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UNDERSTANDING RACISM THROUGH THE PRISM OF ANTIGYPSYISM
By Yuma Ando, Nonna Mayer, Vincent Tiberj and Tommaso Vitale

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CHAPTER 4.2.4.

UNDERSTANDING RACISM THROUGH THE PRISM OF ANTI- GYPSYISM

This chapter offers a specific and systematic analysis of attitudes towards different Romani groups, including Roma, Manouches, Sinté, Yéniches and other groups sometimes grouped under the administrative category of 'Travellers' or 'Gens du voyage', also known as Tsiganes (or Tziganes), gypsies, romanichels and in many other ways.

As the Council of Europe's European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI) points out, anti-Gypsyism is "*a specific form of racism*"¹⁰³. At the end of November 2023, the representative sample of this survey confirms that attitudes towards the Roma follow precisely and without exception the general trends in tolerance in French society. When tolerance decreases overall, it also decreases with regard to the Roma: last year, the longitudinal index of tolerance with regard to the Roma fell by three points, from 45 to 42, as did the overall longitudinal index of tolerance, which fell from 65 to 62 points.

The case of the Roma is a revealing sign of the great difficulty, in French society as in many other European societies, of fully confronting forms of hostility based on ethnicity. If we break down the longitudinal tolerance index by minority, we see that no other group has such a low level of tolerance. Compared to black people (index of 77), it will be 35 points lower at the end of 2023; 30 points lower compared to people of North African origin (index of 72), 26 points lower compared to Jews (index of 68) and 15 points lower compared to Muslims (index of 57).

These are very marked differences, with distances between groups remaining very stable over time, which clearly shows why anti-Roma attitudes have been described as "*the last acceptable form of prejudice*"¹⁰⁴.

These low levels of tolerance towards Roma and Travellers provide a better understanding of the internal complexity of racist attitudes. Anti-Gypsyism is systematically and structurally linked to the tendency of Roma and Travellers to be racist.

103. European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI), *Recommendation n° 13 on Combating Anti-Gypsyism and Discrimination Against Roma*, Strasbourg, 2011. MCGARRY Aidan, *Romaphobia. The Last Acceptable Form of Racism*, Zed Books, 2017. The Alliance Against Anti-Gypsyism (*Anti-Gypsyism. A Reference Text*, 2019, p. 11) stresses that "the term anti-gypsyism, - in that it refers to the majority's projections of an imagined external group of 'Gypsies' and simultaneously constructs an imagined 'internal' group, in a closed circle - is more adequate analytically and clearly shows that other groups, - Gypsies, Sinté, Manouches, Travellers, Yéniches - are also affected".

104. KENDE Anne *et al*, "The last acceptable prejudice in Europe? Anti-Gypsyism as the obstacle to Roma inclusion", in *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*, 24 (3), 388-410, 2021.

of attitudes towards all minority groups, but year after year and with regularity at a level well below that of any other group.

The social sciences have explored current forms of anti-Gypsyism in terms of analysis of public policies, analysis of the media and political discourse, and legal analysis of the powers of the European Union or the courts to combat anti-Gypsyism¹⁰⁵, but analysis of opinions and how they have changed over time has been more neglected. The CNCDH barometer plays a key role in understanding the relationship between anti-gypsyism and other forms of racism and xenophobia. It makes it possible to track the spread of stereotypes against the Roma over time and to measure the extent to which they are accepted, questioned, criticised or rejected. In other words, it allows an objective approach, without falling into forms of victimisation that the Roma themselves and their organisations have repeatedly warned against as part and parcel of the problem, a kind of double of the negative stereotypes to which they are subjected. It is precisely because analysis enables us to identify the various social factors that structure these attitudes that it helps us to move away from a reifying narrative that would have us believe that "Everybody hates Gypsies". Our analyses resonate with the most important results of ethnographic research carried out in France, which has quantified the personal networks of the Roma. These analyses showed the density of relationships outside ethnic communities and family groups, based on contacts established in neighbourhoods, workplaces, social services and social venues¹⁰⁶.

4.2.4.1. THE PERSISTENCE OF ANTI-GYPSY PREJUDICE

One of the fundamental points we note in France, as in other European countries, is that in order to understand the persistence of prejudice against the Roma, it is not enough to consider material factors such as inequalities of opportunity and access to education, healthy and dignified housing, services and social protection, systematic forms of institutional discrimination, or violent attacks and assaults. It is also important to examine the representations of these groups in the public arena. These systematically refer to historical figures, in particular that of the uncivilised, dirty, nomadic Gypsy, whose delinquent behaviour emerged in the XVII^e and XVIII^e centuries, at a time when the modern State was beginning to develop and there was a great deal of concern about internal minorities. In the nineteenth^e century, Romanticism and reactions to rapid industrialisation shifted the stereotypical representations of Gypsies towards another register, that of bohemian freedom and defiance of convention, in the tradition of

105. SAYAN Pinar, "Enforcement of the anti-Racism legislation of the European Union against antigypsyism", in *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 42 (5), 763-81, 2018.

106. VACCA Raffaele *et al*, "Beyond ethnic solidarity: the diversity and specialisation of social ties in a stigmatised migrant minority", in *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 48 (13), 3113-41, 2022.

the imagery of Bizet's Carmen¹⁰⁷. Of course, the persistence of certain images in no way detracts from the historically situated nature of anti-Gypsyism or from the fact that it has no 'fixed content' as such¹⁰⁸.

