Antigypsyism:

Causes, prevalence consequences, possible responses

Committee of experts
on Roma and Traveller issues
(ADI-ROM)

Report

COUNCIL OF EUROPE
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Report
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Contents

Executive summary

The aim of this report, which was commissioned by the Council of Europe Secretariat on behalf of the Committee of Experts on Roma and Traveller[1] Issues (ADI-ROM), is to take stock of the current debates regarding racism and discrimination against Roma and to contribute to a better understanding of the topic. The report covers the debates on the terminology used by different actors and the definitions provided by academics and institutions, discusses the causes of the racism against Roma, and describes and analyses its manifestations and consequences. Separate sections are also dedicated to possible responses to racism against Roma, conclusions that could be drawn from the report and a set of recommendations from different institutional actors.

1. The term "Roma and Travellers" is used at the Council of Europe to encompass the wide diversity of the groups covered by the work of the Council of Europe in this field: on the one hand a) Roma, Sinti/Manush, Calé, Kaale, Romanichals, Boyash/Rudari; b) Balkan Egyptians (Egyptians and Ashkali); c) Eastern groups (Dom, Lom and Abdal); and, on the other hand, groups such as Travellers, Yenish, and the populations designated under the administrative term "Gens du voyage", as well as persons who identify themselves as Gypsies. The present is an explanatory footnote, not a definition of Roma and/or Travellers.

Racism against Roma is a controversial issue and it starts with the terminology. The report presents the different terms used by Roma activists, scholars and different institutions – antigypsyism, Romaphobia, anti-Romaism, anti-Romism, anti-Roma racism – and will discuss the challenges in the particular choice of each term.

Academics, activists and institutions have provided different definitions and there is no international legally agreed definition of antigypsyism. The report analyses the definitions proposed by the Alliance against Antigypsyism, the IHRA and the ECRI and identifies a common element of the different definitions: the categorisation of Roma's oppression as a form of racism. One of the challenges with the definitions of antigypsyism provided by international organisations and academics lies in their implementation, that is, the way in which antigypsyism is measured.

The literature review of historical sources on Roma and early medieval Europe reveals the multiple causes and roots of antigypsyism. It also calls for additional research, especially archival research, to document and interpret early historical documents regarding the arrival of Roma and their relations with local communities.

The universe of manifestations of antigypsyism is quite vast. In no particular order, the most common are prejudices and stereotypes, labelling, hate speech and hate crime, discrimination – individual, institutional and structural, school segregation of Romani children, residential segregation, forced evictions, police and other law-enforcement officials' violence targeting Roma, forced settlements, proletarianisation, forced sterilisation of Romani women, policies of assimilation (banning the use of language, wearing traditional clothes, placing Roma children in foster families, changing of names, etc.), mob violence and skinhead attacks, deportations, including ethnic cleansing, murder, extermination attempts, Roma Holocaust, its denial, distortion and misrepresentation, the passive role of state authorities in protecting the rights of Roma, lack of information about Roma in mainstream curricula, denying equal protection of the law to Roma, ignoring their history of oppression, and selective implementation of law and policies. The report briefly analyses these manifestations and presents the key features of antigypsyism: the role of the state, the perpetrator's impunity, antigypsyism as a societal matter linked with the majority, the collective dimension of antigypsyism, power relations and the systemic character of oppression.

The report presents the consequences of antigypsyism and suggests some possible interventions. It also briefly discusses: the exclusion of Roma, the long-lasting impact of social inequalities and inequities seen today, the

stigmatisation of Romani identity and low self-esteem among Roma, the trauma inflicted by violence on generations, the persistence of violence and the hate climate, the limited impact of social inclusion policies targeting Roma due to hostility towards them and the continuous subordination of the Roma minority. The report suggests changes in legislation, changes in the mainstream curricula to include information on Roma, support for Roma culture and arts, and the establishment of tools comparable to those of transitional justice to combat antigypsyism. The author stresses that it requires systematic and co-ordinated efforts among states, international organisations, universities and research centres, non-governmental organisations and informal groups to acknowledge, document and act with the purpose of bringing antigypsyism to an end. The report emphasises the need for archival and innovative research to reveal the wide range of manifestations and mechanisms that contribute to the creation and perpetuation of antigypsyism.

Based on the analysis of the causes, manifestations, consequences and possible responses to antigypsyism, the author proposes a set of recommendations to combat antigypsyism addressed to the Council of Europe, member states and civil society.

1. Introduction

Over the past three decades, international organisations have paid increasing attention to the situation of Roma. Problems faced by the Roma in Europe have been scrutinised by international organisations, especially human rights organisations and bodies. Key among these is the Council of Europe and its various bodies: the European Court of Human Rights, the Secretary General, the Parliamentary Assembly and the Congress of Local and Regional Authorities of the Council of Europe, the Commissioner for Human Rights, the European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI), the monitoring mechanisms of the implementation of the European Social Charter, the Framework Convention on National Minorities, the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, the Council of Europe's different expert committees on Roma and Travellers since their establishment in 1995, and various departments of the Council of Europe. Apart from the Council of Europe, the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) played an important role in the early 1990s[2] in promoting the national minority discourse in regard to Roma by establishing an Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights and a High Commissioner for the Protection of National

2. Guglielmo R. and Waters T. (2005), "Migrating towards minority status: shifting European policy towards Roma", *Journal of Common Market Studies* Vol. 43, No. 4, pp. 763-85.

Minorities, including the Contact Point for Roma and Sinti, while NATO and the European Union have imposed respect for human rights and protection of national minorities as standards for the acceptance of new member states.[3] All these bodies and institutions have contributed significantly to the recognition and documentation of the situation of Roma in Europe.

In addition to the recognition and publication of information about the Roma in Europe, the Council of Europe has assumed a leading role in developing new standards in international human rights law. As a result, Roma, as citizens of their own countries, could articulate their grievances and claim their rights more effectively using a human rights discourse. It is important to mention that the concern of the Council of Europe with the situation of Roma in Europe predates the fall of communism.[4] It was noticeable that after the collapse of communism, the Council of Europe paid particular attention to human rights and the situation of national minorities in the new geopolitical and security context. New states joining the Council of Europe had to sign the European Convention on Human Rights and accept its implementation measures, including the jurisprudence of the European Court of Human Rights.

The Council of Europe has also organised and sponsored conferences and seminars on the situation of Roma, financed publications and reports on the status of Roma in Europe, developed projects and programmes targeting Roma, and different bodies have conducted field missions, issued recommendations and monitoring reports, and signalled to the member states that they have to do more to improve the situation of Roma and respect their human and minority rights. The adoption and entry into force of the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities provided a legal basis for the recognition of Roma as a national minority enjoying the rights set out in the convention. The decisions of the European Court of Human Rights in cases concerning Roma have set standards and provided substance to specific fundamental rights by shedding light on different forms of rights violations and discrimination experienced by Roma in Europe. Some of the most important cases involving Roma decided by the European Court of Human Rights cover issues such as the duty of the state to ensure minority identity protection, protection against hate speech and hate crime, the impact of school segregation,

3. Vermeersch P. (2004), "Minority policy in central Europe: exploring the impact of the EU's enlargement strategy", *The Global Review of Ethnopolitics* Vol. 3, No. 2, pp. 3-19.
4. The first Council of Europe documents on the situation of Roma in Europe date back to 1969, the Recommendation 563. For a detailed analysis of the Council of Europe documents relevant for the situation of Roma see Helen O'Nions (2007), *Minority rights protection in international law: the Roma of Europe*, Ashgate, Aldershot, pp. 209-22.

and the extent of racial discrimination suffered by Roma in Europe, including forced sterilisation of Roma women.[5]

Through its work, the Council of Europe has contributed to the development and strengthening of the Romani movement in Europe. It has also provided support to Roma and pro-Roma organisations in implementing projects, offered training to Roma and human rights activists, and platforms for these activists to articulate Roma grievances and claims. Another avenue that the Council of Europe has pursued to strengthen the Romani movement and empower the Roma to act for themselves has been through support for and partnership with the Forum of European Roma Young People, the European Roma and Travellers Forum (ERTF) and the European Roma Institute for Arts and Culture (ERIAC).

While discussions on racism and historical discrimination of certain minority groups have become a topic in mainstream political debates over the past decade, the Council of Europe has contributed, through the work of its bodies, to the acknowledgement of the particular form of racism and discrimination that Roma have been subjected to for centuries in Europe. Publications supported by the Council of Europe, reports on the situation of Roma by successive Commissioners for Human Rights, reports of the Advisory Committee of the Implementation of the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities, country reports, general recommendations produced by the ECRI and the statements of its senior officials, such as the Secretary General or the Commissioner for Human Rights, have contributed to the recognition that the historical racism and discrimination against Roma is a root cause of their exclusion.

The racism towards Roma and their historical oppression is currently a topic of research and debate in numerous events and initiatives concerning them. A growing body of publications in academia are documenting the historical racism, and universities, think tanks and other institutions are undertaking research, which reveals new dimensions of historical oppression and discrimination that Roma have been subjected to in Europe. Mainstream political actors and institutions – the European Parliament, the European Commission, the OSCE, governments and senior officials are recognising the role historical racism and discrimination have played in the current difficult situation of Roma in Europe. While the acknowledgement and fight against racism and

5. The most relevant cases on Roma decided by the European Court of Human Rights are: Chapman v. UK, Buckley v. UK, Nachova and Others v. Bulgaria, Anguelova v. Bulgaria, Moldovan and Others v. Romania, DH v. Czech Republic, Orsus v. Croatia, VC v. Slovakia, to name just a few of the cases covering the most blatant violations of human rights of the Roma by state and non-state actors.

discrimination against Roma is unprecedented, there are also forces, including but not only on the extreme right, that deny the existence of any racism and discrimination against Roma. Even among those who agree that the persistent negative role of historical discrimination and racism against Roma is a root cause for their exclusion, there are disagreements about the terminology used to describe this phenomenon and in the interpretations of historical facts. Moreover, additional research, especially archival research, would contribute significantly to the general debates on race and racism and its impact on the current situation of Roma.

The aim of this report, which was commissioned by the Council of Europe Secretariat on behalf of the Committee of Experts on Roma and Traveller Issues (ADI-ROM), is to assess the current debates on racism and discrimination against Roma and contribute to a better understanding of this topic. The report examines the debates on the terminology used by different actors and the definitions provided by scholars and institutions, discusses the causes of racism against Roma, and describes and analyses its manifestations and consequences. Sections are also devoted to possible responses to the racism, to the conclusions to be drawn from this report, and to a set of recommendations to the various institutional actors.

2. Terminology

Racism against Roma is a controversial issue that begins with the terminology. Of course, terminology is intrinsically linked to the definition of the concept. The first challenge in analysing the terminology is whether there is a need for a specific term or concept to refer to the historical experiences of Roma since their arrival in Europe. Some scholars and activists have proposed specific terms to refer to the racism against Roma as a unique phenomenon, while others have argued that the historical oppression of Roma in Europe is covered by the concept of racism as defined by sociologists and anthropologists. This section presents the different terms used by Roma activists, academics and various institutions and discusses the challenges associated with each particular.

