea, 2012).

We sometimes treat Finnish Roma people worse than we treat non-white migrants. The police always suspect Roma people of stealing or other crimes, they think that making crimes leads to suspicious thinking about all members of a given group, so they should 'maintain a

good image', and what disturbs me is that it's not their responsibility just because one person who happened to be Roma makes a crime. That should be seen as a problem of Finnish society.

How does not addressing the reproduction of whiteness in and through one's research stand in the way of solidarity with researchers of colour? The reading that bothers the character Ioana the most is being read as 'Roma', which she considers to be racist, not against the Roma, but against herself. But taking offence with being misread as Roma perpetuates anti-Roma racism, since one could only perceive the misreading as Roma as hurtful if she reproduces whiteness as a desirable norm and being Roma as something negative (Tudor, 2017a, p. 34). Furthermore, it may equate nationalizing discriminatory readings from a white social positioning with racializing ones (Tudor, 2017b, p. 27). While these readings can sometimes be mutually constitutive and entangled, by equating them one may foreground the discrimination experienced from a white social positioning, while appropriating the experiences of racialized migrants and Europeans (Tudor, 2017b, p. 30). This happens very often in migration research (Tudor, 2017b) and researchers of colour often have to engage vertically with white activist-scholars' epistemic ignorance and explain to them the gaps in their own knowledge systems.

When watching you read the lines of non-white characters, it made me wonder if you were colonizing the characters' voices, and if your work troubles whiteness or rather recenters it. The aim of my performances and of my use of ethnodrama was to recognize and take responsibility for the role of whiteness in one's own life and the world around us, while also contesting it by showing different inter-subjective ways of manifesting, conditioning, and altering whiteness. By emphasizing white resistance to white supremacy, I do not deny or downplay the realities of white privileges and supremacy (Monahan, 2011, pp. 116, 132). Through my resistance or through the problematization of my context-dependent abilities to pass as non-white, I do not overcome whiteness. I treat whiteness as a process, not as a fixed object that can be overcome because that would indeed mean recentering whiteness.

Conclusion

The script enacts multiple power/knowledge dynamics of being read and/or passing as non/not-quite/white that re/emerge as the characters move across different socio-temporal contexts, and how these shape and influence access to knowledge claims within three educational settings: migrant integration training in an adult education centre, reception centre for asylum seekers as migrant education training place, and academic conference. The script thus explores multiple connections *and* tensions between white, epistemic, and pedagogic privileges in Finnish migrant education and migration research, while also contesting the ways those privileges can be changing in different situations. It further explores how discussing and learning about one's own whiteness and (epistemic) racism are contested, thus offering new views and critiques of whiteness that relate to histories of privileges and oppressions yet actively resist those histories' continued legacies (Monahan, 2011, p. 132). The postscript shows how readers/audiences–in this case students–may respond to different formats/genres of writing and presenting research. It shows how ethnodrama can have the potential to enable different responses and knowledges than more conventional genres by engaging with a multiplicity of voices, which can be seen as a disruptive and decolonizing way of seeking knowledge. One limitation, due to my status as guest- lecturer, arose from not having the time to explore more pedagogical uses of ethnodrama, like inviting students to write, perform, and discuss their own ethnodramas, which I plan to do in further experimentations with this research method.

The ethnodrama is the result of 'slow' research carried out during a prolonged timespan, from 2015 to 2021. The current neoliberal university is attuned to the labour market and built for capital generation, treating students as clients, and researchers as resources to be used in short-term, outcome-driven, grant-dependent projects. The university is also framed as the highest source of legitimate knowledge production. Slowing down research and long-term reflections, like a time-traveller re-visiting past research processes with future knowledges, as well as creating knowledge collaboratively and beyond academic frames, through for instance, ethnodrama or other collaborative artistic methods, are possible ways of reimagining research and education. But do they enable us to delink from the current capitalist model of knowledge for profit, since they do not completely dismantle academia? By being in the university, one unavoidably causes harm. But one can minimize the harm by inviting more bodies, making institutions more open to multiple knowledges, moving away from mastery, failing, and get- ting better at noticing and generating knowledges from one's failures.

Note

1. The 2012 curriculum was replaced in 2017 by the National core curriculum for basic education for adults https://www.oph.fi/en/statistics-and- publications/publications/national-core-curriculum- basic-education-adults-2017

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PUBLICATION III

Creolizing subjectivities and relationalities within Roma-gadje research collaborations

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Creolizing subjectivities and relationalities within Roma-gadje research collaborations

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Abstract

This chapter is the result of a collaboration between Gabriela and Ioana, a Romni (Roma woman in Romanes) and a gadji (non-Roma woman), a participant/street-vendor/cleaner and a researcher/work supervisor, two women born in 1980s Romania and currently living in Finland, two friends. We apply a dialogical and co-authorial approach to challenge the structural divides and power hierarchies between us and our worlds. We thus tell each other stories as a means of travelling to each other's worlds and weaving knowledges otherwise. But even if we try to cross divides and hierarchies, they continue to shape and influence our interactions and conversations and cannot be done away with through our collaboration. Is Ioana therefore tokenizing Gabriela as her co-author? To address this issue, we creolize our subjectivities and relationalities, thus working through, against, and beyond those divides. We work through them by revealing the process of producing hierarchical order when we cannot help not reproducing it due to our unequal power positions. We work against and beyond them through an ongoing, open-ended process of becoming based on mutual self-reflection and self-aware experimentation, through which we contest and re/negotiate the boundaries and hierarchies between each other and our worlds. We thus understand the interconnected and inter-relational character of our beings without erasing the power differences between us. We make conscious choices of doing research otherwise and share our failures as steps toward imagining new possible worlds of Roma-gadje creolized conviviality.