The rumours, anecdotes, jokes and caricatured videos circulating on social networks use new formats to revive the representations and imaginings of the past, which bear no relation to today's reality, encouraging abusive generalisations and attributing alleged cultural origins to the group and the individuals who make it up. In addition, the Roma are accused of taking undue advantage of the generosity of the welfare state, of exploiting public and private solidarity to avoid work and of creating new social, economic, political and public health problems¹⁰⁹. These are stereotypes based on alleged violations of the moral principles underpinning citizenship, and which combine beliefs and emotionally charged value judgements. The extent of prejudice against Roma groups can be fully appreciated by comparing them over time and with other groups.

In 2013 and 2014, 86% of respondents considered that migrant Roma were for the most part '*nomadic*'; today this opinion is shared by 71% of respondents (from 2017 to November 2022, it was 68%), with only 16% expressing disagreement. In 2014, 85% of respondents considered that Roma '*very often exploit children*', a percentage that fell to 54% in April 2022 but rose to 59% in November 2023, with only 27.5% of respondents opposing this view. Similarly, the stereotype of the Roma as thieves and traffickers, shared by more than three quarters of respondents in 2014 (77.5%), fell to 44.5% in the spring of 2022, but had risen by almost 10 points by the end of 2023 (54%). More than half of our sample now believes that the Roma '*live mainly from theft and trafficking*', with only 37% holding the opposite view.

These signs should not be underestimated. Negative attitudes and emotions towards people known as "Roma" can go as far as not condemning racist comments made in public such as "*dirty Roma*". However, there has been a sharp fall in the proportion of respondents who believe that people who make such comments in public "*should not be condemned*": 11% in November 2017, compared with 24.5% in 2013, and there has been a narrowing of the gap between the Roma and other groups. In 2013 and 2014, there was still an 8-point gap when comparing reactions to anti-Roma and anti-French comments. In 2019, this gap has almost disappeared regardless of the minority concerned. This is why this question has not been asked since 2022.

107. TREMLETT Annabelle, 'Challenging Stereotypes Is Not Enough: A Dialogue with Roma Art', in *Journal of Cultural Analysis and Social Change*, 8 (2), 09, 2023. The author also points out that the history of representations of the Roma is particularly dramatic in the 20^e century, when photography was systematically used to perpetuate distorted and deforming images of the Roma as proof and justification (*sic*) of racist and genocidal practices against people and their property.

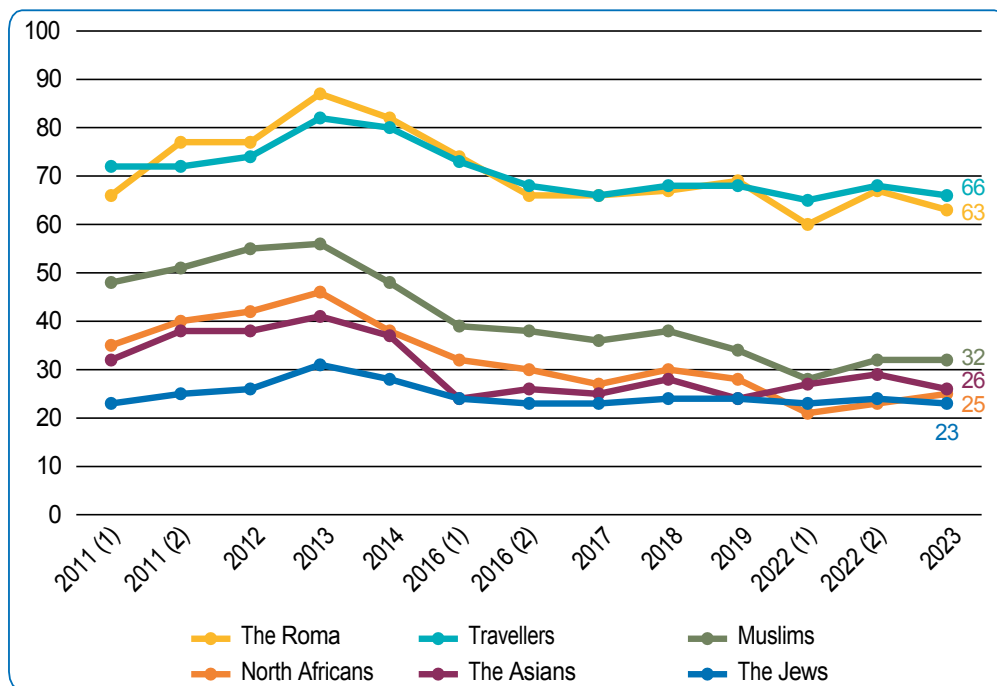
108. Alliance Against Gypsyism, 2019, p. 10.

109. International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA), *Working definition of antigypsyism/anti-Roma discrimination*, 2020.

In a recent document, the International Alliance for the Remembrance of the Holocaust (IHRA) stresses that hate speech directed against Manouches, Roma and other Romani groups always refers to them as a supposedly 'foreign' group. This feeling of radical foreignness remains widespread and considered legitimate, which is why we wanted to study it in detail and measure its progression over time. A significant majority of those surveyed (58%) believe that French Roma are citizens in their own right, in the same way as other French people. Although still in the majority, this percentage has fallen by 7 points since the autumn 2022 survey, marking a return to the perceptions that prevailed in 2016. This decline highlights a definite erosion in the recognition of the Roma as fully-fledged members of French society.

In addition, a significant proportion of the French population perceives the Roma as poorly integrated into the country's social fabric. This perception is not new; it is the only ethnic group for which a majority of those surveyed (63%, down 5 points on November 2022) still firmly believe that they form a distinct group, "apart". For 'Travellers', the figure is higher at 66% (down 1 point). This persistence underlines the complex challenges and barriers to integration faced by the Roma, who are perceived as being on the margins of French society.

