ROMA Municipal Mediator Project
Experimental Project Evaluation Results
Summary Report

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This publication is a summary of a vaster Report of four years of external assessment of the Roma Municipal Mediator Project, for which a wide set of methodological procedures was enacted with the aim of rendering an account of the work carried out by mediators in multiple territorial contexts. The assessment of the design, operationalization, execution and impact of the Project focused crucially on scouting and understanding the impact on the modes of local government, the promotion of *empowerment* and equal opportunities, of training and of modalities of support and modes of local intervention and intercultural dialogue.

The contextual diversity of the stages on which the Project is developed, combined with its pioneer nature and an intervention explicitly directed to the Roma population, which took place in many municipalities, was simultaneously a difficulty and an enormous challenge.

Stimulating the reflexion about processes and inviting the actors of this Project to the collective production of collaborative knowledge was assumed, from the start, as an objective of the assessment, due to the belief that a project of this nature, pioneer and experimental, could not waive the different views and reflexive capacities of its protagonists, given the results that were achieved, the issues that arose and the practices implemented.
1. Municipal mediator project framework

Following the invitation to all local authorities in mainland Portugal to join the Municipal Mediator Project (MMP), issued by the *Alto Comissariado para a Imigração e Diálogo Intercultural* (ACIDI) [High Commission for Immigration and Intercultural Dialogue] in September 2009, 15 municipalities were selected\(^1\). According to its framework Regulation, this initiative “involves placing Municipal Mediators in municipal council departments or initiatives promoted thereby, as part of an on-the-job training programme”, with the principal objective of “improving the access of Roma communities to local services and amenities but also facilitating communication between culturally-differentiated groups, reflecting the content of their interaction and preventing and managing conflicts.”

Although the mediators work within a local authority, they were employed by civil society bodies which also acted as the project’s financial managers.

The same regulation provided that ACIDI, IP would co-fund 75% of the gross salary of the mediator concerned, while the municipality would ensure the remaining 25%. Subsequent amendments altered this clause in line with point 11.1 of the Regulation\(^2\). The nine Phase I projects, to be carried out in the fourth year, as in the third year, were 50% funded by ACIDI, IP under the ESF HPOP application [Human Potential Operational Programme], the municipalities funding the other half.

Of the 15 Phase I projects implemented in the first year, the protocols entered into in three cases were not renewed: Marinha Grande and Vidigueira (2011) and Paredes (2012), while in two municipalities the mediator employed initially was replaced (Sines and Sintra). On conclusion of the three years, three projects were unable to guarantee continuity: Aveiro, Setúbal and Sines. The municipal mediators therefore continued their activity in Phase I projects in nine municipalities. Of these, only two continue to develop mediation activity in a local authority context: Beja and Moura.

Phase II of the MMP began in October 2011 with the inclusion of another six projects\(^3\), corresponding to the number of applications opened. At the end of the second year two projects did not renew the mediators’ contracts: Espinho and Odivelas.

Now that four years have passed since the MMP was launched and following the commencement of Phase II in October 2011 with the inclusion of another six municipalities,

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\(^1\) Phase I of the project took place in Amadora, Aveiro, Beja, Coimbra, Idanha-a-Nova, Lamego, Marinha Grande, Moura, Paredes, Peso da Régua, Seixal, Setúbal, Sines, Sintra and Vidigueira.

\(^2\) In the amended version of the Regulation, when Phase II applications were launched (2011) and in the event of extensions, ACIDI and the municipality would each fund 50% of the gross salary (first extension). With a second extension ACIDI funding would represent 25% of the gross salary compared to the municipality’s 75%, reflecting the growing commitment of the partners involved.

\(^3\) Phase II of the project took place in Odivelas, Vila Real de Sto. António, Espinho, Abrantes, Barcelos, Valongo.
the experimental stage has developed into an institutionalisation stage and other municipalities are also expected to join the project⁴.

⁴ According to one of the targets established in the national strategy for the integration of Roma communities (2013), by the end of 2020 the project is likely to be implemented in at least 50 municipalities, corresponding to three phase of the MMP.
2. Assumptions underlying the evaluation and methodological strategy

Since 2009, the same Dinâmia-Cet-ISCTE-IUL research team has produced various Assessment Reports (Castro and Santos, 2010, 2010b, 2011, 2012) covering the potential and limitations of the processes underway and their effects. The evaluation model adopted regards the assessment process as a learning opportunity for organisations and staff and an opportunity to improve social responses, thus making all relevant stakeholders’ involvement in implementing the project an essential condition for the joint promotion of critical reflection. All in all, the main objectives of the knowledge to be disclosed in evaluating experimental projects focus on identifying favourable conditions and potential obstacles, always on the assumption that mechanisms designed to attenuate or resolve problems can be introduced.

This evaluation sought to provide the bodies participating in designing, implementing and executing the MMP with relevant data enabling a theoretical and practical reference framework to be established. This resulted in a number of specific objectives: i) to analyse the degree of implementation of actions and the mobilisation of partners; ii) to identify strategies adopted to achieve specific objectives by areas of involvement, favourable factors and constraints on mediation activity; iii) to explore the ethical grounds for local authority mediation via the skills profile and training actions, professional framework and roles, policy areas and methods; iv) to understand the contextual conditions and methodological procedures that increase the possibilities for innovation; v) to identify the project’s impact in different areas, particularly in terms of intervention areas and methods, empowerment and equal opportunities among the Roma population, local governance procedures and the principal lessons of the project for the technical coordination teams and mediators; vi) to examine the unexpected and unwanted effects of implementing the MMP.

The methodology adopted combined a more intensive and qualitative approach with an extensive and quantitative approach, using a highly diversified range of research techniques. It was as important to analyse in detail the relations and aspects underlying the causes and effects of the mechanisms and practices brought into play by the MMP as it was to seek regular features in some of the core dimensions of the evaluation. This is only possible through the use of extensive research methodologies.

The intensive and qualitative research strategy was justified by the relevance of an analysis focusing more on ways of implementing measures and on the significance attached to
them in areas in which greater investment was made. It was therefore assumed that the figures do not always express the real scope of the results achieved, and that a more informed and clearer understanding of the implementation of the proposed objectives was required. This proved possible only because of the different voices from the project’s implementers and from one of its principal beneficiaries, the Roma, but also thanks to a proper exploration of the contexts in which the project developed (Figure 1).

The extensive and quantitative research strategy was a methodological option taken from the second year of the evaluation, since a need was felt to supplement the qualitative analyses, which indicated the singular nature of each project, with an analysis of project trends and profiles. The latter would only be possible by preparing and applying standardised information collection instruments applied extensively to stakeholders who contributed more directly or indirectly to implementing the MMP, and to some Roma beneficiaries.

**FIGURE 1**

Methodological strategy and techniques used

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>EXTENSIVE QUANTITATIVE</strong></th>
<th><strong>INTENSIVE QUALITATIVE</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3 skills audits</td>
<td>Documental analysis (49 intervention plans, 686 monthly reports, etc.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 questionnaire surveys</td>
<td>21 municipality fact sheets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 cases for the panel of young people from the longitudinal study in the area of education</td>
<td>10 focus groups</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 monitoring fact sheets</td>
<td>91 in-depth interviews</td>
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<td></td>
<td>71 reports on experiences of mediation</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>13 successful good practice [SGP] fact sheets</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6 SGP discussion and 48 fact sheets validating SGPs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6 case studies</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Dinâmia-CET, 2013.

A range of research techniques were used to address some of the difficulties in evaluating a project of this nature, e.g.: i) the MMP focuses on complex phenomena involving a great variety of causes inherent to human action, the impacts of which are sometimes difficult to
measure since a causal link must be demonstrated between the action, the effect and the changes recorded; ii) the effects and outcomes in particular contexts and problem areas are not immediately visible and are often medium or long-term in nature; iii) the diversity of socio-economic circumstances of Roma families covered by the MMP place different conditions on their access to opportunities and on their different attitudes to “ethnicity locations” (Casa-Nova, 2002); iv) the poor formalisation of planning and self-evaluation strategies reduces the possibility of producing data allowing results to be quantified.
3. Municipal mediators: recruitment, profiles, skills and training

The MMP Regulation established selection criteria for recruiting municipal mediators to ensure that individual Roma were specifically indicated, even if they had low qualifications (with the fourth year of schooling as a minimum). This was intended to overcome one of the principal constraints in access to the project: the identification of potential candidates with academic qualifications above mandatory schooling. The analysis of mediator recruitment processes shows that biographic aspects rather than formal learning were highly valued in selecting candidates, i.e.: being from the municipality and living locally; knowledge of the contexts (areas and population); being an Evangelical Church priest; having mediation experience; communication capacity; motivation levels; level of education; age and recognition as an “authority” within the Roma population.

