

# Preventing and combating antigypsyism and discrimination against Roma and Travellers

## Factsheet



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Factsheet

Secretariat of ECRI  
European Commission  
against Racism and Intolerance

**Council of Europe**

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# Contents

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|   |    |
|---|----|
| <b>Introduction</b>   | 7  |
| <b>Policy framework and data collection</b>   | 8  |
| <b>Data collection</b>  | 8  |
| <b>National strategies and action plans or programmes</b>   | 8  |
| Design and funding  | 8  |
| Implementation, monitoring and evaluation   | 9  |
| <b>Prevention</b>   | 10 |
| <b>Awareness-raising</b>  | 10 |
| <b>The media</b>  | 10 |
| <b>Inclusive education</b>  | 10 |
| <b>Capacity building and support to municipalities</b>  | 10 |
| <b>Roma mediators</b>   | 11 |
| <b>Empowerment of Roma representatives and organisations</b>  | 11 |
| <b>Civil society organisations promoting equality for Roma and supporting Roma</b>                        | 11 |
| <b>Protection and support</b>   | 12 |
| <b>Education</b>  | 12 |
| School attendance   | 12 |
| Prohibition of the unjustified placement of Roma children in special schools                              | 12 |
| Prohibition of the segregation of Roma children in kindergartens and schools                              | 12 |
| <b>Housing</b>  | 13 |
| Access to decent housing  | 13 |
| Prohibition of segregation in housing   | 13 |
| Appropriate safeguards in connection with evictions   | 13 |
| <b>Employment</b>   | 14 |
| <b>Health care</b>  | 14 |
| <b>Responsibilities of public figures and the media in countering hate speech</b>                         | 15 |
| <b>Prosecution and law enforcement: combating hate crime against Roma</b>                                 | 15 |
| <b>Preventing and combating antigypsyism and discrimination against Roma by law enforcement officials</b> | 16 |

The present factsheet has been prepared by the Secretariat of the European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI). It aims to present ECRI's key recommendations on preventing and combating antigypsyism and discrimination against Roma and Travellers,<sup>1</sup> as reflected in particular in ECRI's country reports adopted and made public in the context of the fifth and sixth monitoring cycles during the period ranging from 2013 to 2023.

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1 For the purpose of this factsheet, unless otherwise indicated, "Roma" includes not only Roma but also Sinti, Kali, Ashkali, "Egyptians", Manouche and kindred populations in Europe, together with Travellers (see, in this connection, General Policy Recommendation No. 13 on combating antigypsyism and discrimination against Roma).

# Introduction

In its monitoring work on preventing and combating antigypsyism and discrimination against Roma and Travellers, ECRI has drawn upon two general policy recommendations dedicated to this matter, the latest one being **General Policy Recommendation No. 13 on combating antigypsyism and discrimination against Roma**, which was adopted in 2011 and amended in 2020.<sup>2</sup> When drawing up its general policy recommendations, ECRI has relied on its findings in country reports and took into account the developing case law of the European Court of Human Rights interpreting the European Convention on Human Rights, as well as the relevant recommendations of the Committee of Ministers and resolutions of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe. It has also taken due account of the work of the Advisory Committee on the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities, the European Committee of Social Rights, the Council of Europe's Commissioner for Human Rights, the United Nations Committee for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD), the Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) and the European Union (EU).

## General Policy Recommendation No. 13 on combating antigypsyism and discrimination against Roma

*Antigypsyism is "a specific form of racism, an ideology founded on racial superiority, a form of dehumanisation and institutional racism nurtured by historical discrimination, which is expressed, among others, by violence, hate speech, exploitation, stigmatisation and the most blatant kind of discrimination."*

The present factsheet is meant to be a tool supplementing ECRI's General Policy Recommendation No. 13 and other general policy recommendations relevant for the topic<sup>3</sup> by providing an overview of the most recent recommendations made by ECRI as a result of its country monitoring activities and its observation of main trends across Europe in recent years. It should be seen as a work in progress and not considered as exhaustive as ECRI may be regularly confronted with new issues, such as health, humanitarian and other crises affecting the situation of Roma and Travellers or the development of new technologies that may positively or negatively impact the lives of Roma and Travellers. Furthermore, ECRI's recommendations should not be taken in isolation from relevant Council of Europe and other international standards.

It should also be borne in mind that the precise nature of ECRI's recommendations and the legal contexts and policy areas in which these recommendations have been made may vary significantly, depending on circumstances in the countries in question.