Introduction

Historically, Roma-related research has been marked by Gypsylorism, an equivalent of Orientalism in studying Europe's internal "others" or, as Ken Lee puts it, "Whilst Orientalism is the construction of the exotic Other *out- side* Europe, Gypsylorism is the construction of the exotic Other *within* Europe—Romanies are the 'Orientals within'" (Lee 2000, 132). A vast amount of Roma-related research today still reproduces Gypsylorist tropes (Matache 2016, 2017; Selling 2018). In parallel, a new critical paradigm in Romani studies has been emerging during the past couple of decades, addressing the persisting exclusion of Roma contributions from knowledge production and decision-making on and for the Roma, arguing for more crit- ically reflexive, collaborative, and Roma-led studies, and bringing Romani studies in dialogue with critical race and whiteness, queer, post- and decolonial feminist studies (Ryder et al. 2015; Bogdan et al. 2018; Brooks, Clark, and Rostas 2021).

Researchers employing critical approaches have shown increased interest in Romanian and Bulgarian Roma migrants in Finland, yet this research remains scarce (Tervonen and Enache 2017; Keskinen et al. 2018; Himanen 2019), it presents language barriers and the need for interpreters and media- tors, undermining the development of trust and collaboration with

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the Roma participants (Enache 2020), and very few studies are carried out or led by Roma themselves (Gheorghe and Mocanu 2021). In 2020, Ioana was invited to conduct interviews with 15 Romanian Roma women living in Helsinki, for a research project exploring intersectional discriminations experienced by Roma women in Finland, Romania, and Italy. Gabriela was one of the inter- viewed women. The project was Roma-led and some of the interviewers, when and where possible, were Roma (Gheorghe and Mocanu 2021). For this chapter, we wanted to go beyond interviewing methods, and argue for collaborative, co-authorial, and reciprocal forms of dialogue in qualitative research, through which we hope to challenge structural divides and power hierarchies between Roma and gadje[2] worlds. But even if we try to cross divides and hierarchies, they continue to shape and influence our interactions and con- versations and cannot be done away with through our collaboration. We therefore stay with the discomfort of these tensions, as productive failures from which to disrupt established ways of seeking knowledge.

In 2021, we were both offered jobs within another project offering employment opportunities to Romanian and Bulgarian Roma women living in Finland, where we worked together for one year. Roma women with little or no formal schooling or language skills—including Gabriela—were assigned to do cleaning work; Romanian and Bulgarian gadje women from privileged socio-economic positions—including Ioana—were hired as translators and mediators; and Finnish gadje women ran and sponsored the project or promoted its cleaning services to potential Finnish clients. Finnish women also constituted the majority in the decision-making board. None of the Roma women were part of the board. The project thus reproduced racialised, gendered, and classed hierarchies, with Gabriela at the bottom and Ioana in the middle of the hierarchy. Occasional tensions in claiming ownership over the project occurred. Roma women rightfully saw the existence of the project and of the other women's jobs as depending on their hard labour and wanted more participation in decision-making. Romanian gadje women made paternalistic claims to ownership based on their perceived knowledge of the Roma women's "needs" and on the perceived centrality of their translation services to the project. Finnish women claimed ownership based on financially sponsoring the project or on bringing financial resources from the clients they sought, while claiming to "empower" Roma women through low-paid precarious labour and to "help" them reach the "right" level of "development" through an ideology of assimilation into the racial capitalist order (Vergès 2021, 14).

Creolization and im/purity

The power hierarchies between us raise the question of whether Ioana is tokenizing Gabriela as her co-author, "empowering" Gabriela in Ioana's own terms. To address this issue, we work through, against, and beyond those hierarchies. We work through them by revealing how our worlds fit into the hierarchical power relations of the racial capitalist order in which we find ourselves, and how that demands both of our different roles in the various positions we undertake. We work against and beyond them through an ongoing, open-ended process of becoming through which we contest, re/negotiate, and destabilise the boundaries and hierarchies within and between each other and our worlds (Monahan 2011, 195). In other words, we creolize our subjectivities and relationalities.

Creolization emerged from the specific historical context of the Caribbean, marked by colonialism, slavery, racial classification, forced displacement, loss of social identity, and a double consciousness based on experiences of oppression and struggles for liberation (Glissant 1997; Du Bois 2005). Roma people have also been said to have developed a double

consciousness and a creolized diasporic subjectivity due to experiencing historical displacement in relation to India, movements in multiple directions, and current feelings of exile in relation to countries of residence either as citizens or as migrants (Le Bas 2010). Furthermore, Roma people have also been forced into slavery on the territory of what is now Romania from 1370 to 1856, during which they could be owned, bought, sold, donated, left as inheritance, given as treasury, and forced into various forms of coerced labour and brutal punishment (Matache and Bhabha 2021). Moreover, Roma people were also subjected to racial classification and genocide as part of eugenicist nation-building projects all over Europe (Turda 2010).

