
National Recommendation

National Policy Recommendations on Fighting Antigypsyism in Spain



Federació d'entitats Gitanes de Catalunya
Rromane Siklövne

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Rromane Siklövne



JEKHIPE
RECLAIMING OUR PAST. REBUILDING OUR FUTURE.
NEW APPROACHES TO FIGHTING ANTIGYPSYISM

The JEKHIPE Project

Reclaiming Our Past, Rebuilding Our Future: New Approaches to Fighting Antigypsyism (JEKHIPE) is a CERV-funded project aimed at improving the lives of Roma by addressing systemic and institutional antigypsyism, promoting transitional justice, fostering knowledge-building and awareness, and strengthening Roma identity and participation.

It is a follow-up to an earlier CERV project called 'CHACHIPEN', officially titled Paving the way for a Truth and Reconciliation Process to address antigypsyism in Europe. Remembrance, Recognition, Justice and Trust-Building'. Concluded in 2023, CHACHIPEN introduced an innovative transitional justice-based approach to raising awareness of systemic injustice and ongoing antigypsyism in policymaking, while advocating for a comprehensive truth and reconciliation strategy.

JEKHIPE focuses on multiple levels of policy-making, including research, monitoring, advocacy, networking, alliances building, awareness raising, capacity building, and empowerment. It aims to engage with national and European institutions, academia, politicians, justice mechanisms, state authorities, civil society, and Roma communities themselves to challenge the status quo on approaching Roma issues, particularly antigypsyism, and propose mechanisms for increased accountability by national governments.



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Contents

Executive Summary.....	3
1. National Context and the Role of Jekhipe	4
2. Policy Analysis	6
2.1 What policies currently exist (and where they fall short)	6
2.2 Trends in implementation (e.g., NRSF progress, policing data, education reforms)	6
2.3 Gaps in accountability or institutional response	7
2.4 Unaddressed areas of Antigypsyism.....	8
2.5 Insights from Civil Society and JEKHIPE.....	8
3. Stakeholder Mapping.....	9
4. Key Survey Findings and Analysis	12
5. Policy Recommendations.....	16
6. Future Outlook and Sustainability	18
References	20

Executive Summary

Antigypsyism in Spain remains a deeply entrenched and structural form of racism, rooted in centuries of persecution and exclusion of the Roma (Gitano) community. From the Pragmática of 1499, through the Great Raid of 1749, to forced assimilation under the Franco regime, historical injustices have never been fully recognized or repaired. Today, antigypsyism continues to shape access to housing, education, employment, policing, and media representation. While the National Strategy for Equality, Inclusion and Participation of the Roma Population (2021–2030) formally addresses Roma inclusion, its impact has been limited, as it still frames antigypsyism as a social rather than a structural and historical issue.

Key findings from stakeholder mapping, survey results, and policy analysis show persistent gaps: weak accountability mechanisms, fragmented and underfunded initiatives, and the absence of Roma history and culture in education curricula. According to our national survey, most stakeholders rated the National Strategy's impact as very low (average 3/10), citing lack of political will, insufficient funding, and persistent prejudice as the main obstacles. More than 70% of young Roma leave school early, and over half attend segregated schools (FRA, 2021). Reports from Roma civil society further highlight racial profiling by police, discriminatory housing policies, and harmful stereotypes in the media.

Recommendations emerging from this process include:

- Introducing Roma history and culture in school curricula through pilot modules.
- Creating regional working groups on antigypsyism and historical memory.
- Strengthening the role and resources of the State Roma Council and its regional equivalents.
- Integrating antigypsyism monitoring into local social services and mediation.
- Supporting Roma-led projects on memory, justice, and youth professionalisation with flexible funding.

The intended impact of these measures is twofold: in the short term, to influence concrete steps during the final months of the JEKHIPE project and the current political cycle; and in the long term, to institutionalise transitional justice approaches, ensure historical recognition, and strengthen Roma participation in policymaking. By combining historical redress with structural reforms, these proposals aim to move beyond symbolic inclusion towards a more just and democratic Spain.

1. National Context and the Role of Jekhipe

Antigypsyism in Spain is deeply embedded in historical processes and institutional structures. Although Spain officially recognized the Roma (gitano) community as a historical minority, antigypsyism remains a persistent form of structural racism. Its manifestations span from discrimination in housing, employment and education to deeply rooted stereotypes in public discourse and the media. In Catalonia, where the Roma population is one of the most numerous in Spain, antigypsyism takes on complex local forms, including spatial segregation, surveillance, and institutional neglect, particularly in urban peripheries and informal settlements.

