



Civil society monitoring report  
on the implementation of the national  
strategic framework for Roma equality,  
inclusion, and participation  
**in France**



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Civil society monitoring report on the implementation  
of the national strategic framework  
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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AME	<i>Aide Médicale d'Etat</i> – Minimum Health Insurance for illegal immigrants
ANGVC	National Association of <i>Gens du voyage</i> Citizens
CIP	Professional Insertion Counsellor
CNED	National Centre of Distance Teaching
EFIV	Children of Itinerant and <i>Gens du voyage</i> Families
DIHAL	Interministerial Delegation on Urgent Lodging and Housing, National Roma Contact Point
DILCRAH	Interministerial Delegation on Fight against Racism, Antisemitism and anti-LGBT Hate
EURSF	EU Roma Strategic Framework for Equality, Inclusion and Participation
IOD	Labour supply and demand Intervention (method of helping employment)
NRSF	National Roma Strategic Framework
PASS	<i>Permanence d'Accès aux Soins de Santé</i> – Specific health access pathways
PECAO	Peer Education for Countering Antigypsyism Online (an EU-Funded project 2000 – 2022)
PHAROS	Platform for Harmonisation, Analysis, Cross-Referencing, and Referral of Reports (Police)
POEC	Operational Collective Preparation for Employment
RCM	Roma Civil Monitor
PRADO	National Plan to combat racism, antisemitism and origin-related discrimination
SIBEL	Inclusive Exit from Slum by Employment and Housing
UCRM	<i>Union Cépière Robert Monnier</i>

## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

### Implementation of the NRSF

The implementation of the French National Roma Strategic Framework (NRSF) has made some notable advancements, particularly in the formal recognition of antigypsyism as a specific form of racism and the integration of policies addressing both *Gens du voyage* and EU mobile Roma within a single framework.

Progress has been observed in certain sectors, such as education, where school mediation programmes have expanded, and in public policy discourse, where antigypsyism has been explicitly referenced in national antiracism strategies. The NRSF's alignment with EU objectives ensures coherence with broader European efforts to combat discrimination and social exclusion. However, its effectiveness remains limited by fragmented governance, a lack of dedicated financial resources, and weak mechanisms for monitoring and data collection.

The most significant weaknesses of the NRSF lie in its narrow interpretation of antigypsyism—focusing almost exclusively on the most visible and precarious Roma populations—while neglecting structural discrimination affecting all Roma, including those socially integrated. This approach reinforces, rather than dismantles, the historical opposition between the "Gypsy" and the "citizen," undermining efforts to foster true civic participation. Additionally, the absence of Roma leadership in policy design and implementation, coupled with insufficient financial investment severely hampers progress. Without greater commitment to comprehensive data collection, stronger institutional coordination, and meaningful Roma participation, the NRSF risks remaining a symbolic rather than transformative policy tool.

Last, but not least, the NRSF's implementation is not subjected to any regular monitoring besides the formal reporting to the European Commission. Due to internal administrative regulations, the position of the monitoring officer within the National contact Point was not maintained after 2023. Beyond this factor, local stakeholders often are not even aware of the existence of the NRSF and many discovered during the civil society monitoring process that their actions related to some framework.

### Review of country situation by area

**Fighting Antigypsyism and Discrimination:** Despite the formal recognition of antigypsyism in France's National Plan to combat racism, antisemitism and origin-related discrimination (PRADO), concrete measures to combat this form of racism remain severely underfunded, receiving only 0.42% of the total anti-discrimination budget for the implementation of the PRADO on the antigypsyism strand. While awareness-raising efforts have been initiated, structural discrimination persists across institutions, the labour market, and public perception. Tolerance toward Roma remains the lowest among all minorities, with negative stereotypes deeply embedded in society. Moreover, the NRSF's exclusive focus on Travellers and Roma migrants in precarious housing reinforces rather than dismantles antigypsyism by perpetuating the opposition between the "Gypsy" and the "citizen."

**Education:** Many municipalities still refuse or delay enrolling Roma children, particularly those living in informal settlements, and logistical challenges such as transport and access to school meals continue to hinder full inclusion. Discrimination from local authorities further exacerbates the situation, with legal action required in several cases to enforce children's right to education. Despite improvements, thousands of children in slums remain outside the school system, highlighting the urgent need for stronger enforcement and resources. These populations face a number of challenges: administrative barriers (abusive refusals to enrol), language barriers, repeated expulsions creating a fragmented educational pathway.

