TOGETHER AGAINST ANTIGYPSYISM ONLINE

Amaro Drom

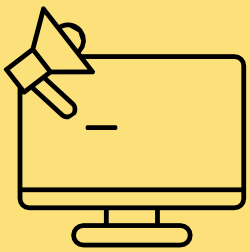
Co-funded by the European Union

Antigypsyism on the Internet: Forms and Counter-Strategies.

Germany 2024–2025

Together Against Anti-Gypsyism on the Internet (TAAO)

German Country Report



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0. Summary

The study TAAO – Together Against Antigypsyism Online, Germany is part of a cross-national study conducted over a 12-month period (October 2024 to October 2025) in Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Germany, Hungary, Romania and Slovakia. Amaro Drom e. V. coordinated the project, which was funded by the 'Citizens, Equality, Rights and Values' programme.

During the project period, monitors were trained in each participating country and supported throughout the project's duration. They collected and analysed instances of anti-Roma hate speech on the internet. This report is based on data collected in Germany and provides a comprehensive picture of the portrayal and perception of Roma* on various online platforms. Using a mixed-methods approach (quantitative and qualitative analysis), online discourses were examined with regard to their anti-Gypsy content. The study highlights which actors engage with Roma*[1] and anti-Gypsyist discourse, or who participate in it. Furthermore, thematic areas are identified that serve as a framework for discussing Roma* or disseminating anti-Gypsyist content. With regard to anti-Gypsyist posts, both the forms and the intensity of the hate speech disseminated online can be described.

Respondents were also asked to assess how the analysed online content affects the monitors. These subjective experiences of people with a migration background, those belonging to minority groups or the Roma* community provide striking insights into an area that has received little attention to date: the impact of online hate on vulnerable groups. According to the study "Loud Hate – Quiet Retreat", hate disseminated online has far-reaching consequences for those affected and for our society as a whole. (Das NETTZ, Society for Media Education and Communication Culture, HateAid and Neue deutsche Medienmacher*innen as part of the Competence Network against Hate on the Internet, 2024)

"The consequences of online hate include social withdrawal and a decline in online activity. The most common consequences for those affected are mental health issues and problems with self-image." (Das NETTZ, Society for Media Education and Communication Culture, HateAid and Neue deutsche Medienmacher*innen as part of the Competence Network against Online Hate, 2024)

Against this backdrop, the study of usage behaviour and the possibilities and effects of counter-strategies in relation to anti-Roma posts is becoming increasingly important.

This report is based on four synthesis reports (covering the four reporting periods), in which a total of 526 monitoring tools (MT) (the most important instrument of the research analysis) were recorded. The MT is presented in detail in Appendix 1.

The study shows that anti-Gypsyism is widespread online across platforms and topics, and that countermeasures have little effect. The cases analysed in the project were predominantly

[1] The gender-inclusive spelling chosen for this report – adding the gender star to the term 'Roma' – is recommended by several member associations of the Central Council of German Sinti and Roma. See Association of German Sinti & Roma RLP, "Controversy regarding the gendered use of the self-designation Sinti and Roma: Introduction". (Association of German Sinti and Roma RLP, 2023)

on private accounts. With regard to regulating antiziganism in the digital space, the findings suggest that, in addition to formal or official posts, emotionally charged or humorous content—often presented as personal opinions or entertainment—must also be scrutinised. The majority of posts utilise non-textual forms of communication alongside text. The study shows that these are more polarising and elicit stronger emotional reactions.

Those affected are confronted with implicit and explicit anti-Gypsyism online, including calls for violence. Ineffective interventions jeopardise open democratic discourse and can lead to secondary victimisation of those affected. Anti-Gypsy online discourse interacts with the real world in many ways. Ethnicised reporting in traditional media formats is regularly picked up online and has been shown to lead to an escalation of hateful comments there. Furthermore, racist discourse on the internet can be understood as a trigger for attacks in the real world; the findings presented here therefore represent an urgent call to action.

This report is based on data collected as part of the TAAO project by the coordination and monitoring team at Amaro Drom e. V. The report was compiled by Katharina Schwaiger. She works for various Sinti* and Roma* organisations in Germany, teaches at a university on the topic of ‘Discrimination-sensitive social work using the example of antiziganism’, and is a board member of the association D.A.S. e. V. – Association for Discrimination-Sensitive, Anti-Antiziganism Social Work.

We would like to extend our special thanks to the young peer educators on the German team: Amella Ajvazi, Sejnur Memisi, Debarati Ganguly, Anas Khalil, Adrian R. and others.

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1. Introduction

1.1. Background and context

The German report is part of a cross-national study conducted as part of the "Together Against Antigypsyism Online" (TAAO) in six EU Member States – Slovakia, Romania, Hungary, the Czech Republic, Bulgaria and Germany. It is coordinated by Amaro Drom e. V., a German intercultural youth organisation of Roma* and non-Roma*, which aims to open up spaces for political and social participation for young people through empowerment, mobilisation and self-organisation. (Amaro Drom e. V., 2025) .

The project is funded by the 'Citizens, Equality, Rights and Values' (CERV-2023-EQUAL) programme and will be implemented between March 2024 and February 2026.

The main objective of the TAAO project is to combat anti-Roma hate speech online through coordinated monitoring, which will serve as the basis for awareness-raising and advocacy activities at national and European level. The project aims to strengthen social responsibility in the digital sphere by raising awareness of the issue and promoting respect for human dignity.

In Germany, the monitoring was carried out between October 2024 and October 2025 by Amaro Drom
e. V. between October 2024 and October 2025. A national team of seven trained monitors collected and analysed a total of 526 instances of Roma-related content, particularly anti-Gypsy hate speech, from various online sources.

The monitors took part in a two-week online training course focusing on research methodology, data collection processes and ethical standards for monitoring.

Throughout the project, monthly online coordination meetings were held with representatives from all partner countries to exchange information on the current status, align methodologies and share experiences. In cases where direct participation was not possible, information was shared via recorded meetings or direct discussions.

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Trigger warning: This publication contains examples of discriminatory and racist language.

1.2. Significance of the study

Online social networks are a key forum for political debate and are regarded as a significant arena for the dissemination of racist ideologies. (Independent Commission on Antiziganism, published by the Ministry of the Interior, Building and Community, 2021) [2] Young users are primarily reached via these channels with political content. (Weiser, 2025) Research into the manifestations, intensity and effects of antiziganism in the digital sphere is still in its infancy internationally and has so far been limited to isolated analyses in Germany as well. (Becker, 2021) The TAAO study therefore provides important insights into a field that has been insufficiently researched to date and, in its mixed-methods design, combines quantitative results with in-depth qualitative case analyses.

This study also identifies potential counter-strategies against anti-Roma hate speech on the internet. In doing so, it makes a significant contribution to existing research and highlights major gaps in this area. In February 2024, the EU Digital Services Act (DSA) came into full force with the aim of creating a safe digital space and strengthening users' fundamental rights [3]. The "Digital Services Act" (DDG) followed on 14 May 2024, transposing these European requirements into German law. (Federal Criminal Police Office, no date) Although the DSA does not define what is illegal, it requires platforms to have clear reporting channels, internal complaint systems and out-of-court dispute resolution.

However, according to a study published by Hate Aid[4]in 2025, these rights often remain theoretical and are difficult for those affected to access in practice. "The analysis shows that platforms, dispute resolution bodies and supervisory authorities have so far failed to adequately fulfil their obligations. Even after exhausting all available remedies (reporting, internal complaints, dispute resolution), only around half of the reported illegal content is removed. A lack of transparency, inconsistent processes and the deliberate misleading of users undermine their rights on social networks." (HateAid gGmbH, 2025) A negative trend can be observed compared to the previous year. Facebook and Instagram have significantly reduced their removal rates in 2025. However, consistent and visible implementation at national level is essential for the credibility of the DSA. (HateAid gGmbH, 2025)

In Germany, two cases involving anti-Roma posts or comments by influential figures were brought before the courts in 2024 and 2025. According to the final

[2] The Independent Commission against Antiziganism was commissioned by the German Bundestag in 2019 to submit a report on antiziganism in Germany and recommendations on how to combat it. This report was submitted in 2021. [3] The EU Digital Services Act (DSA) came into force on 16 November 2022, but will only apply in full to most providers from February 2024.

[4] Hate Aid is a German NGO that offers advice and legal support in cases of online abuse.

In court rulings, both cases were classified as potentially offensive but not as incitement to hatred, a decision that was sharply criticised by Sinti* and Roma* organisations.

One case concerns the right-wing populist blogger Anabel Schunke, who has a large following and was fined in 2024 for an anti-Roma post[5]on X (Twitter). However, this verdict was overturned on appeal in 2025. An appeal by the public prosecutor's office was dismissed as unfounded in December 2025. The presiding judge at the Regional Court assessed the remarks as "potentially offensive", but did not classify them as incitement to hatred. Romani Rose, Chairman of the Central Council of German Sinti and Roma, criticised the decision in no uncertain terms: "Decisions such as that of the presiding judge at the Braunschweig Regional Court, which marginalise our minority and leave us defenceless once again, fill us with fear. (...) Judgements such as these, which trivialise incitement to hatred against minorities, are directed against our liberal constitutional order and democracy." (Central Council of German Sinti and Roma, 2025)

In the second case, according to the indictment, administrative judge Bengt Fuchs made derogatory remarks about Sinti* and Roma* in a Facebook post. He described them as "rotating Europeans with a poor sense of ownership". The Gera Regional Court dismissed the charge of incitement to hatred. Although Sinti* and Roma* were denigrated as travelling gangs of thieves, the court ruled that they were "not characterised as inferior". (juris.de, 2025) MIA[6] sharply criticised this decision: "The Regional Court fails to recognise the anti-Gypsy dimension of the statement." (MDR THÜRINGEN, 2025)

The shortcomings highlighted here regarding the implementation of the DSA, as well as the disillusionment with the case law in this context, undermine confidence in the effectiveness of interventions against online anti-Gypsyism. In the complex balancing act between the high legal principle of "freedom of expression" and protection against criminal offences on the internet, perspectives critical of anti-Gypsyism should be taken into account. Decisive action against anti-Gypsyism on the internet and a consistent and easily accessible implementation of the DSA are fundamental to establishing credible protection under the rule of law against discrimination, particularly anti-Gypsyism, and to gaining trust. Appropriate responses from the (online) environment and the rule of law are also essential to avoid the risk of secondary victimisation. [7] (IDZ Jena, no date)

In December 2025, the US government imposed a travel ban on five individuals who were campaigning for safety in the digital sphere. These include the directors of HateAid, a counselling service in Germany that works to combat hate and hate speech online.

[5] Text of the article: "A large proportion of Sinti and Roma in Germany and other countries exclude themselves from civilised society by defrauding the welfare state and thus the taxpayers, failing to comply with compulsory schooling for their children, keeping to themselves, stealing, simply throwing rubbish onto the streets and, as 'rent nomads', moving from flat to flat ." (Central Council of German Sinti and Roma, 2025)

[6] The Reporting and Information Centre on Antiziganism (MIA) is a civil society organisation dedicated to raising awareness of antiziganism.