Historically, the Roma have faced centuries of persecution in Spain—most notably the Pragmática de 1499, the Great Raid (Gran Redada) of 1749, and forced assimilation policies through the 20th century under Franco's regime. These events were not isolated incidents but part of a broader state-building process that systematically excluded Roma identity and criminalized their way of life. This legacy continues today in the form of underrepresentation in institutions, racial profiling by law enforcement, and limited access to quality education and housing.

Current national and regional policies, despite formally addressing Roma inclusion, still fail to confront the structural nature of antigypsyism. Spain's National Roma Integration Strategy (NRIS), as assessed by the EU Fundamental Rights Agency (FRA), includes only limited references to antigypsyism and lacks measurable objectives on hate speech, hate crimes, or institutional discrimination. In Catalonia, while regional authorities have supported cultural recognition and mediation programs, these remain fragmented and underfunded, often relying on temporary measures or external civil society actors without long-term structural commitments.

The JEKHIPE project intervenes precisely in these gaps. Its focus on transitional justice, recognition, and memory represents a shift from mere inclusion to the active repair of historical harms and institutional racism. By drawing from the lessons of the "Chachipen" project and emphasizing truth-telling mechanisms, the project contributes to establishing new models of justice that go beyond anti-discrimination law. In Spain, JEKHIPE is piloting a local transitional justice commission, coordinated by Roma-led organizations such as FAGiC and Rromane Siklovne, which aim to document institutional antigypsyism, promote recognition of Roma history (including slavery and the Holocaust), and propose structural reforms in public institutions.

This approach is particularly valuable in the Spanish and Catalan contexts where, despite existing mediation mechanisms, the deep causes of discrimination have rarely been institutionally acknowledged. JEKHIPE fosters the creation of tools—reports, recommendations, public events, and educational materials—that can inform public

policy and civil society initiatives alike. For instance, in Catalonia, the project supports efforts to introduce Roma history and culture into school curricula, countering the widespread historical erasure.

Moreover, JEKHIPE reinforces the role of civil society as a transformative actor, positioning Roma-led organizations not merely as service providers but as knowledge producers and political interlocutors. This shift is essential in a context where Roma civil society often lacks institutional recognition and resources. By promoting intersectional, gender-sensitive, and participatory approaches, the project ensures that diverse voices within the Roma community—particularly women and youth—are included in shaping public narratives and policies.

Finally, the project underlines the relevance of transitional justice beyond post-conflict societies. In Spain, where past and present injustices against Roma remain largely unacknowledged, transitional justice offers a framework to redress collective harms and build long-term societal change. JEKHIPE's contribution lies in developing the conceptual, methodological, and political tools to advance this agenda, both at the national and EU levels.

2. Policy Analysis

2.1 What policies currently exist (and where they fall short)

Spain's NRIS, launched in 2012, outlined goals for Roma inclusion in education, employment, health, and housing. While it aligned with EU priorities, its approach has been primarily social and integrationist, avoiding explicit mention of antigypsyism until recent years. The strategy lacked operational definitions, indicators, or mechanisms to address hate speech, police profiling, or institutional racism. For example, as noted in the Roma Civil Monitor and by the FRA, Spain's NRIS has been criticized for omitting concrete measures to combat hate crime and weak institutional accountability.

Although the current Strategic Plan for Equality, Inclusion and Participation of the Roma Population (2021–2030) includes references to antigypsyism, it still frames discrimination as a social phenomenon rather than a structural and historical form of racism. It omits transitional justice mechanisms, the teaching of Roma history in school curricula, or the reform of institutions that reproduce discriminatory practices.

The Roma Civil Monitor (2024, Spain report) also concludes that the National Strategy 2021–2030 lacks measurable objectives and accountability mechanisms to address antigypsyism effectively.

At the regional level, Catalonia has made efforts to recognize Roma culture through the Pla Integral del Poble Gitano, which promotes education, employment, and cultural visibility. However, these measures also remain fragmented, underfunded, and dependent on political cycles. There is no binding legal or institutional framework in Catalonia to tackle antigypsyism as a systemic issue.

