Яe-ACT
Remember and ACT!

Comparative report on the phenomena of online antigypsyism

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About the project

Analysis of hate data collected by members of the International Network Against Cyber Hate, INACH, in Europe has shown that there are strong and documented links between current online hate phenomena and hate-slurs, prejudices and practices that have been propagated in the Third Reich.

To transform these worrisome findings into effective warnings, especially since remembrance and knowledge on the Holocaust and its horrors are fading, the project Remember and ACT! (Re-ACT) is putting a special focus on researching how "old" concepts of antisemitism and antigypsyism are being re-enacted by concerted hate campaigns and where they originated from. Starting from there, Re-ACT will develop, collect, and provide educational materials and tools for the prevention of racism, xenophobia, homophobia and other forms of intolerance.

These self-generated sets of information plus a curated collection of high-quality educational materials will build the foundation for the establishment of an online prevention-hub at INACH.

Introduction and definitions

The main goal of this comparative report is to provide the most relevant parameters of the phenomena of antigypsyism, hate speech that takes place online and their connection. This then serves as background to identify the trends in online hate speech directed at Roma community, the most important concepts and tropes regarding antigypsyism but also the relevant trends of antigypsyist online hate speech. In order to do that, the authors have to take into account the relevant definitions of both phenomena. The definitions are never all encompassing and have numerous flaws but they provide a useful orientation, especially when coming from the affected community itself. We should, however, be aware that Roma community is by no means monolithic and lives in countries that are vastly different in terms of their economic situation, historic background and relation to Roma minority. This report will focus on the EU context because it provides comparable political and legal framework and possibilities of joint activities and policies to tackle Roma discrimination. It will take into account the defined indicators in the countries selected based on two criteria: participation in the Re-act! project and the size of the Roma minority but it will also cover as many Member States as possible, based on available data.

Antigypsyism, as specific form of racism directed at Roma people, does not exist in online settings only and deprived of its real-life conditions. On the contrary, in case of antigypsyism the authors will have to take into account the reality of Roma communities together with economic, social and political aspects to fully understand the strength and nature of antigypsyism online. That is why this report will provide a brief context of the position of Roma communities across the EU in their structural status in housing, health, job market access and education.

In terms of defining antigypsyism, the Re-ACT project works with the broad definition used by Alliance against Antigypsyism as it is provided by Roma people themselves in their organized effort to tackle it.

"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."[1] .

We are mentioning two other definitions used in the EU institutions:

According to ECRI antigypsyism is "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".[2] In 2012 the Council of Europe's Human Rights Commissioner's also defined antigypsyism as "the specific expression of biases, prejudices and stereotypes that motivate the everyday behaviour of many members of majority groups towards the members of Roma and Traveller communities".[3]

Keeping in mind the definition by Alliance against Antigypsyism is a working definition, it stresses aspects relevant for the phenomenon of antigypsyism in online settings. These are: painting all Roma with the same brush, assigning

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[1] Alliance against Antigypsyism, 2017. Antigypsyism - A Reference Paper. p. 5. Available at https://abv.a52.myftpupload.com/wp-content/uploads/2017/07/Antigypsyism-reference-paper-16.06.2017.pdf (last accessed 25.08.2020).
[2] Ecri General Policy Recommendation No. 13 on Combating Anti-Gypsyism and Discrimination Against Roma. Strassbourg. Available at https://www.coe.int/en/web/european-commission-against-racism-andintolerance/recommendation-no.13 (last accesed 1.9.2020).
[3] Combatting Antigypsyism, Expert reports building on forward-looking aspects of the evaluation of the EU Framework for National Roma Integration Strategies, 2020. Available at :
https://ec.europa.eu/info/sites/info/files/post2020_eu_roma_in_antigypsyism.pdf (last accessed 1.9.2020), p. 14.

collective guilt to the whole community and each Roma individual, claiming that the essence of being Roma exists and negatively affects their ability to work or adapt to majority society, discriminating, segregating, excluding, ostracizing and calling for violence toward Roma people.