[7] Primary victimisation describes the harm inflicted on one or more persons by one or more perpetrators. Secondary victimisation, by contrast, arises only after primary victimisation as a result of inappropriate reactions from the victims' social circle (e.g. friends, acquaintances, family members) and/or formal social control authorities (police, public prosecutor's office, courts). (IDZ Jena, no date)

A former French EU Commissioner who played a key role in shaping the DSA is also affected. HateAid describes the entry ban as “an act of repression by an administration that is increasingly disregarding the rule of law and attempting to silence its critics by any means necessary”. (HateAid gGmbH, 2025) (Süddeutsche.de, 2025)

Against this backdrop, the defence of democratic values and the protection of minorities in the digital sphere are particularly important. Studies such as this are necessary to highlight the causes, forms of expression and intensity of antiziganism on the internet and to identify the limits of possible interventions. They thus contribute to recognising antiziganism on the internet and taking effective countermeasures.

2. Methodology

2.1. Purpose and design

The study conducted in Germany as part of the “Together Against Antigypsyism Online” (TAAO) project was designed as a mixed qualitative and quantitative analysis. The study covered the period between October 2024 and October 2025, applying a common European methodology and using the Monitoring Tool (MT) as the main research instrument.

The objectives of the research were:

- To identify explicit and implicit forms of anti-Gypsy hate speech;
- Analysis of the discursive repertoires through which Roma* are portrayed online;
- Monitoring of response times and consistent handling of reported content by digital platforms;
- Reflection on the emotional and social impacts of online antiziganism and raising awareness among young people and citizens active online;

A total of 526 monitoring tools (MTs) were collected and analysed during the reporting period. The data was summarised in four synthesis reports corresponding to the four monitoring phases:

1. *October – December 2024* → submitted on 30 January 2025
2. *January – March 2025* → submitted on 30 April 2025
3. *April – June 2025* → submitted on 30 July 2025
4. *July – October 2025* → submitted on 30 October 2025

Although no formal pilot phase was organised, the monitoring process was gradually refined over the first few months through team meetings, feedback and clarification sessions, in order to ensure the methodological consistency and reliability of all the data collected.

2.2. Participants

The German monitoring team consisted of seven observers spread across various regions of the country, including Mainz, Frankfurt, Halle (Saale), Hamburg and Oberhausen. This geographical spread ensured a broad perspective on regional nuances in online discourse.

The group was characterised by considerable socio-demographic diversity:

- *Age diversity:* The participants were born between 1992 and 2007, thus representing a broad generational spectrum of 'digital natives'.
- *Backgrounds:* The team reflected the pluralism of German society, including people with refugee backgrounds, migration histories and members of various ethnic minorities.
- *Expertise:* The observers brought diverse educational backgrounds and professional experience to the project, which enriched the qualitative analysis of the collected data.

Recruitment followed a hybrid approach to ensure both professional competence and the trust of the community. An open call for applications was advertised via the organisation's social media channels, whilst several monitors were recruited directly from the organisation's existing youth network on the basis of their demonstrated interest in human rights and digital activism.

To ensure methodological rigour, all monitors took part in a joint training session provided by the central research team. In addition, three members of the German team attended an international Training of Trainers (ToT) course in Bulgaria, reflecting the project's commitment to cross-border knowledge exchange. These monitors subsequently helped to maintain the quality of monitoring at the national level.

The observers' handling of cyberhate was supported by a structured support system designed to reduce the psychological strain caused by exposure to toxic content.

Busra Akdogan Pamfil (Coordinator for International Youth Work and Project Manager at TAAO) oversaw the entire process in Germany and provided ongoing administrative and emotional support. A dedicated internal communication group (WhatsApp) was used for real-time peer support, resolving technical issues and coordination.

In March 2025, one observer withdrew for personal reasons, and the cases were divided equally among the other observers to ensure that the research objectives were met as planned.

2.3. Instruments and measures

The research was based on the Monitoring Tool (MT), a structured instrument for content analysis adapted from the methodology previously developed in PECAO (PECAO 2022). The MT enabled the monitors to record, evaluate and reflect on online posts containing anti-Gypsy discourse.

Each month, every monitor reported an average of five cases of hate speech on the internet. All cases were recorded in Google Forms, with at least three cases per month additionally documented in Word format in accordance with the MT structure contained in Appendix 1. These Word reports enabled a more detailed qualitative reflection, including the monitors' personal observations, context-related comments and the platforms' responses.

Most of the content came from social media (Facebook, TikTok, Instagram, YouTube) and online news portals, where posts and comments targeting Roma* were publicly visible.

The monitoring tool covered six key areas of analysis:

1. *General information (author, recipients, platform, reach);*
2. *General topic (themes and triggers of the post);*
3. *Nature and style of the content (visual, textual, emotional tone);*
4. *Intensity and extent of the hate (explicit or coded hate speech);*
5. *Countermeasures (reporting, rebuttal or type of response);*
6. *Personal observations and follow-up actions (monitoring team reflections and platform feedback).*

All MTs were reviewed and summarised on a quarterly basis in the four national synthesis reports, which contributed to the consolidated European dataset coordinated by Amaro Drom e. V.

3. Results

3.1. Quantitative component

3.1.1. General information

During the twelve-month observation period from October 2024 to October 2025, the German monitoring team collected 526 cases. This baseline data provides fundamental insights into Roma*-related content on social media and how anti-Gypsyism is communicated.

The data collected is not representative at this stage, as the selection of the platforms and posts examined was subjective. The study design stipulated that the monitors should follow their own personal usage patterns. The data therefore serves as an initial indicator and provides additional insights into the usage behaviour of individual young

people in relation to online social platforms (private or public accounts, social media influencers and public figures) and sources of information (local and national online press). The data collected provides insights into the platforms via which Roma-related and anti-Gypsy content reaches the (digital) lives of the monitors. As the observation team consisted of young people from diverse backgrounds (see 2.2), the data obtained also shows how online hate reaches those who are potentially affected by it.

As shown in Figure 1, the data reveals a clear preference for TikTok (131 in total), followed by Facebook (Meta) (124 in total). Within these two platforms, the focus is clearly on private/personal accounts. X (Twitter) (95 in total) and YouTube (88 in total) are also used, and relevant posts were frequently collected there. In contrast to Facebook (Meta) and TikTok, there is a significant number of social media influencers and online media outlets among the actors here. However, the use of personal/private accounts predominates on these two platforms as well. On YouTube, public figures have the highest reach within the study design. The cases collected on Instagram (32 in total) are by far the fewest, but in terms of the actors, there is a relatively high proportion of social media influencers here. Online media clearly dominate the 'Other' category and are also found in significant numbers on YouTube.

The data clearly shows the high prevalence of posts on private/personal accounts. The number of cases collected that were posted on institutional/public accounts or by public figures is low across all platforms. This could suggest that public accounts or pages featuring posts by public figures were visited less frequently by the monitors (personal usage behaviour) or that these pages or posts only marginally address Roma-related content.

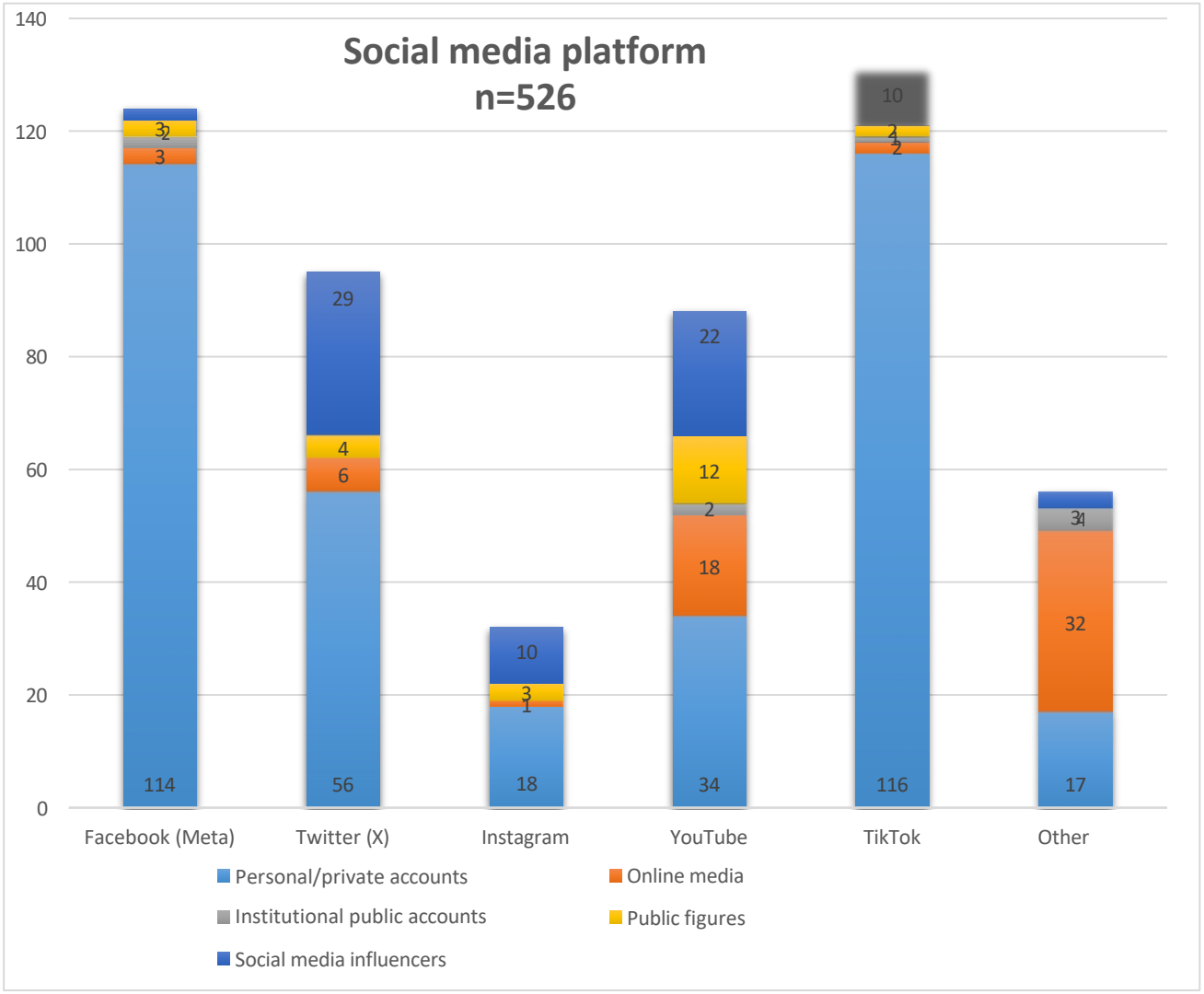

Figure 1 – Source: Author's own contribution

3.1.2. Main themes and framing

A further aim of the study was to identify key themes in the analysed media content relating to Roma*. The cases were assessed in greater detail using a structured sentiment analysis scale.