2.2 Trends in implementation (e.g., NRSF progress, policing data, education reforms)

The implementation of Roma-related policies in Spain has been inconsistent and slow, with limited impact on key indicators. According to the FRA Roma Survey (2021), 71% of young Roma in Spain leave education early, and over half attend segregated schools (FRA, 2021). Similarly, in our national survey, most stakeholders rated the impact of the National Strategy as very low (average 3/10), identifying lack of political will, insufficient funding, and persistent prejudice as the main obstacles.

In policing, ethnic profiling continues to be reported by Roma individuals and civil society organizations. Despite Spain having legal provisions against discrimination, mechanisms to monitor racial profiling or hold law enforcement accountable are weak

(Fundación Secretariado Gitano, 2022). There is no disaggregated data available on police stops, arrests, or outcomes based on ethnicity, which severely limits oversight and redress.

Regarding housing, Roma in Catalonia and other regions often experience informal evictions, substandard housing, or are relegated to segregated or peripheral settlements. Policies to eradicate slums or promote social housing rarely include specific safeguards to prevent antigypsyism in urban planning or ensure Roma participation in decision-making processes. Over two-thirds of survey respondents highlighted discriminatory housing policies and spatial segregation as unaddressed priorities.

Despite some progress in dialogue between Roma organizations and institutions, civil society input remains largely consultative and non-binding, and there is little evidence that community feedback is structurally integrated into policy development or monitoring.

2.3 Gaps in accountability or institutional response

Accountability mechanisms for antigypsyism are notably weak across Spain. The lack of an independent national watchdog or commissioner specifically mandated to address antigypsyism means that violations often go unreported or unremedied. Equality bodies (such as the Council for the Elimination of Racial or Ethnic Discrimination – CERED) lack sufficient resources, independence, and enforcement power, and their mandates are general rather than tailored to antigypsyism. Survey respondents also emphasized the absence of independent accountability bodies as a major gap for future reforms.

Moreover, public institutions, including education and media bodies, rarely include Roma perspectives or are held accountable for perpetuating stereotypes. Curriculum reforms have yet to mainstream Roma history (e.g., slavery, Holocaust) or challenge widespread societal ignorance. Media regulators also fail to address anti-Roma speech in popular programming or news coverage effectively.

The judicial system also shows limited understanding or recognition of antigypsyism as a motive in hate crimes. Few cases of racist violence or incitement result in prosecution, and when they do, Roma victims often lack access to legal support or reparations.

2.4 Unaddressed areas of Antigypsyism

Antigypsyism remains unaddressed in several key domains:

- Public education: Roma culture and history are not part of the national curriculum, contributing to generational ignorance and the perpetuation of stereotypes.
- Law enforcement: There is no national policy on racial profiling or training for police officers on antigypsyism.
- Media: Public and private media continue to use dehumanizing language or sensationalist framing when reporting on Roma-related issues, without regulatory consequences.
- Institutional culture: There is little recognition of the need for structural reform in ministries, municipalities, or social services where antigypsyism is normalized or ignored.

2.5 Insights from Civil Society and JEKHIPE

JEKHIPE responds directly to these structural deficiencies by centering antigypsyism as a core obstacle to Roma equality. Its emphasis on transitional justice—including pilot truth and reconciliation commissions—offers a bold corrective to existing gaps in recognition and redress. In Spain and Catalonia, Roma-led civil society organizations participating in JEKHIPE, such as FAGiC, advocate not only for better services but for historical acknowledgment and institutional change.

By promoting data collection, participatory research, policy recommendations, and cultural tools that affirm Roma identity, the project contributes to building a more accountable and inclusive public discourse. It also pushes for binding measures—such as curricular reform, legal accountability, and compensation mechanisms—that go beyond symbolic inclusion.

3. Stakeholder Mapping

Stakeholder	Role & Relevance	Power / Support	Tools They Hold	What Influences Them / How to Engage
Ministry of Social Rights, Consumer Affairs and 2030 Agenda	Designs and coordinates Spain's main Roma-related policies (National Strategy 2021–2030, Roma Development Plan).	High power / Medium support	Coordination with regions, funding, policy evaluation	EU commitments, institutional and civil society pressure
State Council of the Roma People	Advisory body composed of 20 Roma NGOs and 20 state representatives; proposes policy ideas and leads thematic working groups.	Medium power / High legitimacy	Structured participation, joint policy dialogue	Technical proposals, consensus building
Technical Cooperation Group (GCT)	Platform for dialogue between the Ministry, autonomous regions, and local authorities; promotes good practices and coordination.	Technical power / Variable support	Inter-administrative collaboration	Territorial alignment, shared learning
Catalan Department of Social Rights	Leads the regional Roma Inclusion Plan (Pla Integral del Poble Gitano); promotes inclusion, recognition, and participation.	Medium power / Medium–high support	Regional planning tools, funding, partnerships	Roma advocacy, political cycles