In accordance with the Council of Europe Committee of Ministers Recommendation 97(20) on hate speech, "the term "hate speech" shall be understood as covering all forms of expression which spread, incite, promote or justify racial hatred, xenophobia, anti-Semitism or other forms of hatred based on intolerance, including: intolerance expressed by aggressive nationalism and ethnocentrism, discrimination and hostility against minorities, migrants and people of immigrant origin".[4]

Online hate speech phenomenon gained visibility and prominence with expansion of social media and various types of digital spaces. The parameters of online hate speech relevant for the report can be summarized in the following cluster of problems:

- freedom of speech vs. anti-discrimination provisions. On the one end of this spectrum, one finds proponents of unlimited freedom of speech even when it goes against legal provisions of antidiscrimination and other types of legally defined acts that call for sanctions.[5] On the other end, one finds problems of over-regulation, censorship, and counter-productive punitive measures (e.g. removal with no education on the reasons for removal or no offering of tools for improvement)

- illegal vs. harmful. Here again we find a continuum of illegal online hate speech, defined by laws, traversing into harmful but legal speech. It is not possible or feasible to expect the hate speech to be regulated exclusively via legal means. It

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[4] Available at
https://search.coe.int/cm/Pages/result_details.aspx?ObjectID=0900001680505d5b (last accessed 1.9.2020).
[5] Although dependent on national legislations, generally hate speech acts punishable by law fall under the scope of "advocacy of national, racial or religious hatred that constitutes incitement to discrimination, hostility, or violence" (International Covenant on Political and Civil Rights), incitement to racism (Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination), genocide denial (in some states), etc.

might be time consuming, expensive and connected to fears of police to use legal means in all cases. That's why there is a need for broader coalition of engaged citizens (through formal and informal associations online and offline) to identify, tackle and educate about harmful speech

- profitability vs. social responsibility. Social media, the setting which nestles hate speech, are almost exclusively run by companies, whose main goal is to increase their profit. However, there is growing pressure for the companies, which provide platforms and host different content providers, to assume corporate social responsibility for identifying, reporting, removing and remedying hate speech.[6]

We should point out that the issue of antigypsyism is nearly universal in the Member States and beyond. According to Loveland and Popescu, "The Roma represent, in the words of James Goldston, Europe's ''quintessential minority'' (2002:147; see also Tileaga 2006a). Without a ''mother state'' to represent them, historically marginalized and vilified, the Roma are the largest minority in Europe. ''Their renown as musicians, dancers, and palm-readers'' Goldston argues, ''is surpassed only by the near-universal belief among the Gadze —or non-Roma— that Gypsies are also liars, thieves and cheats'' (2002:146)."[7]

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[6] See more in the section on the monitoring activities.
[7] Loveland, M. T. and Popescu, D., 2016. "The Gypsy Threat Narrative: Explaining Anti - Roma Attitudes in Europe". In Humanity and Society Humanity & Society 2016, Vol. 40(3). P. 329-352. Available at
http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/0160597615601715 (last accessed 11.09.2020), p. 330.

Context of antigypsyism as a phenomenon

In this chapter, the authors will provide a short historical account for understanding better the current situation of Roma people. We will then move on to explain social and economic challenges Roma people face in the Member State countries. Understanding of circumstances in which most Roma people live is both the background of online antigypsyism and possible basis for counter-speech and educational activities.

For historical background, the authors will draw on factsheets on Romany history created by University of Graz[8] and structured in the report produced within the sCan project.[9]

Sinti and Romani people have been living in Europe for more than six centuries. Persecution of Romani people started soon after their first arrival in Europe. In the regions Wallachia and Moldova (contemporary Romania), for example, Romani people were held as slaves from the 14th century onwards and slavery was only abolished in 1856. During the late 18th century, the Austrian-Hungarian Empress Maria Theresa decreed a harsh assimilation policy, which led to the forced separation of Romani children from their families. From 1804 to 1867, the Habsburg Monarchy was formally unified as the Austrian Empire and from 1867 to 1918 as the Austro-Hungarian Empire. In the Habsburg-controlled areas of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, which included the present-day Czech Republic, Romani people were historically "hardly tolerated" – in practice, this meant many Romani people had to navigate a complicated double bind of not being allowed to settle anywhere for long while simultaneously being maligned for living itinerantly.

According to *Nils Muižnieks,* "Roma were banned from the Holy Roman Empire in 1501 and, as of this date, could be caught and killed by any citizen. In France, Louis XIV decreed in 1666 that all Gypsy males should be sent for life to galleys

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[8] University of Graz, Factsheets on Romani History. Available at http://romafacts.uni-graz.at/?l_history=en#history (last accessed 02.11.2018).
[9] sCan project, 2018. Antigypsyism on the Internet. Available at http://scan-project.eu/wp-content/uploads/scan-antigypsyism.pdf (last accessed 01.09.2020).

without trial, that women should be sterilised and children put into poorhouses. In Spain, it was decided in 1749 to detain all Roma in an operation known as the "Great Gypsy Round-Up"." He also states that Roma children were removed from families in Switzerland in more recent time and that Roma people in camps in France were not liberated right after the end of the WWII but were kept in detention until 1946 while some Roma survivors of Nazi concentration camps were deprived of nationality long after the war ended. The violence accumulated throughout centuries culminated in Porajmos – the Roma Holocaust – in which in some countries 90% of Roma population disappeared.[10] Despite this, the overall Roma history in general and the Roma Holocaust in particular remain on the sidelines of mainstream history to the extent that sometimes the Roma Holocaust is referred to as "the forgotten Holocaust". According to the Council of Europe (CoE), "public knowledge about the history and culture of this nation, which numerically is the largest minority in Europe, is still marginal or inexistent among ordinary people."[11]