Figure 35.
Tendency to judge various groups as "apart from society"



Source: CNCDH face-to-face racism barometers, 2011-2023.

Even more worrying is the fact that a majority of French people attribute this lack of integration to a presumed desire on the part of the Roma themselves to remain apart from French society. In fact, 57% of respondents (+7 points compared to November 2022) expressed the opinion that the Roma "do not want to be part of French society".

not integrate in France". Only 30.5% of respondents disagreed with this statement, a figure down 3 points. This belief, which is gaining ground, contrasts with the period when such perceptions were declining, between 2014 and 2022, and bears witness to a worrying trend that makes the Roma responsible for their own exclusion: it was shared by 77% of the population in 2014, the first time this question was asked in the CNCDH Barometer, then fell to 54.3% in 2016, 52.5% in 2018 and 2019 and 50% in April 2022.

The process of reducing negative prejudice and stereotypes against the Roma seems to have come to an end, and all the indicators point to their resurgence. In order to gain a better understanding of this dynamic and the social factors that structure it, we need to move on from describing the frequencies of variables one by one to looking at the relationships between them, by constructing a 'hierarchical' scale of anti-Gypsyism.

4.2.4.2. THE COHERENCE BETWEEN DIFFERENT ANTI-GYPSY PREJUDICES

It is possible to construct a synthetic measure of hostility towards the Roma and its evolution. Taken together, these different variables belong to the same symbolic universe that homogenises and essentialises the group. This hostility scale is solid and shows that hostility fell between 2014 and 2016, then stabilised and continues to fall until today. It also shows the social structuring of this anti-Gypsy attitude. To construct this hierarchical scale, we classified the answers to the questions according to the intensity of the attitude measured, and calculated the distribution of scores on the scale for the years 2014, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2022 and 2023. Table 32 shows all the questions used to construct the scale as well as the responses denoting the highest level of hostility. We have also added the years 2012 and 2013 in order to track the dynamics of rejection for each item over the years.

Table 32.

Questions used to construct the anti-gypsyism scale (proportion of people choosing answers in bold, %)

	2012	2013	2014	Jan. 2016	Oct. 2016	Nov. 2017	Nov. 2018	Nov. 2019	March 2022	Nov 2022	Nov 2023
<i>Here are some of the opinions we've heard about Roma migrants. Tell me if you are strongly agree, somewhat agree, disagree or strongly disagree with each of them. Roma migrants ...</i>											
<i>...are for the most part nomadic: Strongly disagree / Not really agree / Somewhat agree / Strongly agree</i>	44,8	47,0	45,6	36,3	31,8	33,6	31,7	27,7	27,9	26,5	28,5
<i>...often exploit children : Strongly disagree / Strongly disagree / Somewhat agree / Strongly agree</i>	44,7	49,9	45,2	34,1	34,2	32,8	31,0	27,7	24,7	24,5	23,7
<i>...live mainly from theft and trafficking: Disagree completely / Disagree somewhat / Agree somewhat / Agree completely</i>	36,2	41,1	40,8	26,8	23,9	20,7	21,1	20,3	17,2	17,0	19,1
<i>... don't want to integrate in France: Disagree completely / Disagree strongly / Somewhat agree / Strongly agree</i>	-	-	43,0	26,4	27,0	23,7	22,8	22,1	22,0	21,0	23,2
<i>For each of the following opinions, please tell me whether you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree or strongly disagree. French Roma/Travellers are French people like everyone else: Strongly agree / Somewhat agree / Somewhat disagree / No agreement at all</i>	-	-	-	14,8	13,2	12,7	13,8	10,8	11,7	11,6	12,4
(Travellers only)	11,7	11,5	9,4	10,4	10,7	-	-	-	-	-	-

Source: CNCDH face-to-face racism barometers, 2012-2023.

The anti-gypsyism scale we constructed provides an overall indicator of hostility towards Roma, which has been identical for the last eight waves of the CNCDH Barometer. The correlation matrix indicates that the five variables selected are sufficiently correlated to form an overall indicator of anti-gypsyism.

Table 33.

Matrix of correlations between opinions on the Roma (November 2023)

	"nomads	"exploiting children	"theft and trafficking	"don't want to integrate	"not French people like the others"	Corr. item
The Roma "are nomads	1	0,450**	0,471**	0,535**	0,269**	0,713**
"Exploiting children		1	0,643**	0,593**	0,349**	0,800**
"Living from theft and trafficking			1	0,635**	0,417**	0,830**
"Don't want to integrate				1	0,441**	0,842**
"Are not French like the others".					1	0,634**

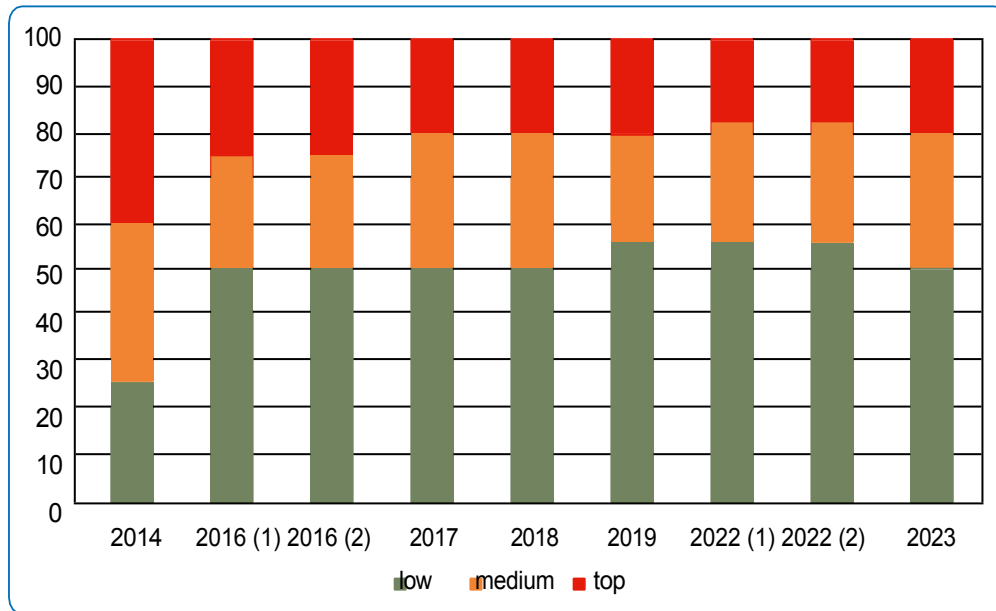
* The correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