The mediators recruited by the 21 municipalities are largely male (only three women), young (15 were between 25 and 44 years of age), recruited from local communities (13 lived in one of the intervention areas) and with low levels of schooling (only seven have schooling equal to or greater than the ninth year). In the course of the project, eight of the mediators returned to education and improved their qualifications. This outcome appears to have fallen below expectations, however, since eight mediators still had a level of education equal to or lower than the sixth year. It should also be noted that this was the first experience of a salaried employment for 13 of the mediators, bearing witness to their positive adaptation to and integration into formal and heavily bureaucratic organisational contexts.

The mediators also include a strong representation of members of the Evangelical Church, highlighted by mediators and technical coordination teams as a facilitating element ensuring greater respectability and freedom of action. A juxtaposition was also identified between the perception of the mediators’ role and the purpose of their mission with the approach of a priest or believer: “to do good”.

Evidence of altruism is clearly present among the mediators, who have a high sense of missionary purpose in working with Roma. This raises questions as to the management of their role, particularly when they also belong to the intervention’s target “communities”. This dual positioning was a challenge, since their position as a local authority employee and official had to be reconciled with a strong call for them to act as “spokespersons” for the needs of the “community” they belong to. This position, which may appear to conflict with the ethical requirement of impartiality, is a specific feature of the intercultural media-
tion ensured by Roma mediators for Roma beneficiaries in the public administration context. In a broader interpretation of the meaning of mediation, according to which the mediators influence and also model both the process and the substantive outcome of the (re-)creation of relations, impartiality can be replaced by “multipartiality” (I am with both of them) or “dual loyalty” (Comisión de Educación del Programa de Desarrollo del Pueblo Gitano, 2012; Faget, 2010).

The definition of the positioning of the mediator is therefore an important and complex methodological strategy. The need to put the mediator in the “middle” is problematic when they are employed and paid to regulate the relations they establish with their “users”. Reconciling a social commitment to people with the ethics of mediation is indeed a complex matter.

At empirical level there is a consensus on the advantages of the mediators’ ethnic background, in that it allows a positive image to be built with Roma and non-Roma populations, facilitates approximation and the establishment of trust between Roma and public services and institutions, equips the bodies with greater knowledge of cultural specificities, provides the decoding of codes and better adapted interventions.

**FIGURE 2**

*Potentialities on being a roma mediator*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Potentiality</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Produces a positive image between the Roma and non Roma communities</td>
<td>Facilitates proximity and trustful relations with Roma people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increases knowledge on cultural specificities, decodes and adapts interventions</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POTENTIALITIES ON BEING A ROMA</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Facilitates the relation between Roma people and local services</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Dinâmia-CET, 2013.
In parallel with these added values, however, the mediators had to be equipped with technical skills. As envisaged, between October 2009 and July 2013 the MMP delivered a total of 432 training hours with the mediators, thanks to a partnership between ACIDI and CESIS - Centro de Estudos para a Intervenção Social, and participation in ROMED, the European Training Programme for Roma Mediators.

The lack of a context and a specific area of intervention was a challenge both for the training and for the mediators themselves. Although the professional performance of mediation involved a common core of objectives and missions, the fact that the mediators did not focus on a specific area meant that knowledge of various social policy measures and of the functioning of various institutions had to be imparted and acquired, but it also had to be understood that a great variety of tasks could be carried out, according to the area of intervention.

The mediators’ and technical coordination teams’ global evaluation of the training delivered under the MPP is generally positive: 3.5 points on a scale of 1 to 4, both in 2012 and 2013.

According to the technical coordination teams and the mediators, the ROMED Programme not only clarified and consolidated the mediator’s professional role but also promoted the acquisition of “tools” for dealing with concrete cases and fostered exchanges of experience with other mediators who were not involved in the MMP.

The positive development of mediators’ skills and professional performance levels highlights the importance of training. The two types of training promoted (ACIDI/CESIS and ROMED) added value due to their complementarity in terms of content and methodologies for addressing mediation processes. The code of ethics (produced in the context of the ROMED) was an important instrument in the mediators’ professional performance.

The technical coordination teams felt that progress was made in: better clarification of the perception of the mediator’s role; their organisational capacity; time management, task performance and the overcoming of obstacles; interinstitutional coordination; negotiation and communication; use of information and communication technologies and recording of activities; initiative and participation, with proposals for procedures to be adopted with Roma; personal and professional affirmation, visible due to its presence in various initiatives in which the work carried out was presented.

The mediators perceived the ACIDI training as very positive and gratifying, not only due to its content and form of delivery, enabling the range of learning to be enriched, but also due to the profile of the group of trainees. “Camaraderie” facilitated the exchange of expe-
Roma Municipal Mediator Project. Experimental Project Evaluation Results

Discrepancies were observed, however, between the evaluations of the technical coordination teams and the mediators, the latter being predisposed to more positive self-evaluation, and between the phases of the project, where the average result of the skills evaluation of Phase II projects is less positive than for Phase I projects. It is important to note that the training hours of the mediators of the Phase II was less than the Phase I. This highlights the importance of training in a project of this type, particularly when not all mediators appear to have natural mediation skills and when most new mediators in Phase II had less professional experience of mediation.

Besides the ACIDI training programme, the mediators’ employment conditions – technical support provided and local authority working conditions – had an impact on the development of their skills and their professional performance levels.

Technical support was influenced by five factors: i) the extent to which the technical coordination teams identified with the project’s objectives and their views on diversity management; ii) the degree of knowledge of socio-cultural mediation, the mediators’ skills profile and the limits of their action; iii) recognition of the project’s training nature and its role in empowering the mediators; iv) the municipality’s political investment in the project; v) the availability of material and human resources.

An indicator that the mediator is well integrated in the municipal teams is their recognition as a resource, not only in the department or division hosting the project but also in other organisational structures. Such recognition is based on their presence being seen as a major asset for the cultural enrichment deriving from the sharing of different world views, improvements in the quality of technical monitoring and increases in intercultural skills in services.

The level of knowledge of mediation that local authority leaders and technical staff have is also a key factor, not only in defining objectives and planning, but also in managing the placing of the mediator and of the institutions themselves, particularly in sensitive intervention areas. It must be recognised that: the mediator must be accepted by all the parties to be mediated, and he or she should not intervene where one of the parties rejects them; the mediator is a communication builder rather than a transmitter of “norms” and “rules”; mediation requires negotiation and a minimum room for manoeuvre must exist to

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5 See the systematisation by Malheiros in this respect, in which attention is drawn to three skill sets: cultural skills, communication and linguistic skills and mediation skills, the author stating that “the acquisition or implementation of these skills falls within the broader framework of awareness of the relevance of cultural diversity, which should be valued as an element that enriches societies. Personnel should also have acquired the fundamental values of tolerance, solidarity, xenophilia, equity and equality.” (Malheiros, 2011: 31-32).
reach a consensus; and the reconstruction of the capacity to act means bringing people closer to decision-making processes.

The logistics for mediators were generally adequate. With rare exceptions, most mediators had a workspace (desk and computer) and access to transport (where necessary) for the different intervention areas.

Lack of human resources was a cross-cutting problem identified by almost all coordination teams, and it was acknowledged that their availability for monitoring was not ideal. While in some projects the coordination teams carried out monitoring based strongly on mentoring, in others strategies were found to overcome this lack of availability, such as the sharing of guidance, training and technical monitoring with local network partners, or the use of trainees.

It should also be noted that most projects delivered a certain amount of on-the-job training designed primarily to equip mediators with tools ensuring their better integration into local authority structures and procedures. Few local authorities gave their mediators the opportunity to undergo training to increase their skills in specific areas. However, such investment actually weakened over time.\(^6\)

Such low recognition and consequent lack of investment in on-the-job training may be related to the type of professional skills regarded as basic in carrying out mediation on a professional basis. This represents the notion of an innate ability to perform mediation or a skill which is difficult to transmit. The various parties interviewed in fact regarded communication and interpersonal abilities as essential skills, embodying attitudes, ways of being and communicating rather than formal learning or professional experience. While some of the project’s technical teams and Roma beneficiaries found it difficult to identify the different levels of skills required, others took the qualities that stood out most in the mediators’ profile as a yardstick, while the mediators themselves used their own experience to identify what they considered to be the most relevant aspects of their intervention.

The incorporation of the key principles of mediation, such as the following, can be highlighted from the range of skills most valued by interviewees:

- **Capacity to generate confidence and provide support**, achieved by the ability to engage in dialogue, to be assertive and to generate empathy. This gives rise to terms such as understanding, caring, friend, open, nice, pleasant, motivating, educated, patient and

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\(^6\) The Monthly Reports highlight the gradual disinvestment in the number of mediator training actions carried out: from 7% of all actions in 2010 to 6% in 2011, 4.9% in 2012 and a mere 1.2% in 2013. When Phase II projects alone are considered, where greater investment in mediator training would be expected, it is rather low: 4.6% in 2012 and only 0.9% in 2013.
available to determine the boundaries of the “know-how” which is essential in professional practice.