**Employment:** Employment inclusion efforts remain fragmented and inconsistent, with significant barriers such as discrimination, lack of qualifications, language barriers, and restricted access to social security. Although some local initiatives, such as mediation programmes, have shown promising results, systemic obstacles—including exploitative informal work practices and the administrative exclusion of Roma from employment-related benefits—continue to limit progress. The requirement for full social security affiliation creates an additional hurdle, effectively preventing many Roma from accessing vocational training and stable employment. Some programmes have emerged for people living in shantytowns, such as the SIBEL programme. However, not all of these programmes have lasted over time.

**Healthcare:** Roma populations, particularly those living in informal settlements, face severe health disparities due to precarious living conditions, poor access to medical services, and frequent evictions. Many remain



without health coverage due to administrative restrictions, and new limitations on State Medical Aid (AME) further reduce healthcare access. Discrimination within medical institutions discourages Roma from seeking care, while evictions disrupt ongoing treatments and public health efforts, including vaccination campaigns and tuberculosis screenings. (refer to the focus section of this report p.32).

**Housing, Essential Services, and Environmental Justice:** Forced evictions of informal settlements have increased significantly, with 1,484 evictions recorded in 2024—often carried out without legal justification or alternative solutions. Residents of informal settlements are repeatedly displaced to areas with poor living conditions, exacerbating their exclusion. Transitional housing programmes remain insufficient, and halting sites for Travellers are frequently located in environmentally hazardous areas, contributing to severe health risks. Without a shift towards sustainable and inclusive housing policies, Romani populations will continue to face systemic residential segregation.

**Social Protection:** Access to social benefits remains highly restricted due to digital exclusion, language barriers, and the strict interpretation of residency rights by local administrative offices. Some family allowance agencies have increasingly suspended or demanded reimbursement of social benefits from Romani families, placing them in severe financial distress. The lack of targeted measures within the NRSF to address these systemic exclusions further entrenches economic vulnerability among Romani populations.

**Social Services:** Roma individuals continue to face significant challenges in accessing social services, largely due to administrative fragmentation and discriminatory practices at service counters. Many public service agents lack training on antigypsyism, leading to indirect exclusion through bureaucratic hurdles. Mediation efforts remain essential for bridging the gap between Romani communities and mainstream services, yet these initiatives are insufficiently funded and lack institutional support. The persistent failure of local authorities to implement coordinated inclusion strategies highlights the dependence of social service access on political will.

**Child Protection:** Widespread prejudices against Romani families, particularly regarding child exploitation, influence child protection services, leading to disproportionate state interventions. Cases of unnecessary child placements have been reported, often driven more by stereotypes than by legitimate concerns for child welfare. Outreach programmes have provided some support, but gaps in coordination and the lack of Roma-led initiatives in child protection policies undermine their effectiveness. Addressing these issues requires targeted awareness campaigns and specialised training for professionals working in child welfare.

**Promoting Awareness of Roma Arts, Culture, and History:** While there have been some cultural initiatives—such as the *Barvalo* exhibition during a few months in MUCEM in Marseille, the broader promotion of Romani culture remains limited. Many projects focus solely on memorialisation, neglecting the representation of Roma as active contributors to contemporary culture. Additionally, the risk of folklorisation persists, as Romani culture is often portrayed in a romanticised or static manner. To ensure meaningful cultural inclusion, Romani communities must be actively involved in shaping and leading cultural initiatives.

## Focus on key issues affecting Roma

**Forced Evictions and Housing:** Roma in France continue to face widespread housing insecurity, with forced evictions remaining a critical issue. In 2024, 1,484 evictions were recorded—a 34% increase from the previous year—often conducted without legal justification or adequate rehousing solutions, leaving 88% of affected families homeless. Some evictions have been explicitly motivated by antigypsyist sentiment, with local authorities and residents actively participating in the expulsion of Roma communities. The lack of a sustainable housing policy has resulted in repeated displacement, pushing families further into precarious living conditions. Current measures, including transitional housing schemes, are insufficient, and the acceleration of eviction procedures under recent legislation further exacerbates the crisis.

**Health Inequalities and Barriers to Healthcare:** Roma communities, particularly those in informal settlements, experience severe health disparities due to inadequate housing conditions, environmental hazards, and restricted access to medical care. Many lack health coverage due to administrative barriers, with new restrictions on State Medical Aid (AME) further limiting their ability to receive essential healthcare. Evictions disrupt medical treatment, while discrimination in healthcare settings discourages Roma individuals from seeking care. The prevalence of preventable illnesses, such as tuberculosis and measles, highlights systemic failures in public health policy and the urgent need for targeted interventions, including expanded health mediation and improved access to services.

