



National Report

PEER EDUCATION TO COUNTER ANTIGYPSYIST ONLINE HATE SPEECH

Report written by La voix des Roms



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Foreword

The Peer Education to Counter Antigypsyist Hate Speech Online project focuses to address and counter antigypsyist hate speech online by working with young people, using a combination of peer education and monitoring in order to obtain two-fold results:

the peer education methodology serving the purpose to achieve a direct change in attitudes and actions of a high number of young people, and the monitoring to contribute to better understanding and a more systemic change of policies through advocacy based on the results.

The following report represent a deliverable of the PECAO project in relation to the project's overall objectives:

1- To reach out to at least 2000 young people in Spain, Hungary, Czech Republic, Romania, Bulgaria, Ukraine, Italy, France, North Macedonia and Albania through peer education activities in universities or youth clubs to raise their awareness of the adverse impact of hate speech on Roma and to empower them to recognise and report hate speech online.

2- To empower 50 young Roma peer educators in 10 countries to monitor hate speech in online media and report cases of hate speech to IT companies, national equality bodies and relevant state institutions to reinforce implementation of anti-discrimination legislation. Their work will lead to national datasets of at least 150 cases, as well as at least 50 reported cases.

3- To advocate towards national and EU decision-makers for anti-discrimination policies that take into account the online sphere as well as antigypsyism as a bias motivation for hate speech and hate crime.

4- To use the experiences of peer educators and results of the monitoring to raise awareness of other stakeholders (wider civil society, educational practitioners, young people) of antigypsyist hate speech in online media and the urgency to counteract.

More in-depth, the reports offer insight of alignment to the short-term results, which are directly contributing to the aforementioned objectives:

1- The peer education activities as well as the media monitoring by the peer educators themselves will lead to a higher number of reported cases of hate speech and a higher number of antigypsyist content taken down from online platforms. We expect that on average every of the around 1000 young people targeted will until the end of the project report 2 cases of hate speech in social media to the IT platforms. With a removal rate of 90%, this means that 1800 posts will be removed in five EU Member States.

2- The peer educators will directly monitor and report hate speech in online media and collect the information for analysis and dissemination. Each of the 50 peer educators will report at least 10 cases until the end of the project, which means that for each country a dataset of at least 150 cases will be collected, contributing to increased knowledge of the phenomenon of hate speech online.

3- Increased awareness of the negative impact of antigypsyist hate speech among the young people targeted, leading to a change of attitude among the young people.

4- Increased self-confidence and skills of 50 young Roma who are trained in peer education and media monitoring.

5- Increased knowledge about recognising and reporting antigypsyist hate speech among the readers of the toolkit that will be developed based on the experiences of the peer educators.

The results of the advocacy activities asking for better policies or media self-regulations combating hate speech will only be measurable in the long-term. The expected long-term results are targeting relevant stakeholders on the ground of raising awareness and stronger adherence:

- Higher awareness of journalists' ethic commissions on the prevalence and impact of antigypsyist hate speech online, leading to improved self-regulation guidelines.

- Higher awareness of national equality bodies and other relevant state institutions on the prevalence and impact of antigypsyist hate speech online, leading to better programmes targeting antigypsyism.

- Stronger adherence by IT companies to the Code of Conduct on countering online hate speech.

- Better data collection on hate crime and hate speech disaggregated by ethnicity and gender to allow analysis of trends by member states.
- Stronger condemnation of antigypsyist hate speech in the public discourse.
- More positive narratives promoted by young people online to counter antigypsyist hate speech.

PECAO foresees young media users to increase their digital skills through the training they receive and more strongly question hateful content that they see online. Subtle antigypsyism is rarely detected by mainstream media users, and these young people will be better able to react to such subtle forms of racism. Furthermore, as the peer educators will be from Roma origin, the young people reached will reduce their stereotypes through meeting Roma peers in person. Their attitudes towards equality and human rights will be positively influenced as a result of this project.

When it comes to the Roma people: The people most suffering under hate speech are obviously those targeted – Roma, citizens of Europe. The project will have a positive long-term impact on them if hate speech content is reduced in online media as a result of this project. Less hate speech online means less incitement to violence and less stereotyping by the majority society, leading to a general decrease of antigypsyism.

The report focuses on the French example for a one-year period from September 2020 to September 2021 and includes data collected by youth in France on the negative impact of hate speech on Roma and the importance of reporting antigypsyist hate speech online.

With the results presented in this report, we aim to take a step further to learn about the presence and impact of antigypsyist online hate speech and to learn lessons that can be brought forward to make the future of an equal and inclusive society in a safe digital environment happen.

This report is part of a multi-country study coordinated by ERGO network and financed by the European's Union Rights, Equality and Citizenship Programme (REC 2012-2020) and Google.Org Impact Challenge on Safety. The study was conducted from September 2020 to September 2021 in 10 countries: Albania, Bulgaria, Czech Republic, North Macedonia, Hungary, Ukraine, Romania, Italy, France and Spain. Based on the national reports, a cross-country analysis will be published in the beginning of 2022.

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Abstract

This Report presents a subjective, yet exhaustive public image and representation of Roma within the online environment and public space. Through a focused qualitative methodology, the project aimed to understand what kind of discursive repertoires emerges against Roma and who are those that racialized and disseminated the antigypsyistic online hate speech. In the same time, the research tackled the identification of main themes and subthemes in which Roma are to be addressed frequently, of different forms of online hate speech, levels of aggressivity and forms of toxicity of hate speech (racially loaded toxic discourse) and a finally, a model of web racism.

The report is based on 4 synthesis reports (over 4 reporting periods) that brought together a number of monitoring tools including the monitoring tool (the main instrument for analyzing the research). The monitoring tool is presented in detail in Annex 1.

The main findings are that:

- * **The media has a central position in antigypsyism;**
- * **Peer educators have a role to play in training and raising awareness among journalists and newsrooms ;**
- * **Moderation on social networks is insufficient ;**
- * **The involvement of public actors in France in prosecuting the authors of hateful content is unfortunately insufficient ;**
- * **It is necessary to value the creators of contents of Rromani origins, to allow the access to the public and media sphere of people of Rromani origins..**

One of the comments made by the peer educators and the mentor is that it seems impossible to continue the anti-gypsyism online actions with only 5 or 6 people, given the magnitude of the task at hand. The young peer educators (PECAO) want to expand the group in order to spread the actions, both online reporting, but also awareness. This project will have shed a harsh light on what we experience on a daily basis when we turn on our computer or log on to social networks. This violence is the result of decades of a discriminatory political and legal environment, of complacency, of indifference and of antigypsyist public discourse.

This report brings new perspectives on the one hand, and unpublished data on the other hand, which can and must be seized by all public or private actors who will have the ambition to fight against the expression of antigypsyism online.

Introduction

During the summer of 2020, La voix des Roms, the carrier of the PECAO project in France, recruited a mentor, William Acker, to accompany a team of 5 young people who were selected on the basis of a public call to form the first team of peer educators against antigypsyism in France. The diversity of the group's members is the main strength for the efficiency of the project, despite a particularly complex national context.

National context

The expression of anti-gypsyism in France is strongly linked to the ancient and more recent presence of various Romani communities (Manouches, Sinté, Gitans, Roms, etc.), a legal-ethnic status based for a long time on the mobility of lifestyles (nomadic status from 1912-1969), and then an administrative category of «travellers» articulated around the absence of a home (1969-2000) and the notion of a «traditional mobile dwelling» (2000 to the present day)

These legal categorizations and the public policies developed in France since the end of the 19th century have led to an essentialization of the Romani representation to the question of «nomadism»¹.

At the same time, unlike other national legal systems in Europe, French law, which bases citizenship on a principle of equality, does not allow for the emergence of notions of «national minorities» or «ethnic minorities».

In practice, and particularly for people of Romani origin, the French State has been developing specific public policies for «nomads» and then for «gens du voyage» since 1912, targeting people perceived as «Gypsies». In the French legal-political context, a distinction is made between the «migrant Roma» (understood as non-French) and the «travellers» (understood as French) who are partly of Romani origin, but are all subjected to antigypsyism.

Added to this is a political context hostile to the Roma and «gens du voyage», with leading political figures not hesitating to instrumentalize by amalgamation very different sociological and legal realities or to resort to hateful rhetoric. For example, in 2015, Manuel Valls, then Prime Minister, declared that «the Roma do not have a vocation to remain in France»². Shortly before, Nicolas Sarkozy in 2010, then President of the Republic, announced the expulsion of «Romanian Roma» following violence attributed to «French travellers»³. Already in 2002, the former President, then Minister of the Interior, declared: «And I intend that we can ask questions to people who have never worked in their lives, and who drive cars that many workers in our country could never afford after a lifetime of work»⁴. Many politicians (whether national or local) freely express their antigypsyist prejudices and hatreds in an unabashed manner. We remember the mayor of Wissous attacking «travellers» with a Japanese sword⁵, the Mayor of Cholet declaring «Hitler did not kill enough»⁶ or the Mayor of Nice calling on the mayors of France to «revolt» against «these delinquents» and to «seize the vehicles, you know these beautiful and big cars with which they pull their beautiful and big caravans for which it would sometimes take the French a whole life

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to be able to afford the same ones»⁷.

Moreover, media coverage in France is also largely focused on news stories, crimes and misdemeanors, which contributes to the reinforcement of stigmatizing representations.

Reports of the Human Rights Defender in 2021⁸

In two recent reports, the Défenseure des droits, an independent administrative authority, has highlighted the numerous forms of discrimination that currently affect «gens du voyage» and «Roma people», and has used the term «structural or systemic discrimination» to describe their situation in France.

The PECAO Group

Saimir Mile, Diane Brossard (both from the association La Voix des Roms) and mentor William Acker took particular care to build a group of PECAO composed of members from different origins and lifestyles. The training of the young people was completed by the deepening of the French particularities in a European context, the knowledge of the French and European institutions regarding the fight against discriminations and online hate, the knowledge of the Romani diversity and a transversal approach of the antigypsyism.

Throughout the year, PECAO has sought to raise awareness of antigypsyist hate speech. This involved a phase of mapping online hate speech in order to analyze it, individually and then collectively. Based on the initial training and mapping practice, the PECAOs created a workshop format for youth to raise as much awareness as possible. They had the opportunity to meet with several hundred young people, high school students and non-high school students, Roma and non-Roma, to discuss antigypsyism.