According to the Fundamental Rights Agency (FRA) survey from 2012, Roma represent the most numerous European minority of 10-12 million people. It is thus very worrisome that at the same time they are the most marginalized, impoverished and excluded group. One in three covered by the survey were unemployed, 20% had no health insurance, and a staggering 90% lived below the poverty line.[12] Roma are most numerous in the following European (EU and non-EU states) as a national minority: Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Macedonia, Montenegro, Romania, Serbia, Slovakia and Spain.[13] Roma are also migrants, mostly from Romania, Bulgaria and ex-Yugoslav countries, migrating to some EU countries such as Italy and France. .

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[10] Council of Europe, 2015. *Human Rights Comment - Time to cure amnesia about the history of Roma in Europe.* Available at https://www.coe.int/en/web/commissioner/-/time-to-cure-amnesia-about-the-history-ofroma-in-europe?desktop=true (last accessed 01.9.2020).
[11] Available at https://www.coe.int/en/web/roma-and-travellers/roma-history-/-holocaust (last accessed 1.9.2020).
[12] FRA, UNDP, 2012. *The Situation of Roma in 11 EU Member States.* Available at https://fra.europa.eu/en/publication/2012/situation-roma-11-eu-member-states-survey-results-glance (last accessed 7.9.2020).
[13] Ibid., p. 8.

While when in a position of a national minority, Roma are typically citizens of the given countries the situation is very different when they are in the position of both EU (e.g. Romanian Roma migrating to Italy) or non-EU migrants (e.g. Kosovo Roma migrating to France). Citizens typically enjoy more rights than migrants and face different challenges when accessing for example public health system or job market.[14]

The FRA Roma pilot survey covered Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, France, Greece, Italy, Hungary, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia, and Spain. The UNDP, World Bank and European Commission (UNDP/World Bank/EC) regional Roma survey also covered five of these, Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Romania, Slovakia and, in addition, six non- EU countries in the western Balkans and Moldova. The authors will briefly summarize the results in several selected areas relevant for understanding the connection between online and offline hate directed at Roma.

> In **education**: during compulsory school age, with the exception of Bulgaria, Greece and Romania, nine out of 10 Roma children aged 7 to 15 are reported to be in school; participation in education drops considerably after compulsory school: only 15 % of young Roma adults surveyed complete upper-secondary general or vocational education.

> In **employment**: on average, fewer than one out of three Roma are reported to be in paid employment; one out of three Roma respondents said that they are unemployed; others said that they are homemakers, retired, not able to work or self-employed.

> In **health**: one out of three Roma respondents aged 35 to 54 report health problems limiting their daily activities; on average, about 20 % of Roma respondents are not covered by medical insurance or do not know if they are covered.

> In **housing**: about 45 % of the Roma live in households that lack at least one of the following basic housing amenities, namely indoor kitchen, indoor toilet, indoor shower or bath and electricity.

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[14] More about intersection of being a Roma and a migrant in the part on intersectionality.

- ➢ **Poverty**: on average, about 90 % of the Roma surveyed live in households with an equalized income below national poverty lines; on average, around 40 % of Roma live in households where somebody had to go to bed hungry at least once in the last month since they could not afford to buy food.
- ➢ **Discrimination and rights awareness**: about half of the Roma surveyed said that they have experienced discrimination in the past 12 months because of their ethnic background; around 40 % of the Roma surveyed are aware of laws forbidding discrimination against ethnic minority people when applying for a job.[15]

Particularly worrisome findings of numerous reports on the position of Roma population, which are relevant for the Re-ACT! project, focusing on education empowerment through remembrance and acting to tackle prejudices and hate are: poverty with the corresponding limited access to various sources, including the digital ones (more specifically digital literacy and digital divide) and low level of grassroots organizing within the Roma community (due to discrimination, lack of trust in institutions, including police and judiciary system).

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[15] Ibid., p. 12.