**Antigypsyism and Discrimination:** Despite the formal recognition of antigypsyism within France's anti-racism policies, Roma remain the most stigmatised minority. Public attitudes towards Roma are overwhelmingly negative, with increasing hate speech in media and political discourse, as pointed out including in the Parliament by the MP Ersilia Soudais in a written question to the Home Minister.<sup>1</sup> Empirical observation of La voix des Roms shows that online antigypsyism monitored and analysed in the framework of PECAO project<sup>2</sup> remains rampant, with limited enforcement of legal protections. Additionally, only 0.42% of the national anti-discrimination budget is allocated to combating antigypsyism, reflecting the lack of political commitment to addressing structural racism. Without dedicated resources, stronger legal protections, and proactive policy measures, antigypsyism will continue to undermine Roma inclusion efforts.

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<sup>1</sup> Question écrite n° 5777 : Antitsiganisme et dérives anti-républicaines [Written Question No. 5777: Antigypsyism and Anti-Republican Deviations], available at: <https://questions.assemblee-nationale.fr/q16/16-5777QE.htm>

<sup>2</sup> PECAO national report, 2022, available at: <https://www.lavoixdesroms.com/single-post/rapport-national-pecao>

# INTRODUCTION

## National Roma strategic framework

As it is well known, France has a particular view on the *EU Roma Strategic Framework for equality, inclusion and participation* (EURSF), as the country's political tradition impedes targeting ethnic entities by public policies. This principle should be always kept in mind when this report is read. This preliminary remark noted, it has to be said that the French government did adopt in January 2022 a stand-alone "*French strategy 2020 – 2030 in response to the European Council's recommendation of 12 March 2021, for the equality, the inclusion and the participation of Roma*" (NRSF).<sup>3</sup> The insertion in quotation marks of the expression "the equality, the inclusion and the participation of Roma" in the French version of the NRSF<sup>4</sup> is a means to mark a distance from the supposedly "ethnic-based approach" of the EURSF. This is further specified in the subtitle of the document, which reads: "*A firm commitment and ambitious goals to combat antigypsyism and promote the inclusion of 'gens du voyage' and those considered as Roma, in compliance with the laws of the Republic.*" In France, the government defines precisely the scope of this NRSF, by interpreting the "Roma population" definition of EU as being two groups:

1. the "*gens du voyage*,"<sup>5</sup> French citizens with nomadic or semi-nomadic lifestyle (350,000 – 500,000 persons), and
2. populations from Central and Eastern Europe living in camps and shantytowns (approximately 13,000 persons today).<sup>6</sup>

There exists a consensus among the various stakeholders that this NRSF is an improvement as compared to the previous period up to 2020, when, due to the government's change in 2012, it was not even clearly identified which from two existing and publicly available documents was to be considered *the* National Roma Integration Strategy. The current NRSF is a well identified document, – approved by the government, – to which everyone can refer. Beyond this improvement, the text innovates also with respect to at least two points which appear in the very structure of the strategy: the establishment of the fight against antigypsyism as the first strategic objective and the consolidation into a single document of a series of measures concerning *Gens du voyage* (second objective) and another series of measures addressing shantytowns where vulnerable intra-European nationals reside (third objective).

As a soft law text, the strategy essentially recalls existing and dispersed rules and frameworks, organising them into a single framework and developing certain aspects into more concrete implementation measures. The combination of the two sets of measures – those concerning *Gens du voyage* and those relating to intra-European inhabitants of slums and squats – after an initial common set of measures targeting antigypsyism reflects an awareness that the exclusion suffered by both target groups of the strategy is a consequence of this centuries-old form of racism.

Apart from the reports that the government submits to the European Commission upon request, the implementation of the NRSF is not subject to regular formal reports. The text itself has not been modified since its adoption, but other instruments complement it, the most important being the National Plan to combat racism, antisemitism and origin-related discrimination (PRADO) 2023–2026. Thanks to the links between the two interministerial delegations, DIHAL, which serves as the National Contact Point for Roma and *Gens du voyage*, and DILCRAH, the body responsible for combating racism and discrimination, this three-year plan for the first time considers antigypsyism as a specific form of racism. Not only is it explicitly named as such, but concrete measures are proposed to combat it specifically. Although much remains to be done for effective

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<sup>3</sup> Available at: [https://commission.europa.eu/system/files/2022-10/1\\_1\\_france\\_national\\_roma\\_strategic\\_framework\\_en\\_2020-2030.pdf](https://commission.europa.eu/system/files/2022-10/1_1_france_national_roma_strategic_framework_en_2020-2030.pdf)

<sup>4</sup> Available at: <https://www.info.gouv.fr/upload/media/content/0001/12/bed55179a466d9b87ed7f45c1bd640141d4645c1.pdf>

<sup>5</sup> "*Gens du voyage*" is used in French in this report as it refers to a French administrative category ethnically diverse, thus different from the « Travellers », who constitute an ethnic entity.