** The correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Source: CNCDH racism barometer, face-to-face, November 2023. Correlations measured by Pearson's R. The questions and scales are oriented in the direction of hostility to the Roma; the last column indicates the correlation of the item with the anti-gypsyism scale.

This scale of hostility towards the Roma enables us to rank respondents by level of prejudice, from the lowest to the highest. The scale includes respondents who do not consider French Roma to be fully French, who see them as thieves, nomads and child exploiters who do not want to integrate in France. Figure 36 compares levels of anti-Gypsyism from 2014. On this scale, hostility towards Roma has fallen since the end of 2014, with the proportion of high scores falling from 39% to 20% by the end of 2023; but it was 17% in the spring of 2022. Conversely, the percentage of low ratings (and therefore less racist) has risen significantly over the last ten years, from 25.5% to 50% by the end of 2023; but at the beginning of 2022 it was 57%.

Figure 36.
Anti-gypsyism scale (2014-2023, in %)



Source: CNCDH face-to-face racism barometers, 2014-2023.

It is important to note that the spread of negative feelings towards Roma is not uniform across the country. In the south-west and west, anti-Gypsyism is less widespread. In this part of France, the proportion of high scores on the scale is 16% (compared with a national average of 20%). The île-de-France region (15%) and the Eastern Paris Basin (13%) are characterised by even lower levels of hostility towards the Roma. Conversely, the proportion of average and high scores for anti-Gypsyism is well above average (50%) in the Eastern (65.5%) and Mediterranean (60%) regions.

4.2.4.3. FACTORS BEHIND ANTI-GYPSYISM

So far, racism against Roma has been measured as a set of individual attitudes. The challenge now is to link these prejudices to structural factors and processes at both micro and macro levels.

Hostile attitudes towards Roma can be explained by the same factors as ethnocentrism and anti-Semitism, analysed in previous sections. Table 34 presents the sociological factors. As we saw earlier, the availability of a hierarchical scale of anti-Gypsyism makes it possible to carry out robust summary analyses which articulate the different prejudices and show that half of our sample has medium to high levels of hostility towards Roma. The current level has returned to the 2016 level, an increase of +7 percentage points compared to March 2022. Table 34 shows the changes in this percentage according to a number of factors

socio-demographic variables, specific to the sociology of racism. It highlights the differences between the last eight surveys considered.

Table 34.
Factors explaining anti-gypsyism (in %)

of average or high scores on the anti-gypsyism scale	Jan. 2016	Oct. 2016	Nov. 2017	Nov. 2018	Nov. 2019	March 2022	Nov. 2022	Nov. 2023
SEX								
Men	54	52	50	51	46	43	48	52
Woman	50	50	49	51	46	43	42	48
AGE								
18-24 years old	33	31	36	33	28	29	28	32
Aged 25-34	47	39	39	35	41	35	35	40
35-44 years old	49	48	46	47	39	35	40	46
45-59 years old	56	56	57	57	49	49	47	56
60 +	58	60	55	64	54	52	55	56
DIPLOMA								
Less than the baccalauréat	65	62	57	62	56	52	56	62
Bins	47	55	47	44	44	40	48	45
Bac + 2	36	35	42	43	34	41	31	48
Bac + 3	32	27	32	34	30	32	26	34
SOCIOPROFESSIONAL CATEGORY (former occupation of retired and unemployed recoded)								
Craftsman, shopkeeper, company director	61	67	66	67	57	39	40	58
Senior executive	36	27	40	41	32	28	34	37
Intermediate occupation	42	45	40	45	39	36	40	50
Employee	63	58	54	57	51	48	51	54
Worker	62	62	68	58	53	40	54	57
Inactive	50	48	41	42	43	43	44	46
LEFT-RIGHT SCALE								
Left (1,2)	33	25	32	37	30	27	31	31
Centre-left (3)	31	33	37	42	39	33	33	45
Centre (4)	59	57	52	51	46	42	47	49
Centre right (5)	63	52	59	54	54	50	49	59
Right (6,7)	78	87	76	76	74	74	71	76
MONTHLY INCOME								
Less than 1400 euros	60	63	51	53	50	48	47	51
1400-2000 euros	56	54	50	59	47	48	46	57