Online hate speech – monitoring activities and reports

Companies are increasingly embarking on the implementation of the concept of corporate social responsibility (CSR). The essence of this corporate policy is responsibility and interest in the communities, among which companies and organizations make profit. It is in this vein that we should regard the efforts of the European Commission to establish responsibility for illegal hate speech removal on various social networks and other platforms. Thus, in May 2016, the Commission agreed with Facebook, Microsoft, Twitter and YouTube a "Code of conduct on countering illegal hate speech online". In the course of 2018, Instagram, Snapchat and Dailymotion joined the Code of Conduct. Jeuxvideo.com joined in January 2019, and TikTok announced their participation to the Code in September 2020.[16] The Commission defined the categories of hate speech on the platform and one of them is antigypsyism. The monitoring exercise is carried out by the selected non-governmental organizations in individual Member States. In addition, some NGOs carry out their own independent monitoring. The shortcomings of the monitoring exercise lie in the fact that they are not representative and that platforms are usually informed that their removal policy would be tested in the given period. However, the monitoring exercise does provide the important signal that platforms are held responsible for managing the content and gives some leverage to NGOs.
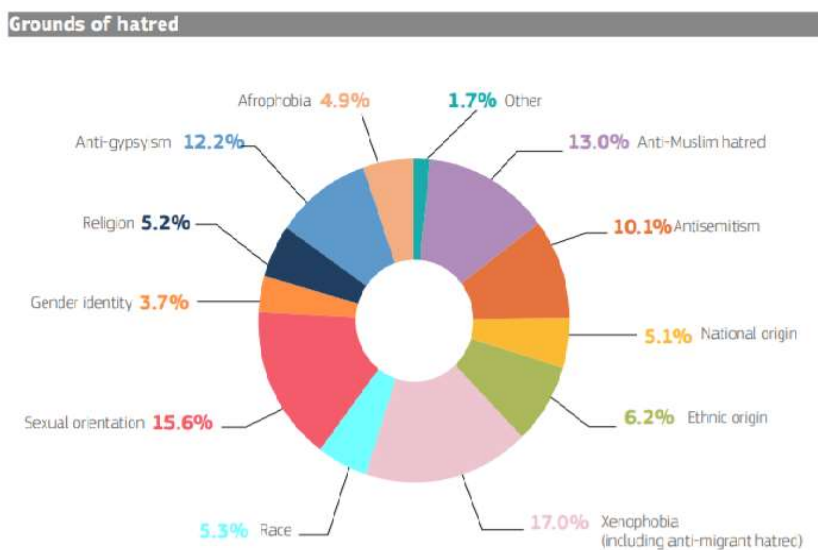
The authors will focus here on the EU monitoring exercise statistics, the report produced by sCan project both related to EC and independent monitoring, and on the Roma Civil Monitor Synthesis Report.

During the first three monitoring exercises out of the total of five, carried out in 2016, 2017 and 2018 respectively, the category antigypsyism was not even included as a possible ground for hate speech online. In 2019 when the category was introduced, it ranked 4th after xenophobia, sexual orientation and anti-Muslim

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[16] Quote from the page available at: https://ec.europa.eu/info/policies/justice-and-fundamental-rights/combatting-discrimination/racism-and-xenophobia/eu-code-conduct-countering-illegal-hate-speech-online_en (last accessed 9.9.2020).

hate.[17] In the 5th monitoring exercise evaluation the "ranking" was sexual orientation, xenophobia (including anti-migrant hate) and antigypsyism.[18] The ranking reflects the frequency of illegal hate entries on the monitored platforms based on data provided by NGOs.

Graph 1. The results of the 4th monitoring exercise of the EC regarding Code of Conduct against Illegal Hate Speech – grounds for hatred by types of hatred, 2019

Grounds of hatred

- Afrophobia 4.9%
- 1.7% Other
- Anti-gypsyism 12.2%
- 13.0% Anti-Muslim hatred
- Religion 5.2%
- 10.1% Antisemitism
- Gender identity 3.7%
- 5.1% National origin
- Sexual orientation 15.6%
- 6.2% Ethnic origin
- 5.3% Race
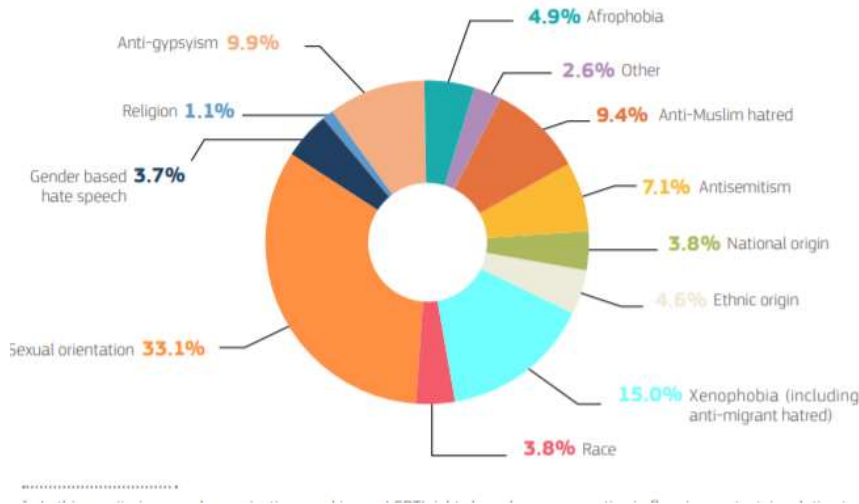- 17.0% Xenophobia (including anti-migrant hatred)