While creolization emerges from situations marked by severe inequalities and oppression, it also reveals new ways of understanding the world as relational and interdependent, marked by multiple, unexpected, transversal encounters, connections, and becomings (Glissant 1997; Gutiérrez Rodríguez 2015). Creolization is not the same as cultural or ethnic mixing, as it bypasses any racial, ethnic, and socio-cultural classifications, yet it also emerges within racialised configurations due to existing legacies of colonial practices (Gutiérrez Rodríguez 2015, 94). Creolization helps understand the ties between people and worlds that were supposed to be radically unequal and separated, by bringing them into conversations that "could not have taken place historically but that would have been and still remain generative" (Gordon and Cornell 2021, 1).

Individuals may inhabit simultaneously several distinct and separated worlds, which do not communicate or understand each other. We may disagree with how we are perceived in some worlds, though we may also internalise and animate perceptions we disagree with (Lugones 2003, 78). Social fragmentation thus prevents individuals from communicating with each other, as well as fragmenting each individual's subjectivity into parts that do not fit well together. This multiple fragmentation cuts ties within/between individuals and within/between their worlds, reproducing what María Lugones (2003) calls the *politics of purity* or what Édouard Glissant (1997) calls the *duality of self-perception*, separating individuals and worlds/communities into distinct, hierarchical, pure, homogenous categories, which are positioned as "threateningly" opaque to each other, thus making them easier to order and control.

Creolization decolonises the politics of purity. Our chapter thus tries to reject the fragmentation of our subjectivities and worlds into pure parts by working against the politics of purity, even as we find that we have them internalised. We enter this process of inter-subjective creolization from different power positions that condition the kinds of interventions that are possible for each of us. Nevertheless, as our storytelling shows, we can shape the ongoing contestation of meanings and boundaries and change how they condition our different agencies toward unforeseeable results (Glissant 1997, 34; Monahan 2011, 205).

Storytelling: methodological and ethical considerations

Storytelling is highly regarded in Romani culture. Stories transmitted via generations in various forms and channels build a "multifarious" history of the Roma that "insurrects hegemonic history" (Costache 2018, 42). The Critical Romani Studies journal's 2021 special issue on Romani literature suggests that oral stories should be given as much significance as written ones to convey a comprehensive Romani literary canon, while arguing that literature is a very important dimension of Romani culture. The issue includes a collection of stories by Romani creative writers and storytellers, alongside its more conventional academic articles. The authors' stories, which explore the diasporic, hybrid, and multilingual characteristics of

Romani literature, serve as a starting point for exploring the multidimensionality of Romani narratives (Martín Sevillano and Marafioti 2021).

For our chapter, we bring Romani storytelling epistemologies and method- ologies in dialogue with María Lugones (2003) and Édouard Glissant (1997), by using storytelling as a critical tool to travel to each other's worlds, unlearn internalised perceptions based on socio-cultural classifications, and under- stand the inter-relational and interconnected character of our complex beings. Through dialogical self-reflection and self-aware experimentation and mutual identification, we look at ourselves in each other's mirrors and back in our own to see with each other's eyes (Lugones 2003, 84). We thus try to understand and unlearn the long-lasting legacies of slavery, eugenics, and "modernisation" practices, which position Roma women within socio- economic dependency, and teach gadje women arrogant perceptions that inferiorise Roma women (Lugones 2003, 71).

Over the course of two years, we told, read, and sent each other stories about and beyond migration, from similar yet differently inhabited local, trans/national, inter-generational, familial, social, institutional, work, and ordinary everyday contexts. We mainly worked in Ioana's studio, which was very close to the social.[3] At Gabriela's signal, Ioana would start recording some of our conversations. Gabriela also recorded stories with her phone and sent them to Ioana to be included in the chapter. Gabriela told stories about her life—from childhood to present day—spontaneously, depending on what triggered her memory at a specific moment or during the course of a given day. Emerging from emotions and memories triggered by Gabriela's stories, Ioana wrote short stories in Romanian, to which she also added some theoretical reflections. Ioana then read both her stories and Gabriela's transcribed stories to Gabriela who expressed dis/agreements and asked for changes. Ioana took notes and applied those changes. She then translated the stories from Romanian to English, attempting to be as faithful as possible to Gabriela's tone and style. Gabriela further included letters and emails she received from the Finnish Immigration Service (Migri), the police, and her lawyer during her process of applying for EU citizen residence, so that migrants facing similar situations may find sources of inspiration and strength. Ioana translated those letters/emails from Finnish to Romanian/ English.

Furthermore, Ioana wrote in English the other parts of the text. Since Gabriela does not read English and only speaks a few words, Ioana summarised and translated these parts into Romanian and read them to Gabriela while explaining as best she could the various concepts and theories Gabriela was not familiar with. We also discussed how this text relates to Ioana's PhD project and went deeper into what the project is about. However, it was often difficult to negotiate the great distance between Ioana's research aims and theories and Gabriela's everyday life. Therefore, misunderstandings might have occurred, and Ioana's account might only have been imprecise and distorted. Given these ethical dilemmas, Gabriela's inclusion within academic co-authorship may still be seen as epistemic exploitation. That is because doing research *with* rather than *on* participants still requires institutional changes regarding co-research, co-writing, co-authorship, ethics, and what counts as knowledge (Sinha and Back 2014). Our text is a small contribution to wider efforts to open research towards collaborating and co-authoring with participants who are not affiliated with institutions or do not have university degrees, thus making an ethical and political statement against framing universities as the only sources of valid knowledge (Soares, Bill, and Athayde 2005; Back, Sinha, and Bryan 2012; Gay y Blasco and Hernández 2020). Yet while opening universities to diverse bodies and plural knowledges may decrease the harm they exert, incorporating alternative knowledges within academic publishing practices may also re-assert universities' hegemony. We therefore share our failures as disruptive sources of knowledge with- out knowing the potential results.