The main themes selected for the analysis were systematically categorised as follows:

- Attributed criminality
- Social aspects
- Education
- Health and hygiene issues
- Social movements and civil society
- Politics
- Important Roma* figures
- Culture
- Sport
- Miscellaneous

The observation period from September 2024 to October 2025 was influenced by contextual factors, such as the federal elections in February 2025, following which the Alternative for Germany (AfD) entered the German Bundestag as the second-strongest party. According to Mediendienst Integration, the Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution classified the AfD as right-wing extremist in May 2025, whereupon the party filed a lawsuit. (Mediendienst Integration, 2025) In the wake of this shift to the right, there are heated socio-political discussions in Germany about the treatment of refugees, debates on 'wokeness', and on social welfare recipients, some of whom are accused of social welfare fraud. All these debates provide points of reference for anti-Gypsy narratives or are further reinforced by deep-rooted anti-Gypsy prejudices.

As shown in Figure 2, "attributed criminality" and "social aspects" are the central themes reported on in the analysed articles. The other themes occurred with similar frequency, although "culture" and "politics" were mentioned slightly more often.

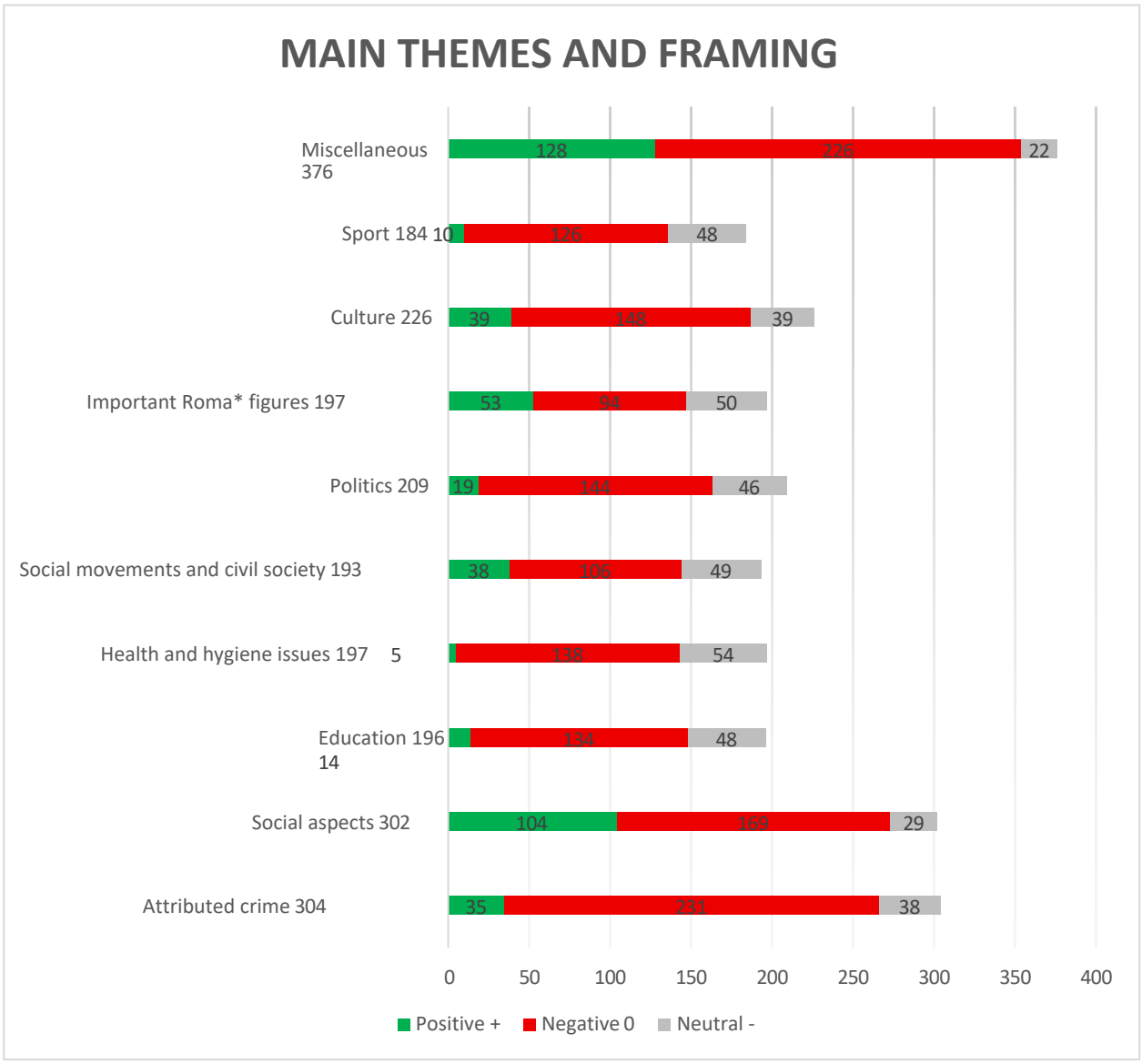

Figure 2 – Source: Author's own contribution

The fact that the topics of crime and social issues relating to Roma* are discussed most frequently, and that the topic of 'crime' is portrayed in an extremely negative light, is consistent with the findings of other studies. For example, the report "Press and Political Monitoring | Sinti* and Roma*", published in 2025, shows that in roughly one in four of the articles examined, Sinti* or Roma* are associated with problems. According to this report, the perception of problems within reporting on members of the minority in the context of crime is alarmingly high. *(Schwaiger, 2024)*

A negative portrayal clearly dominates in all areas examined. 63.6% of all articles are rated as negative, 17.7% as neutral and only 18.7% as positive.

The presence of these topics in both traditional and online media, and their often negative or problem-focused content, spread, reinforce and entrench traditional anti-Roma stereotypes. Ethnicised reporting in the context of crime, poverty or social problems provides fertile ground for anti-Roma agitation. For years,

, self-help organisations in Germany have been calling for membership of a minority group, for example in crime reporting, to be mentioned only where there is a compelling factual connection.

3.1.3 Content type and content style

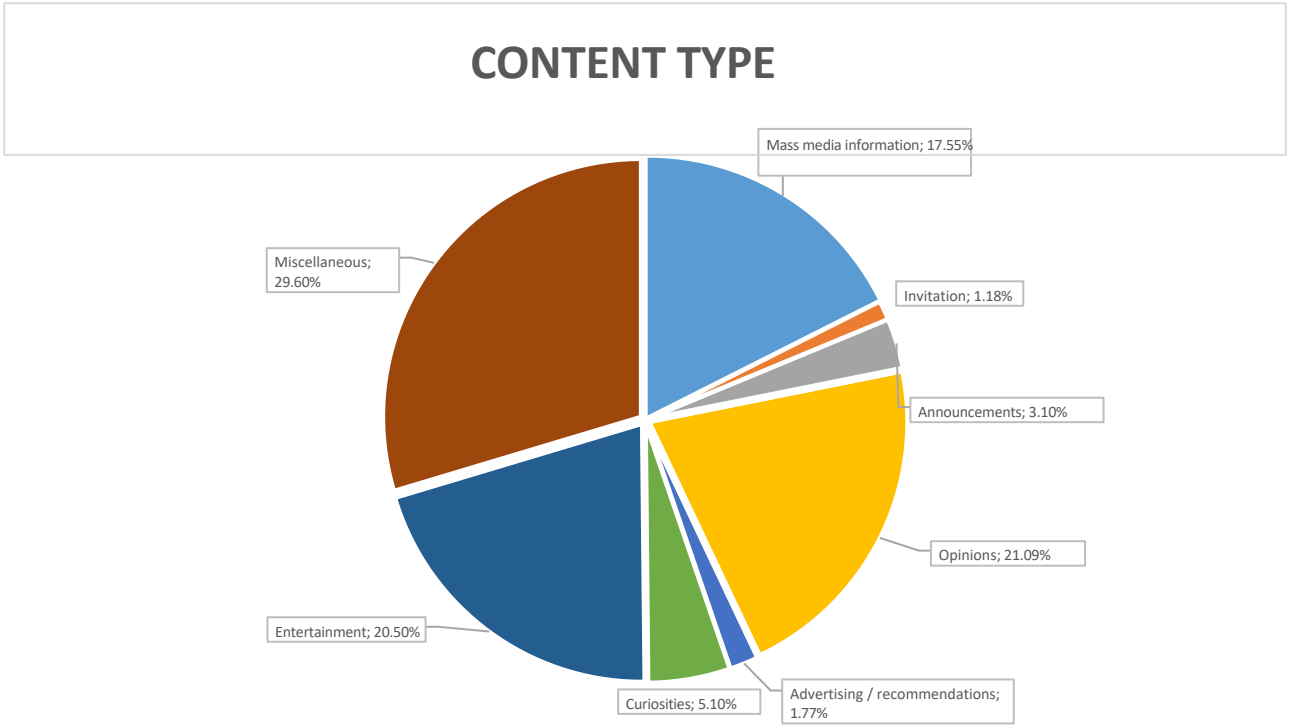

Figure 3 – Source: Authors' own contribution

The analysis of the content types (Figure 3) through which anti-Gypsy narratives are disseminated shows that "opinions", "entertainment" and "mass media information" are the most common. "Curiosities", "announcements" and "advertisements" were observed significantly less frequently, and "invitations" were the least common. The category "Other" was cited most frequently, which may be due to difficulties in making a specific classification. Content relating to Roma* is mostly presented in this study as opinion, information or entertainment.

With regard to the style and presentation of the posts analysed, it can be seen, as shown in Figure 4, that almost 70% of the content was conveyed in an emotional manner (357 in total). According to the "REPORT on Online Antiziganism" published in 2018, emotional appeals make it particularly difficult for young users to recognise such posts as hate speech. (Jugendschutz NET in cooperation with the Central Council of German Sinti and Roma, 2018) This is followed by posts communicated in an official/formal style (323 in total – 61%) and content presented in a humorous manner (318 in total – 60%). This classification corresponds to the content typology and

shows that, in addition to opinion-based and entertainment content, the monitoring team in Germany also accessed and identified information-based posts.

“Call to action” (255 in total – 48%) or artistic/fictional (242 in total – 46%) rhetoric was observed to a lesser extent. The monitors encountered posts described as scientific in tone (215 in total – 41%) least frequently. Posts written in a scientific style were predominantly perceived as negative by the observers.

The monitoring team in Germany assessed the presentation of the content predominantly as negative (64%). Neutral (18%) and positive (19%) assessments, by contrast, occurred with similar frequency. A particularly relevant finding is that even content with a humorous style (“funny”) was predominantly assessed as having negative connotations.