Source: see footnote 16

Graph 2. The results of the 5th monitoring exercise of the EC regarding Code of Conduct against Illegal Hate Speech – grounds for hatred by types of hatred, 2020

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[17] Data from the 4th monitoring exercise evaluation, available at https://ec.europa.eu/info/sites/info/files/code_of_conduct_factsheet_7_web.pdf (last accessed 11.9.2020)
[18] Data from the 5th monitoring exercise evaluation, available at https://ec.europa.eu/info/sites/info/files/codeofconduct_2020_factsheet_12.pdf (last accessed 11.9.2020)

Grounds of hatred 2019

- 4.9% Afrophobia
- 2.6% Other
- 9.4% Anti-Muslim hatred
- 7.1% Antisemitism
- 3.8% National origin
- 4.6% Ethnic origin
- 15.0% Xenophobia (including anti-migrant hatred)
- 3.8% Race
- 33.1% Sexual orientation
- 3.7% Gender based hate speech
- 1.1% Religion
- 9.9% Anti-gypsyism

Source: see footnote 17

Considering there are few organizations involved in the monitoring who specialize in following antigypsyist hate online, we consider this ranking worrisome. It testifies to the fact that antigypsyism is a strong type of hate present throughout the EU (the Commission does not desegregate data according to the Member States).

According to sCan project report on antigypsyism online, which covered seven countries (Austria, Czech Republic, Germany, France, Italy, Latvia and Slovenia), the most common narrative related to antigypsyist hate speech online can be clustered in three groups of slurs: criminalization, welfare chauvinism and dehumanization.[19] Examples´ range can be gauged from the following materials: an article at an Austrian travel advice portal that asserted that people travelling to Macedonia should be especially careful with their personal possessions in the presence of Romani people, because "Roma are often dependent on bettering their modest living conditions through property crime". Furthermore, Sinti and Romani

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[19] Information in this part is referenced from "Antigypsyism on the Internet", sCan project, 2018. Available at http://scan-project.eu/wp-content/uploads/scan-antigypsyism.pdf (last accessed 11.09.2020), passim

families are often denounced as "gangs of thieves" or "gangs of beggars"; after the unpopular implementation of a new speed limit on national roads in France, the following post was shared on Facebook: "Notice to the Travellers // a speed radar contains 2 kg of copper". This post was designed to evoke antigypsyist prejudices about travelers as 'copper thieves' and suspicious 'metal wreckers' involved in trafficking; in Germany and Italy, accusations of Sinti and Romani people as 'child abductors' are common.

In the Czech Republic, one of the code words for Roma are "inadaptables", related to one of the widely spread forms of antigypsyist hate speech referring to the claim that Roma people can never adopt and adapt to majority culture. Hence, no policies work or will work because their culture does not allow them to become equal members of the society. This culture is then depicted by claiming that Romani people are 'lazy', 'work-shy' and dependent of social benefits either as migrants or as national minorities. This in turn leads to welfare chauvinism and to demands that they be excluded from social aid system, which is the same claim applied to non-Romani migrants.

Another common narrative in antigypsyist hate speech identified by the report[20] is the alleged (genetic) inferiority of Sinti and Romani people, which testifies to de-humanization trend. Sinti and Romani people are defamed as 'parasites', 'vermin', 'rats' or 'disgusting animals'. In the Czech Republic, a high-ranking politician posted on Facebook that "Gypsies are like jellyfish - poisonous and useless". In Austria, a Twitter user tweeted "A wise man once said that Gypsies are not human beings. I agree with him".

Especially persistent trend in the antigypsyism is denying, mocking or supporting Roma Holocaust. Some examples from the report testify to this trend: In the Czech Republic, a photograph of a first grade class in a local primary school that was comprised predominantly of children of either Arab, Romani or Vietnamese origin was commented on with a call to "gas" all the children, evoking the genocide during the Nazi occupation. In Austria, the slogan "Roma rauSS" was used to call for

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[20] Ibid., p. 14.

deportations – a deliberate spelling mistake to hint at the infamous SS. Other examples include "Hitler would be needed!!!! Let's kill all the gypsies!!!" (Slovenia) and "Uncle Adolf had already tried some politically incorrect remedies…but he didn't succeed either" (Italy). In Latvia, a YouTube user commented on a video about young Romani sportsmen with: "These are the next murderers, thieves and criminals. Must be sent to Auschwitz". In Germany, calls for forced sterilization and genocide could be found below a report on poverty in a Romani settlement.