<sup>6</sup> Presentation of the French strategy on the government website: [https://www.info.gouv.fr/upload/media/organization/0001/01/sites\\_default/files\\_contenu\\_piece-jointe\\_2022\\_04\\_2022-03\\_-\\_strat\\_ue\\_roma\\_2020-2030\\_-\\_fiche.pdf](https://www.info.gouv.fr/upload/media/organization/0001/01/sites_default/files_contenu_piece-jointe_2022_04_2022-03_-_strat_ue_roma_2020-2030_-_fiche.pdf)

implementation, both of the measures in this plan against racism and the strategy, it is also important to recognise that the existence of these texts represents progress.

As we also indicated in the previous 2022 RCM report,<sup>7</sup> civil society, including Roma and Traveller associations, was consulted in the drafting of these two documents. It is undoubtedly also their contribution that has led to the noted improvement in addressing the issues these texts seek to resolve. This improvement is evident in the relevance of the planned measures and in the growing involvement of the bodies overseeing their implementation within the aforementioned interministerial delegations.

However, the implementation of measures at the local level often leaves much to be desired, in some sectors more than others and in some regions more than others. This is mainly due to two reasons:

- **Political will.** Since this is soft law, the provisions of the NRSF, as well as those of the National Plan to Combat Racism, Anti-Semitism, and Discrimination Based on Origin, depend on the political will of institutional actors in the territories, whether decentralised State services (prefectures) or local authorities (municipalities, intercommunal bodies, departments).
- **Awareness about the NRSF.** Related to the first factor, the extent to which actors are aware of the existence and content of the strategy and PRADO varies greatly. In other words, these two instruments, despite being adopted at the highest level of the State and endorsed by multiple ministers, remain relatively unknown at the local level, particularly regarding the strategy. Thus, while the strategy is supposed to encourage these actors to take action, in most cases, it is rather their pre-existing willingness to act that imperfectly drives them to become aware of the strategy's content.

Finally, it should be noted that the improvement already observed in the 2022 RCM report was also the result of political support. The commitment of the Minister for Equality, Isabelle Rome, was decisive in that she and her team involved relevant stakeholders in the drafting of PRADO and in the mechanisms for monitoring its implementation. The political changes since then have somewhat weakened the process, and the current political context does not appear particularly conducive to better implementation of the policies planned by previous governments. However, the texts still exist, and their content is sufficiently well aligned with the Eursf.

### About this report

The objective of this report is to assess the implementation of the French NRSF, to determine what has been achieved and what remains to be done in the future. After a general first chapter on implementation, it reviews the main sectors before focusing on three topics considered the most important in the French context: combating antigypsyism, health, and housing, with the issue of forced evictions.

The methodology used combines documentary research, interviews with key institutional and civil society actors, and the use of resources and data produced in other contexts by coalition member associations and their partners. We conducted a collective interview with the core team of DIHAL, the National Contact Point, an interview with a representative of DILCRAH, three interviews with local authorities, and two interviews with representatives of Romani civil society. The interview with the National Contact Point was conducted in person with key officials of the interministerial delegation, while the other interviews were conducted via Zoom in December 2024 and January 2025. Naturally, we examined the NRSF text, the National Plan to Combat Racism, Anti-Semitism, and Discrimination Based on Origin, government instructions, websites related to the implementation of the strategy and the plan, as well as the annual reports of the CNCDH on racism and reports from the Observatory of Evictions from Informal Living Spaces, of which three of our coalition's five member associations are part. Finally, the grassroots experience and knowledge gained through our associations' activities and internal discussions during the process of drafting were also utilised in this monitoring work.

The report was jointly prepared by CSOs La Voix des Roms, the Collectif National Droits de l'Homme (CNDH) Romeurope, Médecins du Monde and the Association Nationale des Gens du voyage Citoyens (ANGVC). Although our associations are involved in both the drafting and implementation of the NRSF, the nature and significance of these links with the formally responsible bodies do not constitute a conflict of interest.

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<sup>7</sup> Roma Civil Monitor, *Civil society monitoring report on the quality of the national strategic framework for Roma equality, inclusion, and participation in France*. Publication Office of the European Union, 2022, available at: <https://romacivilmonitoring.eu/wp-content/uploads/2023/08/RCM2-2022-C2-France-FINAL-PUBLISHED-CATALOGUE.pdf>

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# 1. IMPLEMENTATION OF THE NRSF

## 1.1. Key developments and effectiveness of implementation

This section outlines the key developments and evaluates the effectiveness of the implementation of the National Roma Strategic Framework (NRSF). Significant advancements include the formal acknowledgment of antigypsyism and the unification of public policies addressing both EU mobile Roma and *gens du voyage* within a single framework. Additionally, the National Plan on Fighting Racism, Antisemitism, and Racial Discrimination marks a crucial step forward, explicitly referencing antigypsyism in numerous proposed measures.