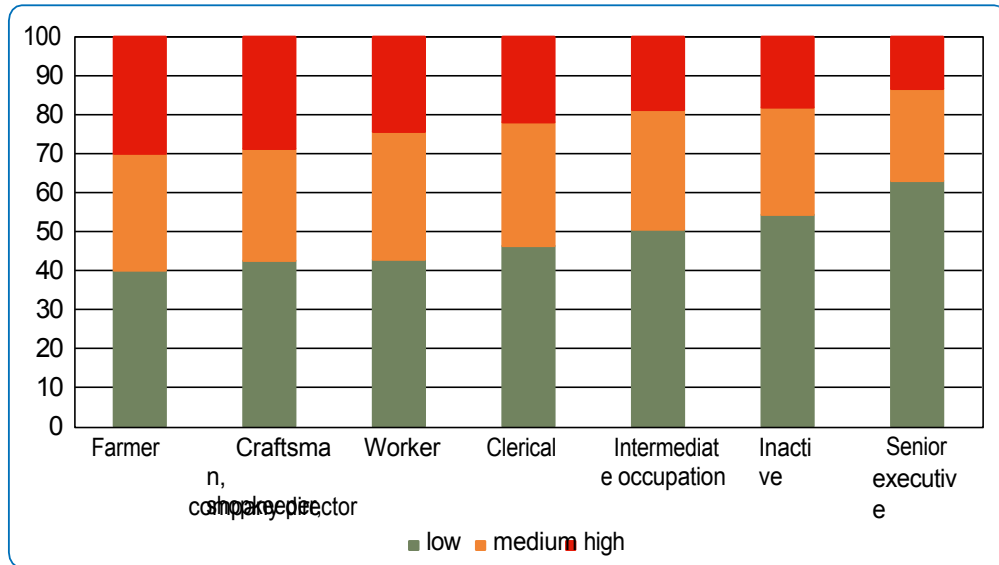
of average or high scores on the anti-gypsyism scale	Jan. 2016	Oct. 2016	Nov. 2017	Nov. 2018	Nov. 2019	March 2022	Nov. 2022	Nov. 2023
2000-3000 euros	53	50	49	50	46	40	46	51
3,000 euros	41	34	47	46	39	40	40	45
CATHOLIC RELIGIOUS PRACTICE								
Regular user	62	39	48	53	53	45	41	44
Occasional	50	65	56	55	55	45	51	49
Non practising	64	61	59	64	51	55	55	61
Other religion	38	55	46	43	46	48	47	49
No religion	42	37	38	42	37	32	35	41
PERCEIVED ECONOMIC SITUATION <i>"I don't live as well as I did a few years ago":</i>								
I totally agree	60	69	60	66	57	53	59	61
Somewhat agree	57	49	51	53	46	45	43	49
Rather not	40	36	47	43	39	35	37	44
Not at all	44	35	38	35	33	35	28	34
Package	52	51	49	51	46	43	45	50

Source: CNCDH face-to-face racism barometers 2016-2023.

The first striking phenomenon is the distribution of anti-Gypsy hostility by age group. It rises sharply with age, as studies of other forms of racism also show, since young people are more exposed to diversity, better educated and more open to the world, all potential factors for destigmatisation. In 2023, however, anti-gypsyism increased in all cohorts. Similarly, for the first time since 2016, the differences between those aged 45-59 and those aged 60 and over have disappeared: after the age of 45, the level of anti-gypsyism is similar and higher than average.

The dynamics of the gender breakdown are also of great interest. At the beginning of 2022, when anti-gypsyism was at its lowest level since the CNCDH began its surveys, there were no gender differences (43% average or high scores for both women and men). Now that anti-gypsyism is on the rise, gender differences are reappearing. The proportion of medium-high scores on the anti-gypsyism scale is now higher for men than for women, reaching 48% in 2023 (+5%), compared with 52% for men, where it has risen by 9 points.

Figure 37.
Anti-gypsyism scale by socio-professional category (%)



Source: CNCDH racism barometer, face-to-face, November 2023.

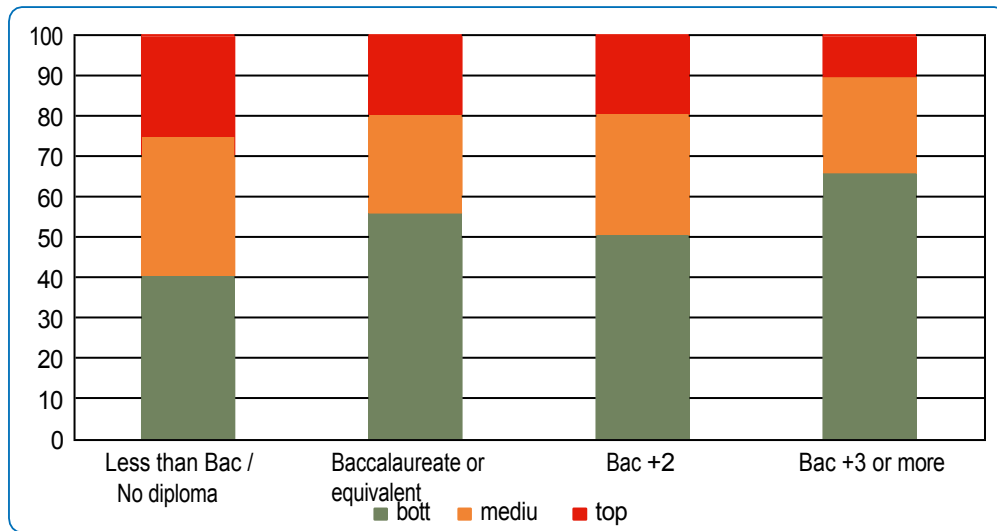
* Retired and unemployed excluded.

When we look at changes in attitudes by socio-professional category, we see that while the general trend is for anti-Gypsyism scores to rise, some categories are 'moving' more than others. The greatest increase in anti-Roma sentiment since 2022 has been among tradespeople and shopkeepers (+17.5%) and blue-collar workers (+17%). These are the socio-professional categories where scores had fallen the most in previous years: they have more 'mobile' attitudes, and in a way can be seen as privileged sensors of the penetration of anti-Gypsy prejudice.