Regional Roma Councils	Advisory platforms at regional level (e.g., Catalonia, Andalusia) where governments and Roma associations co-develop inclusion policies.	Low–medium power / High legitimacy	Formal consultation spaces	Influence depends on political context and alliances
Local Authorities (e.g., Barcelona, Sabadell)	Implement territorial programmes in housing, education, and mediation; participate in regional and national coordination spaces.	Operational power / Uneven support	Social services, urban planning, community projects	Local advocacy, proximity to Roma communities
Roma Civil Society (FAGiC, Rromane Siklovne, etc.)	Represents Roma communities, leads initiatives in memory, training, political advocacy, and transitional justice.	Informal power / High legitimacy	Community research, projects, public voice	Stable funding, access to decision-making forums
Roma Culture Institute	Public foundation under the Ministry of Culture; promotes Roma history, language, and cultural heritage nationally and abroad.	Symbolic power / Institutional support	Publications, cultural events, scholarships	Cultural alliances, official recognition
Rights and Equality Bodies (e.g., AIET, Catalan Ombudsman)	Monitor ethnic discrimination and may intervene in antigypsyism cases.	Legal–ethical power / Technical support	Investigations, reports, public recommendations	Case documentation, civil and media pressure

European Institutions and Civil Networks	Provide policy frameworks and funding (e.g., FRA, EU Roma Strategy); support initiatives like JEKHIPE and Roma Civil Monitor.	Normative power / Strong support	Funding programmes, political guidelines	Advocacy from civil society and transnational alliances
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4. Key Survey Findings and Analysis

The national survey provided important insights into how stakeholders perceive current policies, challenges, and opportunities in addressing antigypsyism in Spain.

Perceived impact of the National Roma Strategy

Most respondents rated the impact of the National Roma Strategy as very low, with an overall average of 3 out of 10. This reflects widespread skepticism regarding its effectiveness and the perception that measures taken so far remain largely symbolic.

Main challenges identified

When asked about the main obstacles to fighting antigypsyism, respondents highlighted three recurring issues: lack of political will, insufficient funding, and persistent prejudice within institutions. These factors were seen as the most structural and urgent barriers to overcome.

Role and added value of JEKHIPE

Stakeholders considered JEKHIPE's contribution highly valuable, especially for introducing transitional justice approaches and Roma historical memory into the public debate. This was perceived as an innovative element missing in existing national frameworks.

Suggested actions for government

Survey participants proposed several concrete steps for governments, including:

- Integrating Roma history and culture into school curricula.
- Strengthening the role and accountability of the State Roma Council.
- Providing **flexible and long-term funding** for Roma-led initiatives.

Suggested actions for civil society

Respondents also emphasized the responsibility of civil society to maintain pressure on institutions, amplify Roma voices, and carry out **awareness-raising campaigns at the local level**. Roma-led organizations were seen as essential actors for sustaining these efforts.

Overall conclusions

Taken together, the survey results confirm a clear consensus: existing policies are perceived as weak, fragmented, and underfunded, while there is strong support for initiatives that combine **historical recognition with structural reforms**. Strengthening the role of Roma civil society and securing institutional accountability were repeatedly mentioned as critical priorities for the future.

1. En España, el antigitanismo afecta a muchas áreas de la vida. En su opinión, ¿Cuáles son las TRES más gravemente afectadas? Seleccione exactamente tres:

9 respuestas

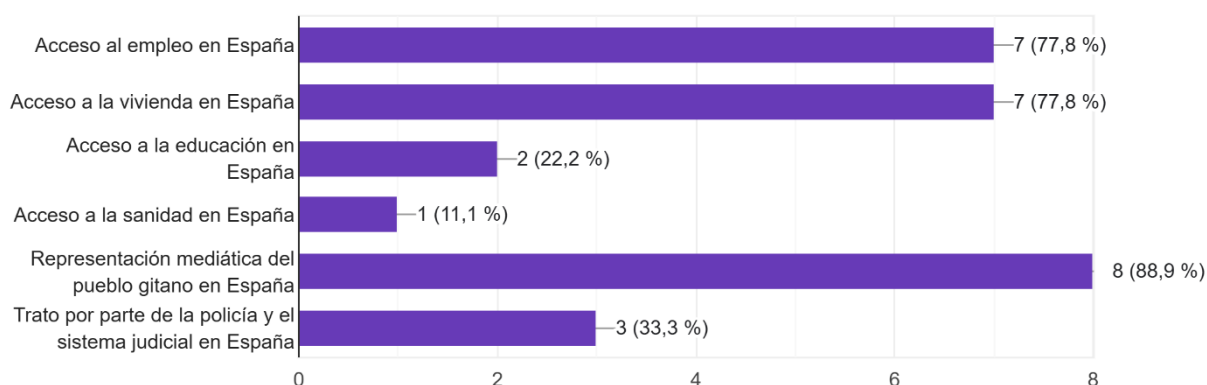


Figure 1. Areas of life most severely affected by antigypsyism in Spain (survey results).

2. En su opinión, ¿qué tan efectiva es la actual Estrategia Nacional para la Igualdad, Inclusión y Participación del Pueblo Gitano (2021–2030) como... (1 = Ningún impacto → 5 = Impacto muy fuerte)

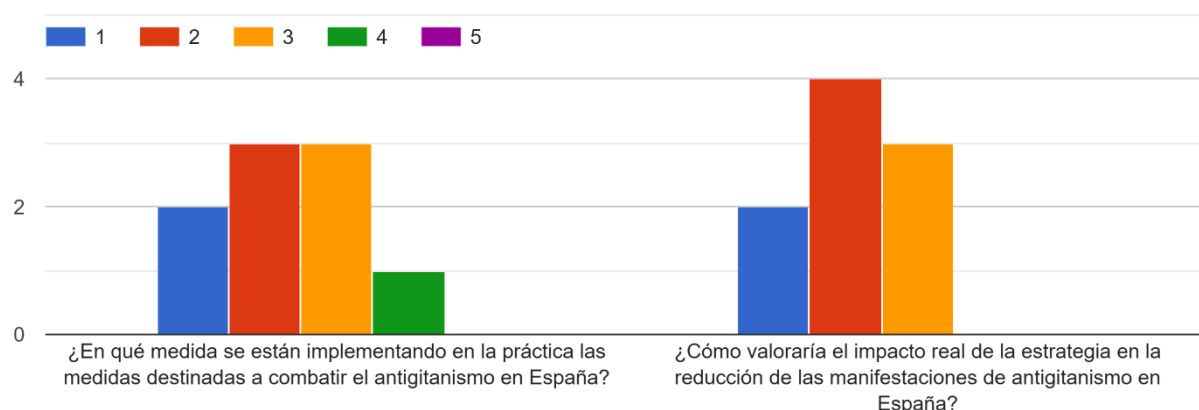


Figure 2. Perceived impact of the National Roma Strategy. Source: National survey, JEKHIPE (2024)

3. ¿Cuál es el principal obstáculo que impide que la Estrategia Nacional combata de manera efectiva el antigitanismo? Elija una opción:

9 respuestas



Figure 3. Main challenges identified in fighting antigypsyism. Source: National survey, JEKHIPE (2025).

4. En su opinión, ¿cuál es el factor más significativo que limita la participación y representación política de la comunidad gitana en España? Elija una opción:

9 respuestas

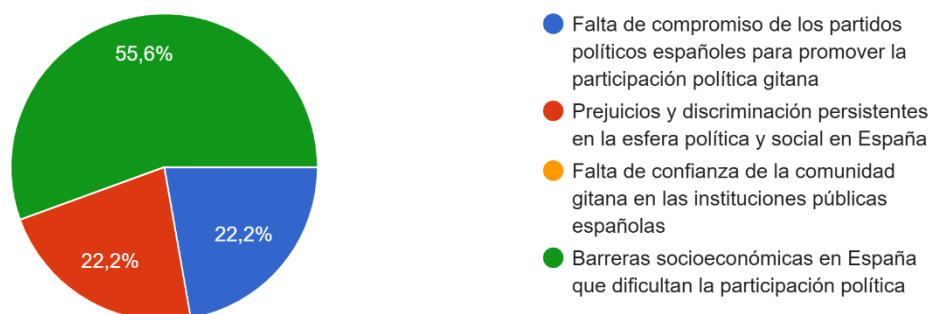


Figure 4. Main factors limiting Roma political participation and representation in Spain (survey results).