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2 See also ECRI's General Policy Recommendation No. 3 dealing with racism and intolerance against Roma, which was adopted in 1998.

3 See in particular General Policy Recommendations No. 7 on **national legislation to combat racism and racial discrimination**, No. 10 on **combating racism and racial discrimination in and through school education**, No. 14 on **combating racism and racial discrimination in employment** and No. 15 on **combating hate speech**.

## Policy framework and data collection

### Data collection

1. The authorities should set up a system for collecting comprehensive and gender-disaggregated equality data on Roma, in particular in the fields of education, employment, housing and health care. The data collection should respect the principles of informed consent, self-identification, confidentiality and exclusive use for the promotion of Roma equality.<sup>4</sup>
2. The data collection system established by the authorities should include all forms of hate-motivated incidents against Roma/Travellers. Data on any specific bias motivation of incidents of hate speech and violence against Roma/Travellers reported to law enforcement agencies<sup>5</sup> as well as the follow-up given by the judicial authorities should be systematically recorded. This data should be made publicly available. In this regard, the authorities should build on the experiences and expertise of law enforcement agencies, prosecution services, equality bodies, and relevant civil society organisations.<sup>6</sup>

### National strategies and action plans or programmes

#### DESIGN AND FUNDING

3. In close consultation with members of the Roma/Traveller communities, the authorities should develop a comprehensive national strategy and/or an action plan or a detailed programme aiming at Roma/Traveller equality in all areas of life, such as education, employment, housing and health care. The authorities should ensure that these are developed on the basis of equality data and by taking into account any recent evaluation of Roma/Traveller-related projects. For all the objectives and measures included in the national strategy and/or action plan or programme, the authorities should introduce indicators, baseline figures and target figures, a timetable and designate the administrative bodies and senior officials responsible for implementing them.<sup>7</sup>
4. The authorities should allocate adequate funding in order to ensure the effectiveness of the national strategy and/or action plan or programme. Where appropriate, the budget should clearly identify financial needs not covered by the state budget in order to benefit from donors' funds.<sup>8</sup>

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4 See, *inter alia*, ECRI sixth-cycle **report** on the Czech Republic, § 96; ECRI sixth-cycle **report** on Bulgaria, § 85, ECRI fifth-cycle **report** on Italy, § 86; ECRI fifth-cycle **report** on Ukraine, § 60 (*in order of publication, from the most recent to the oldest*).

5 For the purpose of this factsheet, the terms "law enforcement agencies", "law enforcement" and "police" refer to various categories of professionals and civilian public services entrusted with police powers (e.g. federal or national police, gendarmerie, local police, border police or border guard service).

6 See, *inter alia*, ECRI sixth-cycle **report** on Switzerland, § 55; ECRI sixth-cycle **report** on Belgium, § 41; ECRI sixth-cycle **report** on Albania, § 26; ECRI fifth-cycle **report** on Ireland, § 26; ECRI fifth-cycle **report** on the Republic of Moldova, § 57.

7 See, *inter alia*, ECRI sixth-cycle **report** on Austria, § 95; ECRI sixth-cycle **report** on Slovakia, § 80; ECRI fifth-cycle **report** on Bosnia and Herzegovina, § 75; ECRI fifth-cycle **report** on the United Kingdom, § 109.

8 *Ibidem*; ECRI fifth-cycle **report** on Albania, § 57.



## IMPLEMENTATION, MONITORING AND EVALUATION

5. The implementation of the national strategy and/or action plan or programme should be closely coordinated between the central, regional and local authorities. A clear division of responsibility between these authorities should be established. Furthermore, close co-operation with the Roma/ Traveller communities should be ensured at all stages of implementation.<sup>9</sup>
6. The implementation of national strategies and/or action plans concerning Roma may be enhanced by launching grassroots pilot programmes to address local challenges for Roma inclusion with the full involvement of all stakeholders.<sup>10</sup>
7. The authorities should take into consideration the heightened vulnerabilities of many Roma as a result of the Covid-19 pandemic or other crises affecting them in the implementation of the national strategy and/or action plan or programme.<sup>11</sup>
8. The authorities should set up a monitoring and accountability mechanism for the implementation of the national strategy and/or action plan or programme, in which Roma communities are represented.<sup>12</sup> The implementation should also be subject to regular independent evaluation, with the participation of as wide and diverse a Roma/Traveller representation as possible. This should be done with a view to developing measurable progress indicators and establishing an overall and coherent national roll-out mechanism for the strategy and/or action plan or programme.<sup>13</sup>

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9 See, *inter alia*, ECRI sixth-cycle [report](#) on France, § 93; ECRI fifth-cycle [report](#) on Romania, § 70; ECRI fifth-cycle [report](#) on Greece, § 104.

