

## Module 6: Antigypsyism

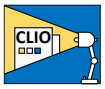
# CLIO

Challenging Hostile Views and Fostering Civic Competences

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## Consortium



Institut für Didaktik der Demokratie  
Leibniz Universität Hannover,  
Deutschland  
[www.idd.uni-hannover.de/en](http://www.idd.uni-hannover.de/en)



Technical school Nikola Tesla,  
Vukovar,  
Croatia  
[www.ss-tehnicka-ntesla-vu.skole.hr](http://www.ss-tehnicka-ntesla-vu.skole.hr)



Zespół Szkół Poligraficznych,  
Warsaw,  
Poland  
[www.www.zspoligraf.pl](http://www.www.zspoligraf.pl)



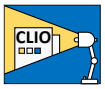
Warsaw Centre for Socio-Educational  
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[www.wcies.edu.pl](http://www.wcies.edu.pl)



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Demokratiezentrum Wien,  
Österreich  
[www.demokratiezentrum.org](http://www.demokratiezentrum.org)



## TABLE OF CONTENTS

The Clio Project.....	5
1. Overview .....	6
2. Introduction.....	6
3. What does Antigypsyism mean? definitions .....	7
4. A history of roma? .....	11
5. Forms of antigypsyism: what does it look like in our daily lives? .....	16
6. How to prevent and combat antigypsyism?.....	24
7. Teaching about antigypsyism .....	28
8. Where to turn to? NGOs & networks that can help you learn more .....	28
9. Literature.....	30



## THE CLIO PROJECT

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Clio is a project for the prevention and coping with right-wing extremism at vocational schools. Teachers and headmasters should be enabled to recognize and understand the corresponding positions among their students and to stand up for democratic values without fear. For this purpose, interdisciplinary experts from Austria, Poland, Croatia and Germany are developing various materials for vocational school teachers in close cooperation with the target group, such as an app, a blended learning training and a podcast. The main focus of this project is to build synergetic networks with other stakeholders in the individual countries in order to strengthen the schools and provide them with knowledge and professionally created material.



## 1. OVERVIEW

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*In this module you will learn...*

*... basic definitions of Antigypsyism*

*... the historical origins of Antigypsyism / the historical relationship between Roma and non-Roma in the European area*

*... the different forms of antigypsyism*

*... ways of recognizing them*

*... different ways of preventing and fighting antigypsyism.*

## 2. INTRODUCTION

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"Antigypsyism" means specific stereotypes and resentments towards Sinti and Roma, which have grown historically. The Independent Commission on Antigypsyism speaks of a traditional pan-European prejudice. Antigypsyism is a specific form of racism directed against Roma, Sinti, Travellers, Yenish and other people who are also often stigmatized as Gypsies.

Sinti and Roma have lived in Europe for centuries. In their respective homelands, they form historically evolved minorities who call themselves Sinti or Roma, where Sinti refers to members of the minority who are native to Western and Central Europe, and Roma refers to those of Eastern and Southeastern European origin. Outside the German-speaking world, Roma is often used as a name for the entire minority.

The term "Gypsy," on the other hand, is a foreign designation of the majority population that dates back to the Middle Ages and is rejected by the minority as discriminatory.

Particular caution is required when speaking of a Roma culture. Nor is there "the" Roma, or "the" Romni, any more than there is "the" North European. Because the term Roma encompasses numerous ethnicities and groups of people, this module will not declare a single culture, because this would be part of the stereotype against which those concerned have been fighting for many years. A historical discourse is made possible when we are not talking about one culture, history or group of people, but about the phenomenon of antiziganism. This will be taken into account in this module.

The term Roma is complex in that its definition varies depending on who uses it and how. Some groups that are subsumed under the term Roma call themselves that, others do not. Scholars use the term Roma analytically in the context of antigypsyism to make tangible the images and attributions to people who are marked as Roma. It is not a matter of defining who falls under this term.

- *Have you assumed so far that there is one Roma culture? If so, why? What does this culture look like in their opinion?*
- *Do you think your views might change if you learned more about antigypsyism?*
- *Do you know any famous Roma?*

## **Activity**

### **Reflect and learn!**

#### **Compose a short case- study about Roma**

- *Are Roma rights protected or at risk?*
- *What is the situation of Roma today?*

## **3. WHAT DOES ANTIGYPSYISM MEAN? DEFINITIONS**

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Roma people constitute the largest minority in Europe and have been in Europe since 14<sup>th</sup> century but the majority of Europeans did not accept them as 'real' Europeans. Many Roma live in poor conditions and they rarely have representatives in public life, despite the fact Roma people can be found in almost all Europe states, while in some Central and Eastern European countries they represent 5% to 10 % of the population. The position of Roma in today's European countries varies from state to state but most states try to point them to a sedentary way of life and integrate them to society. The xenophobic attitude towards the Roma is an indisputable obstacle to their acceptance and integration into most societies.

Antigypsyism is a relatively new term used in different strategic documents, resolution and proposals aimed at reducing discrimination against Roma in the European Union. It is used to express negative stereotypes and anti- Roma attitudes. It also includes discriminatory expressions and practices, what is being said, what is being done or what is not being done. Antigypsyism represents a racist ideology and is intertwined with many other types of racism. It is a complex social phenomenon that manifests itself through violence, hate speech, exploitation and discrimination in its most obvious form.

Cortes and End<sup>1</sup> claim that the term antigypsyism was first used by Romani activists in the 1920s and 1930s in the early Soviet Union. The term has been rediscovered in European scholarly and activist discourse in the 1980s. Since the 1980s, it has been used by activists and scholars although it remains

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<sup>1</sup> Ismael Cortés Gómez and Markus End (2019), "Introduction: Contemporary Dimensions of Antigypsyism in Europe" in a "Dimensions of Antigypsyism in Europe", 21-29, European Network Against Racism and Central Council of German Sinti and Roma

a controversial term. The term is still rather unknown to the broader public, but in recent years it has gained increasing attention Europe-wide both in political and scholarly fields.

There is no agreed term for defining this phenomenon. The terminology used to describe the relations between Roma and non-Roma varies from author to author, hence, different terms exist. In literature, this phenomenon is referred to as Romaphobia, antigypsyism, anti-gypsyism, antiziganism and its different derivatives.

Rostas<sup>2</sup> argues that the term Romaphobia emphasises the positive aspect of Roma identity but also suggests the strong fear or hatred of Roma seems to undermine the role of institutions in producing this fear and hatred of Roma. According to Rostas, it also fails to point out the policy solutions to tackle this phenomenon. Rostas also argues that the terms anti-gypsyism, anti-ziganism and its derivatives include the Roma and non-Roma power relations, the way they are perceived and portrayed in the public but these terms make it difficult to define exactly who are the targets of hatred and fear. Romaphobia refers to those portrayed in public as 'Gypsies' regardless of their self-identification. The author also argues the term 'Gypsy'<sup>3</sup> does not have the same strong negative connotation as 'zigan' and its derivatives. While no term is perfect, Rostas claims that terms 'Gypsy' and 'zigan' also reflect how a certain name for the group is forced onto them from the outside.