Stories of world-travelling

We discussed which of our individual stories to keep or leave out. We identified a few themes and combined the individual stories—together with the letters/emails from institutions—according to those themes into eight collective stories. Ioana read the eight stories to Gabriela and we both reflected on them critically. We included our mutual reflections as additional layers in the stories. The stories thus weave together multiple speaking/writing genres and multiple diffracting layers. We speak together and apart, with each other, about each other, with ourselves, and with the readers, sometimes reflecting on or critiquing the other's accounts, thus asserting our divergent agencies and "impure" states toward becoming ambiguous, unclassifiable, unmanage- able (Lugones 2003, 100). The stories do not offer definite closures, but rather moments of transition to other stories or to other worlds, travelling from one time/space to another through affective connections, interferences, dis/harmonies, and transversal encounters (Glissant 1997, 58, 199). Each collective story is thus a piece in the ongoing puzzle of creolizing our subjectivities and relationalities.

Loud silence

GABRIELA (G): As Ioana and I are talking one evening in her studio over a glass of wine, I recount: "You know how the social came to be? In the early days, 10–11 years ago, we were sleeping in an abandoned building, an old train station, where they built this new library now in Helsinki, Oodi.[4] That abandoned building didn't have doors or windows, nothing. The only thing we had was a roof above our heads so it wouldn't rain or snow on us. There was thick ice on the walls during winter. We were 50–60 people in that building at some point. I stayed there on and off for three years. When we went there in the evening, we went at 22:00–23:00, so the police wouldn't see us and chase us. We jumped the fence one by one. We had to climb, there was a big fence. And in the winter, some slipped, some fell ... We'd get sick often ... how many hospitals, how many treatments ... When we came out from that cold from the abandoned building, we went to the train station and sat by the heaters, because that was our spot. And the security guards would come and chase us out. Good thing there was another library, where there's the market now, to sit down and get warm. But they'd chase us sometimes from there also because we were not allowed to talk or sleep there. Gadje activists and researchers became interested in us sleeping in that abandoned building and were interviewing us all the time. Even a film was made. In the end, the police found out that we were sleeping there. They came at night and chased us out, they pepper sprayed our eyes. They also sprayed that building so we won't go back in. That's how it started. We continued being on the streets, sleeping rough, giving interviews. Gadje looked at us like aliens. We were not asylum seekers, so could not sleep in a reception centre. We were EU citizens, but we were homeless. Yet we were not Finnish citizens, so could not sleep in a homeless shelter. After many struggles, the social was opened for us where we could sleep but also do much more, like talk with Finnish people and find work. But in the end gadje took all the credit and all the leadership roles. They use against us Roma that we have less education, and they silence us. All our complaints go back to those we complain about. Some of us were intimidated when we talked too much, outside of the social."

IOANA (I): You know what the gadjo leading the social told me today? That I should be more authoritative with you. That when I come to work, you must fear me. That I should not be your friend because you'll get lazy.

G: Did you talk about this with your boss?

I: No, but I told my Finnish co-worker. She said, "Jesus! He *NEVER* does that with me! I guess he does it depending on your cultural background, given you're both from the Balkans. He's an important client for our project with Roma cleaners, but that doesn't mean he can be disrespectful to you."

G: Gadje have this habit of making everything about themselves. I nod in disapproval at Ioana's story and tell her, "That's really bad." I know that's what she wants to hear. Then I start browsing a printed issue of a magazine I used to sell on the streets of Helsinki, before I started working as a cleaner. "They wrote a story about me in Finnish. From an inter- view I gave them many months ago. They also printed my photo, look. Tell me what it says."

I: They wrote you're homeless and begging on the streets of Helsinki to send money to your children back in Romania. They tell readers to donate money to some NGO to help vulnerable Roma.

G: Really? That's all they wrote from everything I told them? That's what they used my photo for? To make people pity me?

I: Did they tell you they were going to use your photo and story to raise money?

G: Yes, but I thought they would tell a better story. I told them so many things ... You know I love to tell stories.

I: "These stories we tell each other ... We could write something together. And have both our names on it." I suggest timidly. Gabriela gazes out the window in silence, as if contemplating on what I just said. "I'll do this with you on your own terms. And you're free to change your mind and quit at any time, I'll respect your decision," I continue. Gabriela remains silent, looking at her phone, scrolling up and down. I try again, "This might shake a bit how things are usually done when Roma work with gadje. Although once the story is out there, it's out of our control and people reading it may give it completely different meanings from what we intended ...." Gabriela turns to me, looking deep into my eyes, as if trying to read my thoughts. Then she changes the topic of conversation.

A morning swim

IOANA: We arrive early for Gabriela's appointment with Migri. To pass the time, we take a walk by the sea, across the street from the office. It's a sunny September morning, warm enough for a light jacket, the tree leaves still green, soft sunrays dancing with their water reflections. We walk toward a wooden structure by the sea where people can wash carpets or dive and swim.