This illustrates that a significant proportion of anti-Gypsy hate speech on the internet is communicated in a supposedly humorous manner. The high proportion of emotionally charged messages clearly shows that anti-Gypsy hate speech aims to trigger emotions in its recipients. For the regulation of antiziganism in the digital space, these results suggest that, in addition to formal or official statements, emotionally charged or humorously worded content—which is often presented as personal opinions or entertainment—must also be scrutinised.

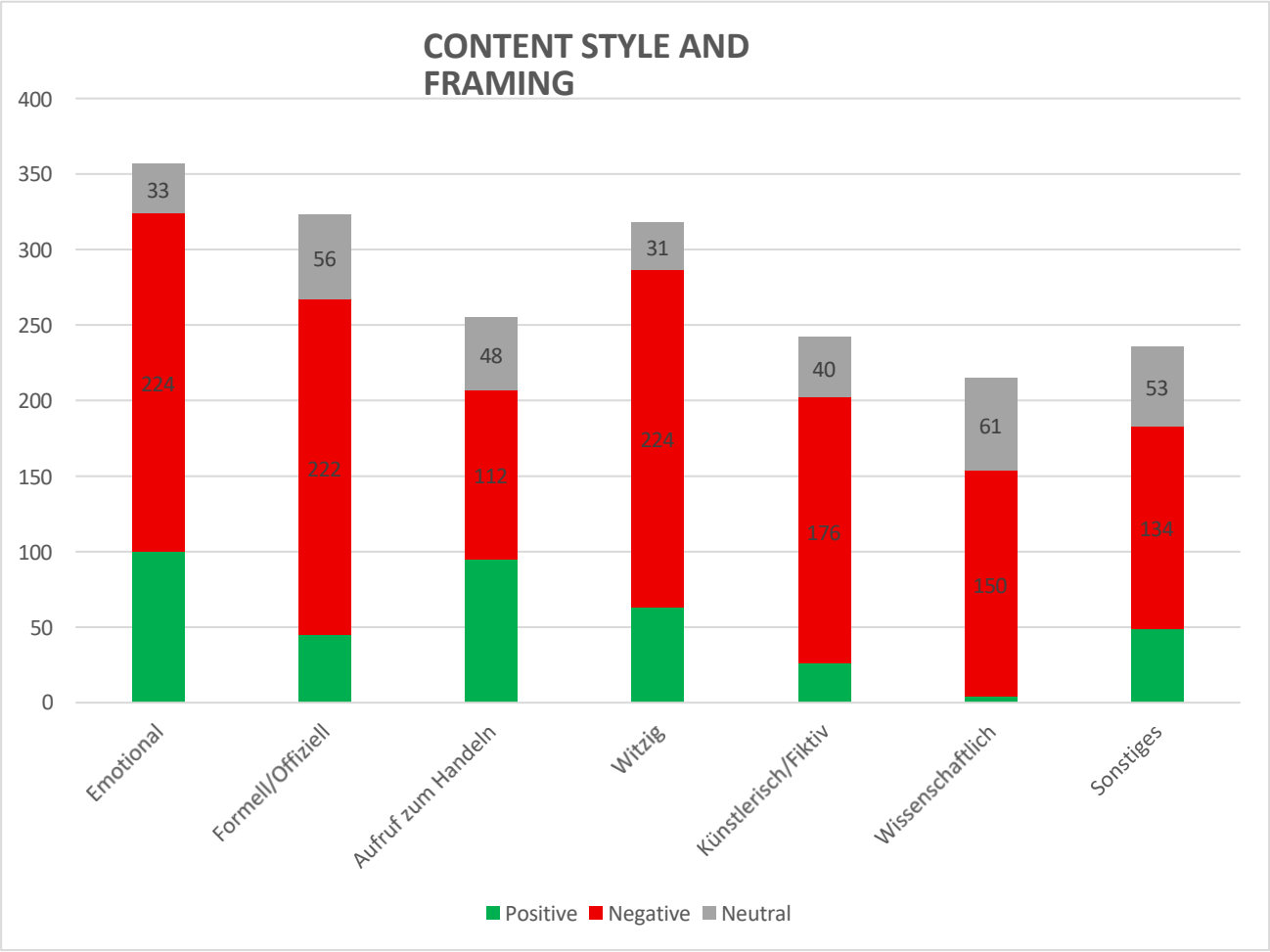

Figure 4 – Source: Author's own contribution

3.1.4. Non-textual elements and imagery

Another focus of the analysis is the assessment of the emotional impact of visual content. 64% of the 526 posts analysed also communicate in non-textual ways, particularly through the use of visual material. The monitoring team recorded whether the posts contained videos, memes, animations, images or multimedia material. Photos and videos were used most frequently (Figure 5). 64% of the visual or non-textual elements were perceived negatively by the monitoring team in Germany, 24% positively and the smallest proportion, 12%, neutrally.

A comparison of sentiment analysis across content type, content style and visual content shows that negative sentiment clearly predominates in all three categories, accounting for over 60% in each. Neutral and positive sentiments were perceived to a similar extent in terms of content type and content style. The assessment of non-textual elements yields a different result: here, the proportion of neutral assessments is significantly lower, suggesting that visual communication is more polarising and elicits clear emotional reactions.

With regard to the question of the impact of stereotypical representations on social media and effective counter-strategies, visual representations are therefore of particular significance and require further analysis.

Under the heading 'Antiziganism in visual culture', the report by the Independent Commission on Antiziganism (UKA) addresses the impact of visually conveyed stereotypes and examines in detail the historical continuities of visual representations across various media formats. Whether in literature, photography, music, films or contemporary children's and young adult literature – according to the report, visuality plays a central role in the development and social entrenchment of anti-Gypsyist thought patterns.

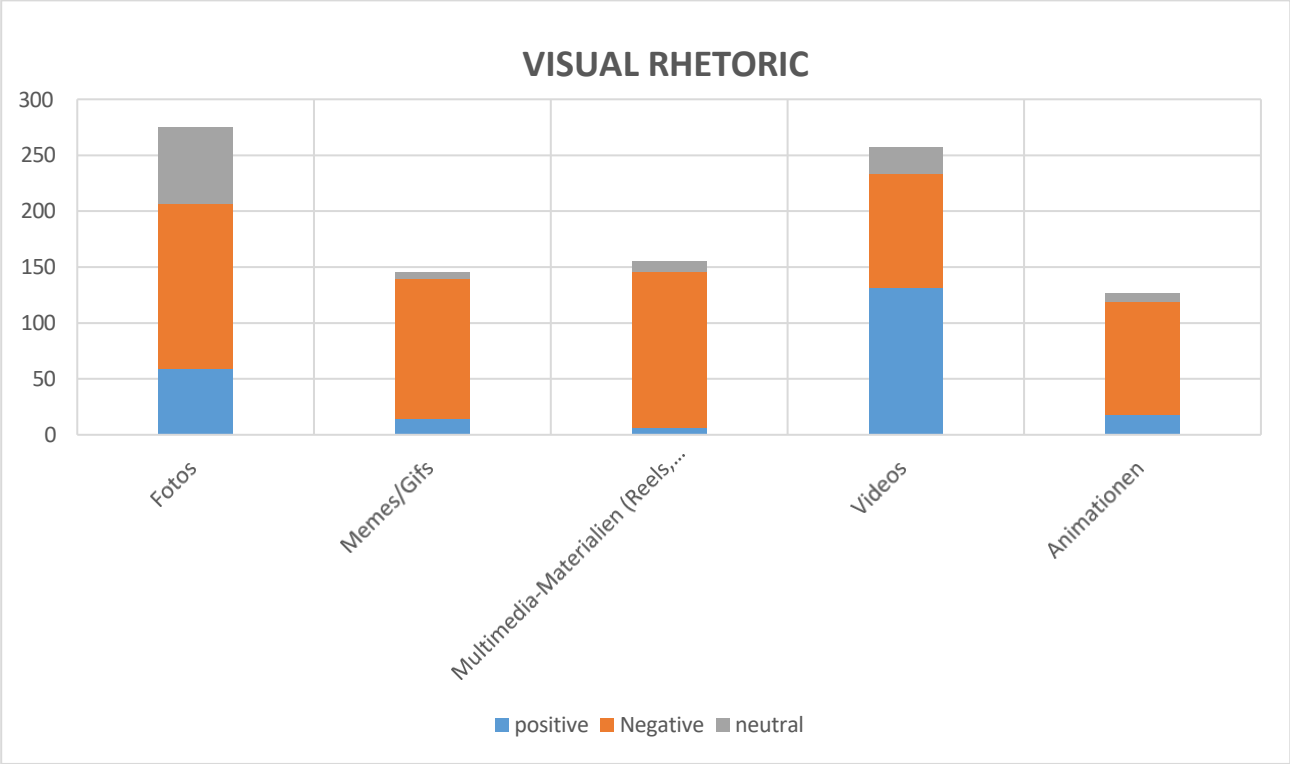

Figure 5 – Source: Authors' own contribution 1

3.1.5. Effects: Form and intensity of hate

The monitoring tool (MT) used for the TAAO study distinguished between explicit and coded forms of online hate speech. Furthermore, the intensity of the hate communicated in this way was measured on a three-point scale ranging from acceptable to strong to very strong. The MT focused on identifying different forms of hate speech, using an adapted analytical model originally developed by Siapera, Moreo and Zhou (2018).

Both explicit and coded hate speech occur in the material examined and often overlap. Explicitly communicated hate speech (68%) significantly outnumbered implicit, subtle or coded forms of online hate speech (32%).

Various rhetorical forms are employed in communication. As Figure 6 shows, explicit hate speech on the internet generally takes the form of vulgar swear words, followed by mockery and sarcasm or dehumanising remarks. During the study period, strong emotions such as anger, outrage, hostility and direct calls for violence, including murder fantasies, were also observed. In 50% of the cases of explicit hate speech observed online, strong and extremely strong hatred is perceived, mostly expressed through vulgar swear words. The remarkably high number of cases in which "calls for violence" were classified as "acceptable" (234 out of 267) requires further qualitative research to understand the underlying contextual factors and the monitors' subjective interpretations.

For all other forms of explicit hate speech, the observers predominantly rated the intensity as strong or even extremely strong.