5. El antigitanismo en España tiene profundas raíces históricas. ¿Qué importancia tiene abordar las injusticias históricas (p. ej., persecuciones, gen...)(1 = Nada importante → 5 = Absolutamente esencial)

9 respostes

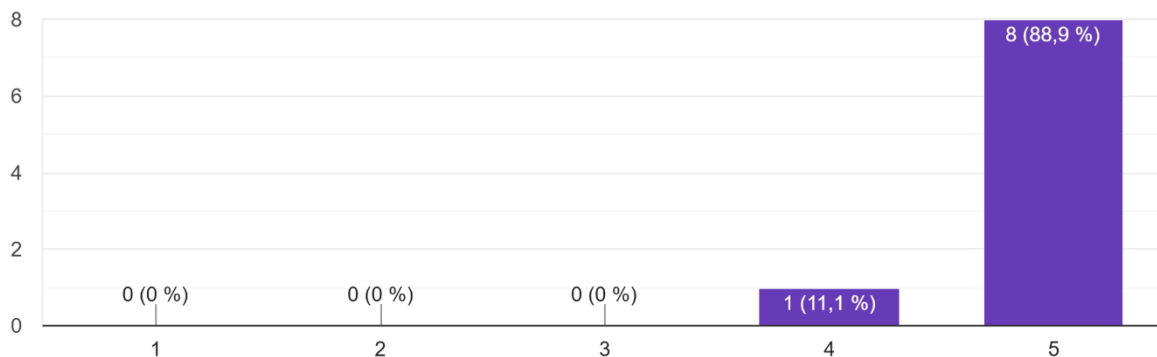


Figure 5. Importance of addressing historical injustices related to antigypsyism in Spain (survey results)

8. ¿Qué importancia cree que tienen la educación y las campañas de sensibilización pública en España para cambiar las actitudes sociales y redu... = Nada importante → 5 = Absolutamente esencial)

9 respostes

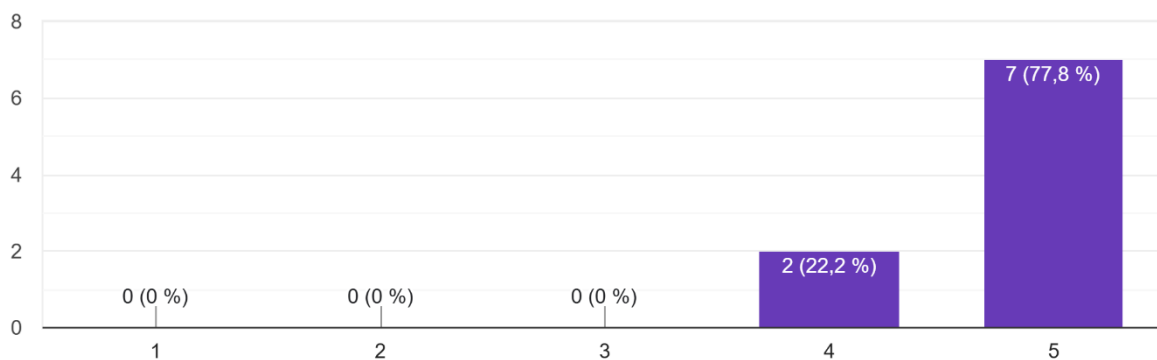


Figure 8. Importance of education and public awareness campaigns in changing social attitudes and reducing antigypsyism in Spain (survey results).