### 1.1.1. Changes in the NRSF

Following the European Commission's 2023 assessment, no modifications were recommended for the NRSF. The National Contact Point (NCP) affirmed that the existing strategy remains adequate, with no pressing need for amendments. Civil society organizations also concur with this perspective, stressing the importance of prioritizing the effective implementation of both the NRSF and the PRADO (National Plan to combat racism, antisemitism and origin-related discrimination), rather than making structural changes to the framework itself.

### 1.1.2. Progress in implementation

The implementation of the NRSF varies significantly across sectors and regions. Notable progress has been observed in the education sector, particularly with the expansion of school mediation programs. However, challenges persist in areas such as employment and access to healthcare, where improvements remain limited. Efforts to combat antigypsyism have been inconsistent, with some advancements in awareness-raising but insufficient concrete actions to address systemic discrimination.

### 1.1.3. Effectiveness of monitoring

Monitoring the NRSF's implementation remains a significant challenge due to a lack of dedicated resources. Until 2023, the NCP employed a monitoring officer, but this position was not renewed due to administrative constraints, including staff capacity limitations. Another complicating factor is the fragmentation of responsibilities among different governmental bodies. Within the NCP, separate units oversee *gens du voyage* and slum-related policies, while the responsibility for addressing antigypsyism is distributed among these units and the DILCRAH (Interministerial Delegation on Fighting Racism, Antisemitism, and Hate). While this division of tasks has some functional rationale, it makes comprehensive monitoring more difficult and reduces overall efficiency in assessing policy impact.

### 1.1.4. Data collection

Data collection remains a particularly weak aspect of the framework's implementation. France does not collect ethnic data, which significantly impairs the ability to measure discrimination effectively. Existing data sources, such as public opinion surveys, offer only partial and indirect insights into patterns of discrimination. Some statistics exist regarding halting sites for *gens du voyage*<sup>8</sup> and slum populations,<sup>9</sup> but these datasets are neither complete nor systematically updated. Currently, antigypsyism is not quantitatively assessed at a national level, although some qualitative monitoring efforts are conducted by civil society organizations, providing valuable but incomplete documentation of discrimination and exclusion. According to several actors of the civil society, the lack of data collection is both a problem and something that is willingly maintained for justifying inaction.

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<sup>8</sup> *Bilan national de la mise en oeuvre des schémas départementaux d'accueil et d'habitat des gens du voyage* [National Review of the Implementation of Departmental Plans for the Reception and Housing of Travellers], 2023, available at: <https://www.info.gouv.fr/upload/media/content/0001/12/044f5d6fca26a9276b2524880e5bcd9767bb481.pdf>

<sup>9</sup> Plateforme "Agir pour résorber les bidonvilles" [Platform "Acting to Eliminate Informal Settlements"], available at: <https://resorption-bidonvilles.dihal.gouv.fr/>

## 1.2. NRSF's synergy with domestic and EU actions

According to the NCP, at the European level, there has been interest in France's territorially based approach,<sup>10</sup> as opposed to an ethnically targeted strategy. Civil society actors have highlighted the complex relationship between antigypsyism and the social exclusion of individuals categorized as "Roma" at the European level. This exclusion is a direct result of antigypsyism in specific historical and geographical contexts, making it distinct from broader Romani identity. Since France does not implement ethnicity-based public policies, the NRSF's approach reflects this reality by targeting *gens du voyage* and European inhabitants of slums—groups that, in contemporary society, are still perceived as "gypsies" within the public imagination.

### 1.2.1. Complementary policies

The NRSF does not introduce entirely new policies but instead serves to structure and coordinate existing measures for the two targeted groups. One of its most notable innovations is the explicit recognition of antigypsyism as a distinct form of racism, which is incorporated not only into the NRSF but also, crucially, into the PRADO. The PRADO's role as a complementary framework is particularly valuable, as it integrates antigypsyism into broader national policies combating racism and discrimination, thereby ensuring that this specific form of exclusion is addressed within mainstream anti-discrimination efforts.