More markedly than in previous years, it is when the feeling of being downgraded is highest that the level of hostility towards Gypsies is strongest. Feelings of economic insecurity have a significant impact on the opinions expressed about the Roma. It is above all those who feel that they live "not as good as a few years ago" (61% average or high scores). The relationship is linear, confirmed in all waves of the Barometer. Those who feel that their living conditions are deteriorating are more likely to perceive the Roma as strange, nasty and dangerous, and also as 'privileged', as recipients of undeserved aid or favoured recipients of assistance. It's a set of tenacious and long-standing prejudices, highly structured by this feeling of a deterioration in their living conditions.

More generally, recent years have highlighted the growing role played by education in shaping prejudice against Gypsies. Hostility towards the Roma, like the rejection of most minorities (see previous sections), decreases as the level of education increases. Even so, this year, having a baccalaureate + 2 does not reduce the level of anti-Gypsyism, as low marks are less common among them (51.5%) than among those with only the baccalaureate or its equivalent (55.5%), a difference of - 4 percentage points.

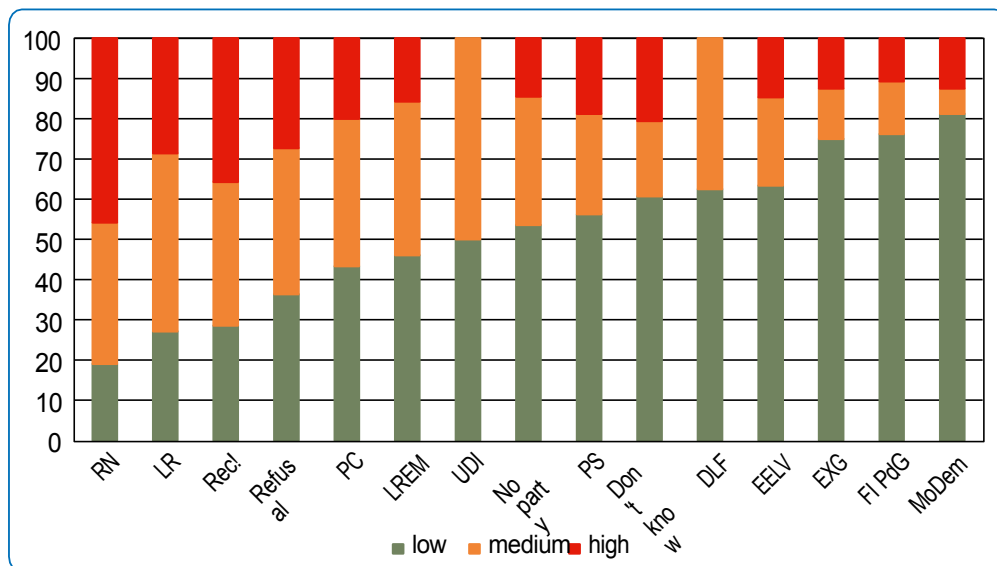
Figure 38.
Anti-gypsyism scale by degree (%)



Source: CNCDH racism barometer, face-to-face, November 2023. Last diploma obtained.

These prejudices towards the Roma are also much less prevalent on the left than on the right of the political spectrum: 81% of supporters of the Rassemblement National (75% in March 2022), 73% of those of the Les Républicains party, and 71% of those who expressed voting intentions for Reconquête! Among supporters of François Bayrou's Mouvement Démocratique, hostility scores are lowest on the right, and down (-15% compared to March 2022). On the left, France Insoumise and Parti de Gauche supporters show a sharp drop in the level of anti-gypsyism, with the proportion of low scores reaching 76% among their potential voters (compared to 60% a year ago). Low levels of anti-Gypsyism are also found among supporters of Europe Écologie Les Verts (63.5%).

Figure 39.
Anti-gypsyism scale by party preference (%)

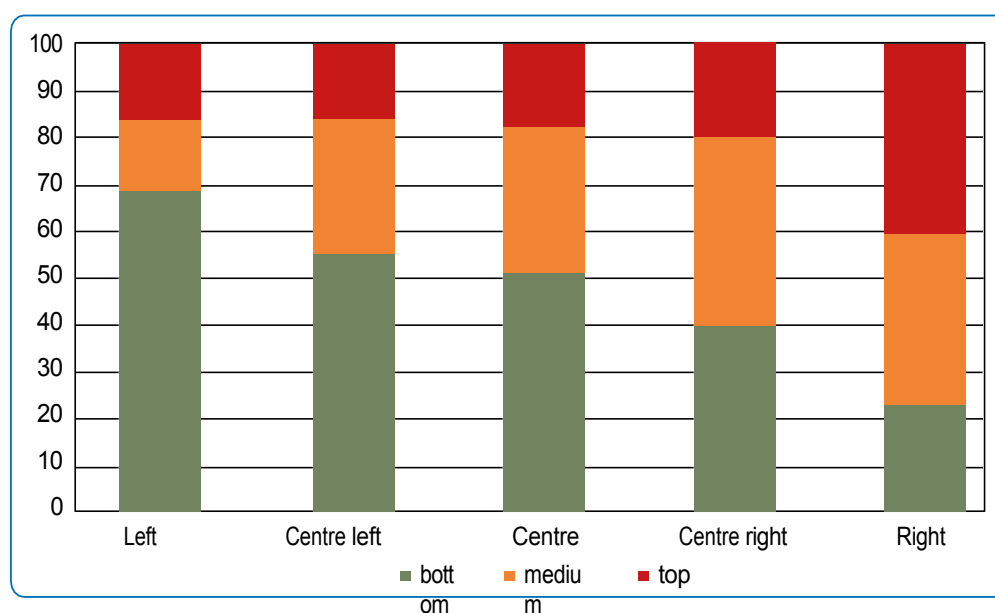


Source: CNCDH racism barometer, face-to-face, November 2023.