Antigypsyism, written either as one word or hyphenated, with a capital or lower case G, is the most commonly used term for referring to racism against Roma. The term is increasingly used, not only by activists and academics, but also by international organisations such as the Council of Europe, the United Nations and the European Union. Several European governments have used the term in official documents, referring to certain historical practices that Roma were subjected to as a result of laws and regulations, and in the names of special commissions investigating historical events relating to Roma. Some

organisations, such as the ECRI, the Alliance against Antigypsyism, or the IHRA, have gone further and developed specific definitions of antigypsyism.

In spite of this recognition, the term "antigypsyism" is not universally accepted and objections to its use come primarily from Roma activists and academics. Their objection is based on the use of the highly pejorative term "Gypsy" instead of a more neutral or positive term. They perceive the use of the term "antigypsyism" as running counter to the efforts of the majority of Roma activists and academics and their supporters, who advocate the use the term "Roma" to refer to the entire ethnic group. These activists and academics point to the contradictions of supporters of the term "antigypsyism", who continue to use a highly negative term while referring to the group as "Roma". Supporters of the term "antigypsyism" respond to this criticism by emphasising that they are using a linguistic category which stigmatises Roma in the public imagination, pointing out that those who are stigmatised are not "Roma" but those perceived as "Gypsies".

The controversy around the term "antigypsyism" also stems from the different terms used to refer to this ethnic group, the different meanings attached to the terms by local communities and activists, the meanings of the terms when used within the national languages and cultures where Roma live, as well as the complexity of the Romani identity-building process within the broader European political project. The term "Roma", in spite of its widespread use by international actors, Roma activists, academics and the general public, is still not accepted and used by all Roma. In many countries in Europe, Roma do not refer to themselves as Roma but use different terms, including the highly pejorative terms "tigan", "cigány", "cigane", "tsigane", "zigeuner" and their derivatives. In their desire to avoid these pejorative terms, some communities identify themselves under different labels: "Ashkali", "Egyptians", "Beash" or "Rudari". The existence of several communities that historically self-identify under different labels but are considered as being part of Roma ethnicity such as Sinti, Kale, Caminanti, Manoush, Gitanos or Travellers adds to the complexity of Roma self-identification and categorisation. To further complicate the issue, communities in the United Kingdom self-identify as Gypsies, and the preferred term for the diverse communities is "Gypsy, Roma and Travellers", a more inclusive term that includes local groups and those who have more recently arrived in the United Kingdom. Moreover, in many countries, especially those where Roma have been subjected to intense assimilation policies, many Roma are no longer speaking the Romani language, and refer to themselves by the pejorative term used by the majority population in their national language. For example, in Hungary, where the majority of Roma do not speak Romanes anymore, Roma identify through the Hungarian term "cigány". In Spain, where

only a handful of Roma speak Romani, they identify through the term "Gitanos" imposed by the majority. Similarly, in Romania, Bulgaria, Slovakia and other countries, especially among those Roma that no longer speak Romanes, a part of the Roma community identifies itself with the majority-imposed terms considered highly pejorative: "tigan", "cigány", "cigane", etc.

In this complex landscape of multiple identifications of groups and subgroups that international organisations, academics, activists and governments refer to under the umbrella term "Roma", the use of the term "antigypsyism" can be regarded as reflecting the diversity of self-identification practices among Roma. Some academics have drawn attention to the political meaning of the term "Roma". For Surdu and Kovats, "Roma" is a political term imposed by international organisations and manipulated by Roma activists for political purposes.[6] As Manuel Castells emphasises, ethnic identity might incorporate a normative dimension as a project identity, an identity desired by specific actors within their mobilisation efforts.[7]

The connotations of these labels and terms might also vary according to the national and cultural context in which they are used. For example, the meaning of the term "tigan" is highly pejorative in the Romanian cultural context, historically "tigan" being associated with the lower social status of slaves. While other terms such is "Gypsies" in the English and UK context, or "Gitano" in Spain and the Spanish cultural space, could carry some negative connotations, it is obvious that they do not have the same pejorative weight as that of the term "tigan" in the Romanian cultural context. Thus, a solution might be the contextualisation of the terms according to national cultures and the meanings attached to each term.

The term "antigypsyism" was first used by Roma activists in the Soviet Union in the opening-up policies of the 1920s towards national minorities in general, and the Roma in particular. Martin Holler credits Aleksandr German, a Romani activist and writer who published works in Russian and Romanes, with creating the term "antitsyganizm", the equivalent of antigypsyism, in an article in January 1928.[8] He also traces the use of antigypsyism in academic discourse from the first article in the 1930s to more recent use by international organisations, proposing a revision of German academics' interpretations of antigypsyism as a term invented during the 1980s. As a Romani-coined term,

6. Surdu M. and Kovats M. (2015), "Roma identity as an expert-political construction", *Social inclusion* Vol 3, No 5, pp. 5-18.
7. Castells M. (2010), "The information age: economy society and culture", *Vol. 2. The power of identity*, Wiley-Blackwell, Oxford.
8. Holler M. (2015), "Historical predecessors of the term 'anti-gypsyism'", in Selling J. et al. (eds), *Antiziganism: what's in a word?*, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, Newcastle upon Tyne.

those academics and activists who support the use of the term antigypsyism emphasise the power of ownership, taking over a pejorative label and distorting its meaning.

"Romaphobia" is a more neutral term. It is based on an ethnonym – Roma – regarded by the majority of Roma activists as positive and links the hatred towards Roma with similar concepts such as Islamophobia and homophobia.[9] One scholar defined the term as follows: "Romaphobia is the hatred or fear of those individuals perceived as being Roma, Gypsy or Traveller; it involves the negative ascription of group identity and can result in marginalization, persecution and violence. Romaphobia is a manifestation of racism: it is cut from the same cloth."[10]

There are several objections to the use of "Romaphobia" to describe the historical experiences of Roma. The first objection is that the term has a much narrower meaning provided by the word "phobia" than the lived experiences of Roma in European societies. Phobia is usually defined as an intense, persistent, illogical fear of an object, place, situation, feeling or animal. However, since their arrival in Europe, Roma have been subjected to much more than the fear of non-Roma. The historical persecution, the slavery of Roma for more than five centuries, the so-called "Gypsy hunts", the Great Roundup, the assimilationist policies of the Habsburg monarchs, the Roma Holocaust, the forced settlement and proletarianisation of Roma under communism, the forced sterilisation of Roma, school segregation, mob violence and skinhead attacks against Roma communities are difficult to explain merely by the fear that Roma generate in the majority society. Thus, the different forms of oppression and injustices that Roma have been historically subjected to are not entirely covered by this term.

The second objection to Romaphobia is that by using a medical connotation might suggest that the remedy for it is medical treatment. While phobias are usually treated with psychological therapy and psychiatric treatment, Romaphobia necessitates consistent, effective and inclusive policies to correct past injustices, to remove obstacles that reproduce social inequalities and to promote equality and respect for diversity.

"Anti-Romism" and "anti-Romaism" are other terms used to describe racism towards Roma and are considered by those preferring these terms as more positive than "antigypsyism". However, there are a number of drawbacks with these terms as well. First, similarly to Romaphobia, they do not cover those who do not consider themselves Roma or whom others do not identify as such.

9. An endonym is a name a group gives itself, as opposed to an exonym, a name given to a group by outsiders.
10. McGarry A. (2017), *Romaphobia: the last acceptable form of racism*, Zed Books, London, p. 1.

Second, while it is based on a positive ethnonym, it ignores the stigmatisation process of those labelled as "Gypsies" and says little about the historical trauma inflicted by states and majority societies.

Recently, as part of the consultation process initiated by the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) for adopting a working definition of antigypsyism, some Roma activists, backed by their government representatives, objected to the use of the term antigypsyism and proposed a more neutral formulation, such as "anti-Roma racism".[11] Leaving aside the legitimacy of state representatives deciding what term to use for the historical oppression and injustice suffered by Roma (instead of bringing together relevant Roma actors to decide on the matter), the IHRA meetings have led to indirect recognition that the racism against Roma is a historical feature of the Roma presence in Europe and elsewhere for centuries.

The question of whether or not there should be a particular term to refer to the specific experiences of Roma oppression and injustices is a legitimate one. One of the merits of the term "anti-Roma racism" is that it facilitates and clarifies communication with the media or larger audiences less familiar with the Roma and their history. In the current context, with the prominence of the debates on race, injustices and the impact of colonialism on oppressed groups due to the Black Lives Matter movement all over the world, the association of the Roma's oppression with that of African Americans, or black people and people of colour, simplifies the message and facilitates understanding of Roma oppression. The downside of using the term "anti-Roma racism" is that the specificity of the experiences of oppression and injustices experienced by Roma are becoming subsumed to broader patterns of oppression of other groups. It is exactly this specificity of Roma oppression that the supporters of the term "antigypsyism" are emphasising. In their view, Roma have been oppressed, stigmatised and labelled "Gypsies", "tigani", etc. exactly for being who they are, that is, people with different lifestyles, darker skin, different habits, language and clothing. The treatment they have received is because of who they are and what makes them different from others, although in some circumstances they have been persecuted as part of a broader social pattern of marginalised groups. That those in power and the majorities have perceived them as

11. The International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance brings together governments and experts to strengthen, advance and promote Holocaust education, research and remembrance. It was established following the 2000 Stockholm Declaration and has 35 member countries. The IHRA consists of representatives of governments. Delegations are chaired by ambassadors or officials of a senior rank. Non-governmental organisations are part of the delegations as experts. Experts are nominated by their country to serve on their national delegation to the IHRA.

different and inferior, even as less human, is well documented in medieval chronicles and archival documents. Roma were mentioned as early as 1385 as slaves in the principalities of Wallachia and Moldova (now Romania).[12] In the 1422 *Chronicles of Bologna*, or in the writings of Lionardo di Niccolò Frescobaldi and Arnold von Harff, Roma were already described as darker skinned, ugly, sinful and heathens.[13] Thus, antigypsyism precedes the commonly agreed notions of race and racism as concepts related to European modernity, and predates the colonial project and slavery in North America.[14]

While the debate over the terminology used to describe the oppression and injustices experienced by Roma throughout history is not yet over among Roma academics, activists and organisations, an intermediary solution could be the use of these terms with short explanatory notes. In line with the subsidiarity principle in European affairs and consistent with one of the tenets of critical social theories – contextualisation – the use of each term discussed above should take into account the languages used and the national cultural context. Whatever term is used to refer to the historical oppression of Roma, Roma activists, scholars and organisations should be the main actors making these decisions.

12. See Achim V. (2000), *The Roma in Romanian history*, CEU Press, Budapest.
13. For a description of Roma in the anonymous *Chronicles of Bologna* see Eliav-Feldon M. (2009), "Vagrants or vermin? Attitudes towards Gypsies in Early Modern Europe", in Eliav-Feldon M., Isaac B. and Ziegler J. (eds), *The origins of racism in the West*, Cambridge University Press, New York, pp. 276-91. For the writings of Frescobaldi and von Harff see Taylor B. (2014), *Another darkness, another dawn: a history of Gypsies, Roma and Travellers*, Reaction Books, London, p. 26.
14. Gilad Margalit also claims that antigypsyism existed in Central and Eastern Europe before the concept of racism came into being: "Traditional antigypsyism existed in Central Europe centuries before racism as a concept came to being", Margalit G. (1996), *Antigypsyism in the political culture of the Federal Republic of Germany: a parallel with antisemitism?*, Vidal Sassoon International Center for the Study of Antisemitism, Jerusalem, p. 2.