The Alliance against Antigypsyism argues that the term antigypsyism is "analytically more accurate and makes clear that other groups - Sinti, Travellers, manouches, Egyptians – are equally affected. The term "antiziganism" conveys the same content: To use antigypsyism by preference is more a matter of convention, reflecting the fact that 'gypsy' is the English term comprising the core elements of this racist ideology".<sup>4</sup> The Alliance prefers the term antigypsyism (without hyphen, as opposed to anti-gypsyism) because in its opinion the latter gives the impression that something like 'gypsyism' exists. The Alliance also states that "although certain currents of thought assert the existence of Romanipen – Romani philosophy and a shared frame of affiliation among Roma – this should not be considered at all related to the projections pronounced in antigypsyist discourse. This usage also refutes the argument that antigypsyism should not be used because the term 'gypsy' has pejorative connotations. What those who embody antigypsyism are antagonistic towards is actually a creation of the collective imagination that is entirely ignorant of Romani cultures and perspectives".<sup>5</sup>

It should be pointed out that Roma call themselves Roma in their own language<sup>6</sup>, while non-Roma, very often out of mockery, call them "Gypsies". The Roma themselves have never used that name for

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<sup>2</sup> Rostas, Iulius (2019): "Ethnic Identity as a Social Category and as a Process." In *A Task for Sisyphus: Why Europe's Roma Policies Fail*, 1-48. Budapest; New York: Central European University Press. Accessed January 22, 2021. doi:10.7829/j.ctv1453hvp.4.

<sup>3</sup> The name 'Gypsies' originated from the false belief that Roma were of Egyptian origin, hence the Spanish name Gitanos and the English Gypsies. In France, they were referred to as Bohemians because many Roma people came to France via Bohemia in Czech Republic.

<sup>4</sup> Alliance against antigypsyism, *Antigypsyism - a reference paper* (2016), p.6 <https://ergonetnetwork.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/05/Antigypsyism-reference-paper.pdf>

<sup>5</sup> Alliance against antigypsyism (2006), p.6

<sup>6</sup> Roma people are known by many names throughout Europe but mostly refer to themselves as Rom (which means 'man', 'husband' but does not imply ethnicity; it simply means the mature - married adults) and use the



their people. While many Roma consider the name Tsiganoi and Gypsy to be pejorative, others prefer their own ethnonym and object to being called Roma. By doing so, they underline their differentiation from Roma. Some of the groups that fall under the Roma category are the Ashkali and the Egyptians in Macedonia and Kosovo, the Gypsy and Travellers in Ireland and the UK, the Sinti in Germany, Italy, and Austria, the Beash in Croatia Hungary, and the Rudari in Romania and Bulgaria. Recently, the question of the correctness of the use of the term 'Gypsy' has been raised but it usually does not go beyond daily political use and frequent abuse.

None of the above terms is perfect but since English has become a common language in international communication, the use of the term 'antigypsyism' became preferred. On the other hand, when the term is translated to other languages, the most suitable translation would be the one using the derivatives of the Greek 'athinganoi' <sup>7</sup> (meaning untouchables or pagans): antiziganism, anticiganizam, anticyganism, antigitanismo, etc.

The same problem is present with defining this phenomenon. Different definitions of antigypsyism have been produced but there is still no commonly accepted definition of antigypsyism in civil society, institutions and among scholars.

The European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI) of the Council of Europe has defined antigypsyism as: *"an especially persistent, violent, recurrent and commonplace 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."*<sup>8</sup>

This definition is used by different international organisations, such as the European Parliament, European Commission and the Fundamental Rights Agency.

Rostas defines antigypsyism *"as a special form of racism directed towards Roma that has at its core the assumption that Roma are inferior and deviant."*<sup>9</sup>

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term Gadze; Gaje for non-Roma people. This term has a pejorative meaning - 'barbarian'. Throughout history, Roma people have been called different names. Wanderers, Vagrants, Bohemians, Travellers, Gypsies, Sinti, Zott, Luri, Nawar, Jats are only some of these names. Many of these names came about through errors and prejudice but are similar in linguistic sense.

<sup>7</sup> The first reliable written trace of the Roma dates from 1068. Adsikans in Constantinople were mentioned in the text entitled "Life of St. George the Anthonite". In scientific circles, there is agreement that Adsincani were in fact Roma people. 'Adsincani' is interpreted as a Greek word meaning "Atsinganoi/Atzingano". This word was later introduced to other European languages.

<sup>8</sup> Sergio Carrera, Iulius Rostas & Lina Vosyliūtė, Combating Institutional Anti-Gypsyism Responses and Promising Practices in the EU and Selected Member States, No 2017/08, May 2017, [http://aei.pitt.edu/87207/1/RR2017-08\\_AntiGypsyism.pdf](http://aei.pitt.edu/87207/1/RR2017-08_AntiGypsyism.pdf)

<sup>9</sup> Rostas, p.12

According to the author, this definition provides a better explanation of the core of antigypsyism which aims to dehumanise Roma people and present them as inferior, which in turn lays the groundwork for discriminating policies.

The Alliance against Antigypsyism gave a working definition which focuses more on the recognition of its multidimensional character, the common roots of discriminatory practices with widely varying forms and intensities: *“Antigypsyism is a historically constructed, persistent complex of customary racism against social groups identified under the stigma ‘gypsy’ or other related terms, and incorporates:*

- 1. a homogenizing and essentializing perception and description of these groups;*
- 2. the attribution of specific characteristics to them;*
- 3. discriminating social structures and violent practices that emerge against that background, which have a degrading and ostracizing effect and which reproduce structural disadvantages.”*<sup>10</sup>

Valeriu Nicolae’s<sup>11</sup> proposed definition is still influential today:

*“Anti-Gypsyism includes features from all of his definitions of racism; however, it is not reduced to only those. Anti-Gypsyism is a very specific form of racism, an ideology of racial superiority, a form of dehumanisation and of institutionalised racism. It is fuelled by historical discrimination and the struggle to maintain power relations that permit advantages to majority groups. It is based, on the one hand, on imagined fears, negative stereotypes, and myths and, on the other, on denial or erasure from the public conscience of a long history of discrimination against Roma. It ignores not only events where Roma were killed with bestiality, but also any non-stereotypical characteristics in the life of Roma. Prejudices against Roma clearly go beyond racist stereotyping which associates them with negative traits and behaviours. Dehumanisation is its central point. Roma are viewed as less than human; being less than human, they are perceived as not morally entitled to human rights equal to those of the rest of the population. Like any ideology, anti-Gypsyism can adapt as Roma remain targeted, regardless of the changes they make in their social status, living conditions, and practices, as long as they admit their ethnic roots. Anti-Gypsyism has such contempt for reason, facts, and intellectual debate that it requires little effort to justify its often ideological contradictions and changes, a feature that links it strongly with fascism.”*

Carrera, Rostas and Vosyliūtė<sup>12</sup> argue that despite different definitions a consensus exists in academic circles that antigypsyism is a special form of racism directed against Roma and in its core contains the

<sup>10</sup> Alliance against antigypsyism, p.5

<sup>11</sup> Valeriu Nicolae, Towards a Definition of Anti-Gypsyism, (2006), [https://ergonetnetwork.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/01/Valeriu-Nicolae\\_towards-a-definition-of-antigypsyism.pdf](https://ergonetnetwork.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/01/Valeriu-Nicolae_towards-a-definition-of-antigypsyism.pdf)

<sup>12</sup> Sergio Carrera, Iulius Rostas & Lina Vosyliūtė (2017): Combating Institutional Anti-Gypsyism Responses and Promising Practices in the EU and Selected Member States, No 2017/08, ([http://aei.pitt.edu/87207/1/RR2017-08\\_AntiGypsyism.pdf](http://aei.pitt.edu/87207/1/RR2017-08_AntiGypsyism.pdf))

assumption that Roma are an inferior and deviant group. They also state that there are other assumptions which include orientalism, nomadism, rootlessness identity and backwardness.