GABRIELA: A gadjo is laying against his back on a table. Amused, I ask if he's sleeping. He's soon joined by a gadji. Maybe she thought we were trying to steal him from her. They remove their clothes and dive in the water for a morning swim. She swims faster than him. But the water must be so cold! I walk to the edge and test the water with my hand. It's freezing!

I: As we admire the white heteronormative couple and the woman's strength to swim in freezing water, even faster than the man, we contemplate how maybe one day Gabriela will also have that "freedom," if only her Migri application goes through. A white feminist fantasy come true. Aspirations to equal privileges as those granted to white men by white supremacy erase gadje women's complicities with white supremacy (Vergès 2021, 12). We enter the office. All the documents for Gabriela's EU work-related registration are in order, her work contract, last three months' pay slips, and bank statements.

"It will take a few months to process the application. You will be notified if we need additional information," says the clerk.

G: Once we step outside, I can finally breathe. "I thought about it."

I: About what?

G: About writing something together. I want to leave something behind, a story in my own words. Something my children could one day read and feel proud.

The pan in the system

IOANA: My phone rings. One of Gabriela's co-workers is on the other end. "The police stopped Gabi at the airport! I was just calling to wish her a safe flight, and this shit now! They're keeping her in a room, maybe she'll miss her flight!" she says frantically. I immediately call Gabriela, but her phone is off. I try again and again. Nothing. I'm starting to panic.

GABRIELA: I'm trying to travel to Romania to see my children, whom I haven't seen in over two years. If I had my children here next to me, I'd have a different life. I'd be growing young. Like this, being far away from my children, I'm growing old ... Why is he keeping me in this room, I want to ask the Finnish police, but I can only say *miksi*—why—in Finnish. Emotionless, he just says *odotta*—wait—in Finnish. A gadji walks into the room. "You're red flagged in the system. I'm here to help you," she tells me in Romanian. "Help" from gadje comes in many forms, but rarely one that's helpful.

POLICE (P): What do you do in Finland?

G: I work with a contract. You can check the letter from my employer.

P: How will you feel if we will not let you return to Finland?

G: I feel the weight of those words. I also feel sick, like I ate something bad. But I don't tell her this. Instead, I tell her "My employer needs me back to work after my trip to Romania." She calls Ioana whose number is on the letter. She needs another gadji to validate my story. Or to overturn my story and validate her gadje thoughts.

I: My phone rings again, this time a number I don't know. I hope it's Gabriela.

P: I'm calling you from Helsinki Airport. Gabriela is red flagged in our system.

I: Why is she red flagged?

P: She's a potential accomplice in stealing a pan.

G: Finnish and Romanian police working together in the big case of the missing pan. Who took the pan? Who helped to take the pan? Who will be deported for a missing pan?

P: Did you do these documents for her?

I: Yes. I represent her employer. Are you the interpreter?

P: Yes, and more.

I: Will you let her board the flight?

P: Depends on her, if she cooperates.

G: My story verifies. Free to fly. But don't get your hopes up. Freedom in gadje's terms always comes with restrictions.

P: Come back within a week to continue with the investigation. If not, we will ban you from entering Finland.

G: Food cooked in the pan on an electric stove is not even that good. The best food in the world is cooked in a cauldron on the fire.

My mother makes the best polenta in the world

GABRIELA: My mother made food in a big cauldron, delicious stews with meat and vegetables served with polenta made from corn flour. She used the vegetables she herself planted in our garden and the animals she raised in our yard. She raised pigs and chicken, and in the garden, she planted onions, potatoes, tomatoes, carrots, everything we needed. Us children helped her out with the work around the house. We were seven children, four girls and three boys. Sometimes our mother brought the cauldron in front of the house, on the street, for people to eat together, and we all sat together like that, adults and children, and ate, talked, and played ... A Finnish artist who came to paint the walls of the social a few years ago turned my story into this painting (Figure 7.1). But she only painted the polenta. I laughed when I saw that. How can all of us be satisfied with just polenta? My mother also cooked meat and vegetables to go with it. But I told the artist she did a good job. Although I couldn't read then what she wrote above the painting. Only later I found out it says "my mother makes the best polenta in the world." As a child, I didn't go to school. My sisters didn't go either. My brothers went. I told my parents I wanted to go to school. They'd tell me to wait for my brothers to come home and show me their homework so I can learn from them. That made me very upset because I wanted to go to school just like them.

Figure 7.1 My mother makes the best polenta in the world (Photo taken by Gabriela with her phone).

In other Roma communities, girls go to school, but where I grew up girls didn't go to school. But I know from my brothers that it was still hard for them because all the time they heard from their gadje teachers and classmates, "You won't succeed because you're Gypsies and Gypsies are not made for school" ... I started learning how to read and write a couple of years ago. One of the Romanian workers at the social, she taught a few Roma women, to "empower" us as she put it, so that if we go somewhere we can write our names and sign documents. Gadje like to use this word with us, "empower" ... They want to "save" us. They think our Romani 'tradition' is different and say, "Oh no, look at these Gypsies, they're so 'backward'." But we don't need saving. We need to work together. Us Roma, we're not racist against gadje. We're happy to work together with gadje because we don't have that priority a gadji has who can enter anywhere ...