10 ECRI sixth-cycle [report](#) on Hungary, § 77.

11 ECRI sixth-cycle [report](#) on Bulgaria, § 99.

12 See, *inter alia*, ECRI fifth-cycle [report](#) on Serbia, § 76; ECRI fifth-cycle [report](#) on Montenegro, § 58.

13 See, *inter alia*, ECRI sixth-cycle [report](#) on France, § 93; ECRI sixth-cycle [report](#) on Slovakia, § 80; ECRI fifth-cycle [report](#) on Sweden, § 79.

## Prevention

### Awareness-raising

9. The authorities should foster better knowledge of Roma communities as well as the advancement of intercultural dialogue. Roma people and Roma organisations should be fully involved in the conception, planning and implementation of awareness-raising campaigns.<sup>14</sup>
10. The authorities should conduct outreach and information campaigns to ensure that Roma are fully aware of their rights and entitlements.<sup>15</sup>

### The media

11. Where appropriate and without encroaching on media independence, the authorities should initiate a process in which media and their representative organisations develop policies to tackle routines and reflexes that may lead media coverage to have a stigmatising effect on Roma.<sup>16</sup>

### Inclusive education

12. Any racist material or material that encourages stereotypes or prejudice against Roma and other groups of concern to ECRI should be removed from textbooks.<sup>17</sup>
13. The authorities should monitor and evaluate to what extent pupils learn about diversity, different cultures and the history of Roma and other minorities and to what extent teachers promote intercultural understanding.<sup>18</sup>
14. The authorities should ensure that all schools are encouraged to put in place a policy to prevent, monitor and respond to racist incidents, including bullying, with guidelines for pupils, teachers and parents. The authorities should move on from general anti-bullying activities to developing and implementing group-specific modules against the bullying of Roma children and young people.<sup>19</sup>

### Capacity building and support to municipalities

15. The authorities should provide municipalities with support in capacity building for Roma inclusion, notably with a view to ensuring appropriate service delivery and harmonised approaches and action at local level across the country.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> See, *inter alia*, ECRI sixth-cycle **report** on Denmark, § 114; ECRI fifth-cycle **report** on the Czech Republic, § 72.

<sup>15</sup> See, *inter alia*, ECRI fifth-cycle **report** on Latvia, § 74.

<sup>16</sup> See, *inter alia*, ECRI fifth-cycle **report** on the Netherlands, § 44; ECRI fifth-cycle **report** on Switzerland, § 33.

<sup>17</sup> See, *inter alia*, ECRI fifth-cycle **report** on Türkiye, § 88 (*before 2022, the official name of Türkiye in English was Turkey*).

<sup>18</sup> See, *inter alia*, ECRI sixth-cycle **report** on Norway, § 19.

<sup>19</sup> See, *inter alia*, ECRI sixth-cycle **report** on Albania, § 11; ECRI fifth-cycle **report** on Ukraine, § 75.

<sup>20</sup> See, *inter alia*, ECRI sixth-cycle **report** on the Czech Republic, § 96; ECRI sixth-cycle **report** on Albania, § 66.

## Roma mediators

16. The authorities should institutionalise, scale up and finance the work of Roma mediators in the areas of health, education and employment.<sup>21</sup>

## Empowerment of Roma representatives and organisations

17. The authorities should take measures aimed at empowering Roma representatives and organisations in matters concerning Roma. For instance, action should be taken to help Roma communities to strengthen their own capacities to enable the creation of better opportunities for younger generations of Roma in the fields of education and employment.<sup>22</sup>

## Civil society organisations promoting equality for Roma and supporting Roma

18. The authorities should ensure that civil society organisations are in a position to provide support services to Roma and other groups of concern to ECRI. In this context, where appropriate, the authorities should review the relevant legislation pertaining to the registration of NGOs and make every effort to make available to such NGOs funding for the provision of services.<sup>23</sup>
19. An open and democratic space should be secured for civil society organisations to discuss racism against Roma and other groups in vulnerable situations together with representatives of state bodies, local authorities and other actors from the private sector.<sup>24</sup>

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21 See, *inter alia*, ECRI sixth-cycle [report](#) on Germany, § 101; ECRI sixth-cycle [report](#) on Bulgaria, §§ 82, 99; ECRI fifth-cycle [report](#) on the Republic of Moldova, § 80; ECRI fifth-cycle [report](#) on Montenegro, § 67.