The dehumanisation of Roma is at the core of antigypsyism. They are seen as less- human, thus considered unauthorised to have human rights. What seems to legitimise this dehumanisation and abusive behaviour towards Roma is that they are not viewed as individuals but as a homogenous group:

*“These definitions reflect the common acknowledgement that antigypsyism is a form of racism which manifests itself and affects Roma in numerous, multi-faceted ways, due to a number of essential features. Among these, the following have been referred to as particularly distinctive: antigypsyism is historically rooted and has its origins in how the social majority view and treat those they consider ‘gypsies’; it is, therefore, deeply entrenched in social and cultural attitudes, what makes it particularly commonplace, persistent and recurring, albeit constantly adapting to changing economic, social and political realities; it is structural and exists both at institutional, social and interpersonal level; it is based, as it also occurs with other forms of racism, on a process of ‘othering’ which builds on both demeaning, negative as well as positive, exoticizing stereotypes, that can in turn lead to attitudes which can be malevolent but also benevolent in nature; it can be unintentional and even unconscious; it may sometimes result in a process of internalisation by Roma themselves.”<sup>13</sup>*

To summarise, Antigypsyism has deep historical roots and Roma have witnessed a long history of discrimination and exclusion in Europe.

### Activity

- How does Antigypsyism compare to other forms of racism, e.g., Antisemitism (see Module 2)?
- Make a list of similar beliefs and images that exist around the particular groups of people who face the forms of racism you mentioned above.

## 4. A HISTORY OF ROMA?

### Repeating exercise (Module 3): The danger of a “single story”

“My roommate had a single story of Africa. A single story of catastrophe. In this single story there was no possibility of Africans being similar to her, in any way. No possibility of feelings more complex than pity. No possibility of a connection as human equals. [...] This single story about Africa ultimately comes, I think, from Western literature. [...] Show a people as one thing, as only one thing, over and over again, and that is what they become. It is impossible to talk about the single story, without talking about power. [...] Power is the ability not just to tell the story of another person, but to make it the

<sup>13</sup> Antigypsyism: increasing its recognition to better understand and address its manifestations (2018): European Commission Directorate-General for Justice and Consumers Directorate c — Fundamental Rights and Rule of Law unit c.2 — Fundamental Rights Policy, ([file:///C:/Users/Korisnik/Downloads/HLG\\_Conclusionspaperantigypsyism\\_finalpdf%20\(1\).pdf](file:///C:/Users/Korisnik/Downloads/HLG_Conclusionspaperantigypsyism_finalpdf%20(1).pdf), p.4)

definitive story of that person. [...] When we reject the single story, when we realize that there is never a single story about any place, we regain a kind of paradise.”<sup>14</sup>

This quote is an excerpt from Chimamanda Adichie’s Ted Talk “The danger of a single story” (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=D9lhs241zeg>).

### Questions:

- What “single story” exists about Roma? Can you think of some examples for these single stories?
- Why do you think these “single stories” exist, and do you see any problems with them?
- What are the problems according to Chimamanda Adichie?
- Can you think of a synonym to Adichie’s wording “single story”?
- What can be done in order to change the “single story” about Roma?

Christian European countries passed a number of laws and regulations, which mostly consisted of various prohibitions and restrictions on Roma movement, management etc. These repressive measures against Roma were incorporated into the legislation of most European countries until very recently and often involved forced assimilation. During World War II, this escalated into genocide. The strategies were different, but the common goal was to make Roma cultures vanish. The fact that Romani people were accused of espionage for the Turks initiated the first phase of Roma persecution in the Holy Roman Empire at the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Entry bans were introduced and drastic penalties for “Gypsy” returnees established. Roma tried to retreat to neighbouring countries and flee to forests and mountainous areas, but soon, the neighbouring countries also imposed sanctions on “Gypsies”. Eventually, all Central and Western European countries passed antigypsy laws. Inefficiency of many measures led to new stricter laws in all European countries. During the period from 1500 to 1750, in the Holy Empire alone 150 decrees were brought and each subsequent law surpassed the previous ones in terms of cruelty. Despite numerous strict laws, Roma were completely banished from Europe. There are different reasons for this. For example, some members of the nobility refused to obey the laws and continued to protect Roma, the police forces were not as efficient as they are today and the administration responsible for law enforcement seldom enforced the restrictions resulting in many Roma finding ways to avoid persecution.<sup>15</sup>

Dimitrina Petrova argues that the cause of for the turn from the initial European hospitality towards Roma people to increasing repression was the general change in European climate which was caused by the rise of Protestantism. Antigypsy laws were passed with the aim of combatting vagabondage

<sup>14</sup> Adichie, Chimamanda (2009): Die Gefahr einer einzigen Geschichte. (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=D9lhs241zeg>). Accessed: 24 September 2020. (Transcript: <https://www.hohschools.org/cms/lib/NY01913703/Centricity/Domain/817/English%2012%20Summer%20Reading%20-%202018.pdf>). Accessed: 24 September 2020).

<sup>15</sup> <https://rm.coe.int/zapadna-evropa-informativna-brosura-o-istoriji-roma/16808b19ea>

and laziness that agitated Europe in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Ethnicity and Romani crime played lesser role, although it cannot be excluded. In her opinion, anti-Roma laws were directed against a large number of travelling groups of pilgrims in medieval Europe. Before the drastic change in the perception of the Roma people, Roma were protected by the religious duty of each Protestant to be welcomed into society and lived off the charity showed to them by Protestants. However, Roma later became the targets of strict Protestant work ethics that condemned luxury and greed but also focused on purging all forms of life that seemed unproductive. This influence was felt even in the countries that remained Catholic. Petrova also argues that it was especially difficult for Roma people to adapt to their new cultural norms due to their different physical appearance, affinity relationships and distinct tradition. It was much more difficult for them to blend in, find regular job and integrate to their surroundings. Their integration was also hindered by the fact they were the only distinct nomadic community in Europe, which by then has been mostly nonnomadic for centuries. <sup>16</sup>

### Short history overview of some antigypsies laws in Europe

(Source: Mirrors Manual on combating antigypsyism through human rights education)

- From the second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, Roma who arrived in Wallachia and Moldavia (now mostly the territory of Romania) were forced into bondage and slavery. This lasted for five centuries.
- The Holy Roman Emperor, Maximilian I (also known as King of the Germans) ordered all 'Gypsies' to leave the Empire's territory by Easter 1501. Any Roma remaining after that deadline were declared outlaws and could be caught and killed by anyone.
- In France, Louis XII (1504), Francois I (1539) and Charles IX (1561) expelled 'Gypsies' from the Kingdom. In 1666, Louis XIV decreed that all male 'Gypsies' were to be arrested and sent to the galleys without trial.
- In Sweden, the 17<sup>th</sup> century saw forced sterilisation and deportation of the Roma population. In 1637, the 'Hanging Law' made it legal to kill any Roma found in the kingdom.
- In the Netherlands in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, actions were regularly organised by the police and military against the Roma. These were known as the 'heidenjachten' (pagans/heathen hunts). The last 'heidenjacht' was carried out in 1728. By the time it was over, most of the victims had been murdered, had fled the country, or had given themselves up to the authorities.
- In England, under Henry VIII, Gypsies were forbidden to enter the country. Any Roma being found there was deported. In 1554, Queen Mary passed the 'Egyptians Act' which made 'Being a Gypsy' punishable by death. In 1714, British 'Gypsies' were shipped to the Caribbean as slaves.
- In 1747, the Bishop of Oviedo presented a proposal to King Ferdinand VI of Spain to deal with the "Gypsy problem", either by exiling them forever from the kingdom or by rounding up and

<sup>16</sup> Petrova, D. (2004): The Roma: between a myth and the future  
(<http://www.errc.org/cikk.php?cikk=1844>)

imprisoning the entire Gypsy population. The proposal was carried out on a single day across the country and led to the internment of 10,000-12,000 people.