One of their priorities has been to transfer knowledge in order to monitor hate speech in the media, and the ways to report it to national companies and organizations. This project has also built a national database that provides insight into the local and cross-cutting characteristics of antigypsyism expression.

As early as September 2020, PECAO pleaded with national decision-makers on the interest of setting up anti-discrimination policies that take into account the online environment. The PECAO project has been presented to several institutional actors (National Consultative Commission for Travellers, DILCRAH, DIHAL) and associations and aims to be more widely disseminated.

All of the right-wing or far-right candidates for the 2022 presidential election have already made anti-gypsy comments or taken antigypsyist positions. President Emmanuel Macron himself said about Christophe Dettinger (a former boxing champion of Yenish origin, known for having hit a policeman during a demonstration and who then spoke in the media to defend himself) that he did not have «the words of a gypsy boxer. implying that a «gypsy» cannot express himself in correct French.

« Evidemment je ne dis pas qu'ils sont tous voleurs et cetera... mais... il y a de vrais problèmes autour des gitans et cetera (...) la moindre des choses c'est pour les autorités de contrôler cette population (...) dans leur environnement les gens se plaignent qu'il y a des vols, qu'il y a tout ça, et cetera ».



Pour commencer, il est évident que nous retrouvons dans cette intervention un racisme latent envers une population qui ne correspond pas aux critères que Zemmour voudrait voir adoptés par les gens « normaux ». C'est-à-dire les sédentaires, « victorieux du nomadisme il y a 3000 ans... ». Fort de ces considérations historico-démographiques, il nous assène sa vision de la sédentarisation comme une réalité et une vérité qui permettrait d'affirmer et d'afficher son degré de civilisation. Et même s'il complait avec délicatesse aux touchantes attentions de l'artiste pour le monde de « Oui-Oui dans sa roulotte » – dit Zemmour lui-même – il n'échappe pas au jugement de valeur.

Eric Zemmour, a former far-right polemicist and presidential candidate, claims that «gypsies» have a propensity to steal, that the authorities must «control» them, that they are a «problem», that they are not «normal» people.



Marine Le Pen, President of the Rassemblement National, candidate for the presidential election, has taken several positions in favor of the expulsion of «all Roma». Members of her party have been responsible for numerous antigypsyist public statements for years in France.

Valérie Pécresse nettoie un ancien Camp de Roms à Aulnay-sous-Bois

MAI 12 Publié par Armand B.

Tout est bon pour gagner les prochaines élections régionales en Ile-de-France. Après le forfait de Jean-Paul Huchon et la possible investiture de Claude Bartolone côté Socialiste, Valérie Pécresse, dans une action coup de poing, a montré devant la presse qu'elle était capable de nettoyer un ancien camp de Roms.



Rendre la région Ile-de-France plus propre, tel est l'un de ses objectifs.

2014-2015 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100



Valérie Pécresse, candidate of the Republicans for the presidential election, organized a clean-up operation of a former «Roma camp» that had just been evicted. As a local politician, she also opposed the establishment in her city of a reception area for «travellers».

President of the Republic, Emmanuel Macron defends the creation of a fixed fine specific to «travelers», using the usual antigypsyist rhetoric about the link between money and «travelers».

Méthodologie

Ce rapport est basé sur la méthode de recherche par analyse de contenu qui a utilisé un instrument de suivi (voir annexe 1). Il contient un certain nombre d'outils de monitoring qui ont été appliqués pendant une période d'un an (septembre 2020- septembre 2021). Le principal outil de monitoring, instrument de recherche de l'étude, a été adapté de Siapera, Moreo et Zhou (2018) et de Lentin (2016) et a été élaboré avec des experts de l'organisation des partenaires. L'analyse de contenu a été réalisée sur la base des résultats obtenus grâce à ces outils, avec des codes et des descriptions spécifiques pour chaque situation rencontrée et adaptée à l'activité de surveillance des médias sociaux, conformément aux questions et aux objectifs de la recherche. Les résultats sont conformes à la situation en France et feront partie du rapport international de recherche générale.

L'outil de monitoring a été appliquée par un certain nombre de 5 jeunes pairs éducateurs d'origines romani qui ont été spécialement formés et conseillés, familiarisés avec l'instrument de recherche au cours d'une période de formation et de pilotage en août 2020 conformément à l'éthique et aux normes de la recherche sociale. Ils étaient âgés de 20 à 32 ans, avaient différents niveaux d'éducation formelle (étudiants ou employés dans l'associatif) et ont été sélectionnés sur la base d'un appel spécial en juin 2020. L'appel a été diffusé sur les plateformes et auprès des partenaires de La voix des Roms. Plusieurs dizaines de candidatures ont été reçues, puis les JEP ont été sélectionnés après entretien individuel où ils ont eu l'occasion d'exposer leurs motivations.

- Conformément aux activités et aux objectifs du projet, l'instrument de monitoring a été appliqué de manière subjective, les opérateurs ayant la liberté de choisir le contenu et la plateforme en ligne qu'ils surveillent, y compris leur propre compte personnel (Fb, Instagram, Tik Tok ou Youtube) comme les informations apparaissant dans leur fil d'actualité. Un nombre d'environ 5 signalement/personne par mois ont été joints aux rapports de synthèse périodiques (voir annexe 2). Pour développer une meilleure base commune, afin de garder un contrôle constant et une étape valide pour tous les partenaires impliqués, chaque partenaire a rempli et transmis au coordinateur de recherche un rapport de synthèse comme suit :

1ère période : oct-déc.2020 - Rapport le 15 janvier 2021

2ème période : janv-mars 2021 – Rapport le 15 avril 2021

3ème période : avril – juin 2021 – Rapport le 15 juillet

4 ème période : juillet – sept.2021 – Rapport le 15 octobre

L'échantillonnage des cas était basé sur des bases non probabilistes, sur une sélection aléatoire et sur la subjectivité de l'opérateur. La principale raison de l'utilisation de ce type d'échantillonnage est de donner un aperçu de la façon dont le compte personnel d'un jeune Rom ordinaire apparaît et aussi de souligner la pression émotionnelle constante à laquelle on peut être confronté dans l'espace public en ligne. Sur le second registre, notre objectif est d'observer comment les algorithmes informationnels des médias ciblent les utilisateurs roms en fonction de leurs préférences, de leur consommation et de leur profil d'utilisateur lorsqu'ils utilisent les plateformes de médias sociaux et Internet sur des comptes personnels privés.

Although the total number of 156 monitoring reports, analyzing 270 hate contents (targeted in the project application) has reached a certain level of expectation and saturation, the results should not be generalized to the whole Roma community. However, they represent a solid insight and basis for developing and advocating for social, digital and even educational policies to combat the proliferation of antigypsyist hate speech online, for a safer, inclusive and creative public internet space.

Description of the monitoring tools

The monitoring tool is organized in five parts.

a- **Informations générales** - il s'agit de l'identification de la plateforme de médias sociaux suivie et de la page Internet, des types de comptes (personnels, publics, de groupes ou institutionnels/entreprises privées), des thèmes et sous-thèmes, du titre général de l'article/du message médiatique et de son évaluation subjective (sur une échelle de 3 : positif, négatif et neutre), des détails sur l'influence et la popularité (nombre de likes, de partages, etc.) ;

b- **Sujet général et apparence** - se réfère aux types et aux formes de contenu (texte, visuel, vidéos), à la place du contenu (première page, partagée, page spéciale, page d'histoire, etc.), à la pertinence de la relation (le cas échéant) entre le contenu et le titre/l'élément visuel, aux types de contenu non textuel et (le cas échéant) à l'évaluation de l'impact émotionnel du contenu non textuel sur (une échelle de 3 : très peu, un peu, beaucoup).

c- **Contenu** - décrit à différentes échelles les formes de racisme du discours de haine en ligne dans deux dimensions : **Discours ouvert** : épithètes grossières, insultes racistes, propos grossièrement offensants et déshumanisants / Discours indirect : Utilisation de l'argot, des circonlocutions, de l'ironie, de l'ambiguïté, des références pseudo-scientifiques, renaissance des idéologies suprématistes blanches ; des généralités, statistiques bidons, métonymies ; niveaux d'agressivité/ toxicité des discours de haine, en utilisant l'échelle figée vs motile (Lentin, 2016)- langage chargé de racisme comme toxique lorsqu'il véhicule des messages qui renforcent les stéréotypes, ancrent la polarisation, diffusent des mythes et de la désinformation, justifient l'exclusion, la stigmatisation et l'infériorisation, renforcent les notions exclusivistes d'appartenance et d'identité nationales ; principales formes de discours toxiques à connotation raciale : formes brutes de racisme : insultes, injures, comparaisons criminelles, dénigrement direct, stéréotypes raciaux (couleur, odeur, caractéristiques physiques), notion de «nation» (attaques ad hominem, discours haineux, race, ethnie, religion, culture), «trop sensible» ou «jouer la carte de la race» : être issu de cultures victime, fake news, statistiques bidons, recherches publiées avec des références douteuses, vérités récitées, événements déclencheurs (- les médias encadrent et présentent les nouvelles d'une manière particulière qui peut influencer les lecteurs et les commentaires), formes non textuelles : mêmes, supports multimédias, hashtags, taggage, etc. ; section des commentaires décrivant les types et le nombre de commentaires, l'intensité, la persistance, la popularité (likes, shares, etc.) ; liste des expressions les plus utilisées dans le contenu sur une échelle de 3 niveaux d'intensité.

d- **Observation personnelle (Narrative)** - elle décrit dans un court résumé l'idée principale du contenu et comment ce contenu affecte la personne rom en corrélation avec (éventuellement) certaines spécificités nationales ;

e- **Informations de base** - données d'identification de l'opérateur (respectant le règlement RGPD), utilisées uniquement à des fins de codage et de recherche.

Références

- PECAO (Peer Education to Counter Antigypsist Online Hate Speech)/ European Roma Grassroots Organisation (ERGO) Network financed by DG Justice si GOOGLE (<https://ergonetwork.org/pecao/>);
- Siapera, Eugenia, Moreo Elena and Jiang Zhou (2018). Hate Tracking and Monitoring Racist Speech Online (<https://www.ihrec.ie/app/uploads/2018/11/HateTrack-Tracking-and-Monitoring-Racist-Hate-Speech-Online.pdf>)
- Lentin, Alana (2016) 'Racism in Public or Public Racism: doing anti-racism in post-racial times', Ethnic and Racial Studies, 39(1): 33-48.