5. Policy Recommendations

Recommendation	Target Stakeholders	Messaging	Action Steps
1. Introduce Roma History in Catalan and Spanish Curricula through Pilot Modules	Ministry of Education; Generalitat de Catalunya (Department of Education)	Including Roma history in schools is both an act of historical justice and an educational tool to reduce structural racism from an early age.	1. Develop pilot teaching modules with Roma content. 2. Train teachers through teacher training centres. 3. Implement pilots in selected schools. 4. Monitor results and prepare for wider adoption.
2. Create a Catalan Working Group on Antigypsyism and Historical Memory	Catalan Parliament; Department of Equality and Feminisms; Roma civil society	Recognition of historical injustices is a prerequisite for building equal and democratic institutions.	1. Establish a working group with institutional and civil society participation. 2. Hold regular sessions. 3. Publish a roadmap for transitional justice and policy reform.
3. Strengthen the Role of the State Roma Council and its Regional Equivalents	Ministry of Social Rights; Generalitat de Catalunya	Roma councils should evolve from symbolic advisory bodies into real instruments of accountability and participation.	1. Ensure regular meetings with clear agendas. 2. Increase Roma representation. 3. Establish follow-up mechanisms for proposals.
4. Launch Local Awareness Campaigns against Antigypsyism	City councils; local education and culture departments	Local campaigns in schools, libraries, and cultural centres can change perceptions more effectively than symbolic national campaigns."	1. Produce low-cost awareness materials (posters, videos, exhibitions). 2. Involve Roma youth and artists. 3. Partner with local institutions for dissemination.
5. Integrate Antigypsyism	Municipalities (e.g., Barcelona,	Equipping frontline staff with	1. Develop protocols for mediators and social workers.

<p>Monitoring into Local Mediation and Social Services</p>	<p>Sabadell); local ombuds offices</p>	<p>tools to detect and respond to antigypsyism is key to preventing discrimination in daily life.</p>	<p>2. Provide brief training sessions. 3. Establish systems to register incidents.</p>
<p>6. Support the Professionalisation of Roma Youth through Public Internships</p>	<p>Local administrations; Generalitat; Ministry of Youth and Employment</p>	<p>Opening pathways into public institutions for Roma youth strengthens both diversity and democracy.</p>	<p>1. Create short-term paid internships for Roma youth. 2. Place them in education, culture, or social institutions. 3. Monitor progression into further education or employment.</p>
<p>7. Secure Flexible Public Funding for Roma-Led Memory and Justice Projects</p>	<p>Ministry of Culture; Generalitat de Catalunya; Barcelona City Council</p>	<p>Roma-led projects are most impactful when funding is flexible, long-term, and accessible.</p>	<p>1. Design simplified calls for small-scale projects. 2. Allow long application windows. 3. Track number and satisfaction of Roma-led initiatives funded.</p>
<p>8. Recognise Antigypsyism as a Specific Category in Local Equality Plans</p>	<p>City councils; regional equality departments</p>	<p>“Naming antigypsyism explicitly makes it visible, measurable, and actionable within equality policies.”</p>	<p>1. Amend equality and anti-discrimination plans to include antigypsyism. 2. Allocate small funding lines and monitoring tools. 3. Support civil society in advocacy for adoption.</p>

6. Future Outlook and Sustainability

By the conclusion of the JEKHIPE project, tangible progress can be achieved in consolidating closer relationships with public administrations, particularly in areas related to historical memory and recognition of the Roma community. These strengthened ties can provide a more solid foundation for embedding Roma history and antigypsyism into institutional agendas.

A realistic priority is to secure commitments from political parties and administrations to advance legal and policy frameworks that ensure long-term recognition and justice.

This includes strengthening the implementation of the Law on Democratic Memory by explicitly recognizing Roma as specific and transversal victims of historical persecution, and by promoting commemorative studies and activities—such as those linked to 19 July and 2 August. While participation in state-level mechanisms such as the Democratic Memory Commission has faced challenges (notably its limited functioning as of December 2024), regional and local levels offer opportunities to push for stronger commitments. For example, Catalonia can serve as a frontrunner by reinforcing its own Law on Democratic Memory and deepening its institutional engagement with Roma civil society.

An essential next step is to strengthen the existing Commission on Roma Memory and Reconciliation, which has already been created but is currently operating with limited effectiveness. Consolidating its mandate, resources, and visibility is crucial to ensure that it can fully document historical injustices, foster public recognition, and promote structural reforms. With adequate support, the Commission can become a cornerstone for transitional justice in Spain, guaranteeing that Roma voices are meaningfully represented in processes of truth-telling, remembrance, and institutional change.

For sustainability, collaboration with the General Directorate of Democratic Memory should be systematized into a continuous working relationship, ensuring that Roma-led proposals remain present in public agendas.