22 See, *inter alia*, ECRI sixth-cycle [report](#) on Norway, § 101; ECRI fifth-cycle [report](#) on Austria, § 74.

23 ECRI sixth-cycle [report](#) on Cyprus, § 115.

24 ECRI [Annual Report on ECRI's activities covering the period from 1 January to 31 December 2022](#), § 32.

## Protection and support

### Education

#### SCHOOL ATTENDANCE

20. The authorities should take effective measures to improve the situation of Roma children in the education sector. They should ensure that preschool education is available to all Roma children, that the programmes ensure quality teaching and that the children acquire sufficient mastery of the future language of instruction prior to entering primary school. Roma parents should also be supported so that they can afford to send their children to preschool.<sup>25</sup>
21. The authorities should develop and implement a set of measures to ensure that the number of Roma/Traveller children completing compulsory education increases significantly. To this end, they should ensure the effective enrolment of these children in preschool, primary and secondary education and establish an effective drop-out monitoring mechanism at primary and secondary level to ensure the attendance of Roma/Traveller children and thus mitigate the risk of drop-out.<sup>26</sup>

#### PROHIBITION OF THE UNJUSTIFIED PLACEMENT OF ROMA CHILDREN IN SPECIAL SCHOOLS

22. Any practices consisting of placing Roma children who do not have learning disabilities in special schools should be stopped and children already affected by such practices should be integrated into mainstream schools. Roma parents should be adequately informed of what special schooling entails.<sup>27</sup>

#### PROHIBITION OF THE SEGREGATION OF ROMA CHILDREN IN KINDERGARTENS AND SCHOOLS

23. Where appropriate, the authorities should develop a policy against segregation in education and ensure its effective implementation. They should closely monitor the situation and ensure that any form of de facto segregation affecting Roma children in kindergartens and schools is ended.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> See, *inter alia*, ECRI sixth-cycle [report](#) on Bulgaria, § 69; ECRI fifth-cycle [report](#) on Slovakia, § 132; ECRI fifth-cycle [report](#) on Serbia, § 80; ECRI fifth-cycle [report](#) on Croatia, § 75.

<sup>26</sup> See, *inter alia*, ECRI sixth-cycle [report](#) on France, § 107; ECRI sixth-cycle [report](#) on Greece, § 96; ECRI fifth-cycle [report](#) on Croatia, § 75.

<sup>27</sup> See, *inter alia*, ECRI fifth-cycle [report](#) on North Macedonia, § 72 (*as of 12 February 2019, the official name of “the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia” changed to North Macedonia*); ECRI fifth-cycle [report](#) on Estonia, § 89; ECRI fifth-cycle [report](#) on Hungary, § 113; ECRI fifth-cycle [report](#) on Slovakia, § 130.

<sup>28</sup> See, *inter alia*, ECRI sixth-cycle [report](#) on Hungary, § 83; ECRI sixth-cycle [report](#) on Bulgaria, § 66; ECRI sixth-cycle [report](#) on Albania, § 47; ECRI sixth-cycle [report](#) on the Czech Republic, § 83; ECRI fifth-cycle [report](#) on Romania, § 75.

## Housing

### ACCESS TO DECENT HOUSING

24. The authorities should adopt an integrated approach to the issue of access to housing for Roma by ensuring Roma involvement in the decision-making processes concerning housing creation and allocation. The authorities should, *inter alia*, (i) invest in the creation of a sufficient number of sites to meet the needs of Roma communities, (ii) provide sufficient and adequate social housing to vulnerable members of Roma communities and (iii) work with rental agencies and associations of private landlords to overcome any prejudices against Roma in the private-sector housing market.<sup>29</sup>
25. The authorities should take action to address the situation of Roma/Travellers who live in settlements of inadequate standards. Decent and safe living conditions should be ensured, including in shanty towns, if any. For example, the authorities should ensure that all Roma/Travellers have practical access to a safe water supply in or in the immediate vicinity of their settlements.<sup>30</sup>
26. Where appropriate, the authorities should step up their efforts to regularise irregular housing, ensuring that any initiatives taken in this direction include Roma.<sup>31</sup>
27. Caravans belonging to Roma with an itinerant lifestyle/Travellers should be recognised as a type of housing. In co-operation with associations representing Roma/Travellers, the authorities should carry out a survey of actual parking needs in terms of the number of sites available, access to essential services and hygiene and the risk level of the location. The authorities should also take the necessary steps to enable caravan dwellers to acquire a reference address.<sup>32</sup>