- In 1773, Maria Theresa, Empress of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, issued a decree prohibiting marriages between the Roma. The Empress also ordered that all children over the age of 5 should be taken away from their parents and handed over to Hungarian farmers' families.
- During the 19<sup>th</sup> century, eugenics and racist theories began to be developed and to be accepted as "scientific fact" by influential writers and by governments. They appeared, to many, to offer a justification for treating people differently who merely "looked different", or who were not regarded as "native" to a particular country or region.
- Such theories have now been completely discredited, but they played an important role in shaping many of the attitudes and policies towards the Roma population (and others). One influential publication was "The criminal man" by the Italian Cesare Lombroso, published in 1876. Lombroso suggested that "genetic predisposition" was the reason for the alleged criminal acts of the Gypsies.
- In 1926, the fingerprints of all Roma over 14, living in Burgenland (Austria), were taken. From 1928 onwards, the police of Eisenstadt (the new capital of Burgenland) had a so-called "Zigeuerkartothek" ("Gypsy card file"), which included entries of about 8,000 Roma.
- In 1927, the First Czech Republic (1918 – 1938) passed the 'Law on Wandering Gypsies'. This restricted the movement of Roma, forcing them to apply for identification and for permission to stay overnight.

## Porajmos

The persecution of Roma people reached its climax in the years preceding the Second World War and during it. Nazi policies aimed for complete elimination of Roma in countries they were controlling while those countries assisted with this goal. The Nazis claimed Roma were "racially inferior", so they 'took' their rights. Many were victims of brutal experiments and sent to forced labour/extermination camps. The Nazis killed hundreds of thousands of Roma. This period is referred to as Baro Porajmos (Great Devouring). PORAJMOS (destruction)/ SAMUDARIPEN (mass killing) are terms used to define the genocide Nazis and their collaborators perpetrated against Roma people during World War II. Estimation of the number of Roma killed in mass murders range between 500,000 and 1,500,000. Killing, forced sterilization, violence, poverty, segregation continued after the war.

- Sexual intercourse between Gypsies and Germans constitutes an offence of Gypsies are not allowed to attend the general primary school.
- Sterilising Gypsies should stop their reproduction.
- Searchings of houses and individuals has to be conducted regularly.
- Gypsy huts (a cultural disgrace) are to be pulled down, and the Gypsies lodged in labour camp shacks.
- In the labour camps, the Gypsies work as a closed group.
- Exercising private professions outside the labour camp is prohibited.
- Gypsies are not allowed to bear weapons.
- Voluntary emigration is promoted.

*(From 'The Gypsy Question. Memorandum by the Head of Government of the Province Burgenland' (1938)*

*Source: Mirrors Manual on combating antigypsyism through human rights education<sup>17</sup>*

### Historical figures:

25 to 50% of the Roma community in Europe was killed in the Porajmos. However, during the Nuremberg Trials, no one was tried for sending Roma to gas chambers, no Roma were called as a witness in court and no one was awarded damages for crimes committed against Roma.

Helmut Schmidt, the then German Chancellor, first recognised the Porajmos in 1982. It was not until 2001 that a permanent exhibition entitled "The Destruction of European Roma" opened in Auschwitz. The first memorial centre for Roma victims of the Porajmos in Berlin opened in 2012. In several EU countries, Roma victims of the Porajmos have not yet received adequate compensation. Until today, the Porajmos is not embedded in the collective memory. Moreover, its history is forgotten. For instance, Lety, a former Nazi concentration camp for Roma in the Czech Republic, is used as a pig farm today.

### **Activity**

#### **Reflect and learn!**

Watch these videos:

<https://tajs.eu/netherlands-settela-recognition-of-the-genocide/>

<https://tajs.eu/ukraine-babi-yar-holocaust-by-bullets/>

<https://tajs.eu/italy-sculpting-dignity-the-meaning-of-a-memorial/>

- *Do you think that the genocide of Roma people and their destiny during the World War II is well acknowledged in Europe?*
- *What are the potential consequences of this lack of knowledge? Why is it important to recognise the genocide as such for the Roma population and for the majority of the population?*
- *Would you say there is a relation between lack of knowledge about genocide of the Roma and lack of recognition on the one hand and racism and discrimination of Roma people on the other hand? Can this influence Roma's trust in states they are living in and in the non-Roma population? Elaborate your opinion.*
- *Who is responsible for raising awareness about Porajmos, in your opinion? Do you think it should part of the school curriculum?*
- *How could better knowledge and understanding of the genocide of Roma impact Roma and non-Roma communities?*

<sup>17</sup> Ellie Keen , Mirrors Manual on combating antigypsyism through human rights education, <https://rm.coe.int/1680494094>

## 5. FORMS OF ANTIGYPSYISM: WHAT DOES IT LOOK LIKE IN OUR DAILY LIVES?

The effects of continuous discrimination and persecutions throughout history continue to negatively affect Roma people in socially, economically and psychologically. For example, the poverty of Roma in Romania is in a certain degree shaped by the historical fact of Romany slavery and their durable deprivation of the possession of land, wealth, and means of production. Segregation policies weighted down their economic opportunities throughout Europe and continue to affect their lives. The loss of human lives, cultural resources, traditions, diversity and language during Porajmos still affect Roma people's access to valuable resources and has caused a trauma that is passed from one generation to the next.

The socialist governments varied as to their specific policies towards Roma, but these governments were united in the drive for assimilation and settlement of the Roma. The goals were to make Roma into socialist workers, to disperse their extended families, and to destroy their social life. In the 1960's in Hungary, for example, thousands of Roma were recruited into mining, heavy industry and the agricultural sector, usually performing the most dangerous and least paid jobs. In the Balkans, they were recruited into unskilled factory jobs, street cleaning, road maintenance, garbage collection and state-sponsored musical entertainment. In order to survive, many entered the black-market trade and/or became professional musicians in the second economy.<sup>18</sup>

After the fall of communism, the situation of Roma deteriorated even more in areas of employment, housing and social protection. Antigypsyism was again on the rise. Hate speech and different patterns of discrimination against Roma became more apparent and widespread.

In Western Europe from 1960s onward, the fragile tolerance started to change to hostility when Roma from Eastern Europe arrived: "The 1990s ended with the destruction of many Roma settlements and the displacement of about 100 000 Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian from Kosovo, signalling a return of raw persecution of Roma in Europe not seen since the Second World War. The 2008 economic crisis seems to have also aggravated the overall denial of human rights by Roma and Travellers, in both eastern and western Europe".<sup>19</sup>

What makes today's antigypsyism specific is how widespread and deeply rooted in history and institutions the negative biases about Roma are. It implies 'Gypsies' are not 'civilized' enough, they are those who do not accept, do not want or still have not internalised the norms and values of dominant society.