It is also important to note that 46.5% of those who declare no partisan closeness have a medium or high level on the anti-Gypsyism scale (a lower percentage than the sample average, and much higher than in November 2022, when they were 40%). Figure 40 below shows the distribution of scores according to political self-positioning (in five positions). Whereas in 2019 there was a strong convergence of profiles between the centre and the centre-right, as well as a great deal of similarity between the centre-left and the left, the situation today is very different: the intensity of hostility increases as one moves from the left to the right of the political spectrum, with a particularly marked increase in intolerance among the respondents furthest to the right, compared with those on the centre-right.

Figure 40.

Anti-gypsyism scale by political self-positioning in five positions (in %)



Source: CNCDH racism barometer, face-to-face, November 2023.

Similarly, negative feelings towards the Roma are much less common among practising Catholics (44%) than among non-practising Catholics (61%). While the percentage of regular practising Catholics hostile to the Roma is significantly lower than average (-6 points), it should be noted above all that it has fallen significantly over the last five years (from 62% to 53% in 2018 and 2019 to 44% in November 2023). This reduction is linked to the renewed commitment of Catholic associations, in particular Secours Catholique, to promoting opportunities for meeting and socialising with the Roma, as well as forms of material aid. Non-believers were even less hostile to the Roma, with only 41% expressing negative prejudice. Believers in other religions had a slightly lower percentage of average and high anti-Gypsyism scores than the population average (49% vs. 50%).

The anti-Gypsyism scale can be crossed with the ethnocentrism scale already used in this chapter. The higher the level of ethnocentrism, the more the

anti-Gypsyism scores are rising, reflecting a stereotypical and consistent representation of minorities in general. Aversion to the Roma and ethnocentrism thus go hand in hand, a result worth highlighting. *Conversely*, it is the least ethnocentric people who show an open mind towards the Roma minority.

These correlations help to define the profile of those most hostile to the Roma, and how it has changed in recent years. But we need to measure the respective effects of each variable. Is it the socio-professional category that structures the relationship with the Roma, or the level of education, or the family income? Or the structuring socialisation processes, such as study and work experiences abroad? Does level of education still have a significant impact if the region of origin is taken into account?

With this in mind, we controlled for the effect of each variable on anti-gypsyism using several logistic regression models. In addition to socio-demographic variables (age, gender, any family migration history, level of education), we introduced indicators of income, socio-professional category, religious practice and - finally - political position. These variables were introduced '*stepwise*' in order to select the relevant ones. This type of analysis makes it possible to measure the 'probability' of developing hostile feelings towards the Roma (measured by average or high scores on the anti-Gypsyism scale) in order to understand which variables are predictive of prejudice. The analysis shows that the most important effect is that of political self-positioning, the level of education and, to a lesser extent, the feeling of being downgraded, the family's migratory origin and, since this year, religious practice too.

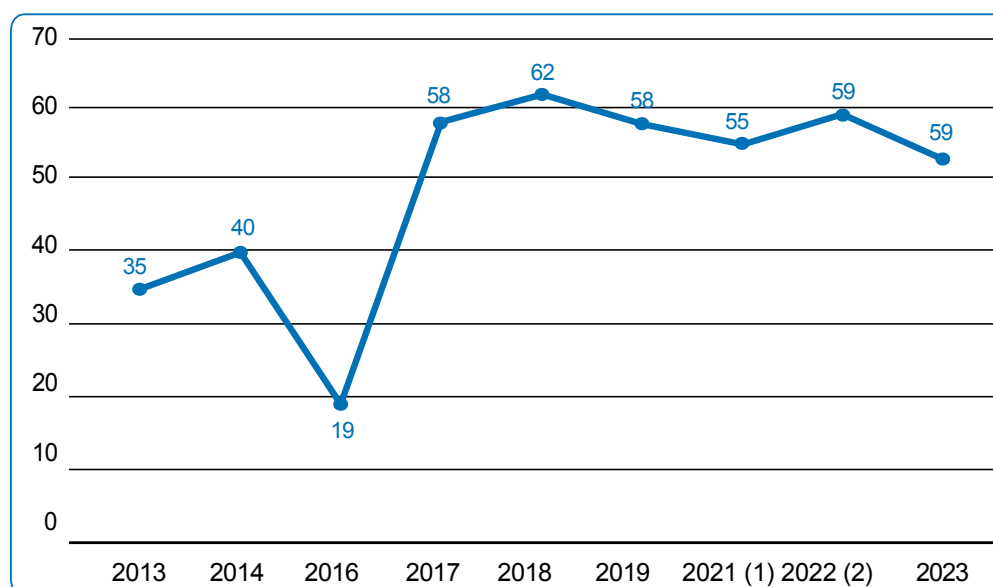
These variables continue to have a statistically significant impact, i.e. they exert a real influence on the probability of experiencing negative feelings towards the Roma, all other things being equal. It is interesting to note that compared with previous years, when there was a sharp fall in anti-Gypsyism, and age and level of education had a significant impact, this year only education is significant. Similarly, it is interesting to note that socio-professional category is not a significant variable at a time when the spread of anti-Gypsyism is having a strong impact on certain socio-professional categories (blue-collar workers and tradespeople). In other words, hostility towards the Roma is not based on experience, but on a symbolic universe of stereotypes that is more prevalent among the less educated. The deterioration in socio-economic status is less of a factor than it was a few years ago.