### PROHIBITION OF SEGREGATION IN HOUSING

28. The authorities should take the necessary measures to enable any Roma desegregation process in the housing sector. They should close down any segregated housing units for Roma and relocate the inhabitants to areas where they can mix and integrate with the rest of society.<sup>33</sup>

### APPROPRIATE SAFEGUARDS IN CONNECTION WITH EVICTIONS

29. The authorities should ensure that Roma who may be evicted from their homes (due to their substandard conditions or their location in irregular settlements) enjoy all the guarantees that international texts provide for. In particular, they should be notified of the planned eviction well in advance and benefit from appropriate legal protection. They should also not be evicted without the possibility of being rehoused in decent accommodation. Furthermore, the authorities should take action to prevent any use of unlawful, unnecessary or disproportionate force during evictions.<sup>34</sup>

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29 See, *inter alia*, ECRI sixth-cycle [report](#) on Switzerland, § 104; ECRI fifth-cycle [report](#) on Montenegro, § 71; ECRI fifth-cycle [report](#) on Lithuania, § 71.

30 See, *inter alia*, ECRI sixth-cycle [report](#) on Slovakia, § 98; ECRI fifth-cycle [report](#) on Slovenia, § 89; ECRI fifth-cycle [report](#) on Greece, § 112; ECRI fifth-cycle [report](#) on Ireland, § 70.

31 See, *inter alia*, ECRI fifth-cycle [report](#) on Romania, § 78; ECRI fifth-cycle [report](#) on Albania, § 74.

32 See, *inter alia*, ECRI sixth-cycle [report](#) on France, § 99; ECRI sixth-cycle [report](#) on Belgium, § 91.

33 See, *inter alia*, ECRI fifth-cycle [report](#) on Montenegro, § 71; ECRI fifth-cycle [report](#) on Cyprus, § 66.

34 See, *inter alia*, ECRI sixth-cycle [report](#) on Albania, § 58; ECRI fifth-cycle [report](#) on Romania, § 78.

## Employment

30. Specific anti-discrimination measures aimed at addressing prejudice against Roma in the labour market should be taken. The authorities should expand their programmes to encourage the employment of Roma, in both public and private sectors, including through positive action. For example, the authorities should expand vocational training activities and active employment programmes for Roma, including to those who only completed primary education or have no formal education, as well as those who attended school but remained illiterate. Furthermore, Roma not registered as unemployed should also be actively encouraged to participate in these activities through close cooperation with the local authorities.<sup>35</sup>
31. The authorities should give high priority to employing a proportionate number of Roma in the civil service and ensure that they benefit from equally stable working conditions as other civil servants.<sup>36</sup>
32. Subsidies and/or incentives in employment policies should be adopted with a view to increasing the economic empowerment of young Roma.<sup>37</sup>

## Health care

33. Where appropriate, the authorities should commission an independent assessment of the level of discrimination of Roma in the health sector as a basis for future action and ensure that Roma benefit from health insurance coverage.<sup>38</sup>
34. Where appropriate, the health authorities should remind medical practitioners that discrimination against patients due to their Roma or other ethnic background is a breach of medical ethics. In proven cases, the relevant bodies should consider revoking the practitioner's license.<sup>39</sup>
35. The authorities should end any practices that segregate and discriminate against Roma women in obstetrics departments in hospitals.<sup>40</sup>
36. The authorities should establish an independent committee of inquiry to investigate any alleged practice of sterilising Roma women without their free and informed consent and propose a compensation scheme.<sup>41</sup>

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35 See, *inter alia*, ECRI sixth-cycle [report](#) on Slovakia, § 98; ECRI sixth-cycle [report](#) on Albania, § 51; ECRI fifth-cycle [report](#) on Hungary, § 88; ECRI fifth-cycle [report](#) on Lithuania, § 72.

36 See, *inter alia*, ECRI fifth-cycle [report](#) on Croatia, § 82; ECRI fifth-cycle [report](#) on Serbia, § 91; ECRI fifth-cycle [report](#) on Montenegro, § 76.

37 See, *inter alia*, ECRI fifth-cycle [report](#) on Montenegro, § 74.

38 See, *inter alia*, ECRI fifth-cycle [report](#) on Lithuania, § 72.

39 See, *inter alia*, ECRI fifth-cycle [report](#) on North Macedonia, § 69.

40 ECRI sixth-cycle [report](#) on Slovakia, § 101.

41 *Ibidem*.