Online hatred is spreading mainly via the usual platforms e.g. Facebook, Twitter and YouTube, although this might vary in individual countries. Besides the platforms, hate can be found in blogs and particularly in comments under the media outlets' content (e.g. articles). In some case, such as in the Czech Republic, hate content is targeted at senior citizens through emails, which they evaluate as more credible since they usually know persons who dispatch such emails. In France, there is a whole separate internet space for spreading hate, which has already been labeled as "fachosphère".

Fake news/hoaxes and de-contextualization are the prominent tools for spreading hate. The report refers to some examples, such as: in the Czech Republic, fake news reports about privileges that Romani people allegedly receive, such as "special" social benefits or free prescription drugs, are particularly persistent. During a period when butter was either not available or extremely expensive, fake news reports were spread that Romani people received butter for free. In Italy, common fake news reports fabricate the existence of laws allowing Romani people to use public transportation for free, or protecting them from being arrested for stealing if the economic value of the stolen goods is below €200. Another popular fake news report alleged that Romani people are given villas to live in and 1000 € per month from the state. Some fake news are recycled with suspicious regularity. The de-contextualization example in the Czech Republic relates to a fake report doctored video footage of the theft of a TV set from a hospital in South America and claimed it had happened in the Czech Republic and had been perpetrated by Romani people. How persistent and rooted in real life the prejudices are can be observed in various surveys such as the one conducted by Slovak Academy of

Science from 2019, which determined that 80% of the sample believes that Roma have access to benefits they do not deserve. Furthermore, 64% believes Roma steal and are lazy.[21]

Roma Civil Monitor (RCM) Synthesis Report, which covers information on the progress of Roma integration in 27 Member States, is a result of observations of 90 NGOs and individual experts. Even more relevant is the fact that many of those 90 represent Roma organizations. We will focus here on the part of the report related to hate speech. Thus, the report says that, "A high number of the RCM reports attest to the prevalence and rising incidence of hate speech towards the Roma in the media and on social media. There appears to be a rising trend of online hate speech and antigypsyism directed at the Roma. The Spanish report notes with some pertinence that "*a cursory look at existing platforms shows us that they reproduce the same phenomena, power relations, inequalities and injustices that exist in offline society*" and concludes that some of the racism has become casual and entered into everyday language."[22] Furthermore, both Lithuanian and Portuguese report testify to normalization of hate speech directed at Roma. The latter says that it became almost patriotic to say that one is against Roma and spread this view on Facebook. It stresses also that Facebook is a great platform for sharing fake news and legitimize hate online. The RCM Spanish report goes so far to say that if there is no coordinated and focused effort to fight antigypsyism online, it might lead to horrible events that happened in the 40s of the previous century. It is noteworthy that the same report questions the quality of monitoring activities regarding EU Code of Conduct mentioned above – despite signing the Code, at least in Spain the platforms failed to react to antigypsyist hate speech. That is in accordance to sCan report ROMEA´s finding that posts targeting Romani ethnicity were the least frequently deleted.[23]

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[21] Roma Civil Monitor, 2020. Available at https://cps.ceu.edu/sites/cps.ceu.edu/files/attachment/basicpage/3172/rcm-civil-society-monitoring-report-synthesis27-2020-eprint-fin.pdf (last accessed 12.9.2020), p. 16.
[22] Ibid., p. 18.
[23] sCan project 2018, Antigypsyism on the Internet. Available at http://sc2018an-project.eu/wp-content/uploads/scan-antigypsyism.pdf (last accessed 11.09.2020), p. 13.

In the light of the findings of this section of the comparative report, the authors have to conclude together with FRA that "EU Member States should develop concrete measures to tackle hate crime and hate speech motivated by antigypsyism. Such measures should ensure that Roma, like everyone else, are aware of and can benefit from the protection of the law against hate crime and hate speech."[24]

The authors feel it is important to refer to some aspects of intersectionality of antigypsyism including its form online. The concept of intersectionality, introduced originally within the feminist discourse, refers to discrimination and oppression based on more than one feature of perceived identity of an individual or a community. In case of antigypsyism, intersectional hate has the following important aspects - hate speech is directed at individuals and groups both from majority and minority societies (women, LGBT+). We will therefore briefly say something about hate speech directed at Roma women and LGBT+ Roma community.