### 1.2.2. Alignment with EU actions

France's initiatives regarding EU mobile Roma and *gens du voyage* align closely with European Union strategies and policy frameworks. The territorially focused approach complements EU objectives aimed at combating discrimination, improving social inclusion, and addressing the specific challenges faced by marginalized communities. While differences exist in terms of policy emphasis and implementation strategies, France's approach remains consistent with the overarching goals of the EURSF.

### 1.2.3. Addressing concerns of previous assessments

CSOs advocate to make institutional stakeholders address issues highlighted in previous assessments<sup>11</sup> of the NRSF. Key areas of focus include enhancing coordination among relevant agencies, improving methodologies for data collection, and ensuring adequate resource allocation for monitoring and evaluation. Despite these efforts, several persistent challenges remain, particularly in the effective measurement of antigypsyism and ensuring that targeted policies result in tangible improvements for affected communities.

## 1.3. Roma participation in implementation and monitoring

The participation of Roma as such in politics or public policies remains constrained in France due to legal prohibitions against the political representation of minorities, which are not recognized. While this principle is enforced to varying degrees depending on the minority in question, the French transposition of the concept of "Roma" within the NRSF allows for limited participation.

### 1.3.1. Involvement of Roma CSOs in implementation

As highlighted in the third monitoring report of the first EURSF 2017–2020, Romani civil society in France remains particularly weak due to the pervasive effects of antigypsyism, which often obscure Roma identity itself. Consequently, middle-class Roma who might otherwise contribute to civil society remain largely inactive, confining their identity to the private sphere. Only a small number of Roma associations exist, and even fewer possess the capacity to engage in the implementation of the NRSF. When they do, their involvement is limited to a few limited actions. Instead, much of the policy implementation is carried out by larger, more established organizations and enterprises that advocate on behalf of Roma populations.

### 1.3.2. Roma in public institutions implementing the NRSF

There is currently no case the authors of this report are aware of Romani individuals working within public institutions directly involved in the implementation of the NRSF. For the same reason mentioned above about

<sup>10</sup> Meeting with NCP team on 14 January 2025.

<sup>11</sup> Roma Civil Monitor, *Civil society monitoring report on implementation of the national Roma integration strategy in France: Identifying blind spots in Roma inclusion policy*. Publication Office of the European Union, 2020, available at: <http://www.romacivilmonitoring.eu/pdf/rcm-civil-society-monitoring-report-3-france-2019-eprint-fin.pdf>

the weakness of Roma civil society, if some Roma person is included in such institution this is by no means related to his ethnic identity and none up to date has declared as being Roma.

#### 1.3.3. Roma participation in monitoring and evaluation

Some monitoring processes include participation from Romani organizations alongside pro-Roma civil society groups. These include the National Consultative Commission on *Gens du voyage* and its departmental counterparts, as well as the National Consultative Commission on Slum Resorption. The effectiveness of these bodies varies over time. In recent months, some improvements have been observed in the functioning of the commissions focused on *gens du voyage*. For example, the departmental commissions now include thematic workshops open to NGOs as part of each review of the departmental plan. The national commission on the other hand significantly increased the number of its meetings in 2024 and supported the creation of a group made up of gens du voyage organisations for the creation of the Montreuil Bellay memorial.

#### 1.3.4. Contribution of National Roma Platform to the NRSF implementation

There is no formal National Roma Platform in France. Instead, the two commissions mentioned above serve as consultation and exchange forums, meeting periodically. Additionally, thematic working groups convene to facilitate discussions between members, authorities, and implementing organizations, called "opérateurs" in French.



## 2. REVIEW BY THEMATIC AREA

### 2.1. Fighting antigypsyism and discrimination

According to a report by the CNCDH on the fight against racism, anti-Semitism, and xenophobia in 2023,<sup>12</sup> there has been a general decline in tolerance levels towards all racial minorities. However, in this general context, tolerance towards the "Roma" minority remains by far the lowest: on a scale of 0 to 100, the Longitudinal Tolerance Index was 77 for Black people, 68 for Jewish people, 57 for Muslim people and 42 for Roma people.<sup>13</sup> That year, as with other minorities, prejudices against the Roma also increased, with a growing percentage of French people sharing prejudices—such as the belief that most Roma are nomadic, that they frequently exploit children, or that they mainly live off theft and trafficking. This form of racism is rooted in a so-called "cultural" origin, portraying Roma as a group with deviant behaviour. This narrative serves to "reverse causality and place the responsibility for racism on those who are its victims."<sup>14</sup>

Political self-identification also plays a significant role in shaping these views. The further right an individual positions themselves on the political spectrum, the more likely they are to share anti-Roma sentiments. In recent years, unfiltered anti-Roma rhetoric has become increasingly common in the media.