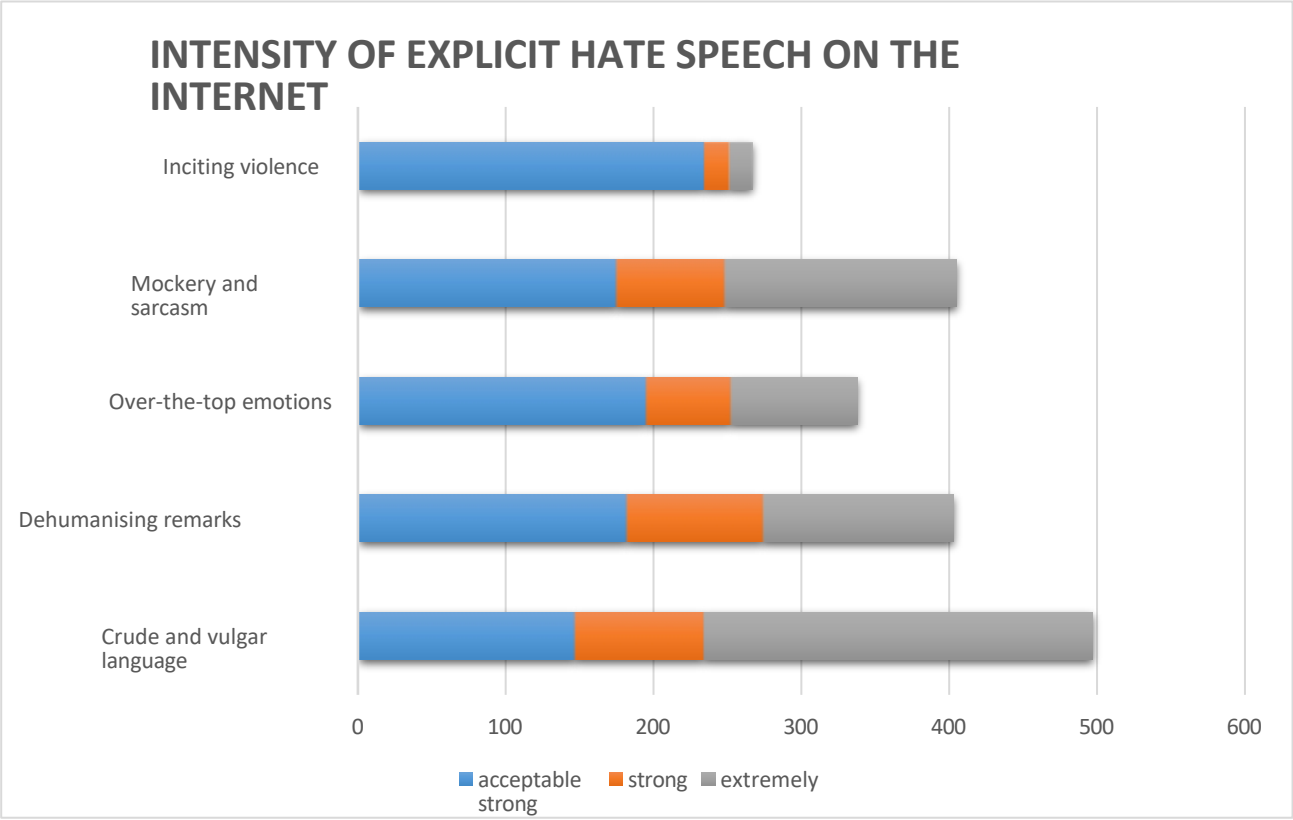

Figure 6 – Source: Authors' own contribution

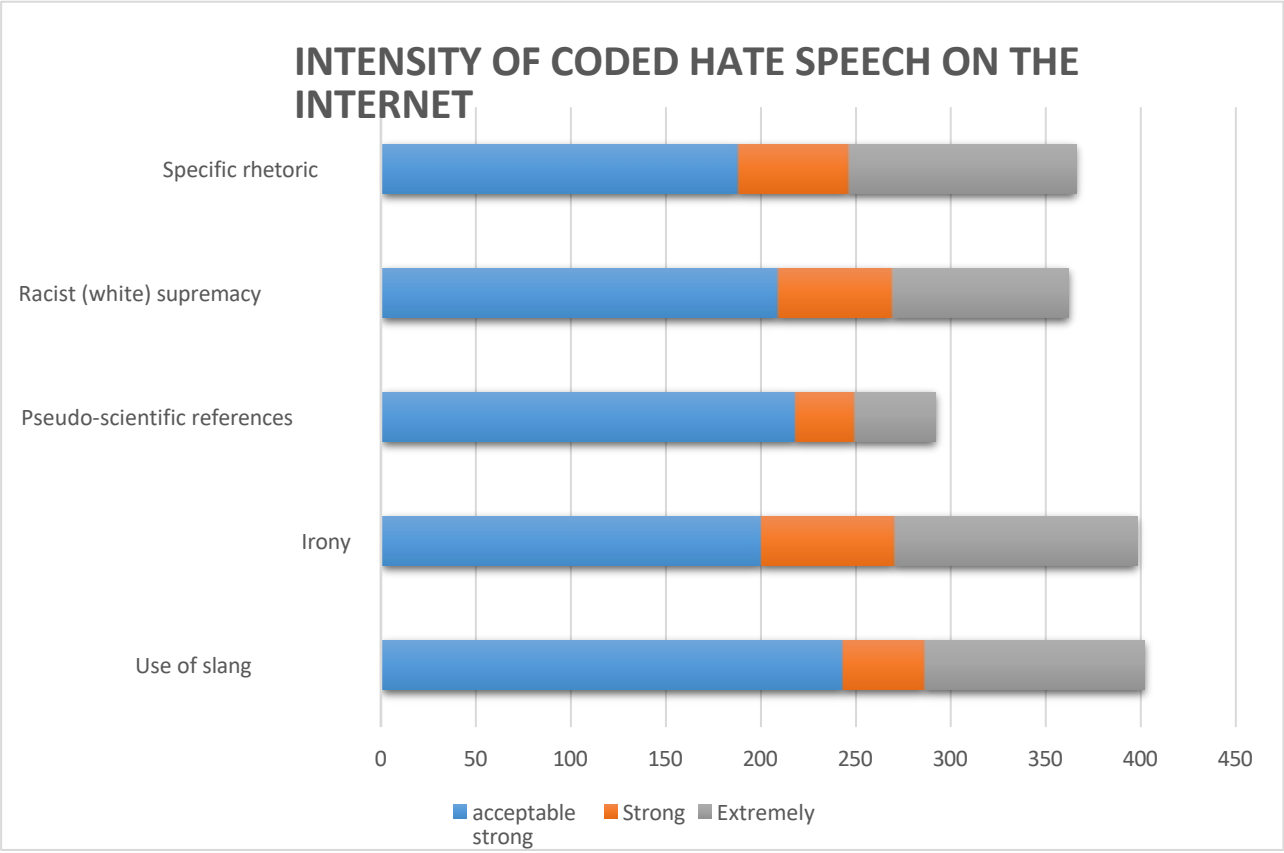

Figure 7 – Source: Authors' own contribution

In the material examined, coded hate speech was mainly found in the form of irony, specific rhetoric (such as metonymy, circumlocutions and ambiguities) and the use of slang, including Romani and racist terms of superiority. Figure 7 illustrates this. In contrast to explicit forms, coded forms of hate speech are predominantly characterised by expressions perceived as acceptable (58%). The categories 'strong' and 'very strong' were selected in 42% of cases. This indicates a slight tendency for subtle forms of hate speech to be perceived by recipients as more acceptable, i.e. less aggressive. Detection and countering are therefore more complicated with these subtle forms of communication.

The findings of the TAAO study in Germany show that both coded and explicit hate speech is used to convey antiziganism online, with explicit forms predominating (68%). Those affected are thus confronted with openly expressed hatred on the internet and are subjected to, for example, crude insults, dehumanisation, sarcasm and even open calls for violence. This is consistent with the findings of the report by the Independent Commission on Antiziganism, according to which Web 2.0 enables particularly direct expression of opinion. A high prevalence of explicit hate speech can be observed on social media, ranging from dehumanisation to calls for violence. Anti-Gypsyism comments are often characterised by open, aggressive language in which the denigration is predominantly direct. (Independent Commission on Anti-Gypsyism, published by the Ministry of the Interior, Building and Community, 2021)

The report “Press and Political Monitoring | Sinti* and Roma*”, published in 2025, which examines online antiziganism through two case studies, also notes that antiziganism is reproduced and perpetuated on the internet. However, unlike in print media, content relevant to criminal law reaches the public via the comments section (Burger, 2025). This can include insults, incitement to hatred or Holocaust denial, and has extremely negative effects on both the individuals or groups directly targeted and other readers.

The data enables a detailed examination of the toxic effects of hate speech. Six key characteristics of potential consequences of hate speech were examined:
‘intensification of polarisation’, ‘reinforcement of stereotypes’, ‘spread of myths’,
“Spreading disinformation”, “justifying exclusion, stigmatisation and denigration” and “reinforcing exclusivist notions of national belonging and identity”. The “Other” category contained no data and was therefore excluded from this analysis.

Looking at the results shown in Figure 8, “reinforcement of polarisation and stereotypes” was by far the most frequently cited and thus represents a clear toxic effect. This is followed by “spreading of myths, spreading of disinformation” and
“justification of exclusion”. The analysis of the data shows that the negative consequences of hate speech clearly predominate in five of the six key areas examined, ranging from 50% to 70%. Only “reinforcement of exclusivist notions of national belonging and identity” is rated as (partially) applicable somewhat less frequently by the monitors, in 46% of the content examined.

The posts observed make discrimination in the digital space appear normal and promote exclusion. The “Report of the Independent Commission on Antiziganism” points out that antiziganism on the internet cannot be viewed in isolation, as there are extensive interactions between the online and offline worlds. Activities on social media can, among other things, be described as triggers for physical attacks on Sinti* or Roma*. (Independent Commission on Antiziganism, published by the Ministry of the Interior, Building and Community, 2021) According to the study “Loud Hate – Quiet Retreat”, hate on the internet has a negative impact on democratic discourse, as many people withdraw from the discourse out of fear of repression and violence. (Das NETTZ, Society for Media Education and Communication Culture, HateAid and Neue deutsche Medienmacher*innen as part of the Competence Network against Online Hate, 2024)

As a result, online discourse is at risk of becoming increasingly polarised, and exclusionary discourse is on the rise. To mitigate the negative effects on those potentially affected, who are constantly confronted with mutually reinforcing antiziganism both online and offline, these findings should be understood as an urgent call to action.