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<sup>18</sup> Carol Silverman (1995): Persecution and Politicization: Roma (Gypsies) of Eastern Europe, **Cultural Survival Quarterly Magazine** (<https://www.culturalsurvival.org/publications/cultural-survival-quarterly/persecution-and-politicization-roma-gypsies-eastern-europe>)

<sup>19</sup> Human rights of Roma and Travellers in Europe, COMMISSIONER FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, Council of Europe Publications, <https://rm.coe.int/the-human-rights-of-roma-and-travellers-in-europe/168079b434>, str.32



In a large number of cases there is no discussion about the difficulties Roma people face but mostly talk about the 'gypsy problem' with a paternalistic attitude towards Roma which can be seen in language and in action.

Antigypsyism exists in different forms. It 'lives' through popular sayings, jokes and manifests in discrimination, segregation, physical, verbal and symbolic violence, forced evictions, collective punishment and mob violence, police raids, assimilation policies, deportations, extermination and mass expulsion of Roma from different countries. Simultaneously, Romani culture is often appropriated by non-Roma in popular culture, such as music and fashion, for profit.

Instead of taking steps to allow Roma access to fundamental rights and citizenship in our societies, there are only constant assertions about the need for 'inclusion' or 'integration' of Roma.

Most EU Member States have not put systematic efforts to collect and document evidence on antigypsyism and its manifestations, which results in a lack of information and gaps about the Roma situation as well as impact of antigypsyism in the EU.

Most information of the nature and impact of antigypsyism comes from research and reports of NGOs and international monitoring bodies, such as ECRI and the Council of Europe Advisory Committee on the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities, which continue to point to severe challenges Roma people face in Europe every day:

- stigmatisation and negative stereotyping at all levels of society, from mainstream society to public institutions and figures;
- under-representation and low levels of participation in the political, public and private sectors of society;
- widespread and high rates of discrimination, including multiple and intersecting forms of discrimination, in particular in the areas of education, employment, health, access to services, housing, which often result in systemic segregation and exclusion and severely affect the socio-economic outcomes of Roma, also leading to an extremely high poverty risk;
- high incidence of manifestations of hatred such as bullying, hate speech, including in online and offline media and in the public discourse, as well as violent hate crimes;
- inadequate protection of victims and access to justice;
- racial abuse and discriminatory ethnic profiling in the context of law enforcement and within the criminal justice system more generally.<sup>20</sup>

These reports show there are many obstacles to progress in employment, health and education of Roma people. A lot of Roma people still live with limited medical and health care, in poverty, unemployment, house segregation, in utilities without water supplies or electricity. At the same time, hate crimes and hate speech are widely present while there is a lack of consciousness and concern in European countries.

<sup>20</sup> Antigypsyism: increasing its recognition to better understand and address its manifestations, p.4

IHRA (International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance) in the non-legally binding working definition of antigypsyism/anti-Roma discrimination point to many examples, which may be given to illustrate antigypsyism/anti-Roma discrimination.

**Contemporary manifestations of antigypsyism/anti-Roma discrimination could, taking into account the overall context, include, but are not limited to:**<sup>21</sup>

- Glorifying the genocide of the Roma.
- Inciting, justifying, and perpetrating violence against Roma communities, their property, and individual Roma.
- Forced and coercive sterilizations as well as other physically and psychologically abusive treatment of Roma.
- Perpetuating and affirming discriminatory stereotypes of and against Roma.
- Blaming Roma, using hate speech, for real or perceived social, political, cultural, economic and public health problems.
- Stereotyping Roma as persons who engage in criminal behaviour.
- Using the term “Gypsy” as a slur.
- Approving or encouraging exclusionary mechanisms directed against Roma on the basis of racially discriminatory assumptions, such as the exclusion from regular schools and institutional procedures or policies that lead to the segregation of Roma communities.
- Enacting policies without legal basis or establishing the conditions that allow for the arbitrary or discriminatory displacement of Roma communities and individuals.
- Holding Roma collectively responsible for the real or perceived actions of individual members of Roma communities.
- Spreading hate speech against Roma communities in whatever form, for example in media, including on the internet and on social networks.

The following data represents different aspects of life which reflect structural trends affecting the situation of Roma in the Member States.<sup>22</sup>

### **Housing**

•40% of Roma surveyed have to climb over fences, cross highways or face stray dogs while trying to reach a daily supply of water, whose safety has often not been tested and which is often exposed to pollutants. Women and girls are mostly responsible for bringing water. There is evidence that many Roma do not have access to water and sanitation due to discrimination and because public bodies do not provide them with access to these public services.

<sup>21</sup> <https://www.holocaustremembrance.com/resources/working-definitions-charters/working-definition-antigypsyism-anti-roma-discrimination>

<sup>22</sup> Report on aspects of fundamental rights in Roma integration in the EU: the fight against anti-Gypsyism (2017/2038 (INI)) [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/A-8-2017-0294\\_HR.html#title1](https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/A-8-2017-0294_HR.html#title1) )

- Thousands of Roma families in Italy live in segregated camps without access to basic services, where living conditions are far below an acceptable standard and unsuitable for living, for example near landfills and runways, in violation of national housing regulations, and international standards
- Due to discrimination in the rental sector, approximately 100,000 Roma are forced to stay in 4,000 hostels and homes of inadequate quality in the Czech Republic, for which property owners' demand up to three times the rent of the regular market value of an ordinary apartment.
- In France, in 2016, more than 10,000 Roma (more than 6 out of 10 Roma families, including the elderly and young children) were forcibly evicted from their homes - some more than once - mostly in the middle of winter without being provided with alternative accommodation.
- In Italy, between 2013 and 2016, around 2,200 people were evicted from unofficial camps without being provided with alternative accommodation, with many temporarily housed in overcrowded and dilapidated isolated emergency shelters without basic necessities. Each of those persons was evicted on average at least five times during that three-year period.
- In Bulgaria, 514 orders for the demolition of residential buildings have been issued since February 2016, with 500 orders (97%) relating to Roma-owned buildings. 201 such orders have already been executed. Roma, including children and vulnerable family members, were not provided with alternative accommodation in these cases and became homeless as a result. Mass demolitions were carried out in Roma settlements. The Roma were not informed of the exact date of execution of the order and most of them failed to remove furniture and personal belongings from the buildings. Some of them also lost their identity documents and other documents.
- In recent years, 14 walls and barriers have been built in Slovakia in order to segregate Roma from the rest of society

### **Access to education**

- School segregation is a reality across Europe. In the Czech Republic in the academic year 2016/2017, Roma students made up 3.7% of all primary school students, and at the same time made up 30.9% of all students attending classes for children with mild mental disabilities.
- Recent research shows that 20% of Roma in the Czech Republic and Slovakia attend a special school or class composed exclusively or mostly of Roma students; similar patterns have been observed elsewhere, including in France, Greece, and Bulgaria. Every second Roma in Hungary and Slovakia attends a regular school or class composed exclusively or mostly of Roma students; the situation is not much different in Greece, the Czech Republic, Bulgaria, France and Romania.

### **Access to justice and a fair police system**

- Roma women have been forcibly sterilized for decades in the Czech Republic, Finland, Germany, Hungary, Slovakia and Sweden. Some governments have yet to establish a compensation mechanism and acknowledge that the sterilization of Roma women without their informed consent was systematic and organized with state support until 1990, and that this practice continued in the 21<sup>st</sup> century because those states failed to protect autonomy and women's rights to reproductive health services.
- Bulgarian Roma report abuse at police stations twice as often as non-Roma, and this figure rises to 70% among Roma minors.
- Many Roma victims of violence interviewed in Romania stated that filing a complaint would be arduous and futile, given racism and discrimination at all levels of the proceedings.