Le mot du mentor

William Acker



The PECAO format is a new project in France. It sheds new light on online hatred, particularly that which targets people perceived as Roma and/or «travellers». Anti-gypsyism is a blind spot in the fight against racism, it is expressed everywhere and is almost never punished.

The PECAO project allows us to obtain concrete data, which offer new ways of working for any organization, public or private, wishing to regulate the expression of hateful content online. But above all, the project is original in that it is led by young people who have always experienced this racism.

Peer educators Ionut Cobzaru, Denisa Zaharia, Dylan Schutt, Ricardo Robles, and Ana-Maria Stuparu bring a nuanced perspective, incorporating their feelings and expertise. From the cases they have analyzed and/or reported, they have built a format adapted to a young audience to come and talk about antigypsyism not as a professor would, but rather as an equal in a perspective of sharing experience and empathy.

My role as a mentor was to accompany this process, by providing them with elements of work and understanding of the political and legal framework of the expression of antigypsyism in France and in Europe (history of «nomads» and «travellers», specific legislation for «gens du voyage», distinction between the different offences related to hateful expression, semantic analysis of public discourses, etc.). They have done everything else.

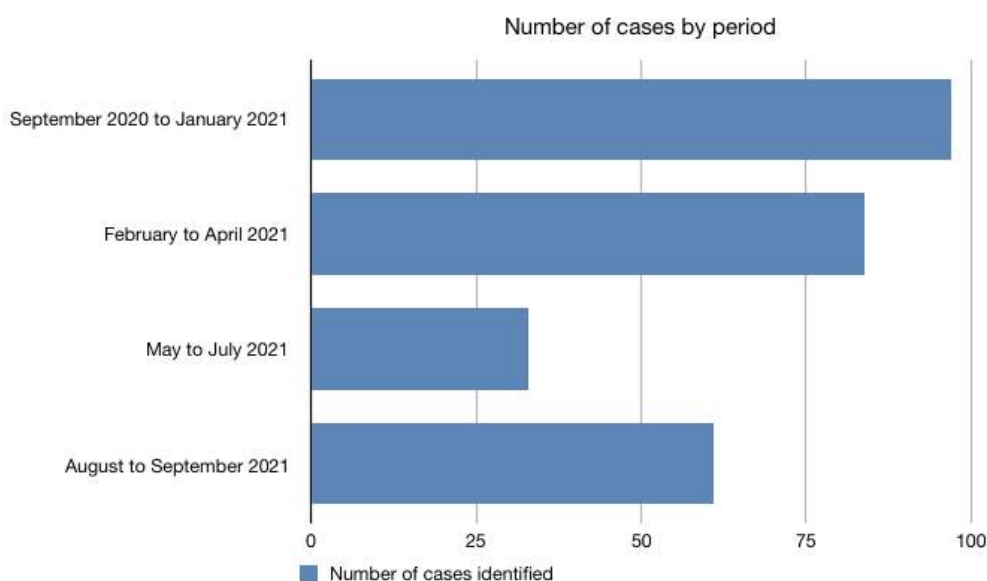
Their work is a sum and brings a new stone in the fight against antigypsyism in Europe and especially in France. There is still a long way to go, but this generation is about to change everything.

Data and interpretation of results

Quantitative analysis

No platform escapes antigypsyism.

For a year, PECAO has been monitoring antigypsyist messages on social networks, press sites and some blogs. The conclusion is clear: none of these platforms are free of antigypsyism. In one year, PECAO has identified and analyzed 270 cases, which represent several thousands of hateful content (especially in terms of number of comments).



The PECAO censuses were conducted in four phases. Each census involves several actions, including filling out a monitoring form, analyzing the messages according to a pre-established grid and making a personal interpretation by describing one's impressions and feelings.

The evolution of the identified cases is interesting in several respects:

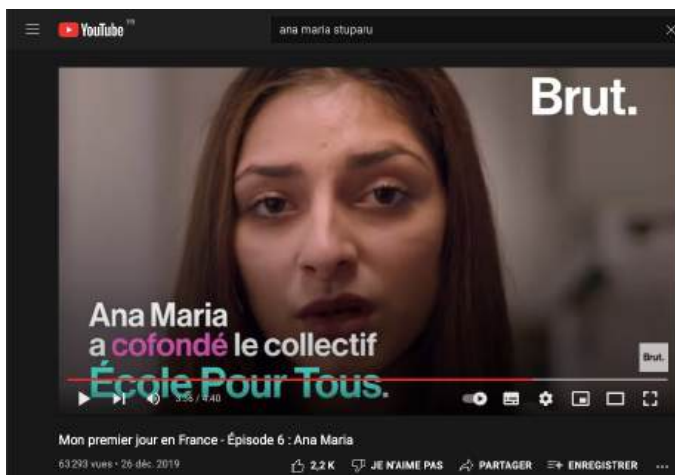
During the first phase, the PECAOs did a lot of recording, including emblematic cases of hateful messages they had encountered before the project. The beginning of the project was also marked by an intense commitment, linked to the group dynamics and the novelty of the approach, which led the PECAOs to get out of their individual habits of frequenting social networks. Thus, those who were used to using Facebook or Tik-Tok began to explore Twitter or online press sites.

The supervisory team proposed to the PECAOs a target of at least five content reviews/analyses per month. This requirement was intended to help meet the project's objectives, but it also quickly came to meet another imperative: protection.

Dealing with hate messages can be challenging, especially when they directly target and/or affect analysts. It was therefore necessary to go through an educational and coaching phase with the PECAOs.

Throughout the project, weekly or fortnightly meetings were held to ensure that the operation was going well and to check the PECAOs' feelings about the messages. Some of the PECAOs with experience in media exposure (notably Ana-Maria Stuparu and Denisa Zaharia), as well as their mentor (William Acker), had the opportunity to share their experiences with racist cyber harassment. It was suggested to the PECAOs that they limit their reporting if they feel uncomfortable, in order to prevent possible psychological harm.

The project mentor in France had to process raw data in order to produce quarterly reports (available in the Appendix). He repeatedly noted the difficulty of handling such data. Reading hundreds of hate messages, reducing Roma to animals, «parasites,» or proposing their extermination, could be overwhelming.



Following these two videos presenting the activities of Ana Maria Stuparu (PECAO) and William Acker (Mentor), several thousand antigypsyist comments were published.

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The first phase of the survey also had a special purpose: to serve as a basis for future interventions with young people. The PECAO's mission is not only to analyze content and report online hate messages, but also to raise awareness among young audiences. The PECAOs used the results of the first phase to create a model workshop that was tested in several high schools and associations working with teenagers and young people.

As a result, the number of cases identified gradually decreased, coinciding with the start of the interventions, which took longer and led the PECAOs to return to the objectives initially proposed.

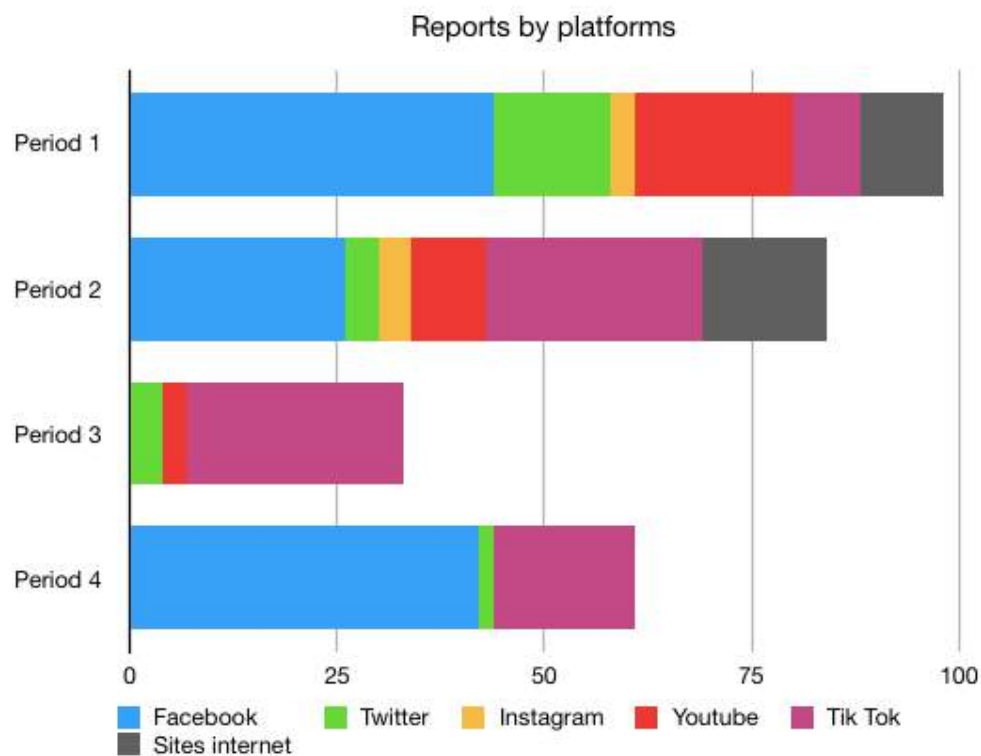


Intervention of PECAO Ana Maria Stuparu and Dylan Schutt with young civic volunteers of the association Les enfants du canal

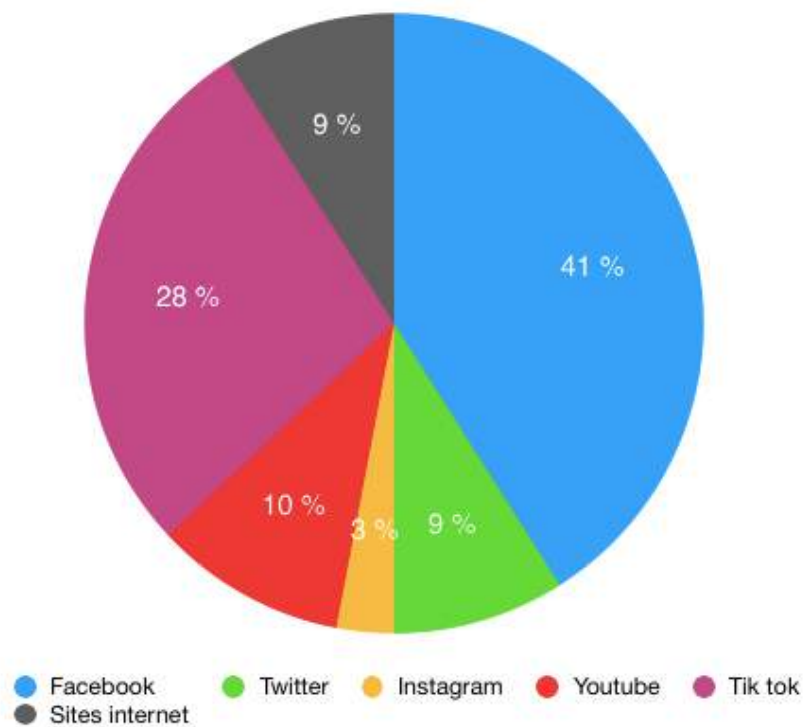
The other phenomenon to be taken into account is the resurgence of antigypsyist hate messages during the summer of 2021 due to two main factors: on the one hand, the increase in «large-scale passages» of «travellers» and their media coverage, and on the other hand, the structure of the French public debate in this period, largely focused on questions of identity and marked by the daily evocation in the country's main media of an alleged «theory of the great replacement».