3. Definitions

Defining antigypsyism is not an easy task. Academics, activists and institutions have provided different definitions and there is no international legally agreed definition. A common element of the different definitions is that antigypsyism is a form of racism. However, such a definition must provide details about the content and the mechanism through which racism operates, as without such details the definition is tautological.

The Alliance against Antigypsyism, a coalition of 95 Roma and pro-Roma organisations led by the European Roma Grassroots Organisation Network, provides the following working definition of antigypsyism:

> *Antigypsyism is a historically constructed, persistent complex of customary racism against social groups identified under the stigma "gypsy" or other related terms, and incorporates:*
>
> - *a homogenizing and essentializing perception and description of these groups;*
> - *the attribution of specific characteristics to them;*
> - *discriminating social structures and violent practices that emerge against that background, which have a degrading and ostracizing effect and which reproduce structural disadvantages.*

This definition is quite similar to the one provided by Markus End in his work on antigypsyism.[15] It points out the historical dimension of antigypsyism as well as the way in which it is produced and reproduced.

The IHRA has provided the following non-legally binding working definition of antigypsyism to guide its work:

> *Antigypsyism/anti-Roma discrimination is a manifestation of individual expressions and acts as well as institutional policies and practices of marginalization, exclusion, physical violence, devaluation of Roma cultures and lifestyles, and hate speech directed at Roma as well as other individuals and groups perceived, stigmatized, or persecuted during the Nazi era, and still today, as "Gypsies". This leads to the treatment of Roma as an alleged alien group and associates them with a series of pejorative stereotypes and distorted images that represent a specific form of racism.*

This definition is a compromise between the positions adopted by participating governments in relation to the use of a historically pejorative term for Roma. While certain governments supported the use of the term antigypsyism, the delegations of US and Canadian governments insisted on using the term "anti-Roma racism". In fact, in a footnote to the definition, the participating governments specify the geographical scope of the use of each term. However, this compromise led to the equating of antigypsyism with anti-Roma discrimination, which is inaccurate, as antigypsyism comprises a larger range of practices than just discrimination.

As early as 2011, the ECRI adopted a general policy recommendation on combating antigypsyism and has defined it as follows:

> *Anti-Gypsyism is a specific form of racism, an ideology founded on racial superiority, a form of dehumanisation and institutional racism nurtured by historical discrimination, which is expressed, among others, by violence, hate speech, exploitation, stigmatisation and the most blatant kind of discrimination.*[16]

The ECRI definition has served as the basis for other official documents of the European Commission and the European Parliament when referring to antigypsyism and could be seen as a broad framework for understanding the way antigypsyism operates. However, it uses terms that are not clearly defined – institutional racism, ideology, form of dehumanisation – and the

15. End M. (2015), "Antigypsyism: what's happening in a word?", in Selling J. et al. (eds), *Antiziganism: what's in a word?*, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, Newcastle upon Tyne, p. 108.
16. European Commission against Racism and Intolerance, *General Policy Recommendation No. 13 on combating antigypsyism and discrimination against Roma*, adopted on 24 June 2011 and amended on 1 December 2020, Strasbourg, December 2020.

mechanism and manifestations of antigypsyism are briefly listed while others are rather implied.

One of the challenges with the definitions of antigypsyism provided by international organisations and academics is their implementation, that is, how to measure antigypsyism. In my research on policies on Roma, I have also used the definition below to measure antigypsyism.[17] Thus, in my view, antigypsyism is a special form of racism directed towards Roma and those stigmatised in the public imagination as "Gypsies", which has at its core the assumption that Roma are inferior and deviant, thus justifying their oppression and marginalisation. Other preconceptions of antigypsyism are that they are nomadic, of oriental origin, rootless and backward. As such, antigypsyism represents a historical system of oppression of Roma whose consequences are clearly apparent in the current difficult situation of Roma, in the dominant narratives on Roma and in the continuous stigmatisation of Romani identity in public statements.

17. See Carrera S., Rostas I. and Vosyliūtė L. (2017), Combating institutional anti-gypsyism: responses and promising practices in the EU and selected member states, Centre for European Policy Studies, Brussels.

4. Causes

The root causes of antigypsyism can be traced back to the arrival of the Roma in Europe. There are no historical records about this that belong to the Roma themselves, and thus one has to rely on the writings and documents of non-Roma about Roma. From a methodological point of view, in researching antigypsyism, the use of non-Roma sources is not problematic, as what matters is how Roma were perceived by local populations, how the existing institutions reacted to the arrival of these people and how relations between Roma and local communities and authorities were developing over time.

Aidan McGarry locates the origin of antigypsyism at the nexus of identity, belonging and territoriality in the context of the nation-state building processes.[18] The way in which territory and sovereignty were conceptualised when constructing borders and political authority during the building of nation states led to the exclusion of Roma communities, as they were not seen as belonging to "the nation", being rather perceived and portrayed as nomadic. Through exoticisation and essentialisation, Roma became the quintessential "other" during the construction of a sense of solidarity and belonging within majority societies. The fact that the past and present identification of Roma

18. McGarry A. (2017), Romaphobia: the last acceptable form of racism, Zed Books, London.

is not based on similar criteria, believed to be objective, to those applied to other communities or nations, further separates them from majority societies. In his conclusion, McGarry emphasises the role of the state and nation in the genesis and reproduction of prejudice against Roma:

> *I have placed the blame for Romaphobia squarely at the feet of nation-states, which have consistently excluded Roma communities from equal citizenship and actively constructed Roma as a deviant "other" that threatens the fabric of the nation. The negative ascription of Roma identity as criminals, parasitic, thieves, untrustworthy and dirty has stubbornly persisted due to deliberate identity work on the part of the state.*[19]

In defining "antigypsyism as an ideology, a form of communication, a set of images and stereotypes which are constructed, perpetuated and reaffirmed by majority societies", Markus End analyses the social roots of antigypsyism in Europe.[20] He points out the importance of analysing antigypsyism as a consequence of the actions of the majority society and not as rooted in the Roma themselves or their behaviour. End identifies the roots of antigypsyism in "the historical social processes of norm- and moral-production which European majority societies have undergone", in which several transformations of social life have overlapped: the transformation of the economy from an agricultural to a capitalist one, the competition for territory, the appearance of the nation states and their claim to a monopoly on violence, the strengthening of patriarchy in gender relations coupled with the strengthening of sexual moral codes, and cultural changes accompanying the establishment of a scientific approach to the world.[21]

Thomas Acton, a renowned professor who headed the Romani Studies programme at the University of Greenwich, has identified multiple factors that have influenced the development of antigypsyism.[22] Citing the doctoral research of the Romani scholar Adrian Marsh, Acton traces the roots of antigypsyism to the early image of Roma among Byzantine occultists and fortune tellers in the 8th century and the misrepresentation of the Roma in the face of the arrival of Muslim opponents as "heirs of the wisdom, skills and aesthetics that the Zoroastrians had inherited from the ancient Egyptians of the pyramids".[23] Another potential factor that may have played a role is the habitual rejection of nomadic people by those in settled communities and their

19. Ibid., p. 245.
20. End M. (2012), "History of antigypsyism in Europe: the social causes", in Kyuchukov H. (ed.), *New faces of antigypsyism in Modern Europe*, Slovo 21, Prague, p. 9.
21. Ibid., p. 10.
22. Acton T. (2012), Social and economic bases of antigypsyism, in Kyuchukov H. (ed.), New faces of antigypsyism in Modern Europe, Slovo 21, Prague.
23. Ibid., p. 34.

fear of aggression and invasion by pastoral nomads. Proposing a differential approach to the various stereotypes of vagrancy and deviance according to local circumstances, Acton sees the social and economic foundations in the production relations of the past.

Donald Kenrick locates the origins of antigypsyism in the early writings on Roma between 1400 and 1450, where he identified approximately 62 historical chronicles and municipal records mentioning Roma.[24] Kenrick emphasises the role of these early writings in the creation and perpetuation of antigypsyism through imitation and exaggeration: "It is from these early chroniclers, copied and exaggerated over the centuries, that the literary image of the Gypsy was to emerge."[25] Kenrick is of the opinion that the images on Roma created during these early years of their arrival into Europe have survived to this day. One reason for this survival is the representation of Roma in poems, plays, fiction and in the visual arts, in particular paintings. Kenrick distinguishes between the period of sporadic conflicts with settled populations up to 1497 and the period after that date, when the German Parliament (the Diet of the Holy Roman Empire) accused the Roma of spying for the Turks and the following year ordered their expulsion from Germany, those remaining being considered outlaws and could be put to death without trial.[26] However, Kenrick believes that the image that was repeated and exaggerated during the 16th century by historians and politicians and which persists to this today, with the Roma being portrayed as nomads, vagabonds, not working, but begging for alms and stealing as a means of survival, and engaged in other dishonest activities. It is this that inspired the 1499 Pragmática in Spain, as a result of which the Roma were expelled from Spain and banned from returning.

Professor Ian Hancock, a Romani scholar and activist who was director of the Romani Archives and Documentation Center at the University of Texas, Austin, has traced the historical roots of antigypsyism to the identification of several factors: (a) the association of Roma with Islam and Asian invaders at the time of their appearance in Europe, (b) the medieval Christian doctrine of interpreting dark skin as a sign of sin, (c) the Romani cultural rule of avoiding contact with non-Roma, which engenders a lack of trust, (d) the survival strategy of Roma in a hostile environment, who chose to play the game and exploit non-Roma images and representations of "Gypsies" as exotic and

24. Kenrick D. (2004), The origins of anti-gypsyism: the outsiders' view of Romanies in Western Europe in the fifteenth century, in Nicholas Saul and Susan Tebbutt (eds), The role of the Romanies: images and counter-images of "Gypsies"/Romanies in European cultures, Liverpool University Press, Liverpool.
25. Ibid., p. 80.
26. Fraser A. (1992), *The Gypsies*, Blackwell, Oxford, p. 89.

mysterious, (e) the manipulation of images and stereotypes by non-Roma in order to define the boundaries of their own identity, (f) the weakness of Roma economically, militarily and in terms of political support from their own (non-existent) nation state, which makes them a perfect target for scapegoating, (g) the portrayal of "Gypsies" as the epitome of freedom in literary texts and the media fascination with these idyllic images is combined with resentment and repulsion, and (h) the lack of close contact between non-Roma researchers and Roma, which has led to accounts being published that are full of stereotypes. As Professor Hancock summarises, "we can seek the historical basis of anti-Romani prejudice in a number of areas, in particular racism, religious intolerance, outsider status and the fact that Romanies maintain an exclusivist or separatist culture".[27]

Huub van Baar associates the emergence of antigypsyism with the biopolitical regulation of Europe's borders and the strengthening of imperial state administrations seeking to increase their control over populations.[28] By looking at the late 18th-century transformation of the police and cameralistic sciences, van Baar notes a shift in the way the police perceived marginalised groups and the need to integrate large population groups into imperial administrations. The change in the way populations were conceived, and the body of knowledge accumulated about populations by the newly emerging scientific disciplines of the time influenced the perception of Roma, as evidenced by the academic work of Grellmann[29] and Rüdiger at the time.