## **Access to employment**

- In Sweden, 80% of Roma were unemployed in 2010.
- In Spain, 38.5% of Roma are in paid employment, while this share in the majority population reaches 83.6%.

Roma access to employment in many sectors is influenced by factors of discrimination and rejection based on ethnicity, due to deep-rooted prejudices and stereotypes in society.

## **Statelessness and lack of personal identification documents**

- As a result of the war in the Balkans, a large number of Roma in Italy do not have citizenship or are in danger of statelessness. Thousands of Roma children born in Italy face the problem of legal invisibility and are denied basic rights, even though their families have lived in Italy for decades.
- It is estimated that there are approximately 15,000 Roma in Romania who do not have a birth certificate, which is why they do not have the right to an identity or actual recognition of citizenship.

## **Access to health care**

Studies show that infant mortality in the Roma population is 2 to 6 times higher than in the general population.

- The life expectancy of Roma is 10 years shorter than the European average.
- Several hospitals in Hungary, Romania and Bulgaria have separate maternity wards of unsatisfactory quality, and Roma patients are exposed to racial and physical abuse during childbirth.

## **Hate speech and hate crimes**

- Roma are victims of violent attacks and intimidation by neo-Nazi and far-right groups, and are facing anti-Roma protests across Europe.

32% of Roma in the Czech Republic have faced hate speech and violence; two-thirds of victims did not report these crimes.

Overall, antigypsyism is persistent and structural and ranges from hate speech and violence to institutional and individual neglect, discrimination, inequality, stigmatisation, extreme poverty and social exclusion. There is significant rise in popularity of political parties that express negative feelings towards Roma, while Roma people are not given equal access to public facilities and services and are excluded from policy-making and knowledge-making processes.

Antigypsyism manifests in Roma under-representation in official bodies at all levels of society, while it is very much present in public institutions' scope of work.

Some forms of antigypsyism, however, can be described as unintentional. One of the examples is visible in the work of EU institutions when different programmes and funds that could have a positive impact on Roma life and living conditions do not reach them or do not deal with the real discrimination they face or do not take into account their real circumstances and challenges. One of the extreme manifestations of antigypsyism is the violent mob attacks on Roma, which happen too often even in 21<sup>st</sup> century Europe.

## Activity

### Compose a short case study.

- *Explore the relation between the social position of Roma in your country and their marginalised position throughout the history of your country? Are they related?*
- *Explore in what way are Roma discriminated in your country or region. In your opinion, what are the reasons for this discrimination?*
- *Explore the continuity of the discrimination- when and how did start, who were the discriminators then and who are they now?*

### **Cases of violent mob attacks as a manifestation of antigypsyism**

In Europe after 1989, there has been a prevalence of violence against Roma and Travelers, with a noticeable increase in serious cases in recent years. In some contexts, fascist and neo-Nazi groups organised the attacks, which involved planning and preparation. However, in some cases, non-Roma communities more or less spontaneously and without any restrictions perpetrated violence against Roma and itinerant peoples, and in some cases, the perpetrators were individuals motivated by mere racist hatred, without any particular political ideology.

In some countries, the cause of violence against Roma is a combination of different types of perpetrators. A major cause for concern is the fact that in the past few years ideologically determined movements (that are partly or entirely) based on hatred of the Roma appeared. Such movements have been engaged in violent and, in several cases, deadly attacks. For example, in several cases, fires were set at night while people slept. In some situations, however, public officials were directly involved in inciting uncontrolled civil attacks on Roma and traveling peoples.

Throughout Europe examples of violent mob attacks have been reported since:

- In September 1993, a conflict arose between some Roma and non-Roma men in the Romanian village of Hădăreni (Târgu-Mureş county) which resulted in the death of a non-Roma man. That evening, the non-Roma villagers gathered where the Roma men were hiding and demanded that they come out. Among the crowd were members of the local police force. The Roma men refused to come out and the mob set fire to the house. Two of the Roma men were beaten to death, the other perished in the fire. Later that evening and continuing into the next day, the villagers proceeded to burn thirteen Roma homes and property in the village, such as stables, cars and goods. The police did nothing to halt the attacks. 25 victims alleged the destruction of their home and possessions. As a result, they were obliged to live in crowded and unsuitable conditions and frequently change addresses, moving in with friends or family in extremely overcrowded conditions.<sup>23</sup>

On the evening of 22<sup>nd</sup> November 2011, the police went to the informal settlement next to the church of St. Martin d'Arenc in Marseille with the aim of forcibly evicting the 10 Roma families who lived there. They allegedly sprayed tear gas inside the tents where children were sleeping and then destroyed the tents and other personal belongings. R., one of the

<sup>23</sup> <http://www.errc.org/cikk.php?cikk=3581>

Roma, was beaten up by the police. He said, “I wanted to run away but I couldn’t see anything, I just saw a gate in front of me, I tried to reach out to it but as soon as I approached it, I just had the feeling that my leg broke and then I don’t remember anything else”. R. underwent surgery for a fractured thighbone and spent six months in a rehabilitation centre.

Roma migrants in Marseille do not generally report cases of harassment and violence because of lack of trust in the police or fear of further victimisation. S., a Roma social worker who used to live in an informal settlement, said, “Roma people are really scared of the police; I usually take kids to the hospital for medical treatments and they are afraid whenever they see the police on our way”.<sup>24</sup>

- On August 20<sup>th</sup> 2012, members of the paramilitary “Hungarian Guard” marched against Roma families in the city of Cegled, southeast of the capital, Budapest. More than 400 mostly uniformed guardsmen and their supporters marched through the Roma settlement on the outskirts of the city of 40,000 inhabitants. They shouted slogans such as “dirty gypsies, we will kill you.” Right-wing radio stations and Internet portals issued appeals for the fascists to come to Cegled in order to participate in the action. The media reported eyewitness accounts of the intimidation of the town’s residents. It is also alleged that shots were fired. All this took place in front of the police, who were on the spot and permitted the fascists to carry out acts of intimidation before forcing them to withdraw.<sup>25</sup>
- During 2012 and 2013, a series of pogrom-like attacks against a Roma community took place in Etoliko, a village in western Greece. Irini told Amnesty International her experience of an attack on 4 January 2013 when approximately 70 individuals threw Molotov cocktails, stones and wooden planks at their homes, “When I saw them coming, I grabbed my children and locked us up in the house. My children were crying, screaming... I was frightened. Looking out of the window I knew most of them, we grew up together. They threw a glass bottle from the window and set the house on fire”. Six houses and four cars were firebombed or damaged by the attackers that day. Several Roma told Amnesty International that they felt betrayed by the police. One said, “I could see just two policemen from inside the house... They were just staring and asking people to stop. They did nothing more than this”.<sup>26</sup>
- Throughout the summer and autumn of 2013, Czech far-right groups staged series of anti-Roma protests in dozens of towns and cities across the country. The protests meant systematic harassment of Romani communities. Between June and October 2013, far-right extremists joined by the local residents held regular marches through the city of České Budějoviceto a housing estate following a conflict at a children’s playground between Roma and non-Roma adults. Štefan, a Romani man told Amnesty International, “Some people do not realize that [during the demonstrations, the Roma] have to stay at one place, that children... are afraid. This lasts the whole day and leaves trauma... Nobody deserves to experience something like this. People experienced this during the war and I think that in the year 2013, in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, we don’t have to experience it again.”<sup>27</sup>

<sup>24</sup> <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2014/04/roma-europe-demanding-justice-and-protection-face-violence/>

<sup>25</sup> <https://www.wsws.org/en/articles/2012/09/hung-s05.html>

<sup>26</sup> <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2014/04/roma-europe-demanding-justice-and-protection-face-violence/>

<sup>27</sup> <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2014/04/roma-europe-demanding-justice-and-protection-face-violence/>

- On May 22<sup>nd</sup> 2018, ERRC News [reported](#) that a group of masked men armed with guns and bats forced Roma families living near the village of Velyka Berezovytsia Ternopil to flee into the forest, and then set fire to their makeshift dwellings. Shots were fired and three people were injured in the attack. The terrified seven adults and 30 children lost all their property and documents in the arson attack. Doctors at the local hospital were forced to call the police when the injured Roma came under renewed attack as they were being brought in for treatment.