- **Capacity to negotiate and to be neutral**, manifested in the capacity for weighing-up, flexibility, calmness, moderation and an understanding of different positions on the same issue, particularly understanding and explaining the municipality’s position and resources\(^7\).

- **Capacity to ensure confidentiality**, indicated by the seriousness transmitted and giving the impression of someone who can be trusted.

- **Guaranteed legitimacy of the mediator in the eyes of Roma**, where emphasis is placed on the need to know the “leaders” of the different communities involved, to exhibit exemplary conduct and to make themselves known and visible. The adjectives known, admired and respected were some of the attributes cited by Roma beneficiaries and coordination teams as important for carrying out mediation on a professional basis.

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\(^7\) Although neutrality and impartiality are often cited as basic principles of mediation, these concepts can often be confused. Neutrality is more technical, in that it is the mediator’s capacity to remain objective and distanced from their own subjectivity, while impartiality is the perception that people have of the mediator’s attitude (Faget, 2010).
4. Projects in their territorial contexts: 
conditions for success and sustainability

The existence of a close relationship between project implementation, the commitment of the stakeholders most directly involved and the results achieved was a finding which contributed to four kinds of factors: the political and institutional conditions; the system of stakeholders; diversity and socio-political models; the mediator’s employment conditions.

FIGURE 3
Contextual conditions for implementing projects and for the possibility of innovation

- Consensus building
- Views on problems and expectations regarding the project

POLITICAL AND INSTITUTIONAL CONDITIONS

- Knowledge of mediation
- Partnership dynamics
- Social ties/trust

SYSTEM OF STAKEHOLDERS

- Local Political Guidance
- Previous Experience
- Perception of mediator’s position
- Management of mediator’s position in sensitive intervention areas

DIVERSITY OF POSITIONS/SOCIO-POLITICAL MODELS

- Mediator employment
- Technical monitoring

EMPLOYMENT CONDITIONS

Source: Dinâmia-CET, 2010-2013.
The overlap between these four types of factor highlights two major project profiles which, due to the way the actions were implemented, suggest different effects in the dynamics generated by a project of this nature, as will be seen below.

Project Profile 1 – The MMP is a lever or allows continuity in the intervention with the Roma population

A majority of projects (15 out of 21) tends to identify the integration difficulties felt by the Roma population with the way the system works: lack of resources, weak partnerships and unequal access to resources and to coverage of basic needs. When the problems take this form, the projects tend to be more important in the local authority context, since the need for explicit guidance for the intervention with Roma is recognised. Even if discontent arose initially because better targeted action existed, the consensus for the intervention via the strategies put in place ultimately becomes general, and the coexistence of different cultures is recognised as a resource rather than as a problem.

The need for education to ensure tolerance, valuing diversity as a positive factor, building spaces that foster positive relations between culturally different individuals and groups and promotion of the empowerment of Roma people is therefore advocated. The municipalities in particular adopt this approach, generating new or reinforcing existing dynamics in fostering social integration. These projects revolve around key personalities whose personal and professional life paths enable them to “impose” a positively different view of the causes of processes of poverty, social and spatial marginalisation and social exclusion and whose initiative allows them to gain access to measures, programmes and projects from which Roma benefit.

This is also where expectations of achievable outcomes tend to be more moderate. The existence of structural problems which the project cannot resolve itself which only longer-term intervention can achieve is acknowledged. Some stakeholders nevertheless also recognise the importance of building “real utopias” (Freitas e Estevens, 2012), since these encourage a sense of change and stimulate a critical vision of the circumstances that stimulate innovation.

The MMP has therefore fostered the creation of other responses in the municipalities’ various areas of involvement, or has been an opportunity to ensure that the measures already finalised or in progress are more sustainable and that the outcomes of previous interventions are maintained. Examples of some of the projects’ effects are set out below:
- The need to ensure a continuous training pathway through skills recognition, validation and certification\(^8\) led to the development of a personal and social skills programme with a group of Roma women, two of whom were placed in jobs.
- Recognition of mediation in an educational context in particular gave rise to new intervention needs, reflected in the recruitment of school assistants from the Roma population.
- The advice mediators gave to education professionals in relation to adapting the organisation of schools to Roma pupils resulted in a reduction in absenteeism.
- Promotion of the participation of Roma children and young people in extracurricular and extramural activities reinforced their presence in preferred contexts of interaction with the non-Roma population.
- The provision and monitoring of support in relation to housing to rehabilitate spaces for dwellings and the consequent elimination of sub-standard housing has improved some families’ housing conditions.
- The implementation of specific projects in preparation for rehousing and the surveying of expectations and needs were some of the steps taken to create responses for future rehousing in social housing.
- Developments in intercultural dialogue, enjoyed considerable media exposure, brought Roma and non-Roma populations together, such as the commemoration of national Roma day in some municipalities and a fashion parade showcasing clothes produced by Roma women as part of a transnational project.

**Project Profile 2** – The MMP is not a distinctive aspect of the intervention with the Roma population

Another group of projects (6 out of 21) lays the blame for integration problems on endogenous aspects to the Roma population, the main obstacles to integration being cultural and ethnic factors. The need to impose dominant values and norms guides the intervention, based on a universalist conception of culture, i.e. the existence of a single culture, but in different stages of development, which is why any manifestation of difference relates to an earlier stage of development that must be cultivated to ensure its progress. Stereotypical images of Roma and a conception of the meaning of integration arise that would bring greater benefits if it were synonymous with assimilation, i.e. the gradual adoption of the socio-cultural and legal standards of the majority society. This is underpinned by a tendency to accept uncritically the assumption that the resident Roma population concerned exhibits these characteristics, without questioning the possibility of internal differentiation or the reasons for the situation.

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\(^8\) The skills recognition, validation and certification was a programme that occurred between 2005 and 2013, through which adults viewed recognized the skills they have acquired throughout life, outside formal education and training systems.
In these projects the mediator tends to be regarded as a resource for achieving rapid results, leading to the replication of routines and complicating the promotion of mechanisms allowing innovation. This reinforces the risk that the mediator will be used as a tool, with mediation potentially not taking place. The only specific skill the mediator is sometimes acknowledged to possess is to appear to be a leader. In these cases the mediator is asked to put this supposed “authority” into practice so that the Roma population “behaves appropriately”. This approach raises obstacles to the professionalization of the intercultural mediator, since it involves two potential risks that have been identified by Giménez (2010, 2012): i) the risk of failure to specialise, in that the mediators are used not as professionals with a specific profile but as social workers specifically targeting the Roma and following the already established methodologies of these professions; ii) the risk of relegation to a subordinate position or of professional marginalisation, according to which mediation becomes peripheral to and/or plays a supporting role in relation to other professions.

There was less consensus in these local authorities for mobilising local resources to implement the project. While in some Phase I municipalities the MMP application had been drawn up by a different town council, with difficulties arising in including a measure specifically target the Roma on the new political agenda, in other projects positions polarised between local stakeholders interested in applying public credit to social problems and others who were reluctant to draw attention to them, compromising the search for consensus and making the intervention plan drawn up unviable. When the MMP is not very politically relevant in the local authority context, the technical proposals for coordination with other bodies to develop particular actions has not always been adequately followed up. Some of these projects also suffer from a structural deficit in interinstitutional cooperation, or in other words, local bodies are rather reluctant to commit to common projects or to engage in dialogue on problems that affect the area.

In summary, constraints observed in mobilising the partners around the MMP were: i) lack of involvement of non-traditional social work partners; ii) structural weaknesses in local partnerships; iii) lack of recognition of the legitimacy of the mediator’s action; iv) lack of consensus as to the implementation of actions specifically target the Roma; v) shortcomings in planning.
5. Project implementation: successful mediation practices and practices to be avoided

The existence of interinstitutional cooperation and the types of local partnership adopted favour the intervention of mediators, not only because the involvement of a greater number of bodies allows various stakeholders to commit more effectively to the same objective, but also because it facilitates the dissemination of intra- and interinstitutional results, fostering a positive image of the project and of the Roma beneficiaries.

The organisation of the 325 partners involved in the MMP by type of body over the four years of the project highlights their diversity: 23 different types of organisation linked to the central and local public administration, third sector organisations and private undertakings.

The data collected from the Evaluation Questionnaires bear witness to a decrease in levels of coordinator and mediator satisfaction with working in partnership between 2011 and 2013. There seems to have been a greater awareness of the structural problems hindering the social integration of Roma and of the limitations of a project of this type, with calls at the same time for greater central administration involvement in housing, employment and health.

This situation did not arise in the same way in all projects in terms of the more substantive coordination of partners with the MMP. The data suggest that the mediator was co-opted in some projects more as a resource for activities already planned by the institutions rather than as a lever within local partnership networks to structure research-action projects that would allow the intervention to be evaluated and adapted to its beneficiaries’ needs and expectations, presupposing a concerted and clear deployment of the various parties’ resources.