Facebook comment published under a press article reporting the presence of Roma in an area of the city of Nantes: «A gas can when they sleep is also effective».



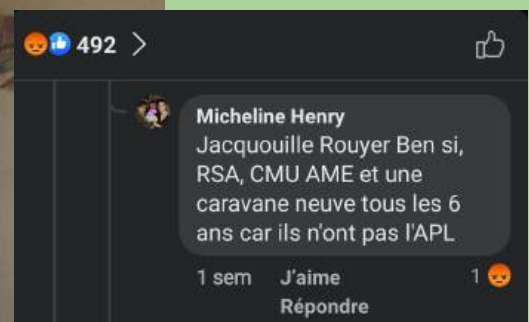
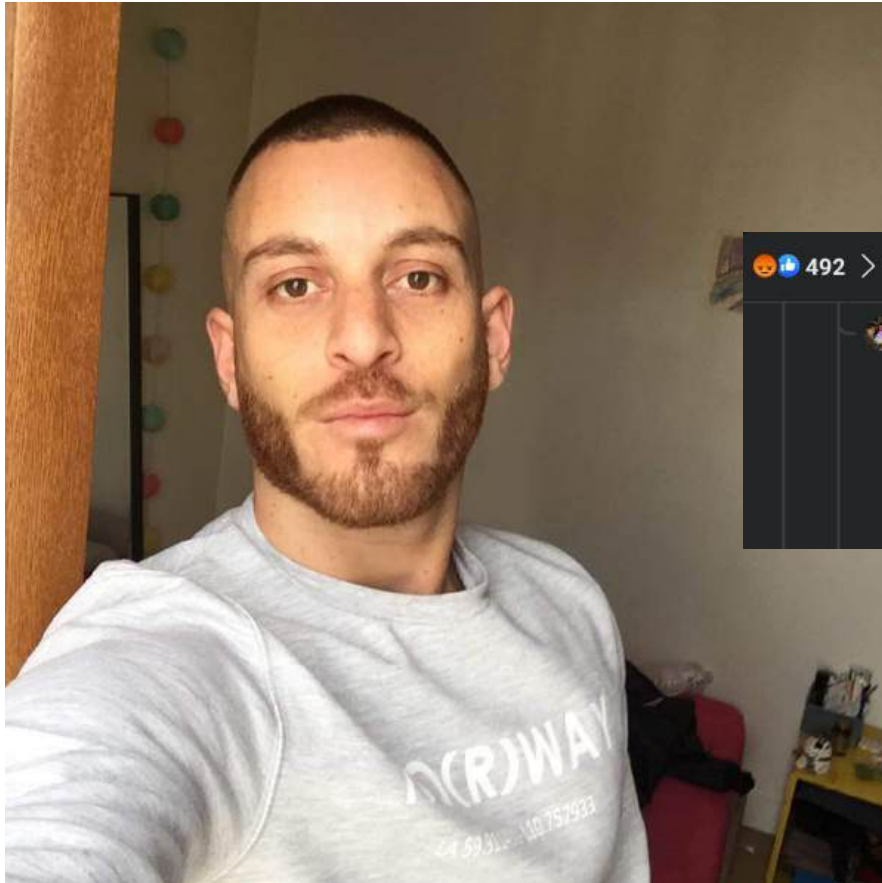
Share of content reported by platform over the life of the project



This project is funded by the European Union's Rights, Equality and Citizenship program (2014-2020).
This project received funding from the Google.Org Impact Challenge on safety as part of the ERGO network project.
Peer education to counter antigypsyist online hate speech.

Words of PECAO

Dylan Schutt

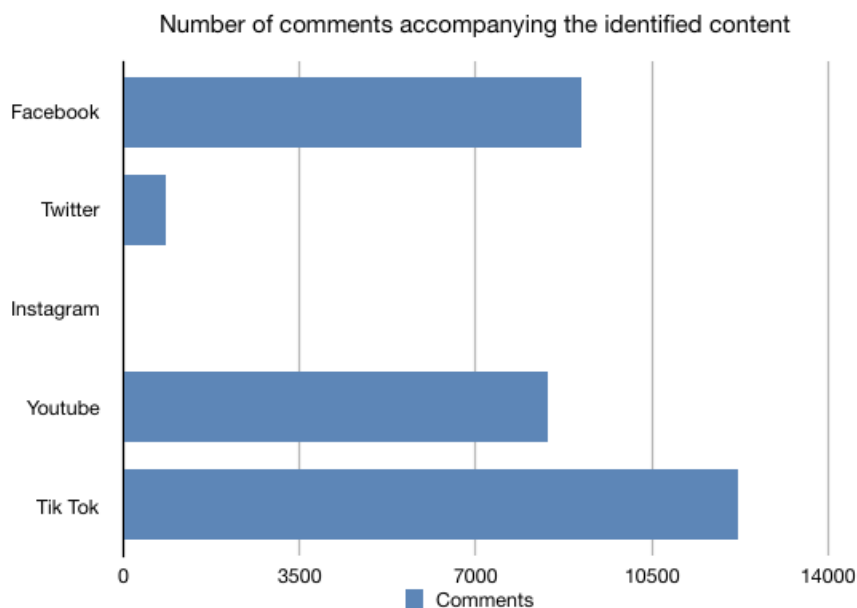


“ This person is stating false information by insinuating that by receiving various social benefits, Travellers are able to buy a new caravan every 6 years. When you know the price of a new caravan, you can only smile at the stupidity of this comment. Here, it propagates false information and reinforces the polarity, reinforces the «them against us». ”

Virality of hate messages

In terms of virality, three main data were retained: the number of interactions (likes, favorites, etc.), the number of shares and the number of comments. The number of views or impressions is also relevant but could not be systematically collected due to the impossibility of having this data for some platforms.

In this respect, the first significant point noted by the PECAO is the very high number of views on video content, numbering in the millions for some of the cases studied (particularly on the youtube video platform). It goes without saying that this type of content generates many more comments. Thus, while the content reported on the Youtube platform represents only 10% of the total content, it accumulates nearly 5 million views and represents 28% of the comments accompanying all the reported content. The figures are also impressive on the Tik Tok platform, where the number of views, shares, likes and comments are significant. Tik Tok content accounts for 28% of all reports but is responsible for more than 60% of the likes.



This virality of contents seems difficult to control, under some facebook posts, the PECAO estimated that almost 100% of the hundreds of comments were hateful towards Roma. Once again the question of moderation arises, and was raised during the PECAO project. Several reports were also communicated, notably on Twitter and to media outlets leaving hateful content in their «comments» sections. Some media outlets choose to close all commenting on articles about Roma. The reason given is that journalists anticipate the massive arrival of hateful content. Others proceed to moderations.

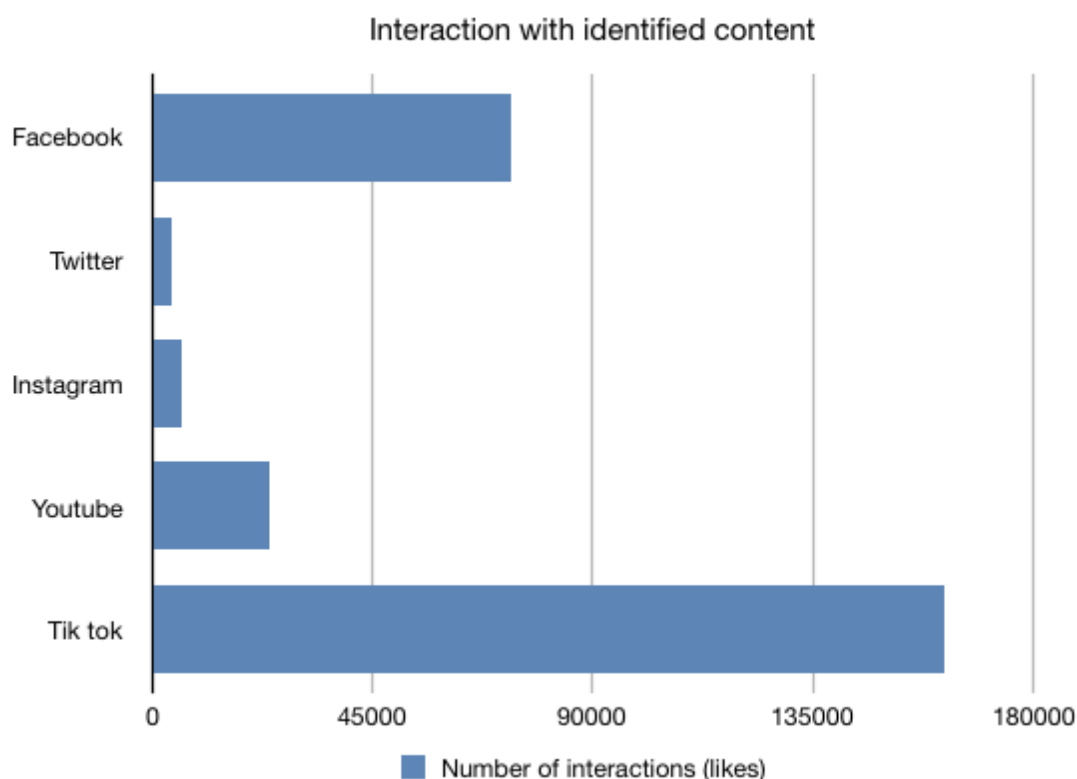
In some newsrooms, people are specifically dedicated to this. But if several journalists admit the great difficulty of moderation in the face of the influx of hateful content on certain topics. Another factor could explain the slackness observed in terms of moderation: it is the «Covid 19» context which significantly exacerbates the number of contents to be treated.