Dutch scholars Will Willems, Leo Lucassen and Annemarie Cottaar, the so-called Dutch School in Romani Studies, locate the origins of stigmatisation of Romani identity in the social transformations of the 18th century.[30] Will Willems argues that the stigmatised representation of Roma was due to the 18th-century construction of "Gypsies" as one homogenous people within the scientific discourses.[31] In Willems' view, by uncritically reproducing ancient sources, Grellmann collected all the stereotypes about a unified non-European, Indian origin, nomadic "Gypsy" culture, a definition which engendered

27. Hancock I. (1997), "The roots of antigypsyism: to the Holocaust and after", in Colijn G. J. and Littell M. S. (eds), *Confronting the Holocaust: a mandate for the 21st century*, University Press of America, Lanham, pp. 19-49.
28. Baar H. (van) (2011), The European Roma: minority representation, memory and the limits of transnational governmentality, Beheer, Amsterdam.
29. Grellmann H. (1783) *Die Zigeuner. Ein historischer Versuch über die Lebensart und Verfassung*, Dessau und Leipzig.
30. Lucassen L., Willems W. and Cottaar A. (eds) (1998), *Gypsies and other itinerant groups*, Macmillan, Houndmills.
31. Willems W. (1997), In search of the true Gypsy: from Enlightenment to Final Solution, Frank Cass, London.

the stigma that represents them as uncivilised, backward, marginal, criminal and racially inferior. National authorities have used these representations to legitimise anti-Roma measures, from assimilation policies under the absolutist Habsburg rule to genocide under Nazism.

Leo Lucassen focuses on the role of pre-state and state institutions in framing the representation of Roma. He identifies as a possible source of Roma stigmatisation the shift from types of indirect rule to those of direct rule taking place at the end of the century. Lucassen points to the formation of nation states, increased centralisation of bureaucracies, the existing system of poor relief, and the system of supervision and control mechanisms (police, customs) which facilitated a more direct approach to these minority groups and made it harder for them to avoid stigmatisation. Thus, the attempt to represent Roma as one homogenous group has determined their stigmatisation and any attempt to present Roma as an ethnic group risks reviving the same stigmatising language of 18th-century state and scientific authorities.

Scholars have emphasised that early writings on Roma, the role of the state and the social transformations of the time when Roma arrived in Europe, have influenced the stigmatisation of Romani identity. However, there is very limited information on the contribution of the Church and religion, which were very powerful at the time, in the stigmatisation and dehumanisation of Roma. It is relatively well documented that the Orthodox Church in the principalities of Wallachia and Moldova was the main owner of Roma slaves. However, no comprehensive research has been conducted so far on the contribution of the Orthodox, Catholic or Protestant churches in the stigmatisation of Romani identity.

Wolfgang Wippermann has described several manifestations of antigypsyism that were inspired by religion:

> *In the Early Modern period, such religiously-motivated antiziganism was nourished and driven by an array of accusations and prejudices: such as that the Roma, derided as "Zigeuner", were actually the children and children's children of the biblical Cain, a sinner who murdered his brother, and cursed by God, was doomed for his misdeed to live as an eternal wanderer. According to another legend, all so-called "Gypsies" were condemned to a fate as perpetual itinerants for another reason: because some of them had denied the Holy Family shelter when they were fleeing to Egypt. Even more fantastic is a further legend, according to which "Gypsies" had forged the nails for the cross of Christ and subsequently stole the fourth nail, missing in the depictions of the crucifixion. But today hardly anyone is aware of these religiously anchored antiziganist legends of the past.*
>
> *Another allegation, however, remains quite widespread: namely the slur that "Gypsies" are allies of the Devil. As the myth goes, they supposedly learned their knowledge of*

black magic from the Devil himself, and with the Prince of Darkness they share their putative "black" complexion. Even today many persons think of Roma as frightening and indeed diabolic. Some even believe they can only protect themselves against Roma by means of diabolic symbols and practices, such as the placing of so-called "Gypsy brooms" in front of their own shops to ward off the dark powers of the Roma.[32]

Referring to the spread of some of the legends that have shaped the Christian imagery of Roma, Thomas Acton provides an account of what may be the most widespread one – that of the Roma stealing the fourth nail for Jesus's crucifixion – as part of what he calls popular antigypsyism:

This legend suggests that the Gypsy blacksmith who was commissioned to make four nails for the crucifixion only used three and stole one. Jesus cursed him and his family to wander forever as a punishment for this theft, but then, after the blacksmith pleaded, mitigated the curse by giving the family permission to take small things that their owners did not really need.[33]

This literature review on the causes of antigypsyism, based on the literature on historical sources on Roma in early medieval Europe, reveals the multiple causes and foundations of antigypsyism. It also highlights the need for additional research, especially archival research, to document and interpret early historical documents regarding the arrival of Roma and their relations with local communities.

32. Wippermann W. (2015), "The longue durée of antiziganism as mentality and ideology", in Selling J. et al. (eds), *Antiziganism: what's in a word?*, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, Newcastle upon Tyne, p. 4.
33. Acton T. (2012), "Social and economic bases of antigypsyism", in Kyuchukov H. (ed.), *New faces of antigypsyism in Modern Europe*, Slovo 21, Prague, footnote 10.

5. Manifestations

The manifestations of antigypsyism and the analysis of their functioning in practice allow the reader to better understand the role of antigypsyism in the daily lives of Roma. In the context of the definition of antigypsyism, several core assumptions have been mentioned: inferiority, deviance, nomadism, orientalism, rootlessness and backwardness. The assumptions feed into the content of the definition of antigypsyism as a form of racism. Ramon Grosfoguel has defined racism as:

> *A global hierarchy of superiority and inferiority along the line of the human that have been politically, culturally and economically produced and reproduced for centuries by the institutions of the "capitalist/patriarchal western-centric/Christian-centric modern/colonial world-system".*[34]

Thus, the inferiority of Roma as part of the structure of racism originates in the widespread belief among non-Roma that Roma are less human. Very often, in the description of Roma, references are made to their supposed animality, their "wildness" or their "animal" habits. The animal representation of Roma was already present in the early scholarly writings on Roma in the 15th century. Inferiority is also connected to the perception of Roma as unable to respect

34. Grosfoguel R. (2016), "What is racism?", *Journal of World-System Research* Vol. 22, Issue 1, p. 10.

the basic rules and values of the societies in which they live. Criminality and deviance are often perceived by the majority society as a genetic characteristic of Roma, as part of their nature. The dehumanisation and objectification of human groups are techniques used to prepare the ground for extermination policies. Orientalism emphasises the non-European roots of the Roma, thereby paving the way for their exclusion. Nomadism is seen as a feature of the way of life of Roma, in spite of the physical evidence that the overwhelming majority of Roma are settled. Nomadism also depicts Roma as rootless people, untrustworthy and unreliable due to their constant movement. Very often, nomadism is regarded as part of their nature. Nomadism is consistent with other assumptions of antigypsyism. Rootlessness tends to suggest that Roma are lacking a sense of identity and time, as incapable of having any relationship with the land, with no collective memory or sense of belonging, living only in the present and with no plans for the future. The concept of backwardness consists in presenting Roma as primitive, uncivilised, uneducated and having a very different way of life from that of the majority population. Roma are often seen as unadaptable since they cannot integrate and adopt the majority's norms, attitudes and values. In order to modernise them, they would have to be assimilated and adopt the norms and values of the majority.

The universe of antigypsyist manifestations is quite vast. They can be analysed at four levels: public imagination, discourse, institutions and practice. Thus, antigypsyism is found in beliefs and thoughts, attitudes and actions as well as in larger processes that have a particular impact on Roma: prejudices and stereotypes; discrimination at individual, institutional and structural levels; hate speech and hate crime; school segregation, residential segregation and isolation; mob violence; forced evictions; exploitation; cultural appropriation; violence against Roma by police and other law-enforcement officials; forced settlement; proletarianisation as an assimilation strategy; forced sterilisation of Romani women; specific assimilation policies such as banning the use of language or wearing traditional clothes, placement of Roma children in foster families, change of names, deportations; ethnic cleansing; attempts at extermination; the Roma Holocaust and its denial or distortion; inequalities in legal protection; selective implementation of laws and policies; and adoption of discriminatory laws and regulations.

The mechanisms of production and reproduction of antigypsyism through the manipulation of images and messages and the promotion of specific narratives about Roma are similar to the way ideology works in practice. Markus End points out that antigypsyism should be regarded as an ideology:

> *It is imperative to understand that antigypsyism does not necessarily target only real individuals from a Romani background. Antigypsyist images can very well be*

projected onto other groups as well. Hence it is necessary to understand antigypsyism as an ideology, a form of communication, a set of images and stereotypes which are constructed, perpetuated and reaffirmed by majority societies.[35]

Similarly, Jan Selling argues that antigypsyism should be analysed as a "discursive formation constituted by the node 'conceptual Gypsy': an essentialist and excluding construct which has developed historically in interacting academic, religious and political discourses".[36]

Prejudices and stereotypes about Roma are present in all national cultures in Europe. They take the form of popular sayings, proverbs, jokes, anecdotes or legends in which the Roma are the characters to whom different negative qualities are ascribed: lazy, thieving, feckless, dishonest, ugly, ignorant, black, primitive, stupid, pagan, filthy, smelly, etc. One might be surprised by the similarity of the "Gypsy" imagery from one country and region to another. For example, the legend of the fourth nail as narrated by Wippermann and Acton is also found in a Romani song in Hungary.[37] Given the continuity of the image of the "Gypsy" projected onto Roma over the centuries, a functional analysis of these images has to be taken into consideration to avoid, to use Colin Clark's formulation, "the danger of stereotyping stereotypes", meaning "the ways in which various stereotypical elements are framed in some essential, overarching stereotype which is fixed in time and place".[38] By pointing out the geographical differences in the stereotypes of "Gypsies" across Europe, Clark suggests these images and qualities attributed to Roma are placed in their historical and geographical context. Ethel Brooks, a Romani feminist scholar, has analysed the continuity of these mental patterns and highlighted the ambivalence of the relationship between Roma and non-Roma throughout history: "The Roma have occupied a particular place and a particular subject position in Europe and throughout the world, a position marked by a racist combination of fantasy and contempt that continues to the present day."[39] One side of this ambivalence is that "Romani people have been subject to

35. End M. (2015), "Antigypsyism: what's happening in a word?", in Selling J. et al. (eds), *Antiziganism: what's in a word?*, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, Newcastle upon Tyne, p. 103.
36. Selling J. (2015), "The conceptual gypsy: reconsidering the Swedish case and the general", in Selling J. et al. (eds), *Antiziganism: what's in a word?*, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, Newcastle upon Tyne, p. 120.
37. See Rounds C. and Sólyom E, (2011), *Colloquial Hungarian: the complete course for beginners* (3rd edn), Routledge, London, p. 214.
38. Clark C. (2004), "'Severity has often enraged but never subdued a gipsy': the history and making of European Romani stereotypes", in Saul N. and Tebbutt S. (eds), *The role of the Romanies: images and counter-images of "Gypsies"/Romanies in European cultures*, Liverpool University Press, Liverpool, pp. 228-9.
39. Brooks E. (2012), "The possibilities of Romani feminism", *Signs* Vol. 38, No. 1 (Autumn), p. 2.

enslavement, forced displacement and exile, violence, and death" and "have been treated as subhuman and persecuted and exploited accordingly", and, "on the other side of the ambiguous relationship has been the appropriation of Romani culture – our music, food, art, and traditional crafts – an appropriation that mixes fantasies about and hatred of our actual existence".[40]

Along similar lines, Professor Ian Hancock has analysed the ways in which misguided, uninformed hypotheses have become the norm in knowledge about the Roma because they have been repeated without being verified by different authors.[41] Hancock provides examples of scholars who, intentionally or unintentionally, have used misrepresentation and distorted understanding of the Romani language, religious elements such as the creation of the world, stories of gods and Romani spiritual beliefs to create a false Romani culture. While identifying (deliberate or not) misrepresentations of Roma, Hancock calls for higher standards in Romani research and points out the dangers of reproducing the misconceptions and attitudes associated with Roma to a much larger audience through publishing such "studies".