The stakeholders’ evaluation of expected and actual results shows that most believe the MMP had a direct positive impact on Roma beneficiaries (63.6%), while half consider that it promoted the development of new activities that optimise resource use. The data underline how consolidation of the figure of the municipal mediator – also an important effect of the project – made it possible to clarify the mediators’ roles, for the mediators, for the Roma and for the staff of various local institutions, including the municipalities themselves. It also brought about more effective forms of intervention and interinstitutional relations that help to open up the system of opportunities. Allied to this consolidation of the figure
of the municipal mediator, the profile of these professionals – being Roma, mostly priests of the Evangelical Church and adopting particular forms of communication and attitudes – allowed the institutions to respond more quickly to needs or requests and to circulate particular types of information to Roma beneficiaries more quickly. The mediator’s higher profile also ultimately had a positive impact on the institutional staff attitudes, particularly their capacity to reflect on cultural difference and to adapt intervention procedures.

Although few data make it possible to identify the conditions facilitating the transferability to other regions of some of the practices tried out, the fact that particular actions are being replicated with other beneficiaries, albeit in the same intervention contexts, indicates their potential. Some mediators’ views, however, underscore the importance of sharing experiences and courses of action that might be used in the various contexts concerned. Meanwhile, the growing intervention of mediators in schools shows that their action, which was initially restricted to one or two schools, expanded rapidly to embrace new educational fields and created new opportunities for Roma people to obtain employment as school assistants.

One of the aims of the evaluation was to highlight social phenomena and changes and disseminate intervention strategies. Successful practices adopted by projects were therefore evaluated on the one hand, and intervention practices and their potential and risks were described on the other, covering five areas: Education, Housing, Health, Employment and Vocational Training and Intercultural Dialogue. Of the set of mediation experiences evaluated positively by stakeholders most directly involved in the MMP (mediators, technical coordination teams and partner entities), five key aspects were identified that guarantee a successful intervention:

- **Diagnosis of problems identified.** An objective and shared diagnosis of the problems arising allowed actions and resources to be adapted to needs and more successful practices to be ensured, avoiding preconceived explanations which are often based on stereotypical and superficial portrayals.

- **Participation in designing and planning activities.** Mediator involvement in planning the intervention and defining more specific measures, besides representing an important on-the-job training exercise, also ensured greater levels of motivation and accountability in implementing activities and closer adaptation of the intervention to beneficiaries’ profiles.

- **Partnership dynamics and personnel profile.** The existence of interinstitutional cooperation and its dynamics favoured mediator intervention, not only because the involvement of a greater number of entities allowed various stakeholders to commit more effectively to the same objective, but also because it facilitated the dissemination of intra- and interinstitutional results.
- **Mediator skills profile.** Mediators’ skills in terms of communication, interinstitutional coordination, mobilisation of the Roma and ability to negotiate, but also their assertiveness, adaptability, persistence, dynamism, responsibility and willingness enabled them to work continuously and systematically, in close contact with beneficiaries.

- **Trusting relations between Roma and the mediator.** The Roma’s positive identification with the mediator and the latter’s prior knowledge of the problems facing potential beneficiaries were essential factors for establishing the understanding and trusting relations which are fundamental in negotiating pathways for inclusion with all local institutions and in promoting access to resources.

The analysis of MMP implementation identified a tendency for municipal mediation to become more specialised. While in the first year of Phase I projects the annual average of intervention fields stood at 7.5, this fell to an average of 4.1 in the final year. The same trend was observed in Phase II projects, which fell from an average of 7.2 fields in the first year to 5.3 in the following year. This seems to indicate a trend for piloting mediator intervention in a broader spectrum of fields in the initial stages of the project, though this declines as the success of the intervention becomes evident and as partnerships in particular fields become closer.

Over the years the projects have tended to favour action in the fields of education, social work and housing. Out of the 13 intervention fields as a whole, mediation practices in an educational context in 2012/2013 amounted to 37.5%, a significant increase over 2009/2010 (23%). This was followed by social work, with 17.9% (2012/2013). This is a more cross-cutting domain which is often associated with other fields. In housing, which in the final year of the project under analysis accounted for 15.7% of mediator action, the investment carried out remained stable, albeit with a slight increase (in 2009/2010 it amounted to 14%). The relative weights in all the other fields in which the mediators were active did not exceed 1/10 of the actions and were peripheral to the three major fields of activity set out above.

A comparison between Phase I and Phase II projects (in the 2012/2013 year) bears witness to a certain heterogeneity of content, the most significant being: housing, with Phase II projects appearing to favour the action of the mediator less in this field, which involves only 10.5% of the actions, compared to 22.3% in Phase I projects; social work, where greater investment in Phase II projects is observed (24.9% of actions), compared to only 12.0% among Phase I projects; and training and employment, which while rather low in both phases, represented only 2.9% of mediator activities in Phase II, compared to 6.5% of the projects in Phase I.
An exhaustive survey of practices in education, health, vocational training and employment, housing and intercultural dialogue identified the objectives set by the projects for each of these fields, as shown in Table 1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FIELD</th>
<th>OBJECTIVES</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Education</strong></td>
<td>Reduction in absenteeism and early school leaving rates</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Promotion of schooling for Roma children and young people</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Conflict prevention and behaviour &quot;control&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Monitoring of specific educational measures or programmes (PCA⁹, TEIP¹⁰, PIEF¹¹)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Monitoring of at-risk children and young people</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Inclusion of children in early childhood education</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Promotion of access to education – access to school social work and registration and transfer support</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Improvement of knowledge of the Roma’s educational circumstances and promotion of the intercultural skills of education professionals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Promotion of participation in non-teaching educational activities (ATL¹²; AEC¹³; Events)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Promotion of interculturalism in schools</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Housing</strong></td>
<td>Overcoming of difficulties in managing public housing stock</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Promotion of access to housing and improvements in housing conditions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Employment/vocational training</strong></td>
<td>Increase in personal and social resources and adult educational and vocational qualifications</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Promotion of labour market inclusion</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Support for municipal management of markets and fairs</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Health</strong></td>
<td>Facilitation of access to information on health</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Promotion of fulfilment of the National Vaccination Plan and regular health monitoring</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Promotion of access to healthcare</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Mediation of relations between health staff and Roma families</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Intercultural dialogue</strong></td>
<td>Raising awareness of Roma cultural issues</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Promotion of spaces of encounter between Roma and non-Roma</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


⁹ PCA - Alternative curriculum pathways  
¹⁰ TEIP - Priority educational areas  
¹¹ PIEF - Integrated education and training programme  
¹² ATL - Leisure activities  
¹³ AEC - Curriculum enrichment activities
The examination of strategies developed in connection with each of these objectives highlighted certain aspects fulfilling the success factors identified in successful practices, including the following in particular:

- Full exploitation of the role of the Roma as the principal stakeholder and agent for change, spotlighting it and creating opportunities for participation, e.g.: parents’ meetings with all education staff, also attended by the institutions, the formation of groups of representatives of the municipality’s communities and the promotion of meetings between members of a particular area and local authority leaders;
- Opening up of the system of opportunities, e.g.: the inclusion of Roma as school assistants; facilitation of access to education support; integration into the labour market of Roma in contexts of high public visibility (e.g. in schools and local councils) that may help to deconstruct stereotypes concerning their employability;
- A multidimensional approach to problems and the responses required by stimulating the partnership network, improving not only the quality of the diagnosis but also the action to be taken;
- Establishment of trust between staff and mediators and clarification of their conditions of involvement and the limits of their action, e.g.: intervention in coordination with the Commission for the Protection of Children and Young People where mediators have established the limits of their involvement on a case-by-case basis and their acceptance as an intermediary;
- The creation of positive spaces of interaction between Roma and non-Roma through the mediators’ action in an educational, professional or health context and in the local authority’s public initiatives.