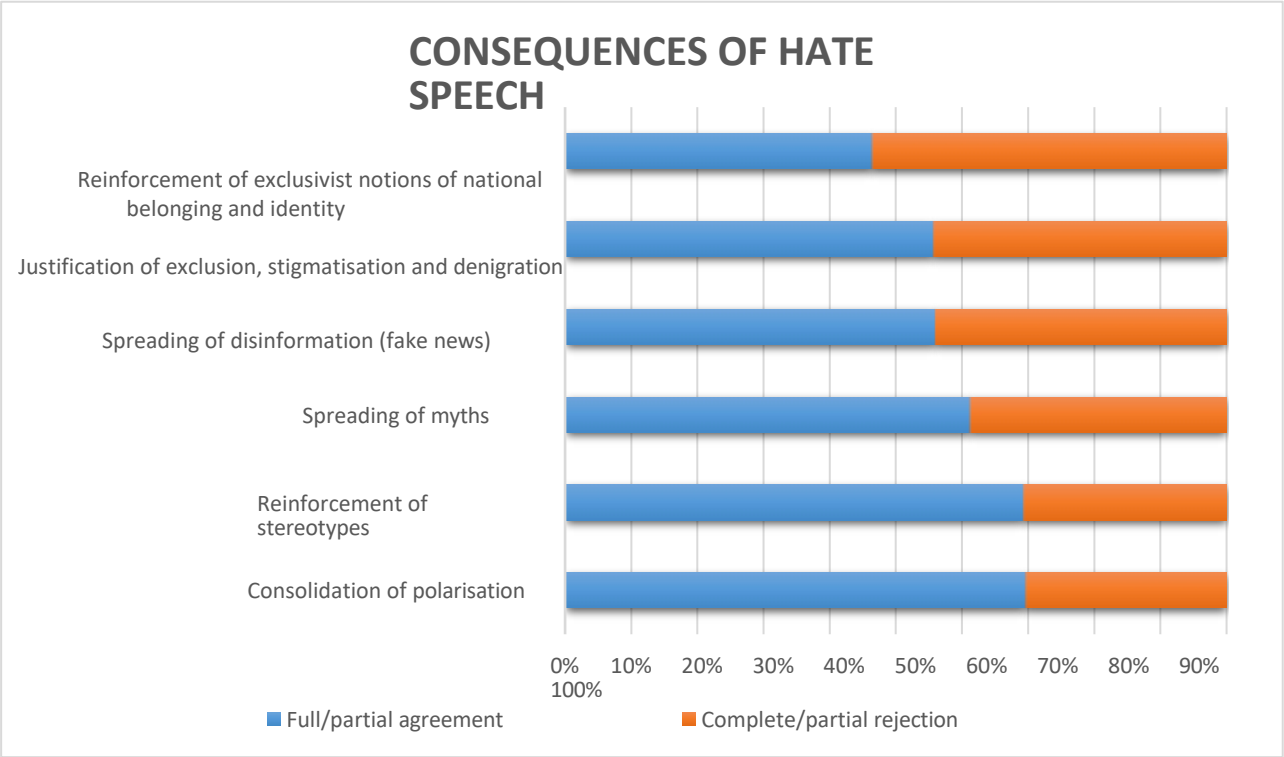

Figure 8 – Source: Compiled by the authors

3.2. Qualitative component

3.2.1. Countermeasures

The MT can be used to identify the counter-strategies preferred by the observers. The monitors stated that ignoring the content was not an option for them in 73% of the content reviewed. As shown in Figure 9, most observers (55%) would prefer a platform-based report. Institutional reporting was used significantly less (28%), and the monitors' choice to seek legal assistance from civil society (13%) is notably low. A small proportion would engage directly with the authors or attempt to counter the content through comments. The response "not sure" was given across all strategies in relation to 32% of the content observed.

The analysis shows that the monitors are fundamentally willing to actively counter anti-Roma hate speech online and not to ignore it. However, the question of the appropriate counterstrategy reveals a nuanced picture with discernible uncertainties. In this context, further hypotheses can be formulated. It is possible that the uncertainty regarding which strategy is appropriate stems from a lack of confidence in its effectiveness or other obstacles. Further obstacles could include, for example, a lack of information, barriers to access or negative experiences. An in-depth qualitative study could provide insights here and improve both effectiveness and actual access.

Monitors in Germany tend to make relatively little use of legal support offered by civil society organisations or of reporting incidents to authorities and institutions. Platform-based interventions, on the other hand, are cited as the preferred method of intervention. Direct counter-speech in various forms (see Figure 9) is relatively rarely chosen as an effective strategy. Information on various counter-strategies, particularly regarding access to legal advice, should be actively disseminated and potential barriers to access removed. It is essential that the chosen interventions have a visible impact. In the context of antiziganism, the lack of awareness within public institutions, among civil society actors and among platform operators represents a significant obstacle to effective counter-strategies. The "Report of the Independent Commission on Antiziganism" calls, among other things, on authorities and state institutions to expand their expertise in dealing with new forms of hate speech in general and antiziganism in particular. The police, courts, public prosecutors' offices and anti-discrimination bodies must be empowered to recognise antiziganism. (Independent Commission on Antiziganism, published by the Ministry of the Interior, Building and Community, 2021)

The monitoring team from Germany took action in 276 cases by reporting the anti-Gypsyism content to the relevant platforms. An analysis of the monitors' comments shows that most of these reports did not result in any feedback or action from the platform.

Many of the hateful posts trigger strong negative feelings in the observers involved, as the following statements illustrate:

- "Posts like this are disturbing."
- "That makes me sad."
- "That makes me angry."
- "Even a joke is hurtful."

The lack of response to the reported posts and the impact on the monitors are illustrated by the following statements:

"I'll report this to the platform because it makes me angry, but I don't think any action will be taken. Unfortunately, none of the reported content I've sent to Instagram for review so far has been removed, and I haven't received any messages from Instagram regarding their assessment either."

"I report it, but I hardly expect anything to be done."

The desire for platforms to monitor such posts before they are shared is repeatedly expressed.

This insight into the personal comments of the participating monitors highlights the importance of visible outcomes for active intervention against online hate speech. The strong emotions expressed serve as a clear example of the negative impact of online

anti-Gypsyism on those affected. The lack of feedback and responses from platform operators can be described as secondary victimisation. It should be emphasised, however, that although the observers expect little response to their countermeasures, they are nevertheless still willing to report hate speech. It is very important to take note of the findings of this study and to address existing shortcomings in protection against hate speech on the internet.

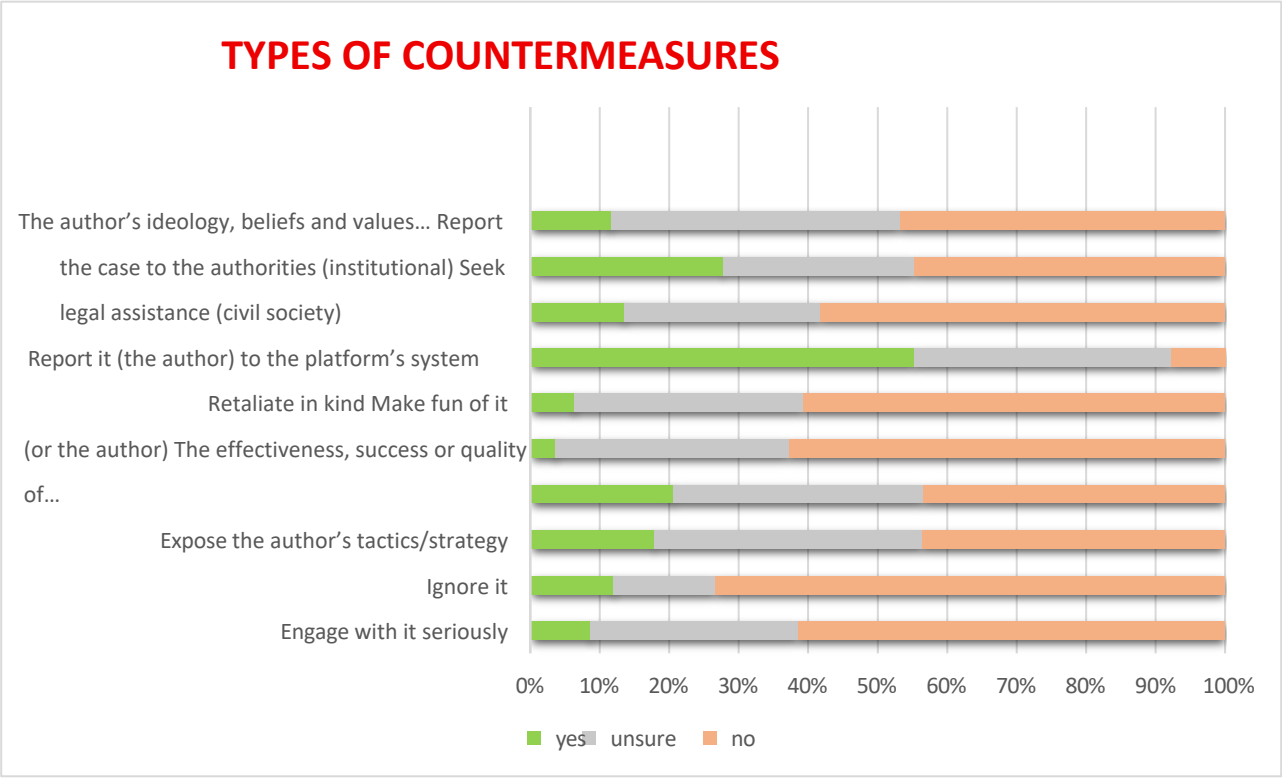

Figure 9 – Source: Authors' own contribution

3.2.2. Case-specific findings

During the project period, in addition to the quantitative data from the monitoring, seven representative cases of anti-Roma hate speech were analysed in greater detail. (Amaro Foro e. V., 2024–2025)

The study examined platforms, content, reach, comments and reactions, as well as the counter-strategies implemented and their outcomes.

In six of the case studies examined, the monitors took various countermeasures. These ranged from platform-based reports and letters to the editorial teams responsible for the original content to the publication of a press release in one case, which was picked up by several print media outlets and online platforms. However, none of the counter-strategies proved sufficiently effective: the posts in question

remained visible, the actors involved were not banned, there was no response to the letters, and the press release received no media coverage. Against this backdrop, the actual effectiveness of the available means of intervention appears highly problematic.

In the cases analysed in detail, several examples can be identified that illustrate the complex interrelationships and self-perpetuating mechanisms of discrimination and their impact on real-life conditions. It becomes clear how anti-Roma framing strategies from traditional media formats are transferred to digital spaces. There, this content serves as a starting point for escalating dynamics in comments and explicit hate speech. These mutually reinforcing processes cannot be viewed in isolation from social realities, as violence articulated online has the potential to escalate into real-world assaults (see 3.1.5.). According to a statement by Amaro Foro e.
V. there was a case of invasion of privacy through the publication of personal data and public shaming, which, in the context of racially charged dynamics, posed a real threat to the safety of those affected. (Amaro Foro e. V., 2025)

Not only the dynamics briefly outlined here, but also the initial situation and the framing of the reporting show clear parallels in three of the cases examined.

In all three cases, the reporting focused on precarious living conditions and allegations of (delinquent) behaviour on the part of the residents. This was presented in a way that suggested the residents' (attributed) membership of the Roma* community was the cause of the difficulties described. Structural deficits, experiences of exclusion and socio-political failure are ignored. There is no critical examination of antiziganism as a possible cause of precarious circumstances. The reports follow a clearly defined logic of difference that distinguishes between 'us' and
"them", whereby those marked as 'other' are generally attributed with deviant characteristics such as criminality. These are reports from various German cities that were initially printed or broadcast in traditional media formats.