According to FRA´s Second European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey - Roma women in nine EU Member States, published in 2019, and providing data from Bulgaria, Croatia, Czech Republic, Greece, Hungary, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia and Spain, gender dimension in reports and policies on Roma population is often disregarded or underreported.[25] In some countries, Roma women are still disproportionally affected by early marriage, which has impact on their education and job prospects. A survey carried out in the Czech Republic found that Roma women accept the traditional view of the gender roles but also that there is a growing awareness of women´s rights among them. In the traditional sense, the respondents reported that the man is head of the family and his main role is to provide for it. The respondents often used the metaphor that the man is the head

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[24] FRA, 2018, A persisting concern: anti-Gypsyism as a barrier to Roma inclusion. Available at https://op.europa.eu/en/publication-detail/-/publication/b262c438-387b-11e8-b5fe-01aa75ed71a1/language-en (last accessed 12.9.2020).
[25] FRA, 2019 Second European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey - Roma women in nine EU Member States. Available at: https://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/fra_uploads/fra-2019-eu-minorities-survey-roma-women_en.pdf (last accessed 12.9.2020), p. 41.

of the family but the woman is the neck, which directs where the head turns. Some Roma women think the main reason why the man has the main role in the family is respect for Roma traditions. Despite these opinions about traditions, some respondents were critical towards the described behavior of men. Some respondents think that male dominance is a remainder of the past and that their own situation now is more equal. The respondents could not agree on how widespread domestic violence is in Roma families. While some claimed there was no violence around them, some claimed it happened regularly. Some women reported a lack of support for their political activities by Roma men.[26] Disregard for the gender dimension and pressures within Roma community coming from men, is perhaps the reason why we have so few information about hate speech directed at Roma women. An example of this compounding hate combining misogyny and antigypsyism can be found in the sCan Intersectional Hate Speech Online report. In an example from Italy, a Roma woman was accused of stealing and disparages with the slurs "Zingara" (engl: "gypsy") and "puttana" (engl: "whore") on social media. Additionally, the post expressed insulting overgeneralized statements against Roma people. The misogynist slur "whore" would not be used against a man in Italian.[27]

According to the Czech ROMA LGBT+ NGO ARA ART,[28] in Roma tradition the issues of sexuality including different sexual orientation are a strong taboo. People with homosexual identity are under pressure from their communities and are often excluded from them. Therefore, they experience triple discrimination: as Roma, as gay and as gay Roma in their own community. Again, according to the sCan report´s example from France, "another element of this intersectional hate speech is the existence of a racist hate speech amongst the LGBTI+ community. The Instagram account "Personnes racisées Vs Grindr" (Racialized people vs Grindr) created by the journalist Miguel Shema, identifies and collects the racist messages

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[26] Slovo 21, 2014. Position of Roma Women in the Czech Republic. Available at: http://www.slovo21.cz/images/dokumenty/POSITION%20OF%20ROMA%20WOMEN%20IN%20THE%20CZECH%20REPUBLIC%20-%20RESEARCH%20RESULTS.pdf, (last accessed 12.9.2020).
[27] sCan, 2019. Intersectional Hate Speech Online. Available at http://scan-project.eu/wp-content/uploads/sCAN_intersectional_hate_final.pdf (last accessed 12.9.2020), p.6.
[28] Info at https://www.araart.cz/roma-lgbt (last accessed 12.9.2020).

sent to users on the private platform and denounces a "fetishisation" of People of Colour on the dating app."[29] In the Czech Republic, there was a rift in online comments under a Facebook post by a Roma women who criticized a picture of a Roma man holding Romany flag. She commented that was a shame for the community and received some support.[30]

Finally, the authors should mention the intersection between Roma identity and migrant status in the EU Member States. Despite the fact that discrimination of Roma migrants in the Western EU states is well documented, we have few if any comprehensive reports on how it reflects on hate speech within online setting. According to an article by Yildis and De Genova, "Thus, in Europe's most glamorous globalised cities, such as London, Paris, Berlin, and Milan, Roma migrants are routinely engaged in onerous, low-paid, often unsafe jobs during the day, while not uncommonly finding themselves homeless by night, often sleeping outdoors or in makeshift camps (Clough-Marinaro & Daniele, 2011; Çağlar & Mehling, 2009; FRA, 2014; Vermeersch, 2011; see also Solimene, 2017)."[31] The accession of Bulgaria and Romania (countries with the highest numbers of Roma population in the EU) was accompanied by a massive exodus of the Roma population particularly to Western Europe´s countries, most notably to Italy, France, Germany and the UK. During the economic crisis of 2008, "the clash of Roma immigrants living on the edge of poverty became a flashpoint, which deepened and intensified anti - Roma sentiments among the peoples of those countries and contributed to the radicalization of policies towards the Roma.".[32] The nexus of Roma and migrant identities reflects on the question of EU identity and citizenship and often triggers