Finally, other newsrooms do not moderate at all, even after several reports. For example, we met the case with the newspaper «La dépêche du midi».

Following a question put to several editorial offices within the framework of the PECAO project, some of them agreed to answer us.

Loup Lassinat-Foubert, Social media manager for Ouest France :

«We receive 16,000 comments every day on all of our 78 Facebook pages, which is a very large volume. We are vigilant and aware of the difficulties of moderation, and have just strengthened our charter to make it stricter. However, it is inevitable that, faced with the influx, some content may take time to be deleted. The context is quite different compared to the pre-Covid era»⁹



Some sites don't seem to want to moderate their pages. One site in particular caught the attention of the PECAO. It is fdsouche.com. Presented as a «press review» on its home page, this site centralizes a set of articles dealing with delinquency and immigration. It is very popular in extreme right-wing circles and allows its users to comment under each article. Although the site takes care to point out at the bottom of each page that «Racial insults, racist expressions, and incitements to violence lead to the banning of their authors», comments are not deleted or moderated. The PECAO have identified the most aggressive content on this site, many of which include calls for genocide, which are still present.

These online sites are thus fertile grounds for the expression of racist hatred, which never seems to be reported or punished. The same is true for the newspaper Valeurs Actuelles, a newspaper known for its conservative, even extreme right-wing values, where moderation on its social networks seems to be non-existent.



Commentaires trouvés sur le site fdsouche.com le 3 février 2021

Politique relative aux commentaires de [fdsouche](http://fdsouche.com)

Les injures raciales, expressions racistes, incitations à la violence entraînent le bannissement de leurs auteurs.

Nous vous prions de lire notre **Politique relative aux commentaires** avant de commenter.

The PECAOs have encountered many limitations, even failures, in terms of moderation. If in some cases it is possible to question the «goodwill» shown by the media platforms, in other cases the virality of the contents is such that it seems impossible to control everything.

This large number of comments and shares can also have positive effects. More and more Roma tiktokers take care to put themselves on stage and directly address the clichés. One of our PECAOs, for example, chose this medium to respond to hateful comments making a racist distinction

between Romanians and Roma. Other influencers are beginning to gather a significant community around them. PECAO observed that the comments sections of these videos contained less hateful content. This seems normal for videos that aim to fight prejudice, but it is still important to note.

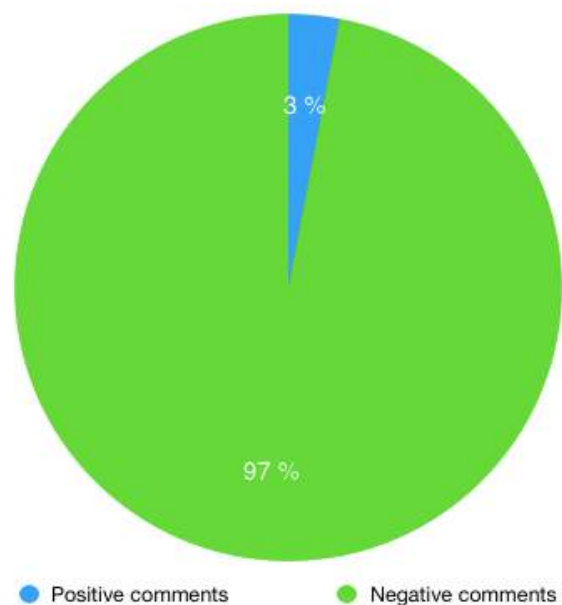


On Tiktok, brenda.llk of gypsy origins, makes fun of the clichés about «gypsies». His videos are very successful and popular with a large audience. Many comments are published in response. Most often positive, they are sometimes very negative or even hateful.

This mode of action has provoked a lot of reactions among the PECAO, some are rather favorable, others like Denisa Zaharia are unfavorable. About it she writes: «All these facts and videos generate racism in commentary and reinforce stereotypes and myths about Roma people.»

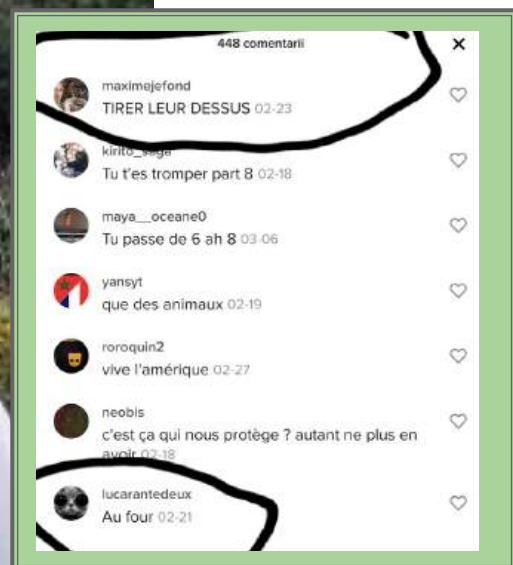
However, the existence of these new actors in the fight against online antigypsyism is not enough to stop the balance of power: of all the content reported, 97% convey a degraded image of the Roma.

Share of positive and negative content on Roma



Words of PECAO

Denisa Zaharia



“ Even if they are at fault, people do not have the right to express themselves in this way in public, or in private for that matter. In my opinion, this is the limit of freedom of expression. All this can have serious consequences as in March 2019. Here we are not even taken for human beings but rather for food or animals because it is the food that is put in the oven not human beings. ”

Thematic analyses

Particularities of antigypsyism in France

In order to understand the different stereotypes and thus to foresee the structures of hate messages, it is important to understand the particularities of the antigypsyist expression in France. In the French public debate, the words «Roma» and «gens du voyage» do not have the same meaning. Most often, when the word Roma is used, it refers to «migrant Roma», designated as such by the authorities. The «Roma» are then assimilated to foreigners, and popular representations associate them with poverty, begging and certain specific clichés.

The «travellers» are referred to their caravans and their «nomadism», they are reputed to be thieves, invaders. Their evocation is most often linked to «illegal installations», or to theft. One question often comes up: how do they pay for their «beautiful caravans»?



Marseille
Le 15 septembre 2021

Communiqué de presse : 200 Roms installés dans le 14^e arrondissement et la Mairie de secteur laisse faire !

Nous apprenons ce jour par voie de presse (MarsActu), que les familles issues de la communauté Roms qui squattent les entrepôts de la rue Cazemajou (15^e arrondissement) depuis des années doivent être déplacées en raison de travaux que la Métropole va effectuer sur le tramway.

Aujourd'hui, après concertations des services de la Préfecture avec les acteurs locaux, dont la Mairie de secteur des 13^e et 14^e arrondissements, il est envisagé de déplacer ce camp d'environ 200 personnes dans des Algeco sur un terrain de foot désaffecté du quartier de St Barthélémy (14^e) près de la cité Font-Vert. Ces camps de Roms sont un véritable enfer pour le voisinage : odeurs, saleté, insécurité... le tout dans des logements toujours payés par le contribuable !

Nous nous opposons fermement à l'installation d'un nouveau camp ici ou ailleurs : aucun quartier de Marseille ou de France ne mérite cela. Que la Mairie de Marseille cesse d'encourager et de développer la misère dans notre ville !

La maire de secteur quant à elle, Marion Bareille, a réagi sur ses réseaux sociaux en feignant l'indignation alors que Denis Rossi, élu de sa propre majorité, a été déclaré présent à au moins une réunion avec la Préfecture et était donc au courant du dossier depuis plus de trois mois !

Tout comme d'ailleurs la Métropole dont Madame Bareille est élue et se déclarant à l'envi proche de Martine Vassal. Les paroles sur les réseaux sociaux ne sont pas des actes, et les mensonges engagent les élus qui les profèrent...

Encore une fois, Marion Bareille prend ses administrés pour des imbéciles et sous couvert de fausses déclarations publiques VALIDE en réalité le saccage de nos arrondissements.

Stéphane Ravier, mayor of the 14th district of Marseille, published on his facebook page a letter denouncing the installation of «200 Roma» in his district. He wrote: «These Roma camps are a real hell for the neighborhood: smells, dirt, insecurity ... all in housing paid by taxpayers!

In reaction, several hundred openly racist comments were published.

While these subtleties are important to understand in order to grasp the characteristics of antigypsyism in France, the stereotypes do come together. Many «travelers» are also portrayed as foreigners, many Roma are also portrayed as invaders. This distinction is false, since many «gens du voyage» have Rromani origins, and conversely Roma, French for several generations or foreigners, can also be itinerant.

But in the French context, the two terms refer to a well-established distinction. In order to clarify this difference, the State services regularly establish summaries on their official websites, for example on the website of the Bas-Rhin Prefecture:

«Travellers come from several groups, most of them have French nationality, and their lifestyle was originally based on mobility. The Roma migrants represent about 15,000 people and have been settled for several generations in their country of origin (Romania and Bulgaria), which they fled because of the discrimination they suffered and for economic reasons. They sometimes resort to mobile housing in France for lack of any other solution »¹⁰

In passing, it is important to specify that these «15,000 people» correspond to the figures of the Inter-ministerial Delegation for Housing and Access to Housing (DIHAL) on the «inhabitants of shanty towns of European citizenship». This is interesting, because it means that all Roma migrants from Romania and Bulgaria live in shantytowns and that it is possible to count a group according to its ethnic origins (although this is forbidden in France!).