IOANA: My grandmother worked on a farm, picking peaches and apples from the orchard, tilling the soil, cleaning. She lived near the farm with her husband and their five daughters. They raised their own animals, planted their own food, and baked bread in a stone oven outside in the yard. My mother said, "We lived ... not better or worse than children today. The red hair bows and our mother's songs protected us from 'the evil eye'." My grandmother didn't go to school as a child. She attended three classes later in life due to a state socialist[5] policy targeting illiterate peasants. Her daughters earned degrees and had successful careers in a state socialist system that granted women from privileged ethnic majorities education and employment opportunities and leadership roles. Gender equality discourses did not extend to the private family sphere, though, so gadje women were seen as mothers of the socialist nation, assigned with reproductive roles of "proper" (white) socialist subjects (Todorova 2018, 122). My mother said, "The brutal, badly internally and externally orchestrated change of 1989 found us with a three-week-old baby. We lived the so-called 'transition' to capitalism together and tried to make our children's lives more beautiful. Raising children is difficult in any époque. You can follow all common-sense guidelines, but circum- stances will still be more decisive." Gadje women also led state socialist campaigns seeking to "modernise" Roma women, like cultural eradication, forced sterilisations, and "socially useful" reforming education and labour programmes; Roma people's resistance to assimilation and the preservation of their cultures and values were framed as "backwardness" (Todorova 2018, 123). My mother tolerated my friendship with a Roma girl from school, yet she told me to never eat the food she's eating as I might get food poisoning.

G: When I cooked food at home, back when I lived with my children and husband in Romania, I always put an extra plate on the table and told him, this one's for your gadji. Once I caught him. I was with my first two children, the third one wasn't born yet. He saw us through the window approaching the bar. He quickly moved to a different table. I sat at the table with the gadji he'd been sitting with, my children next to me. I poured myself a glass of brandy from the bottle they'd been sharing. I raised my glass towards her and said cheers, looking straight into her eyes. After some hesitation, looking around as if waiting for someone to save her, she raised her glass also, with a dumb smile on her face. I took a sip from my drink. Then I walked over where my husband was sitting and poured the rest of it on his head. The gadji told me, "Sorry, I didn't know he was married and with children, and that he was a Gypsy." She probably realised that from the way I was dressed. Clothing and language, that's mainly what differentiates Roma and gadje. And sometimes skin colour. I'm a bit brunette, but there are others who are darker. Although there are also Roma people who are blonde … My first two children were born with dark skin and brown eyes, but the third one had light skin and green eyes. When my husband saw her, he said, "Now you've given me children!" For a long time, I believed light skin is beautiful and

dark skin is ugly. Now I'm proud of my colour and I teach my children the same. May God also gift others with darker skin colours because there are many who try to tan but we're natural. Still, I cannot say one is more beautiful and another one is uglier, only the soul matters …

Keep walking

MIGRI (M): The Finnish Immigration Service considers deporting you and imposing an entry ban.[6]

LAWYER (L): Migri sent you a standard letter they send to all applicants whom they target with potential deportation for often unfounded rea- sons. Many applicants receive this letter, particularly non-EU ones.[7]

GABRIELA: My mother used to say, dear, don't argue with anyone. Even if they try to harm you. God will take care of them.[8]

M: You are given the opportunity to respond in writing, in your own words, to the following questions. How do you feel about being deported and receiving a ban on entering Finland?

L: In your case, they sent the letter due to the ongoing police investigation. This is a small misdemeanour and you are only seen as a potential accomplice. You cannot be considered an accomplice if you had no prior knowledge of the other person's intention to steal the pan. If found guilty, you will only receive a fine based on the value of the pan.

G: Don't offend anyone, dear. Don't dwell on what they say or do. Pretend you didn't notice.

M: Do you have family members, other close relationships or a job in Finland or another Schengen country? How would a deportation or re-entry ban affect these relationships or your job?

L: According to the Finnish Aliens Act, EU citizens can be deported or banned from entry if they are considered a danger to public order and security.

G: Don't hold grudges with anyone even if they hold grudges with you because not even God holds grudges.

M: You can use an assistant when sending the response. If you want to use an assistant, you need to get one yourself.

L: Yet Migri has enforced many deportations of Romanians and Bulgarians lately, usually for petty crimes. You can also be deported when you have been on social welfare for long periods of time and thus considered a burden to society.

G: Don't give too many explanations, don't excuse yourself. People will be talking about you anyway. They will make up their own story depending on what suits them.

M: You must submit your response within seven days of receiving this letter. If not, the Finnish Immigration Service will remove you from the country and impose an entry ban.

L: In response, tell Migri as little as possible, do not give them reasons to further investigate anything.

G: My mother taught me how to leave space for hello with everyone, even in the most difficult situations.

L: Say you are an EU citizen exercising your right to seek employment in another member state. You have a job in Finland, a good salary, and receive no social benefits. Mention that you have been called to the police station, but you have not committed any crimes in Finland, and are not a threat to public order and security.