What are the most common manifestations of antigypsyism? Where are they to be found, in which policy areas and in what form? Research conducted in 2017 by the Centre for European Policy Studies in five member states and at EU level offered an insight into these manifestations and the policy areas in which they are found.[42] According to an online survey, whose results were confirmed by the focus groups, the most common manifestations of antigypsyism are: stereotypes and prejudices against Roma, discrimination against Roma, ignorance by local authorities of Roma communities, the use of anti-Roma rhetoric to mobilise political support, selective law enforcement by national authorities against Roma, and violence against Roma communities by far-right groups (see Figure 1, Appendix 1). The same survey ranks the policy areas where the manifestations of antigypsyism are found (see Figure 2, Appendix 1). Thus, according the survey results antigypsyism manifests itself in housing, education, media, employment, the judicial system, political discourse and health services.

These findings need to be put into a broader context to understand how these manifestations work. For example, the respondents in the 2017 survey

40. Ibid., p. 3.
41. Hancock I. (2004), The concoctors: creating fake Romani culture, in Saul N. and Tebbutt S. (eds), The role of the Romanies: images and counter-images of "Gypsies"/Romanies in European cultures, Liverpool University Press, Liverpool.
42. Carrera S., Rostas I. and Vosyliūtė L. (2017), Combating institutional anti-gypsyism: responses and promising practices in the EU and selected member states, Centre for European Policy Studies, Brussels.

mentioned health care as one of the areas where antigypsyism does not manifest itself very often, whereas today, due to the medical crisis generated by the Covid-19 pandemic, health services are likely to be mentioned as one of the areas in which antigypsyism is problematic (see Appendix 1). Another useful example in support of contextualisation is forced settlement and proletarianisation. Historically, these manifestations can be documented as a means of governance for controlling the population, including the Roma. Roma nomadism has been central to assimilationist policies of the Habsburg Empire, but also to the communist regimes. However, proletarianisation was a specific governance strategy by the communists to control Roma by integrating them into the socialist economy and subjecting them to the new socialist work ethic. Today, when the overwhelming majority of Roma in Europe are settled, these strategies to control them are less relevant. Thus, the manifestations vary across time and place and any analysis has to be contextualised to understand how they work in practice and what their consequences are.

Throughout history, Roma have been subjected to different forms of oppression and injustice. Any attempt to categorise these forms of oppression runs the risk of omitting some manifestations or failing to assign each category its perceived importance. In no particular order, the most common manifestations of antigypsyism are:

- prejudice and stereotyping;
- labelling, hate speech and hate crime;
- discrimination – individual, institutional and structural;
- school segregation of Romani children;
- residential segregation;
- evictions;
- violence by police and other law-enforcement agencies targeting Roma;
- forced settlement;
- proletarianisation;
- forced sterilisation of Romani women;
- assimilation policies (prohibition of language use, wearing of traditional clothes, placement of Roma children in foster care, chang of names, etc.);
- mob violence and skinhead attacks;
- deportations, including ethnic cleansing;
- murders;
- extermination attempts;
- Roma Holocaust, its denial, distortion and misrepresentation;

- passivity of state authorities in protecting the rights of Roma;
- lack of information about Roma in mainstream educational curricula;
- denial of equal protection of Roma before the law;
- ignoring Roma history of oppression;
- selective implementation of laws and policies.

Prejudices and stereotypes about Roma are widespread in European societies. They are founded on broad generalisations and/or definitions of Roma based on limited or no experience with them. Prejudices and stereotypes inform a type of narrative about Roma which fuels hate, mistrust and justifies discrimination. Ignorance and lack of education about Roma history, culture, traditions and diversity are often cited as the root causes of widespread negative prejudices against Roma. As the Alliance against Antigypsyism points out:

> *Antigypsyism cannot, however, be properly understood as the result or aggregate of negative attitudes. Acts or expressions of antigypsyism follow certain patterns that correspond to and emanate from social practices. These feed on and reproduce prejudices, but exist relatively independent of them. The social practices of antigypsyism are expressions of the broader social relationships between majorities and Roma and associated groups.*[43]

Labelling is the process of categorising someone in a restrictive way by referring to them in a word or short phrase. In sociology, labelling theory focuses on the tendency of majorities and those in power to negatively label minorities and those seen as deviant from the dominant cultural norms in society, and to internalise these labels. Often Roma are labelled by their skin colour, physical characteristics, nicknames, occupations, areas where they live and other derogatory terms, including associations with animal world, where the term "crow" is often used. They might seem like neutral terms – "coloured", "birds", "blondes", "inadaptable", etc. – but for those who use them there is a clear understanding that they are talking about Roma. Such words and short phrases become substitutes in certain cultural contexts, such as "Harvard Graduates and Louis Vuitton models", "newcomers" or "new hippies" which must be decoded in order to be understood. Often, hate speech targeting Roma uses labels and proxies. The media and politicians play a major role in labelling Roma and fuelling hatred towards Roma. Recently, social media has become an important arena for propagating anti-Roma rhetoric and hatred and organising anti-Roma collective actions.

International organisations acknowledge that discrimination against Roma is a widespread phenomenon. There is a tendency to equate antigypsyism with

43. Alliance Against Antigypsyism, *Antigypsyism – A reference paper*, p. 18.

discrimination, as seen in the definition of antigypsyism proposed by IHRA. Discrimination, which is often understood as an attack on individuals due to legal definitions, is just a form of antigypsyism. However, there are other forms of discrimination that are more insidious and which the European legal framework fails to tackle, such as institutional and structural discrimination. As defined by Fred Pincus:

> *Individual discrimination refers to the behavior of individual members of one race/ethnic/gender group that is intended to have a differential and/or harmful effect on the members of another race/ethnic/gender group. Institutional discrimination, on the other hand, is quite different because it refers to the policies of the dominant race/ethnic/gender institutions and the behavior of individuals who control these institutions and implement policies that are intended to have a differential and/or harmful effect on minority race/ethnic/gender groups. Finally, structural discrimination refers to the policies of dominant race/ethnic/gender institutions and the behavior of the individuals who implement these policies and control these institutions which are race/ethnic/gender neutral in intent but which have a differential and/or harmful effect on minority race/ethnic/gender groups.*[44]

School segregation of Romani children is another expression of antigypsyism.[45] In essence, segregation impedes equal access to education by limiting the socialisation of both Roma and non-Roma children. It consists of a physical separation of Roma children from their peers in schools, classes, buildings and other facilities, or overrepresentation in special schools and classes for children with disabilities. It is often linked with residential segregation, a historical factor in the physical isolation and marginalisation of Roma communities. Segregation represents an egregious form of discrimination that is often tolerated, in general, by policy makers. Legally, segregation is not clearly defined and it is very difficult to tackle due to the complexity of the phenomenon and the limitations of the current legal framework in Europe.[46] Segregation in education and housing is combined with evictions, which are often carried out without offering alternative housing to the victims, to reproduce structural social inequalities between Roma and non-Roma, and expressions of antigypsyism in societies.

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44. Pincus F. L. (2000), "Discrimination comes in many forms: individual, institutional, and structural", in Adams M. et al. (eds), *Readings for diversity and social justice*, Routledge, London, p. 31.
45. See Rostas I. and Kostka J. (2014), "Structural dimensions of Roma school desegregation policies in Central and Eastern Europe", in *European Educational Research Journal* Vol. 13. No. 3, pp. 268-81.
46. See Rostas I. (2012), "Judicial policy making: the role of the courts in promoting school desegregation", in Rostas I. (ed.), *Ten years after: a history of Roma school desegregation in Central and Eastern Europe*, CEU Press, Budapest.

The forced sterilisation of Romani women is part of the arsenal used by state authorities to control the very existence of Roma populations. Demographers and populist politicians use certain demographic indicators, such as birth rates, to warn society of the supposed danger of Roma becoming the majority population of the country. Roma are portrayed as a danger to the nation by excluding them from the political arena while calling for measures to put an end to the allegedly rapid growth of the Roma population. The sterilisation of Roma women without their informed consent became a practice to limit the number of Roma in several states during communism that continued after the fall of the regime.[47]

Violence inflicted on Roma by non-Roma has been part of their daily lives throughout Europe for centuries. From banning Roma entering cities, with severe punishments for breaking such restrictions, to the so-called "Gypsy hunts", from enslavement to beatings and murders, from torture to eugenic experiments, including the forced sterilisation of Roma women, from mob violence to skinhead attacks, from evictions to deportations and ethnic cleansing in certain territories, from forced encampments and forced settlement to extermination attempts, Roma in Europe have been subjected to many forms of physical violence. In addition, the state, through its monopoly over violence within its territory, has inflicted and continues to inflict violence on Roma through law-enforcement officials' excessive use of force, illegal use of firearms, police raids on Roma communities, and collective punishments of Roma communities by state actors, often extrajudicially.

During the Second World War, due to their ethnicity, Roma living within the territories occupied by the Nazis and their allies in Europe have been subjected to confiscation of their property, ghettoisation, deportation, imprisonment in labour and extermination camps, medical experiments, collective massacres, famine, disease caused by the conditions of their imprisonment, etc. It is estimated that up to half a million Roma were killed as part of the extermination policies of the Nazis and their allies. The experiences of the Holocaust inflicted deep trauma on the Roma collective memory and are a significant component of Romani identity. Only a few states officially recognise the Roma Holocaust, in spite of a European Parliament resolution and repeated calls from the Council of Europe to do so. The Roma Holocaust is still too frequently denied or distorted today, and Roma are even excluded from some official Holocaust remembrance ceremonies. Among the most common of the distortion discourses is the denial that the persecutions and killings of Roma by the Nazis

47. On the forced sterilisation of Roma women see European Roma Rights Centre (2016), Coercive and cruel: sterilisation and its consequences for Romani women in the Czech Republic (1966-2016), Budapest.

and their allies were racially motivated, instead blaming "anti-social" behaviour as a reason for their persecution. Denial and distortion of the Roma Holocaust often goes hand in hand with limited support for researching and properly documenting Roma experiences before, during and after the Second World War. For example, it only recently became public knowledge that the Roma continued to be detained in camps after the end of the war and the liberation of all occupied territories by Allied forces.[48]

In relation to processes, the dual active and passive role of state authorities in facilitating or directly producing and reproducing antigypsyism must be emphasised. Assimilation of Roma can be achieved either by enacting policies or refraining from action on school curricula and inclusion of Roma-related topics such as Roma history, culture or Romanes. Equal protection under the law is a fundamental principle in a democratic state. However, very often Roma do not enjoy equal protection, such as in cases of domestic violence complaints, when the police refuse to intervene to protect the rights of victims or when social services refuse to apply the same standards in cases involving Roma children as they do in cases involving non-Roma children. Selective enforcement of laws and policies by state authorities represents another mechanism for the production and reproduction of antigypsyism. Such processes are well documented in the implementation of the policy measures that are part of the European Union Framework for the Roma National Integration Strategies, where state authorities are not keen to distribute benefits to the target population. Similarly, during the Covid-19 pandemic and lockdown measures, state authorities had difficulty in reaching Roma communities for the distribution of humanitarian aid, but when imposing strict limitations on freedom of movement, police and law-enforcement agencies readily identified Roma communities as potential rule-breakers.