Intervention practices representing a risk in mediation activity were also identified, particularly:

- Use of the mediator to overcome human resources limitations, casting them in the role of organiser, assistant, auditor or transmitter of news, thereby undermining and weakening their professional standing and giving rise to a reduction in interaction between institutions and the Roma;
- Use of mediators as tools in legitimising the options already taken by the public authorities, and in convincing people of the solutions presented;
- The association of the mediator’s intervention as a facilitator to ensure compliance by beneficiaries with obligations under certain social measures (such as the Social Integration

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14 This Commission is an official institution that intervenes towards the promotion of children’s rights protection and Youth, under 18 years old, when in risk / danger to their safety, health, training, or education integral development. Acts providing support among parents, other family member or suitable person for independent living, family or institutional care. Where there is the opposition of those responsible (or the child or young) to the intervention developed by the Commission, the situation is referred to the Court of Family and Children.
Income) ultimately erodes their image and undermines their role and ability to generate consensus;
- “Folklorisation” of cultural traits, with an overemphasis on differences;
- An excessive focus on cultural peculiarities tends to push particular social exclusion factors into the background (e.g. lack of access to decent housing, the Roma population’s low employability, lack of economic resources for purchasing school materials) and became more difficult to realise diagnoses and interventions which are more appropriate to needs;
- Lack of political consensus to ensure the fulfilment of commitments made to the Roma in negotiations;
- Difficulty in finding spaces for negotiation between the needs expressed by people and the municipalities’ opportunities to intervene, and lack of ability to diversify and ensure that responses are flexible;
- The restricting of the mediator’s action to the Roma alone, such as in housing and employment, failing to consider the need for a strategy targeting potential landlords and employers;
- The development of measures in the context of intercultural dialogue with a view to disseminating the Roma’s specific cultural traits to facilitate this minority’s acceptance may reduce racism to an individual issue of lack of ability or awareness to accept other cultures, rather than to it being understood as a structural and historically deep-rooted problem.

Based on the analysis of project implementation, the mediators’ various roles, which highlight the diversity of the type of mediation practised over the years, were systematised. In acting as a facilitator in **evaluating and planning activities**, the mediator develops **mediation in the form of evaluation**, which involves raising people’s awareness of the resident Roma communities, identifying in particular their strengths and weaknesses and proposing solutions for intervention.

The mediator as an **agent for change and rebuilder of social links** primarily develops a transformative mediation which seeks to guarantee that needs and interests are met and enhances the dimensions of stakeholder empowerment, recognition, self-esteem, security, confidence and autonomy.

Finally, when they function as **reconstructor of the capacity to act**, they predominantly develop a **facilitating mediation** which sees the Roma as capable of developing the best solutions for the problems identified, creating the conditions in which dialogue and participation can be established.
As can be seen, the intercultural mediation practices developed in most of the districts covered go well beyond the realm of conflict regulation which led to the emergence of professionalised mediation, falling within a broader meaning driven by the empowerment, not only within the individual but also within the collective dimension of change.
6. From planning to evaluation the results

Most projects took diagnostic measures on an ad hoc or continuous basis (nine in Phase I and three in Phase II), divided among five thematic areas. Since the Roma population is one of the principal beneficiaries of the MMP, this more detailed knowledge of local circumstances should nevertheless ensure that such diagnoses include quantitative indicators reflecting the needs of both the targeted groups and the territories. This would be the only way to mark the starting point of each project, enabling potential results to be defined and their scope to be understood.

Both Phase I and Phase II projects exhibited an average degree of relevance and consistency between the social problems experienced by the Roma, the project objectives and their translation into intervention plans on the one hand, and the areas in which activities are actually carried out and the results achieved on the other.

Some of the discrepancies between the intended objectives and the implementation of activities were due in part to the need to adjust initial expectations, ensured by carrying out plans in accordance with circumstances on the ground. In addition, implementation in areas not identified as problematic and not covered by the intervention plan suggests that the conditions required to perform particular activities were met subsequently. Most projects in fact involved a certain amount of planning ensured essentially by interinstitutional meetings to plan the intervention and define implementation strategies in specific fields, such as education and employment, in order to assess measures carried out or to respond to requests.

In most projects the mediators and partner bodies were more closely involved in drawing up the intervention plans. The mediator participated more actively in some municipalities by ensuring that the new plan was more realistic, but also by presenting specific proposals for intervention or for actions that promoted the project’s effectiveness. Some projects also opted to develop the intervention through cooperation with other specialists or decision-makers within the local authority, or by involving the management body and other partners. Despite this gradual greater involvement, in 2012 only 25% of these bodies had taken part in conceiving projects.

For some municipalities the experience of the first year of implementation of the MMP allowed expectations of achievable goals to be put into context, particularly because of greater awareness of real circumstances and an understanding of the type of measures that could be taken through a project of this nature. The professionals involved in imple-
menting the MMP were in fact not always fully aware of what mediation was and what functions the mediator could perform. This unfamiliarity, allied to the need to gear the intervention towards the problems experienced by Roma, meant that some projects set objectives and expected results that required other resources besides the mediator’s presence.

Projects that soon recognised that the plans carried out were unrealistic and accordingly reformulated them managed to redirect the intervention and adapt measures more closely to their beneficiaries or allocate the resources needed to achieve them. This is one of the first positive effects of the MMP.

Besides being novel and unique at national level, thanks to a group of Roma mediators capable of acting in multiple contexts who have now had specific training and professional experience in this field, the MMP was also innovative, since although it was finite, some of the dynamics and responses generated were incorporated and demonstrated their sustainability at different levels: they produced results in people's lives (social), generated conditions to ensure the continuity of some of the practices initiated (economic), promoted collective empowerment and brought about positive changes in ways of perceiving social problems and forms of intervention (socio-political). In 2012 the mediators and technical coordination teams were in fact optimistic as to the sustainability of the dynamics fostered by the MMP, reporting that some actions might continue irrespective of whether the project or mediation activity continued in the municipality (10 out of 20 respondents), or that all or virtually all of them would continue to be viable (4).

In the context of this evaluation, the main stakeholders’ perception of the impacts of implementing the project may relate to its intermediate stages and may therefore be more representative of results perceivable during the action or producing effects in the short run. Regardless of the intensity and extensiveness (in time and in places where the MMP was implemented) of the impacts achieved, their effects can be grouped according to the three dimensions set out below, which guided the evaluation.

**Local governance procedures.** As noted above, a project of this nature is not always accepted in the same way at local level. The capacity to generate political consensus for intervention with the Roma by implementing the MMP therefore becomes a positive effect in itself, making the local authority/partner bodies where it becomes established more aware of the problems associated to this socio-cultural group, bringing new bodies with different resources into the intervention and thus helping to consolidate local partnerships and improve resource management efficiency.
These processes are ultimately reflected in advances in realizing participatory processes (between organizations and between organizations and Roma), creating, as has been seen, new responses for the Roma. Irrespective of the participation methods involved, some evidence suggests that the capacity for cooperation between stakeholders with different levels of empowerment has been reinforced and broadened. Individual and collective empowerment, for example, considered here as bringing a common range of essential components together (Le Bossé, 2003), has developed. On the one hand, Roma beneficiaries have gradually acquired knowledge and techniques of participation and action and their critical awareness of the problems facing them has gradually risen. This represents the generation of change at individual level, giving rise to the establishment of greater control over what is important to them and to their community. It allows the system, on the other hand, to have a broader knowledge of the needs and resources existing. This is the generation of change at collective level, particularly in balances of power and access to resources.

**Promotion of empowerment and equal opportunities.** A variety of evidence bore witness to the MMP’s contribution to creating and improving responses by promoting Roma empowerment and equal opportunities, both in access to rights and institutions and in participation processes, e.g.:

In the area of *accessibility to rights and participation*, the mediator’s action helped to increase awareness of social rights, made it easier to access facilities, services and social rights (such as social integration income, academic social assistance, etc.) and raised the population’s rates of participation and involvement in local actions and initiatives.

In the area of *education* the MMP enabled some projects to exceed the targets fixed for the inclusion of children in early childhood education and their increased involvement in extracurricular, recreational, learning and education support activities. Other results included a reduction in absenteeism and early school leaving rates, better academic results, greater involvement of parents in school life and the promotion of more positive relations in schools. It should be noted, however, that the results achieved in education may be threatened by factors internal or external to schools, such as lack of transport, poor housing, lack of education support activities, etc.

In the area of *housing* there was an increase in agreements to write off rent arrears, with three projects exceeding the target by half. Housing conditions improved, promoting Roma families’ access to the private rental market or to subsidised rents, and supporting renovation work.
In the area of *employment and training*, although the level of impacts is amongst the lowest, in four projects 32 out of 141 working-age Roma identified for placing in the labour market found jobs, including 15 women, with employment opportunities being recorded in a further seven districts. Despite the weakness of the effects and the fact that most of these jobs were temporary (no more than 12 months) or sporadic, this was the first professional experience of salaried employment for most of these Roma, and the fact that some of the positions were taken by women allowed the image of the Roma woman within the family universe to be deconstructed, promoting their involvement in other dimensions of life and facilitating children’s access to early childhood education. The effects of the MMP in this area have also been seen upstream of the direct impacts on beneficiaries, i.e. the municipalities’ approach of giving priority to some of these Roma in the employment and inclusion contracts\(^{15}\) promoted or not by the local authorities, or the creation of training responses to facilitate inclusion in the labour market are also positive effects.

The highest impacts were recorded in the area of *health*, where all targets were exceeded, particularly in fulfilling the National Vaccination Plan among children and adults and in access to family planning. Another notable effect is improved eating habits among children in the education system.