4.2.4.4. THE MEMORY OF GENOCIDE AS AN EMERGING ISSUE IN THE FIGHT AGAINST ANTI-GYPSYISM

In 2016, an analysis of the data from the January and October surveys showed that fewer and fewer people considered Gypsies, Roma and Travellers to be the most discriminated against groups in France. The figure was 19% in 2013, compared with 2.3% in 2016 (identical scores in January and October). This is why we have not asked this question again. Nevertheless, over the last eight years there have been major political and community initiatives aimed at ensuring that the memory of the extermination of various Gypsy groups during the Second World War is better recognised and preserved. We therefore wanted to check whether French society's relationship with the extermination of the Roma during the Second World War had changed. The proportion of respondents who felt that '*not enough*' was said about the extermination of the Roma during the Second World War had risen from 35% in 2013 to 40% in 2014, before falling back to 19% in October 2016. In November 2017, on the other hand, almost 58% of people questioned in the CNCDH survey felt that '*not enough was said about the extermination of Gypsies and Roma during the Second World War*', a percentage close to its record level of 62% in 2018, falling to 59% in November 2022 and 53% in November 2023.

Figure 41.

Do we talk enough about the extermination of Gypsies and Roma during the Second World War? (in %)



Source: CNCDH face-to-face racism barometers, 2013-2023.

The spectacular rise in this opinion in 2017 is partly linked to François Hollande's speech at the Montreuil-Bellay camp (Maine-et-Loire), which paid tribute to the Gypsies interned until 1946. It bears witness to the importance of campaigns and mobilisations for the recognition of the Roma, as well as the fight against the stereotypes that stigmatise them¹¹⁰.

On the other hand, its decline between 2018 and 2022 testifies to the fact that a great deal of work remains to be done to build the memory of confinement, restrictions on mobility, persecution, expropriation, deportation and extermination, as well as forms of resistance. Many voices in Europe and France are now calling for the creation of a foundation to commemorate the genocide against the Roma, which until now has been virtually ignored in public discourse and in school history textbooks¹¹¹. Calls from intellectuals, elected representatives and European activists to promote historical research, the collection of testimonies and the creation of archives are multiplying. There are also calls for a remembrance project based on the construction of memorials and the organisation of exhibitions and commemorations¹¹². The revision of school curricula and teacher training are part of this effort, thanks in particular to the Canopé network¹¹³, in line with the recommendations on teaching and learning about the Roma genocide. Among other things, promoting the teaching of Roma and Traveller history, the Roma Holocaust and inclusion in school curricula and textbooks, in particular through the training of trainers and teachers, is one of the expected outcomes of the Council of Europe's Strategic Action Plan on Roma and Traveller Inclusion (2020-2025). Also of note is a joint report commissioned by the Council of Europe from the Georg Eckert Institute in partnership with the Roma Education Fund which seeks to analyse the representation of Roma in curricula and textbooks currently used in upper primary and secondary schools across Europe, including France¹¹⁴. Furthermore, in 2020, the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe, stressing that the long-standing historical presence of Roma and Travellers in Europe is still not adequately recognised in education systems and that their contribution to Europe's cultural heritage is undervalued in formal and non-formal education, drafted a recommendation addressed to the governments of Member States, in accordance with their constitutional systems and policies, under the following circumstances

110. Take, for example, the article in *Le Monde* on Remembrance Day 2017: "Il faut créer une Fondation européenne pour la mémoire du génocide des Roms", *Le Monde*, 26 January 2018.

111. ABOUT Ilsen, PERNOT Mathieu, SUTRE Adèle (dir.), *Mondes tsiganes. A photographic history, 1860-1980*, Actes Sud, 2018.

112. See <http://www.egam.eu/pour-la-creation-dune-fondation-europeenne-pour-la-memoire-du-genocide-against-the-roms/>.

113. Réseau Canopé is a public operator operating throughout France under the supervision of the Ministry of Education. It publishes trans-media teaching resources (print, web, mobile, TV) to meet the needs of the educational community; see <https://www.reseau-canope.fr/eduquer-contre-le-racisme-et-lantisemitisme/racisme-anti-roms.html>.

114. Council of Europe, *The Representation of Roma in European Curricula and Textbooks*, Strasbourg, 2020.

and respective national, regional and local responsibilities, particularly in the field of primary, secondary and higher education¹¹⁵ .

These mobilisations go hand in hand with initiatives taken by associations to combat the idea that the Roma have a "deficient culture" and need special support or measures outside the framework of ordinary law. They also aim to create links and draw parallels with other situations of precariousness and exclusion, in order to find allies and denounce the persistent difficulties in getting so-called Roma children accepted into certain secondary and primary schools¹¹⁶ .

115. Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe, Recommendation CM/Rec (2020) 2 to member states on integrating Roma and/or Traveller history into school curricula and teaching materials, 2020.

116. This is the case, for example, of the *#Ecolepourous* campaign, which brings together "traveller" children and young people, unaccompanied foreign minors, children or parents living in shanty towns, squats or social housing. The campaign manifesto states: "*By sharing our stories, we discovered that this common experience of exclusion from school brought us together and gave us the strength to demand together the right to dream again, for ourselves and for the children and young people who look like us*" (see <https://ecolepourous.org>). See also the analysis of life trajectories in LEGROS Olivier *et al*, *L'État et la pauvreté étrangère en Europe occidentale. Trajectoires de migrants "roms" roumains en Espagne, France et Italie*, Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2024.