- Case 1 – Kiel, Germany

The news magazine BILD, a widely read tabloid, accuses Ukrainians living in a refugee shelter in Kiel of disturbing the neighbourhood and of being criminals.[8] The Ukrainian refugees are referred to as Roma*. Other media outlets and social media users have picked up on the story and are spreading it further. A repost of the content on an X account was examined more closely. The comments found there are aggressive, mocking and threatening, and call for so-called self-defence against Roma*. An example of these comments:

"At some point, the citizens will band together and show this scum who's boss! Does this filthy left-wing sect want to completely destroy our country with civil war conditions

[8] Original content BILD *"30 refugees throw an entire neighbourhood into turmoil" (Altendorf,* 2024)

??? Who is to blame for this? The Green Left and European freedom of movement." (Amaro Foro e. V., 2024–2025)

The media discourse surrounding Ukrainian refugees in Kiel is also analysed in the report *"Press and Political Monitoring | Sinti* and Roma*"*. According to this report, comments on social media in particular reveal an alarming escalation, ranging from calls for remigration and fantasies of violence to isolated fantasies of extermination, sometimes with explicit reference to the Holocaust. (Burger, 2025)

- Case 2 – Gelsenkirchen, Germany

On the talk show "Markus Lanz", broadcast by the public broadcaster ZDF, the well-known presenter directly linked socio-economic problems such as poverty, unemployment, school dropout rates and crime to the presence of Roma* and Sinti* in the city. [9] He claimed that the situation in Gelsenkirchen could not be discussed openly without someone being "accused of antiziganism", referring to the recent controversy surrounding the city's SPD mayor, who had been criticised in public for making antiziganist remarks. The programme was posted online in February 2025 on ZDF's YouTube channel and achieved a very wide reach. The statements regarding Sinti* and Roma* concern only a short excerpt from the programme, but are quickly shared as short clips on online channels such as X or in political blogs. In the YouTube comments, many users expressed agreement with Markus Lanz, particularly regarding his remarks about Gelsenkirchen. Whilst some users criticised the excerpt and questioned his assumptions, others resorted to mockery or sarcasm. Numerous self-help organisations have criticised the classic anti-Gypsy stereotypes reproduced in the programme, which shift the discourse and instrumentalise Roma* as scapegoats in order to divert attention from far-reaching structural and political problems. (Amaro Foro e. V., 2025) (MIA – Anti-Gypsyism Reporting and Information Centre, 2025)

- Case 3 – Berlin, Germany

The starting point was a television report by the news channel WELT on complaints from local residents about alleged "noise, violence and rubbish" around a hotel in the Regenbogenkiez neighbourhood of Berlin-Schöneberg, which is being used as emergency accommodation. (WELT online, 2025) [10] The combination of visual material and choice of words suggests that ethnic identity (the residents were referred to in the article as Roma*) is to blame for the situation. Structural problems, such as barriers to accessing affordable housing, were not, however, adequately addressed.

Shortly after its publication, the report was picked up by secondary outlets in print, online and social media. The weekly newspaper "Junge Freiheit", which serves as the mouthpiece of the

[9] Original content: Marcus Lanz, 25 February 2025 (Markus Lanz, 2025)
[10] Original content WELT online, 2025: *"BERLIN: Unbelievable conditions outside Roma hotel! Residents in despair! Abandoned by politicians."*

the New Right (Botsch, 2017), intensified the rhetoric with the headline ~~"Gypsies~~ terrorise Rainbow Quarter – residents threaten to turn to the AfD". (Junge Freiheit online, 2025) Short clips from the WELT article, accompanied by provocative captions, were shared on YouTube, TikTok, X (Twitter) and Bluesky, often accompanied by hashtags such as #Roma, #Clan or #AfD.

Whilst the comments function was disabled on WELT's original YouTube upload, there were active comment threads on the other re-uploads. Most visible comments were directed against electoral decisions and used narratives such as *"This is what they wanted", "This is what diversity looks like" or "The woke agenda in action".* (Amaro Foro e. V., 2024–2025) Such comments combined anti-Roma sentiment with a more general rejection of immigration and progressive ideas. Several users also employed animal metaphors, referring to the residents as "locusts" or "pests". (Amaro Foro e. V., 2024–2025) Active counter-speech was rare and met with little response.

Amaro Foro e. V. published a comprehensive statement and press release criticising the public and media debate as an example of overt anti-Gypsyism. Under the pretext of public interest and freedom of expression, residents are criminalised, racially stigmatised and their privacy violated. The media published photos and addresses without consent, thereby exposing those affected to concrete danger. At the same time, the case highlights structural shortcomings in Berlin's homeless accommodation. Amaro Foro e. V. calls for objective, non-discriminatory reporting, adherence to journalistic standards and better accommodation conditions, particularly with regard to child protection, infrastructure and social support. Political exploitation exacerbates the situation and prevents sustainable solutions. The press release was not picked up, not even by progressive media outlets that had previously reported critically on antiziganism in other contexts. (Amaro Foro, 2025)

It can be observed that references to (attributed or actual) membership of the Roma* community in reports on precarious living conditions or (alleged) criminality, combined with the downplaying of antiziganism, experiences of discrimination and structural shortcomings, regularly lead to explicit and aggressive antiziganist hate speech online.

Interventions by the monitors at various levels (platforms, editorial teams, the public) had no effect, and the racist and violent content reached a wide audience. This not only represents a 'normalisation' of anti-Gypsyism in the media, but also means that those affected are constantly confronted with racism. Furthermore, anti-Roma and emotionally charged media discourse and activities on social media can endanger the safety of those affected, as documented by Amaro Foro e.V. (Amaro Foro e.V., 2025)

These far-reaching consequences must be taken into account in the journalistic decision-making process, which requires a balance to be struck between a legitimate public interest and the risk of discrimination against vulnerable groups. Responsibility for this lies both with the regulatory bodies for traditional media formats, such as the Broadcasting Council and the

German Press Council, as well as with the operators and moderators of online platforms.

4. Discussion of the key findings

Content relating to Roma* reaches the digital lives of the monitors mainly via posts on private/personal accounts. Most cases were discovered on TikTok and Facebook, but Twitter and YouTube are also used, and relevant posts are often collected there.

Posts on specific topics such as crime or social issues are largely perceived negatively when associated with Roma*. The 'ethnicisation' of problematic issues such as crime, poverty or social problems provides fertile ground for anti-Gypsy agitation on the internet.

The Roma*-related content examined in this study is mostly presented as opinion, information or entertainment. Furthermore, a significant proportion of anti-Gypsy hate speech on the internet is conveyed in a supposedly humorous or emotional manner. For the purposes of regulation in the digital space, these findings suggest that, in addition to formal or official statements, emotionally or humorously worded content – which is often presented as personal opinion or entertainment – must also be scrutinised.

Most of the posts analysed also communicate in non-textual ways. The study provides evidence that non-textual communication is more polarising and elicits a clearer emotional response. With regard to the question of the impact of stereotypical representations on social media and effective counterstrategies against online hate speech, visual elements are therefore of particular importance and require in-depth analysis.

A comparison of sentiment analysis with regard to content type, content style and imagery shows that negative perceptions clearly predominate in all three categories, each accounting for over 60%.

Both coded and explicit hate speech are used to convey antiziganism online, with explicit forms predominating. Those affected are thus confronted with openly expressed hatred on the internet and face everything from crude insults and dehumanisation to sarcasm and even open calls for violence. Subtle forms of anti-Gypsyism communicated online are more difficult to identify and regulate.

Hate speech on the internet has various effects, such as 'reinforcing polarisation and stereotypes', 'spreading myths or disinformation' and 'justifying exclusion, stigmatisation and denigration'. As polarising and exclusionary discourse on the internet can trigger attacks in the real world, these findings must be understood as an urgent call to action.

The participating monitors are generally willing to actively counter anti-Gypsy hate speech online and prefer platform-based interventions. All too often, there are no visible consequences, which undermines confidence in the protection of the rule of law online. In the context of anti-Gypsyism, the lack of awareness within public institutions, among civil society actors and among platform operators represents a significant obstacle to effective counter-strategies.

Qualitative case studies show that ethnicised reporting in traditional media forms the basis for aggressive anti-Gypsy hate speech online. In the cases examined in detail, countermeasures had no significant effect, and the violent content reached a wide audience. This not only signifies a 'normalisation' of anti-Gypsyism content in the media, but also means that those affected are constantly confronted with racism. Furthermore, anti-Gypsyism and emotionally charged media discourse and activities on social media can pose a real threat to the safety of those affected.

The study's findings underscore that anti-Gypsyism is a persistent presence on the internet and that countermeasures often remain ineffective.

Negative portrayals predominated, particularly in the areas of social issues and crime discussed online. Anti-Roma content was mostly presented as opinion, entertainment or information and was predominantly shared via private or personal accounts. This finding is partly attributable to the monitoring team's usage patterns, but also highlights the fact that effective protection against discrimination should also be guaranteed on private accounts. A key finding is that racially charged online discourse interacts with offline reality in complex ways and therefore cannot be viewed in isolation from it. The escalation of anti-Gypsy communication in digital spaces is often the result of ethnicising reporting in traditional media formats. At the same time, hatred expressed online has an impact on the lives of those affected, can trigger negative emotions, lead to withdrawal from the discourse and jeopardise personal safety.

Interventions are generally regarded as important, with monitors preferring platform-based reporting mechanisms. As already mentioned in the introduction, these reports often did not lead to visible results.

The risk posed by anti-Roma online discourse, which has so far been inadequately monitored, is the restriction of democratic discourse. If countermeasures prove ineffective, there is also a risk of secondary victimisation.

5. Conclusion

5.1. Recommendations for action

The TAAO study underscores how important it is that existing laws are consistently enforced, that platform operators fulfil their obligations, and that protection against discrimination and the special protection of minorities in the digital space are guaranteed. As this right to protection is regularly called into question on the grounds of alleged “censorship”, it is important to raise awareness among political actors and other decision-makers regarding the manifestations and effects of antiziganism.

Recommendation:

Online platforms:

- Collaboration with Roma* organisations to develop and implement awareness-raising and training measures for platform operators and moderators to recognise and effectively combat digital manifestations of antiziganism.
- Development of preventive filters that identify racist symbols, anti-Gypsy narratives, codes and visual patterns prior to publication.
- AI-supported detection systems combined with context-sensitive moderation to identify even subtle or coded hate speech.
- Transparent moderation decisions and feedback on reports.
- Consistent enforcement of applicable laws and protection against discrimination and criminal offences in the digital space. Visible stance against racism and anti-Gypsyism.

Authorities:

- Conducting public campaigns on digital responsibility and the dangers of normalising discriminatory and anti-Gypsy narratives online.
- Providing sustainable financial and structural support to Roma* organisations to incorporate their expertise in awareness-raising initiatives, measures against anti-Gypsyism and counselling for those affected.

- Providing funding for academic studies on the manifestations, dynamics and impacts of anti-Gypsyism in the digital sphere.

- Taking a clear stand against anti-Gypsyism and in favour of protecting freedom of expression. Consistently ensuring protection against discrimination and hate speech online.