**Stakeholders involved, local intervention procedures and intercultural dialogue.** A project specifically geared towards Roma and the mobilising of human and logistical resources to carry out particular measures must have consequences in terms of bringing activities closer to beneficiaries and makes it possible to break away from preconceived notions of ways of being and doing. The technical coordination teams therefore point to issues relating to interaction processes as the MMP’s main impact on their skills: making contact and building deeper and closer relations, willingness and confidence, while identifying further development of knowledge of the Roma and the adjustment of intervention methods as factors facilitating these processes.

Along the MMP’s pathway the data indicate an increase in co-decision procedures with populations, illustrating how innovation comes more from people than from the services, particularly in designing projects geared towards them. An example of this is the successful implementation of the project for training Roma women, in which maximum advantage in establishing the format for the action was drawn from their resources and abilities and the nature of their needs, hopes and desires.

\(^{15}\) These contracts involve the performance by unemployed benefit claimants of socially necessary work which meets temporary social or collective needs, within projects promoted by public or private not-for-profit collective entities for a maximum of 12 months. The undertaking is funded according to the number of people employed.
These effects on the coordination teams were transferable to some of the staff of other institutions who became involved with the MMP, particularly the reducing of stereotypes in the institution's relations with the Roma and the improving of the Roma’s relations and image with institutions, staff and the population in general. The deconstruction of relative stereotypes that discredit integration and the building of a reference image between Roma and non-Roma are therefore positive impacts.

A variety of evidence also exists on the increase in mediators’ skills, reflected in the promotion of their empowerment in academic, professional and interpersonal terms. The mediators’ obtaining of an academic qualification was a fundamental process. Besides clear advantages in terms of their professional performance, this could become a requirement for future employment in local authorities. Recognition of the importance of qualifications meant that virtually all the mediators said that they intended to enrol on an academic course in interviews, although only eight returned to education and improved their qualifications. This was a positive effect of the project, since the performance of mediation appears to have motivated them to take their studies further and has raised their awareness that access to opportunities also depends on obtaining certified qualifications. Similarly, the effects in terms of the mediators’ life pathways should not be underestimated. This project was the first experience of salaried employment for around half of them. In some cases, having a regular fixed income for the first time made them better able to set out life plans, and in one case led to access to housing in the private rental market and the building of a positive image with neighbours.

The mediators’ participation in local partnerships enabled them to increase their knowledge of how institutions operate and to acquire participation techniques, but also made it easier to adjust the intervention strategies developed by the bodies represented in such partnerships. The strategies developed to achieve the proposed objectives also demonstrated the capacity to adapt to local circumstances in proposing forms of intervention, circumventing institutional bureaucracy in some cases. Examples of their contributions include holding talks with political leaders to draw attention to Roma needs and to propose specific action, and meeting representatives of local bodies and Roma to resolve problems. These approaches derive from the way they demonstrated and increased their ability to address problems experienced at local level.

The social and professional profile of the mediators also represented an added value in terms of support for their intervention by disseminating professional practices and experience, and also brought them into the limelight and revealed their potential, as was the case with a mediator who was invited to represent the European Anti Poverty Network’s National Consultative Council, after taking part in local social network meetings.
The proposals for improving the MMP formulated by mediators and technical coordination teams should be noted, since because the recommendations focus on training aspects and on the promotion and sustainability of the MMP, they show how the principal stakeholders who implemented the project perceive its strengths and weaknesses. Laying stress on these aspects illustrates the novel and experimental nature of the project and the need to mobilise all relevant actors’ specific skills at local level to make it more effective. It also highlights the project’s relevance in the contexts in which it developed, reflecting how the creation of new intervention needs is manifested and calling for guarantees on the conditions for its continuity.

The evaluation of GACI-ACIDI’s project monitoring is very positive, due mainly to a willingness to provide clarification and respond to doubts raised and the attention paid to projects, while examining needs and proposals. As a plan for improving the MMP, however, some interviewees referred to the need for greater on-the-ground monitoring to ensure that local authority leaders are more involved. The recommendations made stress the need to promote training, to seek mechanisms ensuring that public bodies/partners are more involved and to ensure mediator coordination in these bodies’ activities. Also important are concerns in connection with standardising/defining intervention methodologies, promoting innovative practices, publishing the results of the project and ensuring continuity and the mediator’s legal framework.
7. Conclusions and recommendations

The MMP arises at a particular time in the history of public intervention in relation to the Roma: on the one hand, at European level many initiatives and calls for Member States to draw up intervention plans specifically geared towards the Roma have emerged. On the other, it has become difficult at local level to continue to ignore the existence of serious problems regarding access to fundamental social rights, and more particularly access to housing.

The greater public visibility of Roma in spaces of interaction dates back to the late 1980s, thanks to rehousing in some urban contexts, greater access to the education system and changes in access to social benefits, such as the Social Integration Income, which, together with the cash benefit for committing to an integration programme, required greater proximity to and “control” over the life of these families. “This greater visibility of differences in the public domain was accompanied by a generalised labelling process that simplified particular characteristics of some Roma, where their precarious situation is often a result not of their class position but of their ethnicity, and the resulting discrimination exacerbates their social differences” (Castro, 2010: 13).

The concentration in a confined area of a broad diversity of individuals from different cultures and social strata makes such territories places of innovation, but also of tension and confrontation. Knowing how to manage these tensions is one of the most difficult tasks facing modern society and local government, while it goes without saying that these contexts can bring people together and allow them to coexist (Guerra, 2008: 98-99).

The consideration of mediation in contexts of diversity as an instrument of public action calls for reflection on three fundamental fronts:
- Are we interested in building a society based on intercultural values?
- How can we promote interculturalism in contexts of social inequality without making poverty and social exclusion ethnicity-based?
- How can we promote more cross-cutting and horizontal methods of governance and effective political participation by particular socio-cultural groups?

The implementation of the MMP in the various local contexts has shown that the inclusion of intercultural values in political culture and recognition of the distances and social contrasts between Roma and non-Roma are key aspects for ensuring that an intercultural mediation project, driven by Roma mediators from within the local administration, effectively becomes a public instrument for reinforcing social cohesion.
The consolidation of a more comprehensive view of mediation has changed a more instrumental definition designed to ensure conflict resolution and social regulation into a more political interpretation, whereby a project to change society and a new skill are advocated in addressing social exclusion issues. This is essentially a way to reconstruct social links, equipping institutions and individuals with new capacities to build relations, based on the paradigms of participatory democracy\textsuperscript{16}.

Processes to restore the balance of power relations must nevertheless be introduced to strengthen social cohesion in socially diverse areas, rebuilding relations that have historically been marked by mistrust and distance. Otherwise the MMP risks becoming another palliative measure and its impacts may become unsustainable without producing real organisational change and lasting impacts on people's lives. An indicator of the strength of this risk is the failure to ensure the contractual framework of the "figure of the municipal mediator"\textsuperscript{17} when ACIDI funding ceased in September 2013 for Phase I projects. This observation arises out of reflections on this issue that identify intercultural mediation as a requirement for establishing spaces (institutional, technical and social) for positive relations between culturally different individuals and groups that prioritise the values of equality and non-discrimination and the valuing of diversity as a positive trait (Giménez, 2012).

The lack of continuity of projects in most municipalities must also be seen in its own context. The fact that it is a project rather than a programme reflects its experimental and innovative nature, and it is therefore finite. In other words, the MMP was designed to try out responses to problems that persisted because of lack of intervention, or where responses were unsuccessful and new types of measure had to be tested.

The MMP represented an opportunity to develop specific professional practices offering potential local authority gains by promoting intercultural dialogue, developing an organisational culture based on intercultural values and improving access to social rights and the civic participation of Roma populations. Since a cycle of this project is coming to an end, its evaluation indicates the need to ensure the continuation of innovation and dissemination between areas and to rethink the shift from a project rationale to its institutionalisation as a programme, these two frameworks having different objectives, duration and coverage, with reflection on evidence-based recommendations being essential.

\textsuperscript{16} For a more in-depth view of this interpretation of mediation, see, inter alia, Faget, 2010; Liégeois, 2013; Louison and Valaestro, 2004; Lemaire and Potras, 2004, Freire, 2009.

\textsuperscript{17} The local authorities are undoubtedly limited in employing staff and are governed by very restrictive rules. The lack of professional recognition of the figure of the mediator is, however, yet another obstacle. It should nevertheless be noted that two local authorities have managed to employ mediators, even though this classification does not formally exist.
Reflect on the role of the mediator and the scope of projects

In seeking to promote Roma integration, the mediators’ action in a diversified range of fields suggests a mediation profile that is not confined to palliative measures focusing on conflict resolution. **Regenerative action** associated to their intervention, which is visible because of the type of activities they promote in empowering the Roma and facilitating their access to opportunities, **generally requires other investments if the expected results are actually to be achieved.**

It should be noted that the multiple factors characterising the poverty and social exclusion affecting a significant proportion of Roma families that benefit from the project may only be countered with **the help of other structural measures, the effective commitment of local bodies forming the respective partnership structures** (local inclusion units, local social development contracts, social networks, etc.) and the **monitoring of sectoral intervention**. These tend to be the main factors for ensuring the necessary resources and finding new social responses to raise awareness of the scale and type of problems.