Just a week earlier, in the village of Rudne in the Lviv region, a 30-strong gang of masked men descended upon Roma shacks at 2a.m. on May 10<sup>th</sup>, dragged people out of their beds, beat them and set their homes alight, destroying all their belongings and forcing them to flee. Police and ambulance responders were on the scene, but no arrests were made. The victims' whereabouts are unknown.

This attack came just 10 days after members of the neo-Nazi paramilitary group C14 filmed themselves carrying out a pogrom in the Lysa Hora nature reserve near Kyiv, where they drove fifteen families from their homes. As reported by ERRC on April 21<sup>st</sup>, a C14 gang, carrying weapons, attacked the Roma. A video posted days later showed whole families with small children fleeing in terror, chased by masked men who hurled stones and sprayed them with gas canisters, before setting their tents ablaze.<sup>28</sup>

- In April 2019, several Roma homes in Gabrovo were burned down by a violent mob calling for the town to be "cleansed" of its Roma community, following widely circulated footage that showed Roma men allegedly assaulting a shop owner. Nearly 80% of Gabrovo's 600 Roma fled the village as a result of the violence. Instead of providing police protection, the authorities instructed the Roma to flee, according to some members of the community and Roma rights activists.<sup>29</sup>

These are just a few examples of the growing anti-Roma violence in Europe. What makes it even more horrifying are the inadequate responses which very often end with generally condemning the violence attacks but without acknowledging its extent. Law enforcement is failing to prevent racist attacks and investigate them and bring perpetrators to justice. It is also troubling that racist attitudes are more often denied than addressed.

The Commissioner for Human Rights report on the human rights of Roma and Travellers in Europe points out that Roma representatives have also reported arbitrary seizure of property or extortion by police and are disproportionately subjected to arbitrary detention measures. In a number of countries, Roma appear to be discriminated against in decisions to remand in custody, rates of prosecution and sentencing. Some of the problems Roma are facing in the field of criminal justice include a lack of adequate representation when facing charges, an absence of respect for Roma as witnesses or deficiencies in interpretation services. The principle of the presumption of innocence is not always respected

<sup>28</sup> <http://www.errc.org/news/anti-roma-pogroms-in-ukraine-on-c14-and-tolerating-terror>

<sup>29</sup> <https://www.amnesty.org/en/countries/europe-and-central-asia/bulgaria/report-bulgaria/>

when Roma individuals are put on trial. These problems are compounded by the failure of justice systems to respond adequately to complaints by Roma of racial discrimination and/or other abuses.<sup>30</sup>

All of the above show all too well how deeply rooted and systemic discrimination of Roma is.

## Activity

### Reflect and learn!

- *What is antigypsyism?*
- *What are your thoughts of presented definitions of antigypsyism?*
- *How can it be manifested?*
- *What are the main characteristics of discrimination of Roma today in your region and Europe?*
- *What are the challenges Roma people face today in your opinion?*
- *Why are Roma discriminated in your opinion and why is their history filled with exclusion and persecution?*
- *Can you think of examples of mob violence against Roma in your country? If there is none that come to mind, research online for recent incidents in your country. Who was responsible for those incidents? Is such a behaviour justified? Analyse if there is a historical continuity, or similarities with past periods of violence against the Roma.*
- *What is the situation of the Roma in your country/ region regarding housing, employment, education, health?*

## 6. HOW TO PREVENT AND COMBAT ANTIGYPSYISM?

Efforts to improve the economic and social development of the Roma despite efforts of European Union Member States run into serious obstacles because of deep-rooted beliefs which are often not even perceived as such in European culture. This goes so far that many people who had never had personal encounters with Roma can still describe them in detail while the behaviour of one individual will be automatically classified as a 'Gypsy' (negative) behaviour and attributed to entire Roma culture.

The stereotypes about Roma are mostly negative until today: "Recurring themes regarding Roma in most European countries are stealing, refusing to work, having too many children, atrocious personal

<sup>30</sup> Human rights of Roma and Travellers in Europe, Commissioner For Human Rights, Council of Europe, February 2012, <https://rm.coe.int/the-human-rights-of-roma-and-travellers-in-europe/168079b434> p.14



hygiene and bad personal finance management.”<sup>31</sup> Furthermore, these stereotypes are often (re)produced in popular culture, music, film and literature<sup>32</sup>, e.g., Johann Strauss’s opera “Der Zigeunerbaron” (the gypsy baron) or Esmeralda from “The Hunchback of Notre Dame”.

### **Activity!**

- *Do you know any examples that produce antigypsyistic stereotypes in popular culture such as music, film, literature and fashion?*
- *Why do you think this appropriation and stereotyping can be problematic?*
- *Who profits from these products, i.e., songs, clothes, books etc.? Roma or non-Roma people?*

Prejudices are very difficult to overcome. The first step to overcoming it is learning more about the Roma culture and to challenge these views of Roma people.

Roma should be recognised as citizens of the countries they live in and are entitled to full respect of their citizenship and human rights. Roma culture is part of the European cultural heritage. It has contributed to its diversity and enrichment. This contribution also has to be recognised. Roma have the same aspirations as everybody else and should be enabled to participate in society and obtain new competences and skills to face future challenges. There are a lot of Roma organisations, community leaders, journalists, writers, academics, artists etc. throughout Europe tackling the issue of antigypsyism. Listening to their voices should be the first step towards dismantling stereotypes, discrimination and violence against Roma.

Furthermore, to overcome Roma exclusion, combat discrimination and eradicate stereotypes that were created centuries ago and maintained through literature, media, language and art, it is of utmost importance to educate Europe societies about Roma culture, history and diversity.

It is also crucial to point out the different forms of antigypsyism, its scales and seriousness and to encourage acceptance and inclusion of Roma citizens.

Antigypsyism manifests itself in different forms. Some are more and some are less obvious, but all are structural and institutional. It is evident that institutions have failed to provide appropriate response to its different forms. Antigypsyism is about the power which hate crime perpetrators enjoy because anti-Roma racism is widely accepted, while it is rarely sanctioned. Perpetrators do not consider their actions to be problematic or nor do they see them as something that could be against the law. This is also a good indicator of how little power Roma have.