Recommendations for follow-up efforts include:

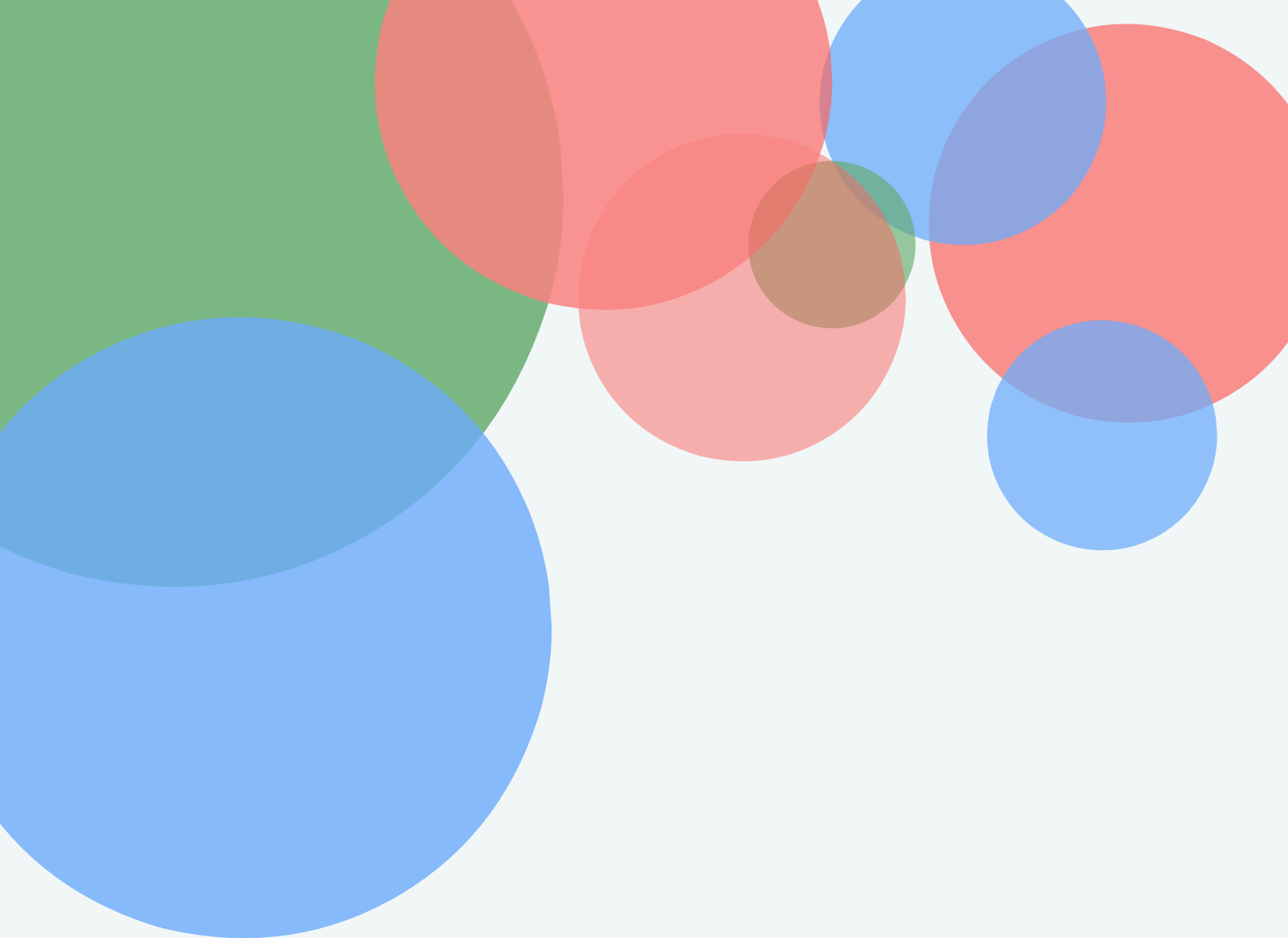
- Establishing binding agreements with political parties and institutions to secure continuity of memory and justice policies.
- Advocating for the full recognition of Roma victims within the national and regional frameworks of the Law on Democratic Memory.
- Supporting the creation of a Commission on Roma Memory and Reconciliation as a permanent mechanism for truth, justice, and institutional reform.
- Supporting the creation of a Catalan Pact against Antigypsyism, building on a parliamentary commission of study.

- Securing flexible and long-term funding lines for Roma-led memory and justice projects, ensuring their independence and sustainability.

Through these combined efforts, JEKHIPE can leave a legacy that not only strengthens recognition of Roma history but also institutionalizes tools for civil society to sustain advocacy and structural change.

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