In France, there is no equivalent to the status of «national minority» or «ethnic minority». This places the State in a fuzzy position based on administrative and stereotypical apprehensions when it comes to conducting public policies or specific discourses on «Roma and Travellers». This vagueness is also felt in French opinion, where the general public is completely unaware of the diversity of the Rromani and/or Traveller peoples. Antigypsyism in France will therefore be expressed in different ways depending on the targeted public. These nuances seem important for the PECAO to grasp in order to effectively prevent hate speech. The care taken in the constitution of the PECAO team also reflects this desire: to bring together both young people perceived as «migrant Roma» and others perceived as «travellers».



frairo2



C est une rom pas une roumaine. C est
comme dire “oh un terroriste” a chaque
fois qu’on croise un musulman. 2h

Tiktok comment reported by PECAO Ionut Cobzaru.

«She’s a Roma not a Romanian. It’s like saying “oh a terrorist” every time you meet a Muslim».

Words of PECAO

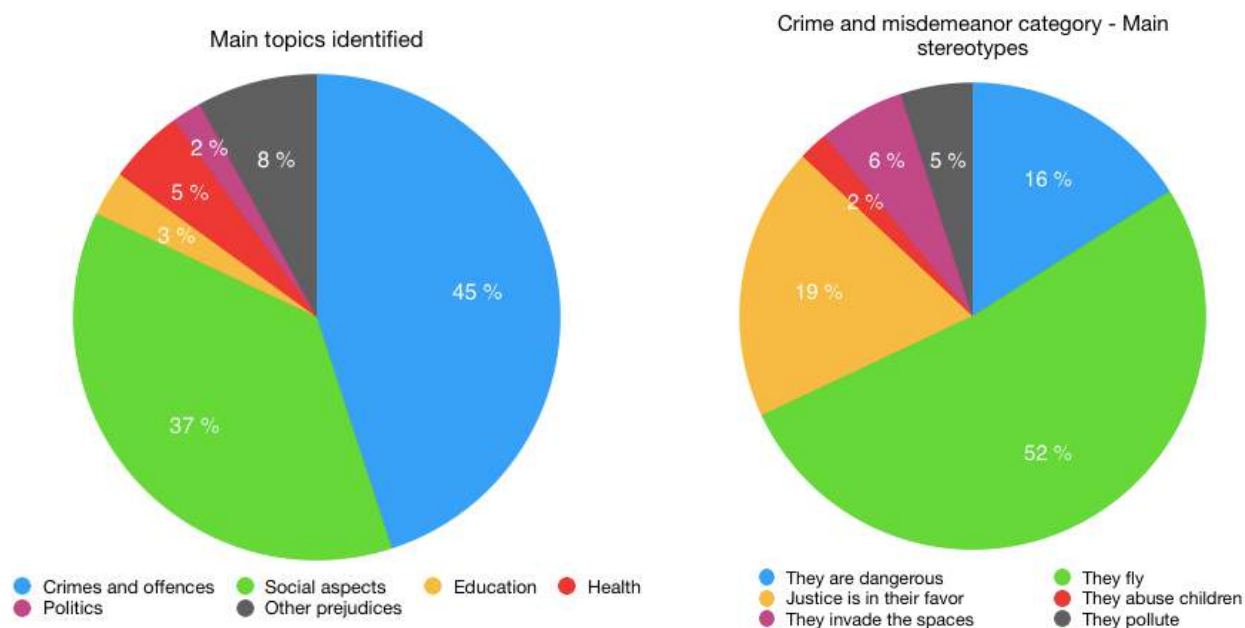
Ionut Cobzaru



“The author dehumanizes us by comparing us to «waste» or «parasites». He also calls for our extermination. This is a crime, but it is likely that despite our reports, it will go unpunished.”

Structures of the themes encountered in hateful content

According to the PECAO analysis, 45% of the content identified is related to the theme of «crimes and offences» and 37% to social aspects. These two themes alone account for more than 8 out of 10 hate messages.



Of all the content on crimes and offenses, 52% focus on theft, demonstrating the deep-rootedness of the stereotype. Among the contents we can read that the very nature of the Roma is theft, that when «travellers» arrive in a city, burglaries increase, that the Roma are constituted in «mafias of thieves», in «ethnic gangs» or that the Roma steal children.

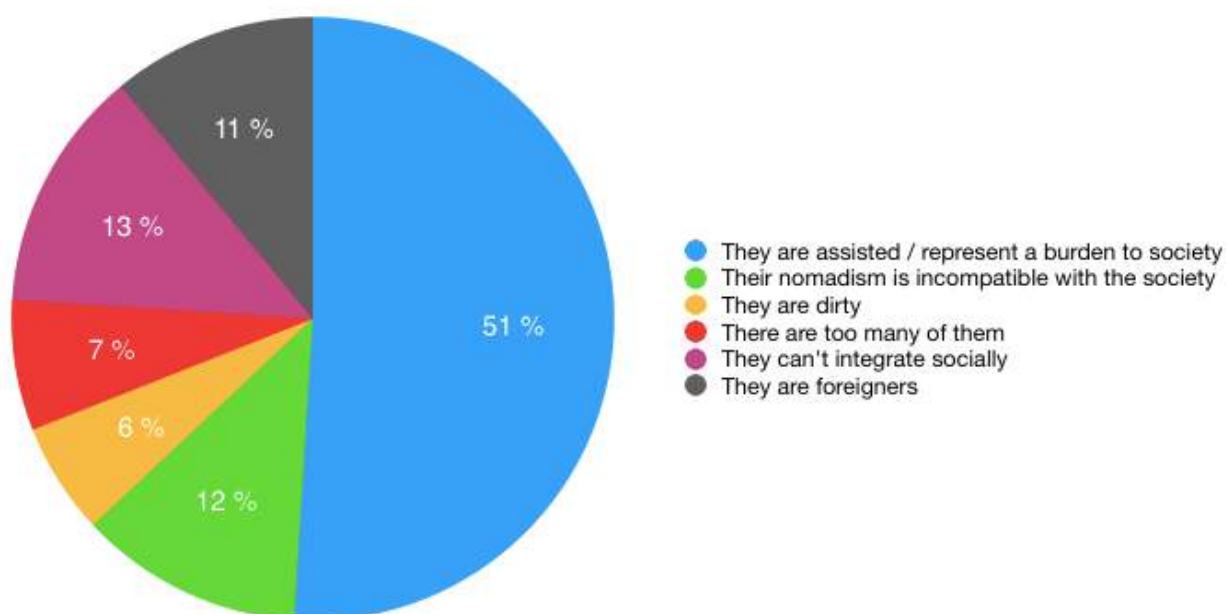
It is important to read these contents in the light of recent events in France. Thus, it is worth recalling the rumors related to «white vans», which were spread virally on social networks, led between March and April 2019 in the Paris region, racist lynchings against people identified as «Roma» and falsely accused of kidnapping children. Another fact is that when «travellers» arrive in a commune, billboards indicate their presence and ask the inhabitants to «be careful with travellers». These examples illustrate the practical effects of stereotyping theft.

In terms of crime and misdemeanor, two other major themes follow: the Roma are said to be dangerous (16% of contents) and the justice system is said to be favorable to them (19%). This feeds an incalculable number of fantasies and conspiracy theories, of which the Roma are mysteriously the beneficiaries.

To a lesser extent, but still significant, the Roma would be «invaders». The recurrence of this theme (6% of reported content) reflects the frequency of publication of articles on illegal settlements by Roma.

The other main topic addressed in hateful content is social aspects, with a sub-theme that is in the majority (51% of content): the idea that the Roma are assisted, live on aid and represent a burden for society. This theme generally underlies a discourse insinuating that the Roma are not French on the one hand (whereas hundreds of thousands have been French for generations), and that they live by stealing and begging. The subject is regularly brought up again in France with specific television programs or press articles.

Category social aspects - Main stereotypes

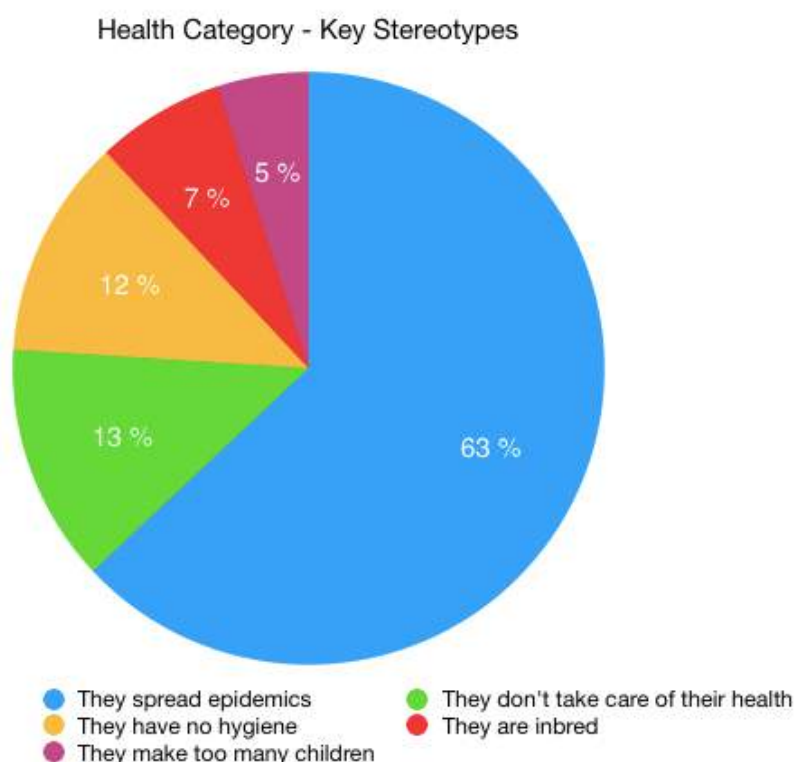


It is therefore logical that the PECAO found that 13% of the content dealing with social aspects postulates that the Roma cannot integrate into society and 12% that their «nomadic» lifestyle is incompatible with French society. The assimilation of the Roma to nomadism in France is a cliché that is based on the French State's apprehension of the Roma since the 19th century, through the prism of «Tsigane nomadism»¹¹.

Themes related to current events

These themes are globally linked to current events. In France, the treatment of news about people of Romani origin is mainly focused on three subjects: the expulsion of «migrant Roma», the reception of «travellers» and the delinquency of Roma. To understand how the news is structured around these subjects in France, we need to go back to some experiences. In December 2020, a search in Google news with the keyword «gens du voyage» yields 122 articles over a period from 7 November to 7 December 2020. Of these 122 articles, 64 deal with delinquency and crime, 45 deal with the presence of «Travellers» (reception difficulties or illegal settlement), 9 relate to Covid-19 among Roma and 4 focus on the discrimination suffered by them. In other words, 90% of the articles are negative¹².