Another instance of the state's passivity or initiative in the production of antigypsyism is reflected in the commemoration and memorialisation of the historical past. Throughout Europe, nation states glorify their own history while ignoring the contribution of Roma and their history of oppression. Acknowledging Roma contribution to historical events or commemorating victims of slavery, deportations, massacres or the Holocaust, to name a few examples, does not diminish the greatness of a nation or its glorious past as some nationalists might believe. Not only are Roma excluded from official commemorations, but state support for Romani cultural institutions such as theatres, museums, arts and cultural centres is almost entirely missing.

48. See Foisneau L. (2019), *The "Nomads" in French WWII history: a review of seventy-five years of historiography*, paper presented at the Critical Approaches to Romani Studies annual conference, Central European University (CEU), Budapest, 15-17 May.

Exclusion from commemoration and memorialisation practices, combined with the lack of support for institutions representing cultural identity, including the lack of diversity within school curricula and educational systems, represents a form of epistemic violence against Roma.

One of the key features of antigypsyism is the role of the state in its creation and perpetuation. Historically, states – be they empires or nation states – have used Roma to strengthen their administration, tax collection, policing and control of their general population.[49] Nowadays, by refusing to tackle antigypsyism effectively, states are reproducing the historical disadvantages Roma have been subjected to. The violence inflicted by state and non-state actors on Roma individuals and communities, the frequent failure of states to take concrete measures action against such violence and to protect the rights of Roma in accordance with international human rights law and standards, confirm the major role of states in creating and perpetuating antigypsyism.

The impunity of perpetrators of human rights violations against the Roma is another feature of antigypsyism. Failure to investigate incidents in which Roma are victims, the lack of accountability before the law in cases of racism, hate speech, racially motivated crimes, failure to equally protect the rights of Roma or to implement measures and policies targeting Roma, remain too often unsanctioned. Moreover, anti-Roma discourse might rather enhance the notoriety of the perpetrators and their success in engaging in populist politics. The widespread acceptance by states of anti-Roma prejudices and rhetoric, especially when connected to security considerations, as described by Huub van Baar, has given rise to what he has called "reasonable antigypsyism".[50]

Antigypsyism is not, therefore, a "Roma problem" or a problem merely faced by Roma. Antigypsyism is a problem for the whole of society. It relates to the ways in which the majority views and treats a minority in a given society. In this sense, the researcher studying antigypsyism examines the prejudices and stereotypes held by the majority towards those perceived and stigmatised as "Gypsies", the attitudes and actions, as well as the broader cultural norms that guide the actions of state institutions and society at large towards the stigmatised minority. Members of a stigmatised minority may internalise the beliefs and attitudes of the majority and act accordingly. In fact, a member of a minority group might also behave in a racist way towards their own group, or avoid any contact with other members, or even deny belonging to the minority due to having internalised the stigma. However, antigypsyism

49. See van Baar (2011) and McGarry (2017), cited above.
50. Baar H. (van) (2014), "The emergence of a reasonable anti-gypsyism in Europe", in Agarin T. (ed.), *When stereotype meets prejudice*, Ibidem Verlag, Stuttgart.

is essentially about the majority and the public imagination, as well as the process of stigmatising the minority.

Antigypsyism has a collective rather than individual dimension. Individual acts of discrimination are important and should be sanctioned according to the law and deemed unacceptable. Nevertheless, antigypsyism is mostly concerned with collective forms such as institutional and structural discrimination, which are not covered by the legal framework and may not be justiciable. Antigypsyism is not simply about the accumulation of individual experiences of different forms of oppression. It refers to the oppression of individuals because they belong or are believed to belong to a particular group. For this reason, antigypsyism is concerned more with the collective than with the individual.

Antigypsyism is about power relations in society between the majority and the minority in question. The perceived superior status of the majority over the minority is reflected in the beliefs, attitudes and actions of individuals and institutions and in the broader cultural norms of the society. In turn, this difference in status is reinforced by everyday interactions and experiences and justifies the status quo. The perceived differences are used to justify the unequal access to power and resources between the two groups. As Ryan Powell has shown, power has always shaped the stigmatisation and dynamics between the majority and the Roma in the United Kingdom: "Through the processes of categorisation, projection and exaggeration, exclusion is legitimised in the collective mindset of the settled population as *all* Gypsies are associated with deviance, and when measured against the social norms of the dominant group are found wanting."[51] Without an analysis of the power relations between the majority population and the Roma, it is impossible to grasp the complexity of antigypsyism and the exclusion of Roma in society.

Antigypsyism permeates all areas of public life: from culture to science and academia, from housing to education and health care, from social services to the economy and politics. The current Covid-19 pandemic has revealed two important features of antigypsyism: the systemic nature of the oppression of Roma and the cumulative effect of the manifestations of antigypsyism in different areas. The negative portrayal of Roma in the visual arts and in the media has facilitated the blaming of Roma for spreading the disease and the violent and discriminatory interventions by law-enforcement agencies in imposing restrictive measures. The limitation on the freedom of movement during the

51. See Powell R. (2008), "Understanding the stigmatization of gypsies: power and the dialectics of (dis)identification", *Housing, Theory and Society* Vol. 25, No. 2, p. 99.

pandemic has had a disproportionately negative impact on the poor due to the lack of infrastructure and access to basic services and health care. The digital divide has also intensified educational inequalities between the poor and the rest of society, as children in socially excluded communities were unable to attend online classes. The pandemic has shown that antigypsyism is neither accidental nor limited to a certain area. The oppression of Roma is systemic in nature with its cumulative impact manifesting in different areas of public life.

6. Consequences

Currently the Roma are one of the most rejected groups in Europe, as indicated by data from the field (see Appendix 2). Data collected by one of the leading research institutions over the past decade show disturbing levels of unfavourable attitudes towards Roma both in Central and Eastern Europe and Western Europe. While these surveys are snapshots of society's attitudes towards Roma at a particular moment, which can change easily due to unforeseen events, the three datasets reveal a relatively stable trend of highly negative attitudes towards Roma – a trend that no other group has to face in Europe.

It has become a cliché in reports and other publications to describe Roma as the largest minority and the most discriminated group in Europe. Roma are facing exclusion in all fields of public life: education, housing, the labour market, health care, administration of justice, politics, etc. Poverty rates among Roma are very high, comparable with that of other poor communities in some of the most deprived areas of the globe. What makes the Roma's case so exceptional is that poverty and exclusion take place in the one of the leading economic spaces in the world, where liberal democracy and collective political action serve as a reference point for human rights and democracy. These discrepancies make the case of the Roma in Europe particularly visible. Recently, antigypsyism has been recognised by the Council of Europe and the

European Commission as the root cause of Roma exclusion. Historically, the marginalisation of Roma has gone hand in hand with the portrayal of Roma as thieves, lazy and outlaws, as well as by their exclusion from political bodies.

The exclusion of Roma from the political arena as a result of such narratives, and their portrayal in negative terms, has led to social inequalities and inequities with a long-lasting impact to this day. For example, the exclusion of Roma from education has had an impact on their ability to compete in the labour market and to accumulate goods and capital. Their exclusion from land distribution has had an impact on their housing status and forced them to travel in search of markets in which to trade. This has reinforced the stereotypes about nomadism.

The development of capitalism and the gradual inclusion of social groups into political circles, as a result of the democratisation of states, have led to increasingly complex social realities and interconnections between different areas of life. Thus, inequalities in one field have had an impact in other fields as well. The exclusion from political bodies and the cultural sphere has led to exclusion from other areas of public life such as religion, economics, society and science, which in turn have reinforced the exclusion experienced in other fields. Thus, antigypsyism has further contributed to the exclusion of Roma from resources and their disempowerment. We might even talk about a religious antigypsyism, a cultural antigypsyism, an economic antigypsyism, a political antigypsyism, and so on, to analyse how the negative portrayal of Roma in specific narratives and the manipulation of images and symbols has led to their exclusion in these areas and their relationships with other areas of public life. For example, antigypsyism in the cultural sphere has facilitated the dehumanisation of Roma, which in turn has led to their exclusion from education and science while also promoting their economic exploitation. Their exclusion from science and academia has reinforced the prejudices and stereotypes against them, exacerbating cultural exclusion and domination. Hopefully, further research will reveal the complex mechanisms of how antigypsyism works and impacts the lives of Roma and the structure of society.

Antigypsyism has led to the stigmatisation of Romani identity in the public sphere. Along with the prejudices and negative stereotypes, the lack of relevant information about Roma in mainstream educational curricula sends a message that Romani identity is not valued in the same way as other ethnic identities, leading to low self-esteem among Roma. The effects of this may explain the relatively low numbers of Roma declaring their ethnicity in population censuses.

The violence inflicted on Roma throughout their history, the deportations and the experience of the Holocaust have traumatised Roma for generations. The discriminatory law enforcement, especially in relation to the enjoyment of equal protection under the law, as well as impunity for the perpetrators of such abuses reinforces the belief that Roma are inferior and less human, even among Roma themselves. Internalised racism, low self-esteem and self-hatred are all legacies of antigypsyism on Romani identity. The persistent climate of violence and hate that could spread to other areas of public life remains a constant threat to the Roma.

Another serious consequence of antigypsyism is the limited impact of social inclusion policies targeting Roma. Antigypsyism affects the definition of the problems these policies tackle, as well as the choice of implementation structures and policy measures to achieve the objectives. With such high levels of hostility, it is not surprising that the development and implementation of Roma policies remains a constant challenge for any government. Moreover, the high level of hostility makes politicians and policy makers reluctant to act decisively to improve the situation of Roma, as any distribution of resources to Roma communities will make them unpopular with the general public and might jeopardise their re-election or retention of power. The result of this vicious cycle of hostility, ineffective social inclusion policies and leaders' reluctance to act has ensured the continuous subordination of the Roma minority and treatment of them as outlaws, not citizens.