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<sup>31</sup> Gregor Maučec, IDENTIFYING AND CHANGING STEREOTYPES BETWEEN ROMA AND NON-ROMA: FROM THEORY TO PRACTICE, Innovative issues and approaches in social sciences, 2013, vol. 6, no. 3, str.185  
<https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/27223953.pdf>

<sup>32</sup> Dotschy Reinhardt (2014). Everybody’s Gypsy. Popkultur zwischen Ausgrenzung und Respekt.

Due to its complexity, antigypsyism goes beyond mere discrimination, especially since the state plays an important role in producing and perpetuating it through policies, education, justice. Hence, the prevention requires a different set of instruments, such as criminal justice, equality measures, the raising of awareness and the recognition of responsibility of duty bearers to respect, protect and fulfil the human rights commitments that bind them under international law.

Rostas argues that to prevent and combat antigypsyism we

*“need to go beyond information and tolerance promotion campaigns, beyond cultural and identity promotion, to critically examine racist practices towards Roma in European societies, towards a consistent support for institutions that represent Roma identity. In other words, in order to combat antigypsyism, the focus should rather be on the state and its institutions and not necessarily attempts to “fix” (assimilate or integrate) the Roma themselves. Such an approach to combat antigypsyism would also be the logical choice in order to avoid blaming the victims of oppression and instead focus on the oppressor and the systems deployed by the oppressor. In addition, a complex system to protect against antigypsyism and to redress past discrimination, including affirmative action in different fields, and different power-sharing arrangements, is needed to effectively combat centuries of antigypsyism.”<sup>33</sup>*

Based on Roma peoples' experiences, advocacy work of Roma and pro-Roma civil society, relevant recommendations adopted by the European Parliament, the EC evaluation of the EU Roma Framework and other relevant documents, Alliance against Antigypsyism proposed 12 recommendations.<sup>34</sup>

They include:

- recognition of the existence of antigypsyism in all its manifestations and dimensions,
- recognition of its historical dimension,
- improvement of institutional and policy framework,
- implementing institutional and policy frameworks to fight antigypsyism as the root cause of social exclusion,
- monitoring of antigypsyism to investigate the causes, manifestations and effects of antigypsyism,
- sanctioning hate-speech in public discourses,
- sanctioning and punishing antigypsyist crime,
- ensuring access to justice for Roma,

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<sup>33</sup> Rostas, p.20

<sup>34</sup>Alliance against Antigypsyism Combating antigypsyism in the post-2020 EU Roma Framework Recommendations, 2019. [https://ergonetwork.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/06/2019\\_05\\_31-Antigypsyism-Recommendations.pdf](https://ergonetwork.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/06/2019_05_31-Antigypsyism-Recommendations.pdf)

- improving and implementing anti-discrimination legislation,
- ending all forms of structural antigypsyism in all parts of society,
- ensuring the right to the freedom of movement,
- strengthening Roma leadership, participation, empowerment and self-organisation.
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In conclusion, Roma are one the most marginalised social groups in Europe and are highly vulnerable due to their lack of economic power, political influence, capacity to mobilise, to represent their interests, to affirm their identity, to defend themselves from violence and to advance as social group.

To combat antigypsyism, we need to raise and listen to the voices of those who are dramatically affected by antigypsyism, to encourage policy and decision makers to put into action a coherent but diverse set of measures to combat antigypsyism and it needs to be dealt as an integral part of thematic policies.

### **Activity**

#### **Reflect and learn!**

- *How are stereotypes against Roma expressed in your country or region and Europe? How does it affect the relation between Roma and the majority of the population?*
- *What are the consequences of these attitudes in terms of their impact on the relationship between Roma and non-Roma people?*
- *What would be the best way to fight these prejudice and discrimination in your opinion?*
- *In your opinion, what could contribute to Roma people empowerment, reinforcement of their dignity? Could knowledge about their historical experiences contribute to it?*
- *Why is it important for Roma have their representatives in highest levels?*

#### **Watch the videos below:**

<https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/voices/growing-roma>

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yNW-fNrpUqw>

*What are your thoughts about these videos?*

*Do you see these stories as positive achievements, or do you see it more as a main culture pressure and imposition of its norms and values?*

## Activity

### Short case study

Analyse how Roma are presented in media in your country.

Explore if those depiction are different in traditional and social media.

In your opinion, are these reports and depictions fuelled by stereotypes and prejudice? Do they contribute more to spreading these stereotypes? What could change this?

## 7. TEACHING ABOUT ANTIGYPSYISM

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- It is better to focus on a smaller number of materials and do them thoroughly in class. The aim is not to share everything the teacher knows, but rather to make the students think about the dangers of antigypsyism and similar ideologies in the modern world.
- When teaching about WWII always teach about the Porajmos. Do not portray Roma only as victims, the faceless mass, but use material and sources that tell the different story of these people. It is important to include personal, individual stories which should also cover the period before and after the Porajmos.
- It is important to teach without creating stereotypes. Therefore, a historical frame is essential while teaching historical facts.
- When teaching about the Roma today, again, do not fall trap of the “the single story” by portraying them only as victims, but show diverse examples of Romani life and culture today.
- Remember, studying antigypsyism does not say anything about Roma, only about antigypsyists. This is applicable to other cases of ideologies of inequality as well.

## 8. WHERE TO TURN TO? NGOs & NETWORKS THAT CAN HELP YOU LEARN MORE

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<https://www.holocaustremembrance.com/>

The International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance

<https://ergonetwork.org/>

European Roma Grassroots Organisations Network

[https://www.antigypsyism.eu/?page\\_id=55](https://www.antigypsyism.eu/?page_id=55)

## *Alliance against Antigypsyism*

[https://www.antigypsyism.eu/?page\\_id=115](https://www.antigypsyism.eu/?page_id=115)

list of *Alliance against Antigypsyism* members

<https://www.coe.int/en/web/democracy/roma>

*Council of Europe*

<https://www.amnesty.org/en/search/?q=roma>

*Amnesty international*

<https://www.hrw.org/sitesearch?search=roma>

*Human rights watch*

<https://cps.ceu.edu/roma-civil-monitor-ngos-involved>

Roma civil monitor- list of NGO involved

## **Austria:**

- Kulturvereinn österreichischer Roma

(<https://www.kv-roma.at/Oesterreich.html>)

- Verein Karika – Für Roma und Sinti

(<https://verein-karika.jimdofree.com>)

- Romano Centro

(<https://www.romano-centro.org>)

- Roma Volkshochschule Oberwart

<https://vhs-roma.eu>

## **Poland:**

Main organizations

- Union of the Polish Roma, <https://romowie.com/>
- Counseling and Information Center for Roma in Poland, <https://romacenter.pl/>

- Cultural and Social Association - Roma Culture Center in Poland,
- Association of the Roma in Kraków Nowa Huta,
- The Association of the Roma in Wrocław "Romani Bacht",
- Association of the Polish Roma in Gorzów Wielkopolski,
- Society for the Promotion of Roma Culture and Tradition "Kale Jakha",
- The Association of the Polish Roma "Parno Foro",
- The Roma Educational Association "Harrangos",
- The Association of the Roma in Pyrzyce "Patra",
- Bahtowane Roma Foundation,
- Cultural and Social Society of the Roma in Poland in Kędzierzyn-Koźle,
- Association of Roma Education Assistants in Poland,
- Association of the Roma and Other Nationalities in Nysa,
- International Association of Roma Artists in Poland Roma.

<https://www.gov.pl/web/mniejszosci-narodowe-i-etniczne/romowie>

Other

Museum of Roma Culture in Warsaw <http://www.romuzeum.pl/index.php>

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