- Implementation of awareness-raising and training measures for judges, prosecutors, the police and staff of relevant authorities, so that they can reliably identify and appropriately assess anti-Gypsy narratives and codes.

Civil society and stakeholders in the education sector:

- A clear stance against antiziganism and hate on the internet

- Involvement and support of Roma organisations to ensure anti-Gypsyism-critical perspectives are incorporated into awareness-raising measures and services for those affected.

- Explicitly identifying antiziganism as a specific form of racism in existing training programmes and awareness-raising campaigns on the topic of online hate.

- Development of specific awareness-raising training on online antiziganism and its systematic integration into school and out-of-school education.

- Provision of counselling, support services and safe spaces for people affected by antiziganism and hate speech.

- Empowering users to critically evaluate facts. Raising awareness of the mechanisms of hate speech and anti-Gypsyism online, and providing guidance on specific counter-strategies, the use of reporting channels, and legal action.

European decision-makers:

- Incorporating anti-Gypsyism as a specific priority into the European Union's efforts to combat hate and disinformation online. Explicitly mentioning the fight against anti-Gypsyism in relevant strategies, guidelines and funding programmes.

- Sustainable funding for transnational monitoring and documentation networks such as TAAO, which combine civil society engagement, empowerment and countermeasures with academic research and develop recommendations for action.

- Support for projects and campaigns that highlight the mechanisms and manifestations of antiziganism. Conveying a clear stance against all forms of antiziganism and hate speech.

5.2. Concluding remarks

In summary, it can be stated that combating antiziganism requires joint efforts across all political and civil society levels. It is essential, whether at local, national or European level, to adopt a clear and publicly visible stance against every form of antiziganism, both online and also offline.

Such a shared consensus creates the conditions for effective strategies in the digital space to prevent all forms of racism, particularly antiziganism.

Effective strategies can be outlined as follows:

- Raising awareness

Recognising antiziganism in its various forms is a fundamental prerequisite for combating it effectively. Through awareness-raising and targeted education, people can be empowered to recognise, contextualise and effectively prevent hate speech in general and antiziganism in particular, especially in the digital space.

Public authorities and state institutions should expand their expertise in dealing with hate speech in general and anti-Gypsyism in particular. The police, courts, public prosecutors' offices and anti-discrimination bodies must be equipped to recognise anti-Gypsyist motives and structures, assess them appropriately and take effective action against them.

Furthermore, social media users should also be trained to recognise antiziganism so that they can identify such content and actively take action against it.

- Consistent protection against hate speech online

Existing legal frameworks – such as the Digital Services Act (DSA) at European level and corresponding national regulations (DDG) – must be effectively implemented.

Users must have access to accessible, low-threshold and transparent reporting channels on platforms. Platform operators are obliged to respond promptly and appropriately to reports and to remove racist and anti-Gypsy content.

Technical measures and moderation should be further developed so that anti-Gypsy content can be identified before it is published, in order to prevent its discriminatory and escalating effects.

Prosecutors and judges need to adopt a resolutely anti-Gypsyism-critical perspective when assessing criminal offences on the internet.

Furthermore, the reciprocal dynamics between the online and offline worlds must be taken into account: discriminatory narratives in traditional media reinforce anti-Gypsyism-motivated escalations on social media. Media companies and their governing bodies therefore bear a particular responsibility to avoid the potential effects of ethnicising or stigmatising reporting in their decision-making processes.

- Empowerment

Roma* organisations and community-based NGOs must be provided with the necessary financial and structural resources to enable them to share their expertise on anti-Gypsyism and effectively counter hate speech. Their expertise is essential for the development of effective prevention, intervention and education measures. To ensure their perspectives are incorporated into decision-making processes, members of the minority should be represented in media regulatory bodies. Perspectives critical of antiziganism should be taken into account in judicial and political decisions concerning antiziganist issues. Those affected by hate speech must have access to counselling and support. In addition to general counselling services, services provided by Roma* self-help organisations should be promoted.

Young users should be encouraged to advocate for a safe and democratic digital space and to participate actively in shaping online networks and their culture of debate.

This report shows that fundamental democratic principles and protection against discrimination in the digital space are being called into question, and that there are shortcomings in the enforcement of legal standards. The effects of hate speech are far-reaching: they affect both the individuals directly targeted and the Sinti* and Roma* community. Furthermore, they undermine the quality of democratic discourse in the digital public sphere.

Against this backdrop, it is necessary to take a clear stand against antiziganism at local, national and European level and to implement this credibly through consistent and effective measures. Only through decisive action can the protection of those affected and the democratic space for discourse on the internet be guaranteed.

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7. Appendices

MONITORING TOOL FOR THE CONTENT ANALYSIS OF HATE SPEECH ON THE INTERNET

I. General information

Social media platform	Type				
	Personal/private accounts	Online media * (news, magazines etc.)	Institutional public accounts**	Public figures***	Social media influencers
Facebook (Meta)					
X (Twitter)					
Instagram					
YouTube					
TikTok					
Other (please specify)					

*Official site

** Government institutions (police, Department for Education, government agencies, etc.), local authorities, businesses, non-governmental organisations (including churches, schools, cultural organisations)

*** Politicians, renowned professors/academics, artists, musicians, journalists

Name (of the website/account/publication/channel)	
Publication date:	
Link or screenshot	
Private or public	Public
Author (if applicable)	

Reach (figures)

Likes (Ratings)	Dislikes (including anger or sadness)	Shares	Comments	Views (Views)

II. General topic

Main topic	Explain
Attributed crime	
Social aspects (housing, social security, poverty, immigration, etc.)	
Education (school dropout rates, school conditions, grants, etc.)	
Health/hygiene (pandemics, access to hospitals, abortion, etc.)	
Social movements (protests, civil rights, representation) and NGOs	
Politics (representation, political parties, elections)	
Important Roma* figures	
Culture (music, films, theatre, etc.)	
Sport (competitions, games)	

Other	

On a scale of 1 to 10, how would you rate the overall scope of the topic:

Positive +	Negative -	Neutral 0

*Please repeat these lines as many times as necessary for each of the identified topics.

Content type	Positive +	Negative -	Neutral 0
Information from the mass media (reports, news, etc.)			
Invitations (cultural/sporting events, concerts, webinars, etc.)			
Announcements (information on daily activities, press releases)			
Opinions (editorial articles, magazines, impressions, comments)			
Advertising and recommendations (sales, promotions, job vacancies, travel, etc.)			
Curiosities (unusual/extraordinary facts, stories)			
Entertainment (music, videos, films)			
Miscellaneous			

Content style	Positive +	Negative -	Neutral 0
Emotional			
Formal/official			
Call to action			
Humorous			
Artistic/fictional			
Scientific			
Other			

Does it contain images?	
Yes	No

Please specify the non-textual forms used (and their number, if there is more than one)	
Photos	
Memes/GIFs	
Cartoons	
Multimedia materials (Reels, Stories)	
Videos	
Animations	
Other	

On a scale of 1 to 3, how would you rate the overall quality of the visual content:

Positive +	Negative -	Neutral 0

*Please repeat the rows as many times as necessary if the post contains more than one visual element.

II. Hate speech on the internet – intensity and extent of the hate

Forms of explicit hate speech on the internet	extent of the hate		
	acceptable	ark	extremely strong
Vulgar swear words			
Racist insults			
Dehumanising remarks			
Excessive emotions (anger, outrage, hostility)			

Mockery and sarcasm			
Inciting violence (including murder)			
Other			

Forms of coded hate speech on the internet	forms of hate		
	1 acceptable	2 strong	3 extremely strong
Use of slang			
Irony			
Ambiguity			
Pseudoscientific references (genetics, fabricated statistics)			
Racial superiority (of white people)			
Specific rhetoric (metonymy, circumlocution, ambiguity)			
Other			

Use of slang = use of the language/words of the Roma to emphasise belonging to the community
Euphemisms = euphemistic expressions ("a lot of misery in our neighbourhood", "so dark in this block of flats")
Irony = see also sarcasm and mockery ("they can't get into heaven because they're too heavy to fly" … because of all the jewellery they've stolen)
Ambiguity = use of certain punctuation marks to make rhetorical remarks ("should they be sent to concentration camps or not?!")
Pseudo-scientific references (genetics)/false statistics = use of unofficial statistical data, some obscure scientific websites or research; 80% of Roma do not want to work Whataboutery = "What about our own?", the reference to us and them, the dialectical common ground between us and them
Metonymies = "religion of deceit", expressions used to replace direct references to Roma (without specifying the word itself)

Does the content convey the following messages? To what extent?

Frozen vs. mobile hate speech on the internet (Lentin 2016)	Degrees of (hate) toxicity			
	Complete disagreement	Partial rejection	Partial agreement	Full agreement
Reinforcement of polarisation				
Reinforcing stereotypes				
Spreading myths				
Spreading disinformation (fake news)				
Justifying exclusion, stigmatisation and denigration				
Reinforcing exclusivist notions of national belonging and identity				
Other				

Reinforcing polarisation = us against them
Reinforcing stereotypes = particularly negative ones (lazy, dirty, uneducated, etc.) Spreading myths = supernatural powers, witchcraft, etc.
Fake news = they spread disease through their travels and their way of life

III. Types of counter-narratives

1. Does this post go against common sense? Yes/No
2. What measures would you take?

Counter-speech measures (Smith 2018)	Definitely yes	Not sure	Definitely no
Genuine engagement			

Ignore			
Uncover the author's tactics/strategy			
The effectiveness, success or quality of the arguments and the author's behaviour			
Mock and ridicule (or the author)			
Retaliate in kind			
Report it (the author) to the platform's system			
Seek legal assistance (civil society)			
Report to the authorities (institutional)			
Other			

If you decide to take countermeasures, please provide evidence of your activities:

Type of evidence	Action (brief description: what, who, why, date)	Examples (link or screenshot)
Text (comment on the post)		
Text (message to the platform)		
Text (institutional message)		
Images (photo/screenshot)		

If there are (only) comments on the post/article/image, please provide us with some details:

Analysis of the comments	Frequency	Examples (if applicable)
Number of comments		
Number of comment authors		
Nature of language (aggressive vs. peaceful) – 5-point scale		
Fake accounts (hidden identities)		
Intensity of comments		
Persistence (insists on commenting with one or more people)		
Types of popularity and influence of the comment (Likes/Favourites/Shares) – 3-point scale		

IV. Reporting (personal observations):

Reporting – your personal observations. Please answer the following key questions in a short paragraph:

- What were your recommendations? To whom (platform, author, institution)?
- What was the response and when was it received? (Please state if you did not receive a response.)

- How was the decision reached? (An apology was issued, the post was deleted, the author was banned, the author was held accountable, etc.)
- Are you satisfied with the response/action or not? Please explain why.

Background information:

Country:	
Name of organisation:	
Data collected by (name):	
Email address:	
Date of analysis:	
Date of submission of the report (in the case of point IV):	

The free version of DEEPL was used for some translations.

TOGETHER AGAINST ANTIGYPSYISM ONLINE

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