7. Possible responses

It is clear from the analysis of its causes, manifestations and consequences that antigypsyism is a complex phenomenon which has to be tackled on several levels and over the long term. It is unrealistic to expect that short-term interventions will bring about significant changes in prejudices and stereotypes, or in behaviour and attitudes towards Roma. The beliefs, images and narratives about Roma have been fixed in the public imagination for centuries and cannot be reversed by small-scale interventions, an educational project or an awareness-raising campaign. It requires systematic and co-ordinated efforts by states, international organisations, universities and research centres, non-governmental organisations and informal groups to acknowledge, document and act to bring antigypsyism to an end.

In this respect, the Council of Europe has played a pioneering role in tackling antigypsyism, from acknowledging and using the concept, to defining it, and to implementing specific activities aimed at eliminating antigypsyism. Combating antigypsyism and discrimination in its various forms is one of the priority areas of the Council of Europe's Strategic Action Plan for Roma and Traveller Inclusion (2020-2025) and has been a priority in the Thematic Action Plan on the Inclusion of Roma and Travellers (2016-2019). In addition, some positive practices that could inspire these efforts to tackle antigypsyism are presented below.

Legislation is an important tool in tackling antigypsyism. While laws might regulate behaviour and inspire values, they cannot regulate prejudices, stereotypes and deeply entrenched beliefs. It is important that legislation, especially anti-discrimination laws, include antigypsyism among the various prohibited grounds of discrimination and racism, and place a positive duty on perpetrators to take appropriate action to tackle antigypsyism. Like antisemitism or Islamophobia, antigypsyism should be on the agenda of conferences and workshops organised by international organisations and involving discussion with legal experts and human rights professionals about tackling discrimination and racism. Tackling antigypsyism can contribute to setting higher standards for human rights protection, as demonstrated by the caselaw related to Roma school segregation of the European Court of Human Rights, or the case of the police registration of Roma individuals in Sweden.

An audit should be conducted of the legislation and regulations that promote antigypsyism bias in the actions of civil servants, law-enforcement officials and the judiciary. Once these loopholes are identified, the necessary improvements should be made to prevent racial prejudice against Roma. Specialised training on antigypsyism and racism should be regularly organised for civil servants, law-enforcement officers and the judiciary to ensure the quality of their services and interventions.

Education is a tool that should be used on a long-term basis to tackle antigypsyism. The lack of information about Roma history, culture and traditions and the impossibility of studying Romani language in school have damaged the representation of Roma in the public imagination, supporting the narrative of Roma inferiority, lack of culture and backwardness. For the Roma, this exclusion has had a negative impact on their self-esteem and affected their capacity to self-organise. Thus, the revision of textbooks and national curricula to eliminate biased information, to include relevant texts on Roma history and culture, and to provide opportunities to study Romani language is a necessary step towards transforming the educational system into an inclusive space.

Support for Roma culture and the arts can also be an effective tool in combating antigypsyism. The visibility of Romani artists and their cultural products, support for Roma theatres and museums, the presence of information about Roma history and art in mainstream cultural institutions can educate the public and destigmatise Romani identity. The public will benefit from the opportunity to receive information about Roma culture and their contribution to European art and culture, and to reflect on the distorted representation of Roma in European art since the Renaissance. The misrepresentation of Roma in the visual arts and literature, since their arrival into Europe has facilitated the development of narratives and manipulation of images that are the

basis of antigypsyism. As one of the core assumptions of antigypsyism is the inferiority of Roma, support for Roma arts and culture will facilitate a deeper understanding of the Roma and their culture. The establishment of the ERIAC and the support provided by the Council of Europe and several member states to ERIAC activities are part of their commitment to combating antigypsyism. This process should go hand in hand with a revision of current art exhibitions and information included in mainstream art institutions.

A critical analysis of art and literature is essential in deconstructing the biased narratives and images. The Council of Europe's initiative to analyse the representation of Roma in major European museum collections informs the public about the place and perception of Roma in Europe from the 15th to the 19th century, thus tracing back the origins of antigypsyism and the biased images that have been transmitted over the centuries. The two volumes published so far reviewing art works from the Louvre and Prado museums that represent Roma[52] could serve as a starting point for similar collaborations in all member states. By contextualising the representation of Roma these studies help the public to understand the misconceptions associated with Roma and invite critical reflection on the stereotypical narratives and images.

Acknowledging the historical injustices perpetrated by non-Roma against Roma offers a sense of respect and dignity to the victims and paves the way for Roma inclusion in commemorations. This is extremely relevant in the case of the Holocaust, because Roma have been excluded for many years from the official commemoration ceremony that takes place on 27 January, the International Holocaust Remembrance Day, at the United Nations. The relevant information about these historical injustices against Roma should be included in museum collections and exhibitions. Victims should, whenever possible, receive compensation for past suffering, especially when they are easily identifiable, such as the victims of forced sterilisations. Such compensation should not only be symbolic, but also be commensurate with the suffering endured. Collective reparations for communities should also be considered: renaming of streets, erection of memorials/monuments, holding commemoration ceremonies, instituting days of remembrance, and so on.

A study conducted by the Centre for European Policy Studies in 2019, commissioned by the European Parliament, explored ways to scale up the EU Framework on Roma 2011-2020 into a policy aimed at combating historically

52. Carmona S. (2019-2020), "The representation of Roma in major European museum collections", two volumes, Council of Europe, Strasbourg.

rooted antigypsyism via the rule of law and transitional justice measures.[53] Instead of addressing the Roma integration challenge through socio-economic policies, the authors proposed addressing antigypsyism by pointing out that transitional justice tools will bring to light not only present, but also past injustices. They also mention the advantages of such an approach in the building of a common narrative and facilitation of mutual trust between Roma and non-Roma. Based on the analyses of truth and reconciliation commissions (TRC) in Australia, Canada, South Africa, Sweden and Romania, the authors proposed the creation of TRCs at EU member state level as a way of combating antigypsyism. They emphasised that TRCs have been instrumental in raising awareness and building a common narrative while providing a detailed historical record of past wrongdoings and systemic human rights abuses of oppressed groups. TRCs also focus on the dignity of victims and have brought to public attention the importance of recognition and remembrance in providing justice. In some countries, TRCs have paved the way for further investigations and reparations to victims and their families, when they could be identified, or to general collective measures aiming to support group members through scholarships and positive discrimination in various areas. In fact, the possible interventions suggested in this section have been part of the work done by TRCs in different countries, and transitional justice could provide an effective comprehensive framework to combat antigypsyism.

53. Carrera S. et al. (2019), Scaling up Roma inclusion strategies: truth, reconciliation and justice for addressing antigypsyism, European Parliament, Brussels.

8. Conclusions

Academic work and publications on the concept of antigypsyism have flourished over the past two decades. There are articles, book chapters or even entire books focusing on different forms of racism and discrimination that Roma have historically suffered in Europe. A growing body of work by Roma scholars, artists and curators analyses the representation, or rather misrepresentation, of Roma in the arts and culture. This reveals the lack of infrastructure for Roma in which to affirm their identity and the challenges in penetrating institutions that represent mainstream culture.

Antigypsyism has become a central notion in Critical Romani Studies, an academic movement led by Roma and non-Roma scholars. It focuses on issues ignored by previous scholars and is therefore not part of the dominant academic discourse on Roma, such as Romani identity, discrimination and marginalisation, racism and oppression against Roma, Romani feminism and gender inequalities, etc. In recent years, an increasing number of scholars and Romani activists critical of policy making in relation to Roma have underlined the need to address antigypsyism in order to improve the impact of policies that target Roma in all areas. However, antigypsyism should be seen as an analytical tool that allows researchers to move beyond the discourse of inclusion promoted by governments and international organisations, which emphasises equal opportunities and non-discrimination as policy aims.

Antigypsyism is constructed and enacted in different areas: academia, arts and culture, gender relations, housing, environment, health care, education, the labour market, etc. Antigypsyism is produced and reproduced in all these areas and rigorous research is needed to provide a comprehensive understanding of the exclusion mechanisms that Roma face within society.

The new political and academic context has been exacerbated by the Covid-19 pandemic and the debates generated by the Black Lives Matter movement in the United States and elsewhere. The issues of race and racism have come under scrutiny as part of the historical experiences of certain minority groups that have been enslaved and subjected to different forms of oppression and their claims for social justice. It is anticipated that the prominence of debates on racism, oppression and social justice will grow in intensity. Within this context, the turning point in Romani studies that has occurred in the past few years will influence the narratives and discourses on Roma in Europe and globally, placing them in the wider context of the struggle for equality and social justice of other social movements.

While antigypsyism is not a new field of study, as one scholar has noted, there is a need for archival and innovative research to unveil the wide spectrum of manifestations and mechanisms that contribute to the ongoing production and reproduction of antigypsyism.[54]

54. Heuss H. (2000), "Anti-gypsyism research: the creation of a new field of study", in Acton T. (ed.) *Scholarship and the Gypsy struggle: commitment in Romani studies*, University of Hertfordshire Press, Hertfordshire.

9. Recommendations

Based on the analysis of the causes, manifestations, consequences and possible responses to antigypsyism, a set of recommendations to combat antigypsyism are proposed. They are grouped into three categories, according to the audience.

Recommendations to the Council of Europe

The Council of Europe should work more closely with the European Commission, the European Parliament, the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), the United Nations and member states to acknowledge antigypsyism and operationalise the concept.

The Council of Europe should assist member states in taking the necessary steps to tackle antigypsyism in an effective, comprehensive manner, including through establishing truth and reconciliation commissions.

The Council of Europe should explicitly include the term antigypsyism among the different prohibited grounds of discrimination and racism, with a specific reference to institutional and structural racism, discrimination and exclusion.

The Council of Europe should work with member states to ensure that manifestations of antigypsyism are combated effectively, without limitations related to the administrative or nationality status of the individuals affected by

antigypsyism and including the antigypsyism faced by EU citizens and non-EU asylum seekers who are Roma.

The Council of Europe should assist member states in revising textbooks and school curricula to eliminate bias and make educational systems more inclusive.

The Council of Europe should assist member states in revising their national legislation to eliminate discriminatory provisions against Roma.

The Council of Europe should regularly monitor the progress of the member states in combating antigypsyism.

The Council of Europe's senior officials should condemn manifestations of antigypsyism and encourage politicians and senior decision makers in member states to speak out against any manifestations of antigypsyism, as hate and racism are unacceptable in a democratic society.

Recommendations to member states

Acknowledge and document antigypsyism as the root cause of the marginalisation and exclusion of Roma.

Raise public and institutional awareness of the importance of recognising, preventing and combating antigypsyism.

Establish truth and reconciliation commissions to investigate and document the discrimination and exclusion of Roma. Such commissions should include Roma and non-Roma academics, personalities and experts. The final report of these commissions should document extensively the experiences of Roma and include a set of measures to be adopted by state institutions to effectively combat antigypsyism.

Promote research on Roma and their historical experiences, including financial support for such initiatives, prioritising antigypsyism in calls for research projects, and facilitating access to archival records.

Revise textbooks and national curricula to eliminate discriminatory and biased texts.

Revise legislation and regulations, including law enforcement and the judiciary, to eliminate all antigypsy bias in law enforcement, and to transform anti-discrimination and inclusion from mere slogans into norms and values.

Provide anti-racist and anti-bias training to all civil servants, teachers, law-enforcement officials and the judiciary as a way to effectively combat antigypsyism.