Since 2023, the term "antigypsyism" has been used by public authorities and has become a specific focus within the National Plan to combat racism, antisemitism and origin-related discrimination). This marks a significant step forward in recognising and addressing antigypsyism, led by the Interministerial Delegation for the Fight against Racism, Anti-Semitism, and Anti-LGBT Hatred (DILCRAH). It also aligns with the NRSF.

However, the fight against antigypsyism can only be effective and ambitious if it is supported by adequate funding. Yet, in 2024, the total funds allocated to associations combating antigypsyism amounted to only 42,000 EUR for the entire country—out of a total subsidy budget of nearly 10 million EUR (just 0.42% of subsidies). It is therefore crucial to align the necessary measures to combat antigypsyism—currently the most significant form of racism in France,<sup>15</sup> with the appropriate financial resources to address it.

#### 2.1.1. Effectiveness of the NRSF in addressing the problems

The strategy itself lists a number of actions to be undertaken. Most require nothing more than the mobilisation of existing resources—statutory instruments and established structures (courts, police, gendarmerie, administrative services, and independent authorities). A notable measure is the establishment of a dedicated monitoring system to identify and combat anti-Romani expression online, inspired by the European project PECAO, which was implemented in France by *La Voix des Roms* between 2000 and 2022. New initiatives are also proposed, such as the training of police officers, gendarmes, and magistrates, the integration of the fight against anti-Romani discrimination into the training curriculum for civil servants, and its inclusion in awareness-raising and preventative programmes aimed at school audiences. It must be acknowledged that very few of these objectives have been realised. The conference on anti-Romani discrimination, scheduled and held on 28 June 2022, remains the most significant achievement of this part of the strategy; its European scope and the political context at the time facilitated the adoption of flagship measures against anti-Romani discrimination in the PRADO. That being said, this other complementary framework, i.e. PRADO, the National Plan against Racism, Antisemitism and Discrimination based on Origin, has also been implemented.

#### 2.1.2. Addressing the problems beyond the NRSF

The National Plan to Combat Racism, Anti-Semitism and Discrimination based on Origin—drafted through a participatory process involving organisations such as *La Voix des Roms* and the CNDH Romeurope—has served

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<sup>12</sup> CNCDH, *Report 2023 on the fight against racism, antisemitism and xenophobia*, available at: <https://www.cncdh.fr/actualite/cncdh-publie-le-rapport-2023-lutte-contre-racisme-antisemitisme-xenophobie>

<sup>13</sup> CNCDH, *Les Essentiels, 2023 report on the fight against racism, antisemitism and xenophobia*, available at: <https://www.cncdh.fr/sites/default/files/2024-07/EN%20-%20Les%20Essentiels%20Report%20Racism%202023.pdf>

<sup>14</sup> CNCDH, *Report 2023 on the fight against racism, antisemitism and xenophobia*, p. 257, available at: <https://www.cncdh.fr/actualite/cncdh-publie-le-rapport-2023-lutte-contre-racisme-antisemitisme-xenophobie>

<sup>15</sup> *Special Eurobarometer 535: Discrimination in the European Union. Country Factsheet France*, available at: <https://europa.eu/eurobarometer/api/deliverable/download/file?deliverableId=90265>

to complement the chapter on combating anti-Romani discrimination, which the strategy designates as its primary objective. Notably, the term for this form of racism appears 18 times in the plan's measures, alongside the words racism, antisemitism and discrimination, marking a clear formal advancement.

Nonetheless, for those implementing these actions, addressing anti-Romani discrimination remains a matter of choice among other forms of racism. Such choice depends on both the willingness but also on the resources available for combating prejudice. True enough these last are still scarce and their volume as their quality and efficiency depend on financial resources allocated, which in turn are also scarce, both at national and local level. Certain prefectures that administer local grants for combating discrimination have provided no support to projects specifically targeting anti-Romani discrimination—even in departments where the issue is particularly pressing. This was the case, for example, with the local call for projects for 2024 in the department of Seine-Saint-Denis, where according to La voix des Roms estimation, the Romani population is around 10,000 to 15,000. For example, in the département, as part of a survey carried out in 2024 on access to domiciliation, seven out of 12 CCAS (municipal social access centres) that answered the question said they refused to domicile people living rough in the commune, while almost half of the CCAS that answered the question said they refused to domicile people living in squats (five out of 11) or shanty towns.

The limited financial resources have also led to a deficiency in knowledge and understanding the phenomenon, which in its turn reduces the resources allocated. For instance, beyond the general problem of a lack of specific data, the DILCRAH was unaware of the abusive practice of enforcing removal measures against Roma individuals originating from Romania, which effectively serve as de facto barriers to the exercise of their right to freedom of movement. Similarly, for financial reasons, the only truly specific measure envisaged in the PRADO—namely, the construction of a museum on the site of the internment camp for nomads in Montreuil-Bellay during the Second World War—has been reduced to an interpretation centre project.