G: She taught me to talk to everyone, even if there are many hateful people and maybe they talk bad about you, don't react. You watch, listen, observe, learn …
M: You will not receive a further notification.
L: Firmly and politely oppose a potential deportation, which would not be based on the law.
G: Don't react to provocations. Put them under your foot and keep walking. And take care of your children, sisters, brothers, parents, elders, your work and goals …

Able to defend myself

"Who are you?" asks the police officer at the reception desk.
IOANA: I'm Gabriela's work supervisor ... and her moral support person during the interrogation.
POLICE: You cannot go inside with her.
I: "What if I have this?" I hand over the power of attorney letter signed by Gabriela.
"Alright ..." answers the officer, slightly annoyed. "You can go."
After going through security check, we're greeted by another police officer: "The interpreter couldn't make it. We're trying to get one by phone."
I: I could translate.
P: We'll go with our official interpreter. Please wait in the lobby while I make some phone calls.
After more than one hour waiting, the officer comes out. "We couldn't get an interpreter by phone either. You can translate."
G: On our way to the interrogation room, I tell Ioana, 'A good spirit must be watching over us today.'
P: How do you plead?
G: Not guilty.
The officer plays for us the security camera footage.
P: Do you know the person caught on camera?
G: Yes, we know each other.
P: Did you help her take the pan?
G: "Can we just say we'll pay for the pan and they should leave us alone? I don't want to get Lili into trouble." I tell Ioana.
I: But if you offer to pay for it, they'll think you helped steal it. And then they'll deport you. The footage clearly shows Lili taking the pan. The question now is whether you will also be affected by her action. Lili already has an EU residence permit, she's in a better position than you. Please, let's tell him what the lawyer advised us.
G: You and your gadje ways … Alright, go ahead …
I: I had no prior knowledge of any intention to take a pan. I paid for my product, as the footage shows.
P: Is that all you just discussed with her?
I: He's doubting us.
G: Tell him about the police making us sign something we didn't understand.
I: When the security guards stopped us at the store, and when the police took us to the station, they did not talk to us in a language we would understand. At the station, we were asked to sign a document we could not read. We asked for a translator, but did not get one.
P: The store does not want to settle. So, if the other person's story does not match yours, this will go to court. Do you agree with your written testimony being used in court?
I: "Should I answer, yes?" I ask Gabriela hesitantly.

G: Do you think that's wise? Ask him what it means.
I: What does that mean exactly?
P: If this goes to court, you don't have to go there in person and this signed statement can be used in your absence.
G: Don't give him permission to use some paper against me. I want to be able to defend myself.

Gabriela receives a letter from the police shortly after our visit at the station[10]:

> In the pre-trial investigation, Gabriela denied her guilt in the theft and denied knowing about the other person's intent to steal. Gabriela is a Romanian national and does not have a permanent residence in Finland. The trial would thus require recourse to international legal aid and would probably require considerable resources. If found guilty, the expected penalty would be a mild fine. The store considers that the cost of pursuing the case is clearly disproportionate to the penalty that might be expected and to the severity of the case, which is not of important public interest. The store will therefore drop the case.

Dream big

IOANA: As I'm walking down the street with music in my headphones and confidence rushing through my body on my way to meet Gabriela, on a warm sunny spring day, I notice Gabriela sitting by the road, not exactly at the meeting spot we had agreed on. Gabriela is observing me walking in her direction, with what I perceive as suspicion or mistrust. As I see myself through her scrutinising eyes, I feel shaken by this image. I take off my headphones and sit next to Gabriela, asking her how she is, with some reticence.
GABRIELA: I'm tired and stressed. Some of the other women at work keep harassing me, telling me my work is no good, that I'll never clean as good as them, that I should stay in my place and not dream big. They think you're giving them less hours because of hiring me.
I: But I've assured them so many times that I always divide the workhours fairly.
G: How are they supposed to believe you're fair when they notice you spend time with me outside work? They think I also decide on how the work- hours are divided. They say that's unfair because they've worked here longer than me. Organise a meeting with everyone. They'll calm down after they've been heard.
I: You're right. I'll send a message to the group chat straight away.
G: In the next board meeting, tell your boss to make a new rule. That when we clean, we should stop working in pairs. We should take one floor each and work independently. That way they will not have time to harass me. Tell your boss this will improve the quality of cleaning and reduce the number of complaints from clients.
I: In the board meeting, I say what Gabriela asked of me. The board members love the proposal and agree to implement it. I feel good that Gabriela used my voice to initiate board decisions at her workplace in a racial capitalist system that denies her board membership, although I took the credit for her idea. Gabriela's subversive strategy was thus conditioned by the imperative to survive in a world that does not allow "Roma life" to "flourish" (Costache 2021).

'Liberation'?

KAMU: Hey! I'm Kamu, your robot assistant. The processing of your application for EU citizen's right of residence in Finland has begun. Your place in queue is 654. The place

can stay the same, change, or even go up during the process. Applications are not always processed only based on the place in queue. We will contact you if we need any additional information.[11]

GABRIELA: After six months of waiting with no decision from Migri, I see that Ioana's computer talks with them are not enough. Whenever I ask her about my application, she types some words on the computer and tells me there are still hundreds of people in front of me. Gadje are used to have the system work for them, but we Roma know it's not like that for us, that we have to push our way through. So, I go to Migri's office in person to talk to someone. I give them my case number and tell them, "Translator. Romanian." After some time, they get one by phone. They tell me I should submit more bank statements to prove that I'm still working and earning a good enough salary. I tell them to write this in Finnish on a piece of paper. I go to the bank, show them the paper, and they give me the state- ments. Shortly after submitting them, I receive a letter. I tell Ioana to read it to me. The decision is positive! I now have access to all of Finland's systems. I can see a doctor, I can apply for an apartment, I can bring my children here, I can study ... There are so many options for me now!