Support teaching on Roma history, Roma culture and the Romanes language at all levels of education, including support for the establishment of Romani studies programmes at public universities.

Provide support to institutions concerned with the representation of identity such as museums, theatres, cultural centres and community cultural organisations to help combat antigypsyism.

Recommendations to civil society

Continue to document and report incidents of Roma discrimination and different forms of oppression and exclusion.

Continue to promote Romani arts and culture as an effective means of combating antigypsyism and promoting a positive image of Roma in the public arena.

Provide support to state initiatives aimed at combating antigypsyism, through revising textbooks, national curricula and legislation, or by documenting the discrimination and marginalisation of Roma.

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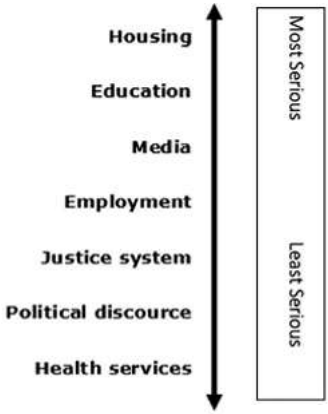
Appendix 1

Figure 1. Ranking manifestations of antigypsyism from the most common (top) to the least common (bottom)

Source: Carrera, Rostas and Vosyliūtė 2017: 10.

Figure 2. Ranking of policy areas with the most significant antigypsyism



Source: Ibid., p. 11.

Appendix 2

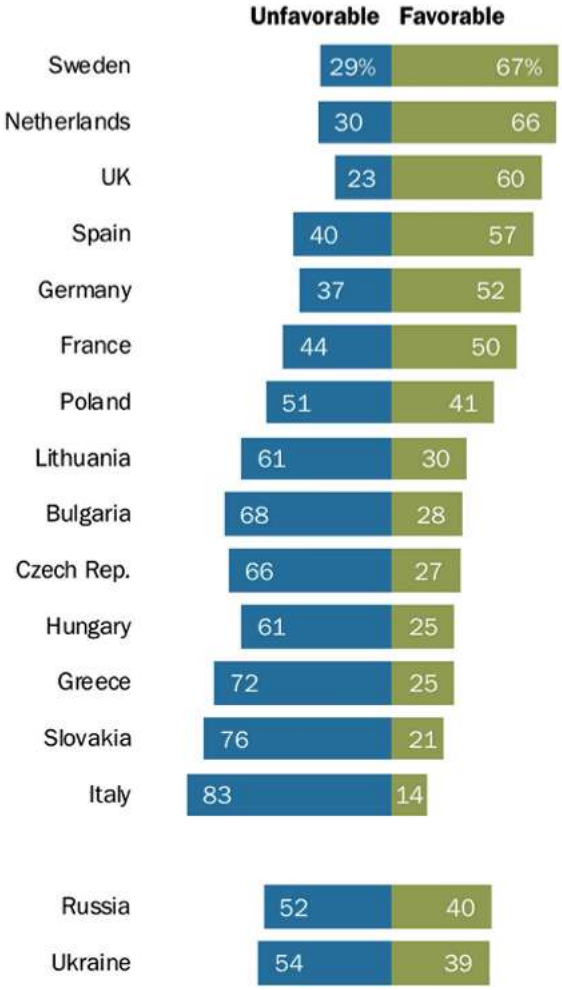
Percentage of favourable/unfavourable opinions of Roma/Muslim/Jews in each country

	Roma		Muslims		Jews	
	Unfavourable	Favourable	Unfavourable	Favourable	Unfavourable	Favourable
Sweden	29	67	28	68	3	92
Netherlands	30	66	28	70	5	92
UK	23	60	18	78	6	90
Spain	40	57	42	54	19	76
Germany	37	52	24	69	6	86
France	44	50	22	72	6	89
Poland	51	41	66	26	31	59
Lithuania	61	30	56	26	26	67
Bulgaria	68	28	21	69	18	69
Czech Rep	66	27	64	23	17	65
Hungary	61	25	58	11	18	60
Greece	72	25	57	37	38	51
Slovakia	76	21	77	16	30	58
Italy	83	14	55	41	15	77
Russia	52	40	19	76	18	75
Ukraine	54	39	21	62	11	83

Source: Data from PEW Research Center – "European public opinion three decades after the fall of communism", 14 October 2019, available at: www.pewresearch.org/global/2019/10/14/minority-groups/.

Unfavorable views of Roma are widespread in Central, Eastern Europe

% who have a ___ opinion of Roma in their country



Note: Don't know responses not shown. Question not asked in U.S.
Source: Spring 2019 Global Attitudes Survey. Q48b.

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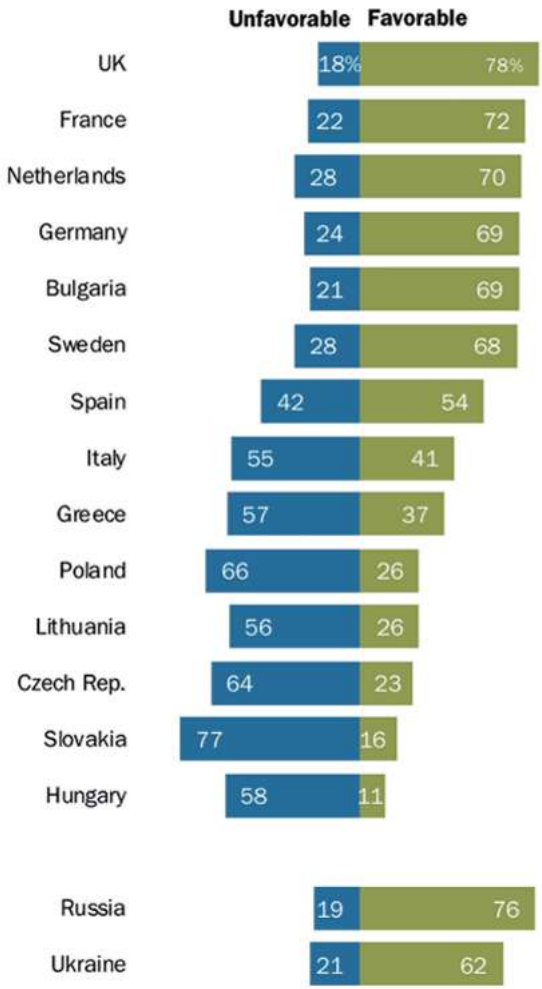
Positive views of Muslims more common in Western Europe and Russia

% who have a ___ opinion of Muslims in their country



Note: In Bulgaria, question asked about "Muslim Bulgarians." Don't know responses not shown. Question not asked in the U.S.
Source: Spring 2019 Global Attitudes Survey. Q48c-d.

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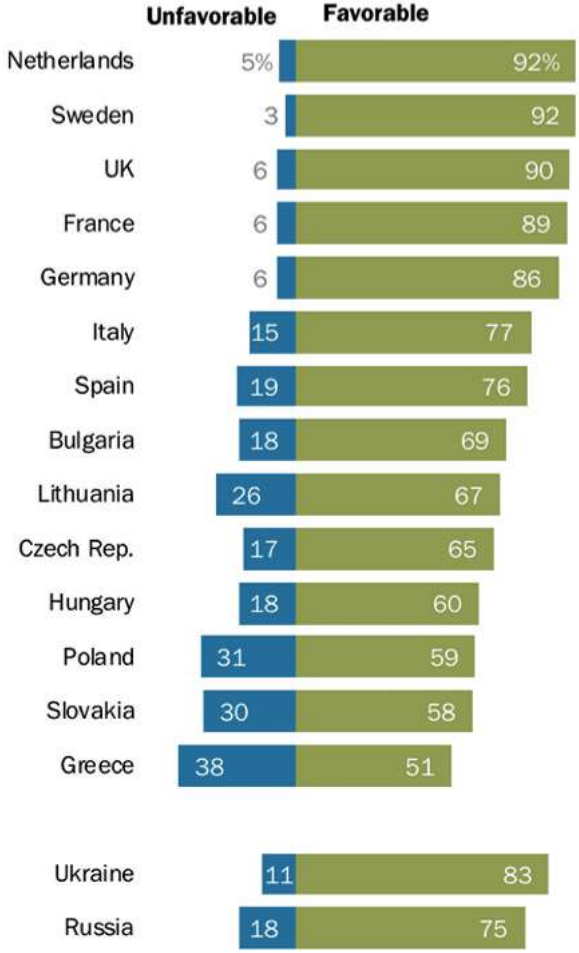
Half or more in all European countries surveyed have a favorable view of Jews

% who have a ___ opinion of Jews in their country



Note: Don't know responses not shown. Question not asked in U.S.
Source: Spring 2019 Global Attitudes Survey. Q48a.

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Many Europeans rate Roma, Muslims unfavorably

Unfavorable view of ___ in our country

	Roma*	Muslims	Jews
	%	%	%
Italy	82	69	24
Greece	67	65	55
Hungary	64	72	32
France	61	29	10
Spain	49	50	21
Poland	47	66	24
UK	45	28	7
Sweden	42	35	5
Germany	40	29	5
Netherlands	37	35	4
MEDIAN	48	43	16

*In UK, asked as "Gypsies or Roma."

Source: Spring 2016 Global Attitudes Survey. Q36a-c.

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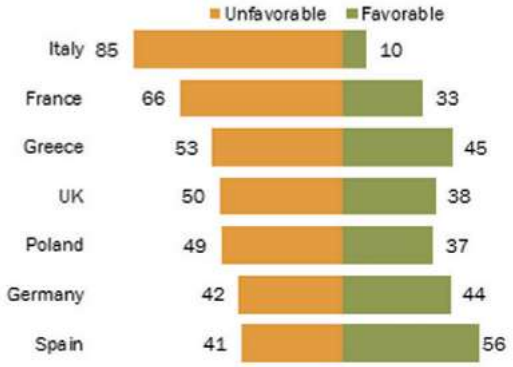
Unfavorable Views of Roma Widespread

% with a ___ view of Roma in their country



Note: In United Kingdom, asked as "Gypsies or Roma."

Source: Spring 2014 Global Attitudes survey. Q37b.

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The aim of this report, which was commissioned by the Council of Europe Secretariat on behalf of the Committee of Experts on Roma and Traveller Issues (ADI-ROM), is to take stock of the current debates regarding racism and discrimination against Roma and to contribute to a better understanding of the topic. The report covers the debates on the terminology used by different actors and the definitions provided by academics and institutions, discausses the causes of the racism against Roma, and describes and analyses its manifestations and consequences. Separate sections are also dedicated to possible responses to racism against Roma, conclusions that could be drawn from the report and a set of recommendations from different institutional actors.

Racism against Roma is a controversial issue and it starts with the terminology. The report presents the different terms used by Roma activists, scholars and different institutions – antigypsyism, Romaphobia, anti-Romaism, anti-Romism, anti-Roma racism – and will discuss the challenges in the particular choice of each term.

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The Council of Europe is the continent's leading human rights organisation. It comprises 46 member states, 28 of which are members of the European Union. All Council of Europe member states have signed up to the European Convention on Human Rights, a treaty designed to protect human rights, democracy and the rule of law. The European Court of Human Rights oversees the implementation of the Convention in the member states.

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