The representations of the key stakeholders who implement MMP projects support this view. Although a significant number of interviewees state that the MMP has demonstrated great progress compared to the previous situation (46.1%), the relative weight of those who recognise the shortcomings in its capacity to meet existing needs on its own is also notable (42.1%).

The experimental nature of mediation in a local administration context and the diversity of fields and intervention areas call for a perspective based on a “normative” perception of mediation (all social practices which are governed by ethical criteria), but which encapsulates the “substantialist” dimension (all non-vertical forms of settling conflicts or establishing communication). This dimension involves a broader vision encompassing not only conflict mediation, but also mediation that drives a project for change by building channels for dialogue and empowerment for people to participate in social, political and economic spheres from which they tend to be excluded (Faget, 2010).

What then is the mediator’s role in this ambitious project for transforming society?

Mediators are fundamental agents of change but cannot be seen as a substitute for building intercultural dialogue, nor as a panacea to resolve structural problems. Local authorities and their partners must not only understand but must also commit to the philosophy and ethics of mediation. **Surveillance mechanisms must exist to ensure that the mediator’s role is not confined merely to facilitating communication or legitimising**
public action and/or containing the dissatisfaction arising from the difficulties of public management of social problems.

It is therefore particularly important to continue to draw attention to the more substantive dimensions of the need to build consensus around the stance of the mediator and clarify their functions and the limits of their action, but also to the need to become “multipartial” (Faget, 2010), which, contrary to affirming the mediator as a distant and neutral entity, ensures that they are equidistant from the parties: “I am with both of them”. In other words, building this consensus around the role of the mediator will allow more effective mediation between the Roma and the institutions, since both parties have the same legitimate interests, the mediator being responsible for helping to overcome cultural and social differences, assuming that all participants take on responsibilities and forms of leadership in a joint process of change. One of the ways to facilitate this understanding is to promote mediation training for all stakeholders most directly involved in implementing the project.

2 - Promote forms of participatory planning and ensure that leaders of local authorities and other bodies are involved in the MMP

The evaluation results show that in most areas in which it was implemented, the MMP was a strategic and innovative factor in local governance methods that showed its potential to change more vertical governance practices. Material and non-material changes were brought about in the organisations’ means of operating which altered their power relations, ensuring a broader and more detailed awareness of needs and existing resources and of the reformulation or creation of new responses to promote equal opportunities in Roma access to rights.

The evaluation carried out illustrates how the MMP’s potential is dependent less on the profile of the mediators than on their positive inclusion in intervention contexts and their favoured inclusion in local authority teams, in a context in which partnership dynamics have been established and political consensus exists for implementing the project and for intervention geared more explicitly towards the Roma.

Governance procedures play a key role in that they may or may not sustain the successful practices developed. Two types of rhetoric are increasingly present at political and institutional level: the rhetoric of partnership, in which social stakeholders are associated to the conception and application of rules, and the rhetoric of proximity, according to which problem-solving should be organised at citizens’ level and favours the development and appropriation of mediation practices. The organisations continue to be characterised by vertical means of functioning, however, whereby mediation is above all a way to circumvent cer-
tain institutional bottlenecks and to cope with very complex realities, particularly the multiplicity of stakeholders involved in social integration issues with different approaches (Faget, 2010).

The consensus among project promoters as to the degree of innovation raises the possibility that these are creative places, i.e. “simultaneously dynamic (the economy), open (culture), negotiated (political) and inclusive (social)” (Freitas and Esteves, 2012: 10). The creativity of the means, however, also depends on their democratic input (active citizens’ participation) and malleability, they are simultaneously flexible in incorporating novelty, and they are organised (André and Abreu, 2006; Freitas and Esteves, 2012).

Recognising socio-cultural diversity presents an opportunity to open the way to new knowledge and values, while seeking cultural and artistic forms in that diversity could stimulate the creativity required to bring about change and transformation, since these forms tend to be inspirational and to develop imagination and critical thinking. A focus on the role of art and culture can therefore boost creativity beyond the artistic realm, deconstructing rules and stereotypes that hinder innovation (Freitas and Esteves, 2012).

The promotion of environments of “diversity”, seen as an opportunity for action and change, is not always uncontentious. Failure to intervene in particular areas to confront exclusion problems faced by the Roma is very often linked to fears of the political costs associated to such initiatives. It therefore appears to be essential to assume that intervention is only possible if it is accepted that the forms of governance are context-dependent.

The factors that hinder the various initiatives must be understood and mechanisms for empowering decision-makers must be developed which allow for reflection on the public action models proposed and consensus-building between the different political forces and local communities. Promoting greater involvement of local authority leaders around the MMP through their participation in meetings promoted by ACIDI, preferably in the intervention areas, or promoting mediation training specifically geared towards them could be a possible solution.

The adoption of participatory planning models with bodies already identified as relevant and a concern to bring in others which are essential to the MMP are desirable approaches if the project’s importance is to be recognised and if the conditions are to be created to ensure continuity. It should not be forgotten, however, that would-be integrated approaches to combat poverty and social exclusion are not based on merely instrumental partnerships but require intervention to be co-produced, where trust, rules, roles and commitments are the essential ingredients for success (Godinho e Henriques, 2012).
Roma beneficiaries must also participate more effectively in these planning processes, since in projects in which they actually did participate in defining and evaluating the actions, the expected results were achieved. Different methodologies can be brought into play to this end and some successful practices demonstrate their potential for dissemination so that forms of involvement and participation are freely and rightly managed by beneficiaries.

Discussion of the methodologies to be adopted to promote Roma beneficiaries’ participation in all phases of the project must therefore be furthered, on the assumption that in the immediate term such involvement will produce more positive results in terms of the degree of acceptance and implementation of the activities and the development of individual and collective empowerment in the longer run.

Various forms of participation were tried out during the implementation period (organisation of gatherings, formation of groups of representatives of the different local Roma communities, etc.) and an intervention plan included setting up a Roma association. This was an unexpected outcome with great potential, since it could eventually ensure the sustainability of the project in some areas and increase local social capital and associative and civic capacity.

3 – Invest in horizontal mainstreaming by ensuring that successful practices are transferable, examining their applicability to different contexts

Reflection on how to instil creativity into intervention processes should initially involve benchmarking, i.e. conditions must be created to systematise solutions that have already been implemented nationally or internationally in response to the same problems. This apparently initially demanding investment at logistical and human resources level would subsequently be made up by optimising resource use and releasing the creative capacity associated to generating effects that may accumulate in connection with responses tried out in other contexts. Only two projects out of the 14 successful practices brought together exploited experiences directly related to the objectives of the practice to be implemented, illustrating how such activity is perhaps not broadly incorporated into courses of action.

It should be noted, however, that not all recipes are adequate for all contexts. The factors contributing to the success of interventions already carried out must be identified and the conditions allowing and facilitating virtuous processes must be understood, since it is difficult to imagine that the same solutions exist for different social contexts. Transferring intervention models involves detailed knowledge of the target area, since exclusion factors
and barriers to inclusion vary according to the different living conditions and contexts in which exclusion arises.

Some evaluation data show that most projects do not tend to involve a culture of sharing experiences of success factors and bottlenecks in implementing activities and achieving the expected results. Also the data collected from the main players who implemented the MMP locally identify discrepancies in opinions on the degree of innovation that it was possible to inculcate in the interventions that must be ironed out. If different initial thresholds of expectations can give rise to different types of perception, there also appear to be various ways of evaluating the respective intervention plan, whereby factors of greater or lesser success and the degree of innovation of projects do not seem to be under discussion at local level.

Joint sharing and reflection on these factors could be a way to increase the level of consensus among mediators and technical coordination teams to make projects more effective. It would therefore be desirable to establish the conditions required for a broad-based local discussion among all stakeholders in each project, whether at intermunicipal level bringing together projects involving similar fields and types of measure, or at national level among all projects and ACIDI itself.

The persistence of constraints in implementing activities, linked to difficulties in involving Roma in some proposed actions, could also justify the promotion of innovation and creativity in intervention procedures. Difficulties can in fact be used to stimulate innovation and creativity. To achieve this, however, monitoring tools must exist that help to verify whether each activity is achieving the proposed objectives and to identify and reflect collectively on problems in order to overcome them. Promoting communities of practice at municipal level where MMP intervention complements other projects would be desirable, as would the creation of conditions for a range of projects, rather than the MMP alone, to focus on discussing particular themes.

A number of projects took an action research approach to certain activities, making it possible to deepen knowledge of real circumstances and to adjust the intervention to the needs identified and their beneficiaries’ expectations. Since this working method did not cut across most projects, however, it should be disseminated.