## Responsibilities of public figures and the media in countering hate speech

37. Public figures, including political leaders on all sides, should be strongly encouraged to make public statements condemning incidents of hate speech against Roma. They should also encourage other public figures to condemn such acts and engage in counter-speech.<sup>42</sup>
38. While respecting the principle of media independence, the authorities should establish effective regulatory bodies that can monitor incidents of hate speech against Roma in print media, audio and audio-visual media services as well as Internet services. The authorities should provide the regulatory authorities for media services with the possibility of imposing appropriate sanctions in cases of racist and intolerant expressions.<sup>43</sup>

## Prosecution and law enforcement: combating hate crime against Roma

39. In cases of violence and other crimes against Roma, the authorities should ensure that the possible existence of bias/hate motivation is duly investigated. Police should be given clear instructions to this effect and should consider the possibility of bias/hate motivation from the outset of the criminal proceedings.<sup>44</sup> The police and prosecution services should also adopt binding guidelines on the recording and investigation of such offences. The authorities should ensure that the perpetrators of any such crime are held accountable.<sup>45</sup>
40. In order to address (potential) underreporting, the authorities should implement confidence-building measures to enhance relations between the police and Roma. Local, regional and national frameworks should be established and institutionalised for regular and sustainable dialogue and co-operation with Roma and other groups in vulnerable situations as well as civil society organisations working with them. Dedicated police liaison officers should be hired to reach out to the communities concerned. The prosecution services should also designate contact persons.<sup>46</sup>

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42 See, *inter alia*, ECRI sixth-cycle [report](#) on Albania, § 35; ECRI sixth-cycle [report](#) on the Czech Republic, § 46; ECRI sixth-cycle [report](#) on Hungary, § 50.

43 See, *inter alia*, ECRI fifth-cycle [report](#) on Greece, § 52; ECRI fifth-cycle [report](#) on North Macedonia, § 32; ECRI fifth-cycle [report](#) on Portugal, § 44.

44 See, *inter alia*, ECRI fifth-cycle [report](#) on Croatia, § 61; ECRI fifth-cycle [report](#) on the Republic of Moldova, § 68; ECRI fifth-cycle [report](#) on Montenegro, § 49.

45 See, *inter alia*, ECRI sixth-cycle [report](#) on Bulgaria, § 47; ECRI fifth-cycle [report](#) on Romania, § 58; ECRI fifth-cycle [report](#) on Türkiye, § 57.

46 See, *inter alia*, ECRI sixth-cycle [report](#) on the Czech Republic, § 38; ECRI fifth-cycle [report](#) on the Republic of Moldova, § 68; ECRI fifth-cycle [report](#) on Spain, § 53; ECRI fifth-cycle [report](#) on Türkiye, § 42; ECRI fifth-cycle [report](#) on Serbia, § 50.

## Preventing and combating antigypsyism and discrimination against Roma by law enforcement officials

41. The authorities should take effective action to encourage Roma victims and witnesses of police abuse to come forward, provide them with appropriate support and ensure better police accountability.<sup>47</sup>
42. The authorities should organise police training on issues affecting Roma populations, promote Roma recruitment to police services and ensure that Roma police officers enjoy equal opportunities for career development.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> ECRI [Annual Report on ECRI's activities covering the period from 1 January to 31 December 2022](#), § 26; ECRI sixth-cycle [report](#) on Greece, § 112.

<sup>48</sup> ECRI [Annual Report on ECRI's activities covering the period from 1 January to 31 December 2022](#), § 26.





The European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI) is a unique human rights monitoring body which specialises in questions relating to the fight against racism, discrimination (on grounds of "race", ethnic/national origin, colour, citizenship, religion, language, sexual orientation and gender identity), xenophobia, antisemitism and intolerance in Europe.

ECRI was set up by the first Summit of Heads of State and Government of the member states of the Council of Europe in 1993 and became operational in 1994. As ECRI marks almost 30 years of combating racism and intolerance, current trends show that these are still persistent problems in European societies that require renewed efforts to be overcome.

ECRI is composed of 46 members appointed on the basis of their independence, impartiality, moral authority and expertise in dealing with issues of racism, discrimination, xenophobia, antisemitism and intolerance. Each Council of Europe member state appoints one person to serve as a member of ECRI.

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