[29] sCan, 2019. Intersectional Hate Speech Online. Available at http://scan-project.eu/wp-content/uploads/sCAN_intersectional_hate_final.pdf (last accessed 12.9.2020), p.8-9.
[30] Observed by the author.
[31] Can Yıldız & Nicholas De Genova, 2018. Un/Free mobility: Roma migrants in the European Union, Social Identities, 24:4, 425-441, DOI: 10.1080/13504630.2017.1335819. Available at https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/13504630.2017.1335819?needAccess=true (last accessed 11.9.2020), p. 434.
[32] Joanna Talewicz-Kwiatkowska, 2015. Roma migrants in Western Europe – the example of France and Italy, Politeja , No. 31/2, ETHNICITY, CULTURE, POLITICS (2015), pp. 111-122. Available at https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/24919779.pdf (last accessed 10.9.2020), p. 115.

hate speech online directed at both Roma and the EU, which allowed for freedom of movement of EU citizens, including Roma.

This report can unfortunately not focus specifically on another worrisome trend of normalization of hate speech directed at Roma by politicians and prominent public personalities both on online platforms and in media. For example, in the Czech Republic, an MP for the extreme right party, Freedom and Direct Democracy, called a Roma concentration camp on Czech territory from WWII – a pseudo concentration camp. The President of the mentioned party called for mass transfer of the Roma population from Czech lands to India. Such remarks are dangerous not only because of their content and because of the power those who utter them have, but also because they usually trigger a torrent of online hate, which the politicians often consciously provoke.

Conclusions

The comparative report identified the following features and trends when it comes to antigypsyist hate online.

Based on the definition that implies essentializing and collective guilt of Roma people, the authors can say that online antigypsyism is rooted both in the history of Roma people in European countries and in concrete, material, economic and social discrimination they experience offline. Their offline deprivation has consequences for online hate, counterspeech and choice of tools to tackle antigypsyism. If Roma community is with high regularity poor and under-educated, we need special tools to reach the population and get it engaged. If a high percentage of Roma people experience institutional discrimination, it is only understandable they will be suspicious when it comes to cooperation in the matters of reporting and removal of hate speech online.

Roma are not a homogenous group and this report is well aware of that. However, in online setting we can see some trends that created a pattern on the EU level. These are criminalization, dehumanization, welfare chauvinism, othering and exclusion. Within online hate speech, Roma people are presented as criminals and a crime from a single Roma is seen as responsibility of the whole community. Particularly persistent is the trope of Roma as thieves. Dehumanization, a process that played key role in Roma genocide during the WWII, is visible in insulting Roma by calling them animals, vermin, pest, and unhygienic. Their humanity is denied and they are not perceived as belonging to the same human/national community like the rest. This is visible in the malicious myth about Roma stealing children or not taking care of their own children. Welfare chauvinism is a part of the trope that sees Roma as parasites and swindlers of the social benefits. It is one of the most persistent tropes regularly recycled in hoaxes and disinformation materials. Roma are being called online "the inadaptables", those who are so "other" that they cannot participate in majority society. This is seen as a fact that cannot change. All these features of online hate speech against Roma come from and lead to their exclusion from society, sometimes by calling for their complete removal from a particular country.

According to our findings, antigypsyism online is on the rise and there is a continuous trend of normalization of hate speech against Roma. This is evident from expressions and policies of people in power, such as politicians, as some are for example spreading Roma Holocaust denial. Roma Holocaust denial is related to the identified lack of awareness of what happened to Roma community during the WWII, which prompts the name "the forgotten Holocaust".

The platforms used for spreading anti-Roma hate speech do not differ much from those used for other types of hate speech. Some monitoring reports issued by NGOs found that antigypsyist hate speech is not addressed and removed at the rate usual for other types of hate. The European Commission itself has introduced antigypsyism as a monitored category for illegal hate speech within its monitoring exercises of the Code of Conduct[33] only in the 4th and 5th monitoring cycle. The tools used to spread antigypsyism online are hoaxes, fake news and disinformation materials. In some countries, chain emails are directed at particular groups of citizens, e.g. senior citizens, to stalk hate and confusion.

Finally, intersectional aspects of antigypsyism online can be observed as a constant trend but there is a lack data focusing on this "compounded" type of hate. That goes particularly for Roma women, LGBT+ Roma community and Roma migrants.

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[33] https://ec.europa.eu/info/policies/justice-and-fundamental-rights/combatting-discrimination/racism-and-xenophobia/eu-code-conduct-countering-illegal-hate-speech-online_en (last accessed 24.9.2020)

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