A question arises in connection with the potential of certain activities to continue once projects have concluded. Six interviewees believe that the conditions have not been met to guarantee the sustainability of the actions carried out, while 10 say that only some can be achieved. According to most Phase I projects, negative consequences arise in the intervention with the Roma because the project is not continuous. It therefore appears that in the
four years of implementation of Phase I, it was not possible to establish all the conditions for sustaining the dynamics created in several action areas. As already stated, the results achieved in education could be threatened by factors internal or external to schools, such as lack of transport, poor housing, lack of education support activities, etc.

Although the factors that may affect the continuity of MMP intervention must be developed further, the conditions must be found to produce a certain amount of supporting material to facilitate its incorporation by the organisations involved or by other bodies which act in areas similar to those of the MMP. All in all, the MMP trained and provided professional experience for 21 Roma mediators who will in the future be in a position to intervene and act in various institutional frameworks due to the extent of their work in the municipalities. This practical result of the project must be promoted.

4 – Ensure the empowerment of all MMP participants and promote the ethical grounds for local authority mediation

The positive development of the mediators’ skills and their professional performance levels demonstrate the importance of training. The two types of training promoted (ACIDI/CESIS and ROMED) add value because of their complementarity in content and methods for addressing mediation processes, the code of ethics being a particularly important instrument in the mediators’ professional performance.

The ACIDI/CESIS and ROMED training had a positive impact on the mediators’ skills and performance levels. The diversity of mediator profiles and the contexts in which they operate, however, require greater effort in drawing up training programmes, and stress must be laid on continuing but certified training. In view of the more structural constraints that tend to influence the effectiveness of the mediators’ intervention, it is important for training content to reflect issues such as social integration and management of difference, poverty and social exclusion and intercultural mediation (what it is, how it is carried out and its limits), and to involve as many stakeholders as possible, from staff in different professional areas to local authorities and policy decision-makers. As Giménez notes, “If intercultural education is restricted to the problem groups, the group to be compensated or the minority group, it will be a total failure... The real challenge of intercultural education is the majority culture, it is us.” (Giménez, 1993, cit. in Giménez, 2010: 21).

The lack of training of technical coordination teams and local authority leaders was a limitation in some projects, not only for defining objectives and planning actions, but also for managing the position of the mediator and the institutions themselves. ACIDI should
therefore create the conditions enabling it to consider including the staff and leaders covered by the MMP in future mediation/interculturalism training. Training geared towards these audiences could also cover planning and evaluation methods, the formulation of problems concerning exclusion/social integration and socio-cultural diversity and ways of constructing political consensus for intervention.

Another constraint identified relates to the lack of sharing of training content with all the protagonists of the projects to enable greater interaction between training promoted by ACIDI / CESIS and ROMED and training in the workplace. In this sense, it is also particularly important to transmit/disseminate the content of training geared towards mediators among all relevant stakeholders, record practical exercises arising out of intervention on the ground and set aside time during working hours to evaluate the skills acquired.

Although on-the-job training must not be overlooked, learning continued to be informal, and when it arose out of specific action it tended to be temporary. Irrespective of the type of local constraints experienced in training delivery, the capacity to reflect on systematising the need to develop skills and draw up training plans in line with the provisions of the project Regulation itself must be increased.

The MMP’s contribution to the ethical grounds of local authority mediation suffers from certain weaknesses deriving essentially from three factors:
- the existence of few spaces for dialogue among the leading players who implement the project to discuss and set out the functional and ethical content of the professional field of intercultural mediation;
- the lack of formal spaces for supervision guaranteeing that experiences are shared, boosting confidence in how to achieve the expected results and reducing unease by regularly challenging discriminatory attitudes entrenched in some people/bodies;
- lack of collective mobilisation by mediators, restricting their cohesion and autonomy.

The overcoming of such shortcomings could be the way to follow the example of other professionals who have organised and demonstrated, for example, the value of legal and family mediation. This gives rise to the proposal to promote a community of practice among mediators that would make it possible to: i) promote collective learning, in which the exchange of experience, the diversity of classroom training and professional ties would be important factors for making their action more effective, but also for discussing and resolving psychosocial dilemmas (frustration, “crises of identity”, etc.); ii) bring specific knowledge and skills to the fore, marking out the professional field with specific features at local authority level; iii) strengthen the cohe-
sion and autonomy of a group of professionals who work in isolation to some extent, compromising the idea of a collective task.

Although the characteristics of entry to and the conditions for exercising the profession and its political-institutional framework might appear to be more lateral compared to the need to determine the profile of the Roma municipal mediator, they bear equal weight in the analysis, particularly because:

- responsibility for the professional recognition of mediation depends, *inter alia*, on the organisations that accept these professionals and on the mediators’ commitment to strengthening their professional identity;

- the results that can be achieved from mediation depend on the institutional framework and political and technical approach to the problems to be resolved through the intervention and its understanding of interculturalism;

- the criteria for selecting mediators, in valuing particular social and personal skills, immediately set high expectations for the intervention by seeking to ensure confidence in and to legitimise the mediator’s action with the Roma from the outset.

5 – Reinforce ACIDI-GACI’s proactive role in supporting and monitoring the MMP

The existence of a national body supporting the functioning of the MMP is one of this project’s strengths. Its action should be continued and in some situations reinforced to provide it with an overview of the opportunities and challenges arising in interventions of this kind and to enable it to diagnose needs and influence public policies.

Besides regular meetings of the technical coordinating teams and mediators and visits to areas where the project is run, a database should be set up to provide various sources of information (national and international studies, European authority reports, experiences of intervention with Roma in connection with other policy measures (Social Integration Income, Choices Programme\(^ {18} \), TEIP [Priority educational areas], etc.), methodological guidance, materials supporting the performance of activities, initiatives to publicise the practices developed and results achieved. This would therefore be a way to support horizontal mainstreaming, as outlined above.

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\(^ {18} \) The Choices Programme is a government programme of national scope, promoted by the Presidency of the Council of Ministers. It has been created in 2001, with the mission of promoting social inclusion of children and youths of vulnerable socio-economic contexts, many of them located in territories where “descendants of immigrants and ethnical minorities are concentrated”
An impact assessment must be based on the notion that effects and results are not immediately visible and are often medium to long-term in nature in particular contexts and problem areas. It is difficult to demonstrate the value of a policy measure, however, when projects prioritise implementation without clearly demonstrating well-defined results. This weakness is not specific to this project but appears to cross-cut at national level with other policy measures (Godinho and Henriques, 2012: 195; DINAMIA-CET/ISCTE-IUL, 2012). International documents also clearly highlight the difficulty in incorporating the idea that "empirical evidence" is required to monitor and evaluate a project (Fresno, 2012).

Although some adjustments have been made to planning and monitoring instruments, in the specific case of the MMP gaps persist both in forwarding the instruments and in recording activities, making an accurate determination of the degree of effectiveness of projects and further development of the mathematics of the results unviable.

Although the interventions are diversified and in most cases appropriate to local contexts and needs, the limitations identified show that GACI/ACIDI’s role should be reinforced at this level, particularly in the following respects:

- Assure all municipalities that subscribe to a project of this type that their objectives and the mediator’s role will be clarified.

- Rethink the existing planning and monitoring instruments, ensure greater vigilance to guarantee timely delivery and provide for sanctions for non-compliance.

- Produce a manual for completing the planning and monitoring instruments to minimise discrepancies detected between projects and ensure greater rigour in formulating objectives and describing actions and the results expected and achieved.

- Produce a matrix of indicators to guide the self-assessment of each project on the one hand, and to allow ACIDI and the external assessment body to systematise the intervention carried out more rigorously on the other.

- Clarify whether intervention plans are reflected in annual action plans or whether longer cycles are envisioned. The production of a planning document covering a minimum number of years of validity of the project may have two advantages: i) it could counter a more short-sighted approach that tends to be influenced by uncertainties regarding continuity on conclusion of each year of implementation; ii) it would ensure more effective measurement of the effects of each planning cycle, provided regular monitoring is guaranteed.

The MMP’s human dimension and the resources mobilised – 336 partners, 55 complementarities with other projects, 21 mediators and 21 local authority teams, plus a resident
Roma population of almost 9000 – call for its results and innovative practices to be publicised so that other municipalities have the opportunity to try out new strategies, not only to resolve and prevent problems but also to promote a truly intercultural society where diversity is an added value.

The evaluation carried out reinforces the idea that mediation is not only a social intervention technique or instrument but also a cultural vision of humankind and a social and political transformation project (Torremorell, 2008; Giménez, 2012, Freire et al., 2009, Luison and Valastro, 2004) that corresponds to the needs of societies in which diverse populations coexist, i.e. the production of new forms of democratic interaction (Faget, 2010). In this setting and in the local authority context, mediators are local development agents who form part of a broader project for improving democratic society in which all actors are invited to take part.
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