The PECAO found a significant number of messages referring to Roma as «epidemic spreaders». These stereotypes, already used in the French press at the beginning of the 19th century, have been revived since the Covid crisis. The association of Romani people with nomadism leads some people to fear that they could spread the epidemic more rapidly.

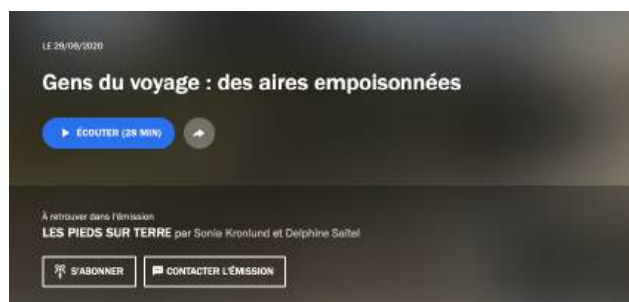


Graphic content analysis

In cases where the reported content includes graphic elements (videos, images, gifs, etc.), the PECAO must analyze the relevance of its use. The image is sometimes separated from the title or the content of the article and leads to a truncated understanding of the information. This leads to misrepresentation and therefore increases the risk of hateful expression. Of all the cases reported, 43 involved graphic content. According to the PECAO analysis, in 39% of the cases the content does not seem to be consistent with the title and in 40% of the cases does not seem to be consistent with the content of the article.

Illustration of an article dealing with the Roma by photographs of beggars or showing the Roma in a situation of poverty, image of a shanty town to talk about a reception area for travellers, image of a police vehicle with the mention «travellers» or «Roma» in the title, etc. These uses seem to result from several shortcomings:

- the too frequent use of image banks by the media, with choices determined by stereotyped representations ;
- Questionable practices: photos taken in the distance, caravans next to police cars, etc.



Les "gens du voyage" sont tenus de s'installer sur des emplacements répartis inégalement sur le territoire, relégués à l'écart des villes et souvent à proximité d'usines Seveso ou de déchetteries. Trois histoires qui racontent le confinement, la promiscuité et les nuisances permanentes.

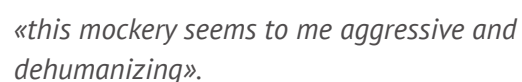


Illustration photo chosen by France Culture for an article about polluted «reception areas». The photo corresponds to an informal camp installed in a dump near Nice. This image does not correspond to the content and contributes to a form of stigmatization of people of Romani origin.

Below is a photograph of the real «reception area» in Nice.



- The degrading image. It is usually taken from an online image bank. A common practice is to illustrate a comment on «reception areas» with images of shanty towns or polluted areas. Sometimes the choices made by editorial offices seem to be well-intentioned, as in the example of the illustration used by France Culture above. The intention is commendable, but the effect is counterproductive and degrading. Other contents such as photographs of waste or excrement are commonplace. They usually illustrate articles where elected officials complain about the degradation caused by the arrival of Roma, they have an extremely strong impact on the collective unconscious. These images illustrate real situations, real incivilities, but do not reflect all realities.



Words of PECAO

Ana-Maria Stuparu



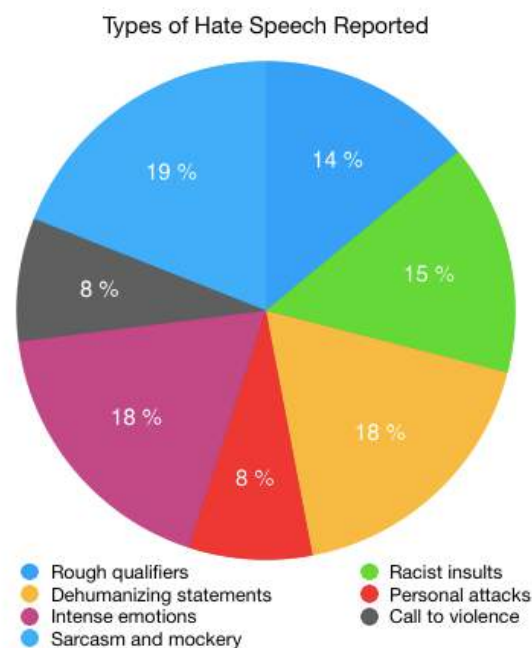
“ This content is very hurtful. It contains insults that are aimed at the entire Roma population. It also brings false and ambiguous information about the «king of the Rrom». The commentary aims at making people feel guilty and conceals the difficult situation of the Rrom people, conceals that discriminations and inequalities generally come from outside. Finally, it encourages support for political movements that use the exclusion of people in precarious situations as a strategy. ”

Semantic analysis

Semantic analysis is essential to identifying and neutralizing online hate content. From the outset of the project, the PECAO has emphasized the difficulty of capturing antigypsyist messages based on keywords. For example, there is no such thing as a racist word per se, i.e., the terms Roma, Gypsies, Manouches, Travelers, Yeniches, Travelers, Sinti, or Gypsies can have positive or negative connotations depending on the context of use. This is a characteristic of antigypsyism: the negative image systematically supplants the neutral meaning of each term, as soon as this term leaves the strict field of the persons concerned to enter the common language of the majority society¹⁵.

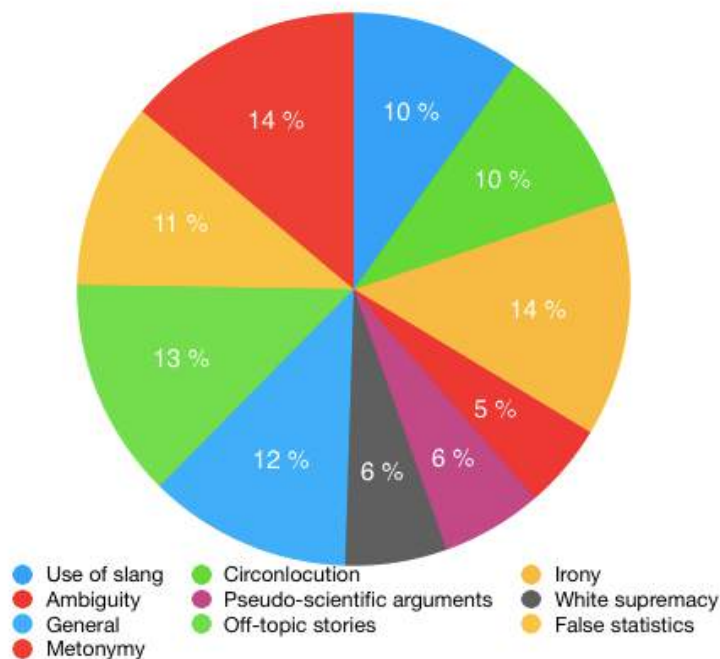
To distinguish between normal and hateful uses, the PECAO sought to identify the different semantic fields used.

Already in terms of structure, it should be noted that the use of coarse language is the most frequent in 19% of reported cases. This is followed by dehumanizing language (18%), intense emotions (18%) and sarcasm and mockery (14%).



In terms of rhetorical devices, irony and ambiguity are the most used (14% each). Rhetorical devices make it possible to circumvent the censorship of certain platforms and are therefore almost systematically used. The effects produced by these rhetorical devices are numerous, and the PECAO had to analyze them: reinforces polarization, stereotypes, conveys myths, disseminates false information, justifies exclusion, stigmatizes and inferiorizes, and refers the Roma to their condition as foreigners or to their race. Messages reinforcing stereotypes and justifying the exclusion, stigmatization and inferiorization of Roma are the most numerous, representing 41% of the analyzed contents.

Rhetorical devices used



Overall, the words used to designate the Roma have three graduated functions: to oppose, to dehumanize, and to kill.

The PECAO was confronted with a large number of hate messages and a surprising diversity of language.



Gilbert Collard, Lawyer and Deputy of the National Rally.

« War of the #gangs in #Strasbourg: 1 dead and several injured, fires. The #police fears a vendetta and expects to see dozens of individuals land (a rumor speaks of gypsies from Spain). The law of clans replaces the rule of law! »



The most common words to oppose Roma and others : community, parasites, savages, scourge, clan, home, welcome, bastards, outsiders ...



The most common words to dehumanize the Roma : parasites, shit, tribes, waste, gypsies, scum, beggars, animals, gypsies, thugs, marginals, inbreds, pests, slackers, tramps ...



The most common words to call for the death or extermination of Roma : it is necessary, to shoot, to dissolve, to eradicate, harmful, to get rid of, parasite, to kill, oven, to burn, vermin, bullet in the head, hunting ...

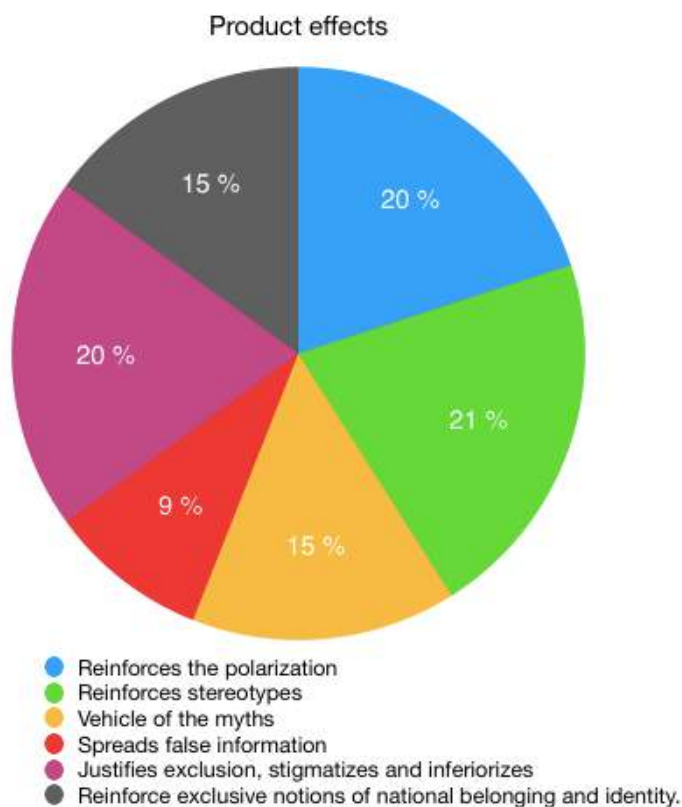


Comments noted under a publication about the unworthy conditions of a «reception area»:

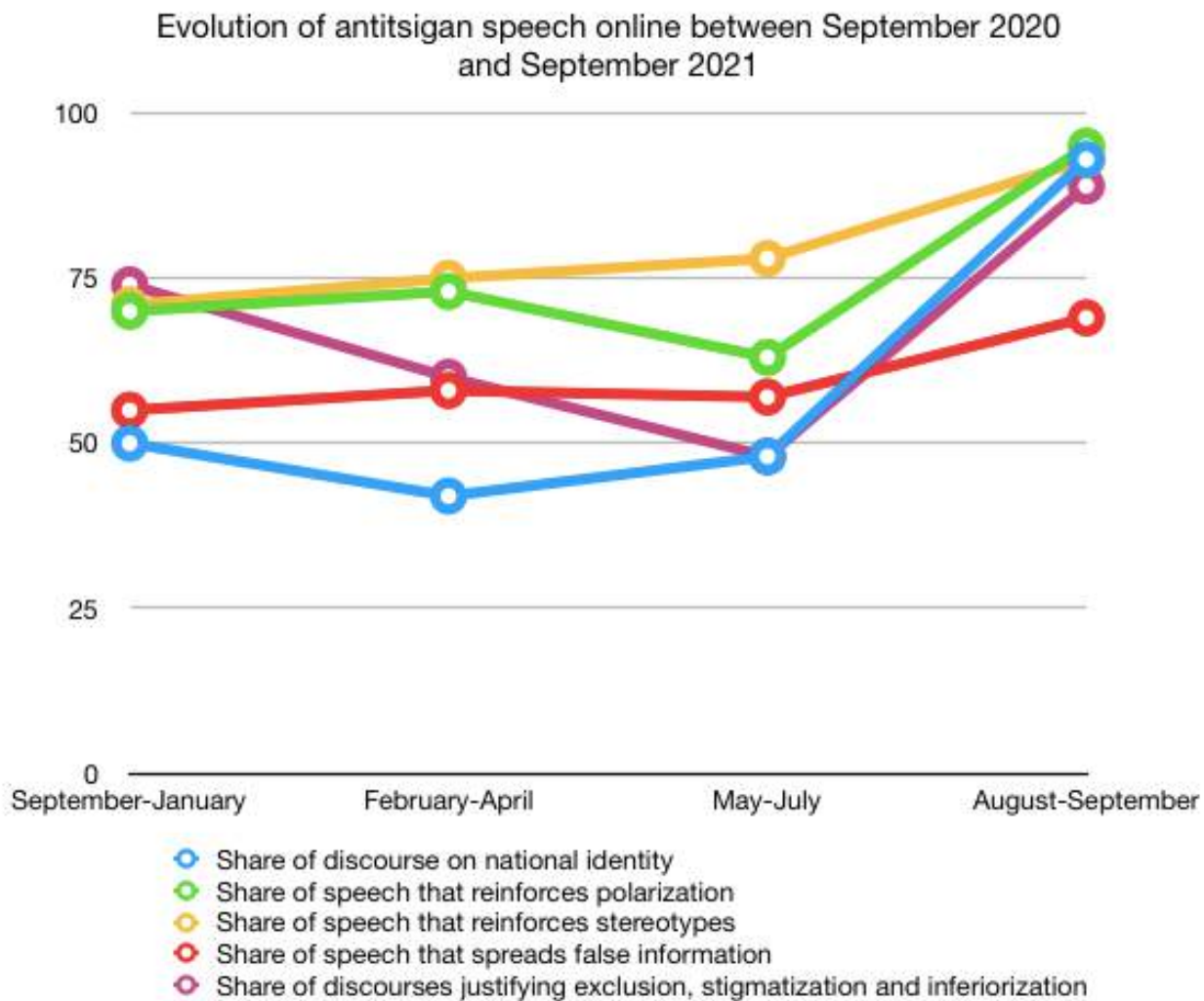
«In France everything is free... It is the taxpayer who works, who pays for these parasites of society».

«in Portugal or Spain there is nothing to scratch, no allowance so they don't stay these lazy bums».

This graduation in terms is found in hateful and explicit content. There is also a use of implicit contents, which prefer to play with rhetorical effects rather than vocabulary.



When it comes to semantics, the PECAOs have noted increasing shifts as the year has progressed. The most dramatic increase, however, was in the discourse on national identity, the foreignness of the Roma, and race. This shift has been noted by all PECAOs who have seen the content reported become more radical. If the reported comments are more radical, it is mainly because they are part of a context that for several months in France has made the question of identity, and in particular subjects related to white supremacy, an unavoidable topic. One polemic after another has focused on secularism, the veiling of Muslim women, laws targeting «Islamism» and subjects revolving around the theory of the «great replacement». The media's focus on Eric Zemmour, an extreme right-wing polemicist and presidential candidate, has exacerbated these subjects and controversies.



These changes in French opinion are combined with a context of health crisis favorable to both tensions, but also to rumors, false information, conspiracy, etc.

This is fertile ground for the expression of online hate. Of all the content identified by the PECAO, 61.5% was reported to the website or social network platform, and 1.5% was the subject of a dematerialized complaint on the Pharos platform.

Words of PECAO

Ricardo Robles



“ I think it would be interesting to address the relationship between prostitution and Rromani women in antigypsyist and misogynist discourses. These clichés are not necessarily mobilized in the same way in France and in other European countries like Spain. ”

The words of anti-gypsyism

The next two pages contain an extract of the expressions collected during this last year. The purpose of these pages is to give the reader of this report a glimpse of the violence that people of Romani origin are subjected to when they connect to social networks and online press sites in France.

Getting rid of vermin
Black sheep
Gypsies are dirty
Breed of dog
A community that causes us problems
Why do we continue to tolerate Travellers?
Delinquents
Everyone is afraid of them
They are worrying
They are a plague
They are garbage
They should be burned with a flamethrower
They don't bring in anything and cost the
country money
Expel these parasites
They are savages
Ethnic gang
They must be incinerated
The scum
That shit
In the oven
Trojan horses
Big thugs
Nobody to put a bullet in them?
Crybaby
Bitch
Roma are all thieves
Untouchables
Roma, a real mafia
Gypsies are the shit of France
Barbarians
All terrorists in this community
They have vice in their blood
A bunch of outcasts
Death to the gypsies!
Tribe

Tramp
Unemployed
Virus spreaders
International thieves
Gypsy women must be shaved
Inbreds
They must be exterminated
They are a real danger to society
Kill them all
Delinquents from the travellers' community
Aggressive parasites
Roma beggars
They know all about scams
They should be banned from the territory
They are everywhere
Real international thieves
Gypsies, the scourge of humanity
Waste that doesn't bring in anything
People who live as parasites on the backs of
white people
They must be eradicated
They have an intellectual level bordering on
the profoundly stupid due to their inbreeding
Virulent scum
These shits
They have nothing, they live on theft and
rapine, they are parasites in every sense of the
word
Nothing is more dangerous
Gypsies are a real danger
Parasites to crush with your foot
Aggressive parasites
They spoil everything
Thieves and profiteers who live on state aid
Deport the Roma!
Let's get rid of the vermin

A catastrophe
Deport them by force
The king of the Roma is a multi-millionaire
We must dissolve the travellers
These pests
Shoot them
They have no way of living
In the oven
These bastards
What are they doing here
They steal from the poor people
They hurt people
They have no limits anymore
They have tasted easy money
Romanians are more civilized than Roma
They deserve a bullet in the head
If only they were educated like everyone else
They were born among the scum
Their culture is to steal
The plague of France
They destroy the land
They think they can do anything
Most of them live on aid
To chase away these pests you have to spray
manure
Shoot them with live ammunition
No respect for the country that welcomes
them
The town hall only has to lay mines to kill
them
You have to shoot them in the heap
They have no race
Gypsies are animals
They are not the people with the highest
intellectual capacities
It's swarming
They can often cry
They shit everywhere
These parasites of society
This bunch of lazy people

A can of gasoline when they sleep is effective
These foreigners
These thieves
Shady people
Roma, travellers, same problem

Conclusions

The work of the PECAOs has highlighted several strengths.

The media has a pivotal position in antigypsyism. They are at the same time catalysts, unfortunately often providers, and therefore have a crucial role to play in the fight against anti-gypsyism. For this, it is necessary that the media commit themselves to be attentive to a non-stigmatizing use of the terms «Roma» or «gens du voyage» in particular in the treatment of news. The local press in particular must go and meet the people who are the subject of the article. The issue of the use of words is the same as that of naming properly, avoiding random use of the terms Roma, Gypsies, Travellers, etc. The same applies to the use of images, which still too often convey a stereotyped vision.

PECAOs have a role to play in the training and awareness of journalists and newsrooms. Such crossovers would be likely to create the same effects that we observed during the workshops with a young audience, namely to reduce the preconceptions and prejudices of journalists who grew up in a country marked by more than a century of widespread and accepted antigypsyism.

The other issue revealed by the work of the PECAO is **the lack of moderation on social networks.** Platforms such as account administrators where many antigypsyist comments are posted must be made to face their responsibilities. It is therefore necessary to train moderators. Semantic analysis needs to be taken further in order to determine the most frequent uses and to raise more alerts for moderators.

The involvement of public actors in France in prosecuting the authors of hateful content is unfortunately insufficient. Victims of antigypsyism support, especially from associations. It seems necessary to systematize the legal proceedings in this matter and to make known and train to the use of the Pharos platform.

The work of the PECAOs has also highlighted the existence of **many content creators from populations that are victims of antigypsyism.** It seems important that these actions, which often use pedagogical and humorous media that are particularly effective in combating clichés, be given greater recognition.

The success of peer education in the project was reflected in the enthusiasm of the young people we met, who asked many questions and were able to put the experiences of the PECAOs into perspective based on their own experiences. Intervening directly with young people allows for more empathy thanks to direct contact with the people concerned. **This experience allows us to affirm, even if it seems obvious, that it is essential to allow access to the public and media sphere for people affected by antigypsyism.** How many of them are journalists, editorialists, politicians, how many of them occupy a visible position in the media and institutional space today?

End Notes

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