IOANA: Not only did Gabriela go to Migri by herself, her initiative also sped up the process and contributed to the positive decision. Her EU citizen's right of residence in Finland has thus finally been registered. I'm pleasantly surprised and extremely happy for Gabriela, but also a bit hurt that I was not included in the final steps of the process. I reflect on my hurt feelings. Where do they come from? Do I feel some sort of entitlement over the process just because I initiated it? What were my motivations then? Was I doing it for Gabriela, or just to feel good about myself, like someone engaging in a charity act? Was I trying to paternalistically "empower" Gabriela in my own terms? I shake off my hurt feelings and tell myself that the purpose was this, for Gabriela to achieve independence. But was she not independent before? How is this independence measured, according to whose terms? Gabriela indeed enacted a present in which her agency is no longer constrained by gadje mediators and envisioned a future in which she "doesn't just survive but actually flourishes" (Costache 2021). Yet this future vision seems to rely on Gabriela governing and "liberating" herself according to gadje norms ...

Final reflections

Through the creolizing fabric of our friendship, stories, and ways of working together, we shifted, however subtly, the geographies of what is possible for each of us, without erasing the power differences between us (Monahan 2011, 206). Creolization for us emerged from the "creative and affective crossings within which our lives met and evolved," like spending time together, cooking, sharing food and drinks, entering each other's circles of close friends, witnessing each other's daily habits and encounters, and offering each other mutual advice and emotional support through the daily struggles of life, which created a "relational and transversal character of a living together" (Gutiérrez Rodríguez 2015, 84–85). Yet creolization also emerged within the logic of socio-economic (re)production and dynamics of racialisation, such as workplace hierarchies and encounters with authorities, which entail a "juncture of subjugation by and liberation from governance technologies and practices" (Gutiérrez Rodríguez 2015, 95) and a process of producing hierarchical order when we cannot help not reproducing it due to our unequal power positions (Lugones 2003, 115).

While critiquing our current worlds, bringing them in generative conversations, and envisioning desired futures, our stories also speak of a failure to imagine future worlds that

"draw on markedly Romani epistemologies" to create "new images, new symbols, new myths" (Costache 2021). As Ioanida Costache describes the artistic practice of Mihaela Drăgan—Roma actress, playwright, and cofounder of Roma feminist theatre collective Giuvlipen— what is needed is "a decolonizing move of 'world-shattering' that rejects the status quo, but also goes beyond critique in forging a new, be it imagined, world of liberation for the Roma" (Costache 2021). Drăgan envisions this new world by staging via theatre and film her vision of Roma Futurism (Drăgan 2021), a time-space where witchcraft merges with new technologies "to forge futuristic utopias that reimagine and reconfigure social hierarchies of oppression" (Costache 2021).

Yet it would be a gesture of appropriation and colonisation for Ioana to envision a new world of liberation for the Roma from her privileged gadji position. What she can, and has tried to do in this chapter, is envision a new world in which gadje researchers bring collaborations with Roma participants to the next level. Furthermore, for Gabriela to envision liberation beyond having access to the rights and opportunities usually available to gadje, she should have already lived in a world where such access was a reality. This shows the importance of reparations for descendants of Roma people who have historically endured slavery and genocide, an historical legacy that affects future generations and brings about high discrepancies in the level of resources and opportunities afforded to Roma and to gadje (Matache and Bhabha 2021).

Creolization has unpredictable consequences that can only be imagined (Glissant 1997, 34). We see our stories, and particularly their complicities, tensions, misunderstandings, and disagreements, as openings from which we contest hierarchies and inequalities, and as preliminary steps toward imagining new possible worlds of Roma-gadje "creolized conviviality" (Gutiérrez Rodríguez 2015).

Notes

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2 The Romanes term gadje—plural of gadji (feminine)/gadjo (masculine)—refers to outsiders to Romani communities. Gadje-ness is associated with whiteness, but it does not only refer to people perceived as white, but rather to people who ben- efit from institutional and structural privileges grounded in white supremacy (Matache 2017).

3 Gabriela slept in an emergency accommodation centre, usually referred to by its residents as "the social." She also cleaned the centre during the day, as part of her job.

4 https://www.oodihelsinki.fi/en/

5 State socialism in Romania lasted from 1947 to 1989.

6 Letter Gabriela received from Migri shortly after applying for residence. Gabriela signed a power of attorney document allowing Ioana to read and translate the letter. Gabriela chose to include this letter in the chapter.

7 Legal advice from a lawyer whom Ioana had found through connections from activist circles. We juxtaposed the letter from Migri with the legal advice as a form of resistance. However, resistance is only the first step, while Gabriela's strategy explained in the next endnote could be a next step.

8 Gabriela's reflections as Ioana translates to her the letters from authorities. Gabriela is not speaking directly about the letters. She is speaking nearby them. Trinh T. Minh-ha uses the strategy of speaking nearby subjects as a way not to contain and seize them with a unifying, authoritative narrative, thus opening the narrative to multiple possible meanings (Chen 1992). Gabriela uses the strategy of speaking nearby authorities as a way to mock power, to subversively and creatively defy norms that subdue her (Lugones 2003, 100).

9 Pseudonym.

10 Gabriela signed a power of attorney document allowing Ioana to read and translate the letter. Gabriela chose to include this letter in the chapter.
11 Reply from Migri's chatbot when checking Gabriela's application status: https://migri.fi/en/chat1

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