These conclusions emerged from interviews conducted with representatives from both the DILCRAH and the ANGVC. Despite the formal advancements presented in the National Plan and the PRADO, the implementation on the ground remains limited and fragmented, particularly concerning anti-Romani discrimination. William Acker, General Delegate of ANGVC, stresses that the lack of concrete data and political will actively undermines effective public action: "There is very little data, and at the same time, the absence of data is constantly instrumentalised, creating a kind of stalemate and inertia. And I think in many areas, this inertia is intentional—a way to avoid further public spending and to sidestep politically sensitive topics." Without objective indicators, he argues, civil society is left unable to push effectively for tailored policies, and authorities are able to avoid responsibility under the pretext of ignorance. On the institutional side, Mathias Dreyfuss of the DILCRAH acknowledges that more needs to be done to empower grassroots actors: "We are still in the process of mapping out the key associative networks. Specifying antigypsyism in the PRADO has made it easier for us to support associations like La Voix des Roms or CNDH Romeurope, but we clearly need to scale up and involve them more structurally." The lack of sustained collaboration and adequate funding for civil society initiatives perpetuates a pattern in which the burden of action falls disproportionately on under-resourced NGOs, while systemic change remains elusive.

## 2.2. Education

In France, a decree issued on 29 June 2020 aims to simplify the procedures for enrolling children in school. It explicitly states that authorities may only require documents proving the child's identity, the identity of the person responsible for the child, and proof of residence. If the responsible persons cannot provide one of these documents, a sworn statement is sufficient. However, by the end of 2021 (according to DIHAL figures), 70% of children living in slums had still never been enrolled in school.

It is important to note that this figure applies to all people living in slums and is not specific to the Roma population. Nevertheless, society's rejection of precariousness is an integral part of antigypsyist ideology. Antigypsyism leads to the exclusion of Roma people and exacerbates their precariousness. The extreme poverty in which Roma people in slums live fuels existing prejudices against them, further reinforcing antigypsyism.

Many obstacles to schooling persist, either because municipalities refuse to apply the 2020 decree and demand administrative documents that many cannot provide, or because local authorities deliberately stall the process, waiting for a potential eviction. In response to the refusal of some municipalities to enrol their children in school, several families have taken legal action against municipalities in Seine-Saint-Denis, as well as against the local education authority and the prefecture. A collective of mothers organised a "school of the rejected" in front of the Montreuil administrative court (Seine-Saint-Denis). Between 2020 and 2022, 39 cases of school enrolment refusals were recorded in a single department in France.

Even when children are enrolled, numerous difficulties remain. Reception classes for non-French-speaking pupils (UPE2A) are often full, while school transport and reduced-price school meals are often inaccessible due to the distance of families from urban centres and the administrative documents required to benefit from them. According to a DIHAL study from July 2024, titled *State of Play on Access to School Meals for Children Supported by Mediation*, 79% of the municipalities surveyed require at least two supporting documents from families to enrol their children in school meals—documents that most cannot provide. However, access to free or cheaper school transport and catering would enable children to attend school more often and reduce inequalities in access to school. This is the subject of a plea by the DIHAL and associations.

Nonetheless, significant efforts have been made by DIHAL, educational institutions, and grassroots associations to promote access to education for all. School mediation programmes, which serve as a bridge between families living in slums, squats, social hotels, and reception areas, and the education system, have proven effective (see below).

Within the education system, there remains a need to further support associations that conduct school-based interventions to combat antigypsyism and to strengthen historical education on the Roma genocide, as well as Roma cultures and literature.

Challenges also persist for families accustomed to distance learning, which is primarily managed by the CNED. Since 2021 (following the *Law Reinforcing the Principles of the Republic*), families must obtain prior authorisation for home education (IEF). This form of education is essential for families whose way of life is based on itinerancy. However, the first two years of implementation have been marked by refusals, particularly under *Reason 3* (geographical remoteness). As a result, 32.3% of families who applied for home education had their request denied. This raises a serious issue regarding freedom of movement: applications are rejected if parents cannot prove professional itinerancy three months in advance. Additionally, there is a clear disparity in how different education authorities handle applications, highlighting a significant divide between the education system and EFIV families. On the one hand, secondary schools lack resources to support children who have fallen behind academically. On the other, the authorisation system for home education requires families to submit proof of future itinerancy—an inherently impossible demand. In January 2025, the Ministry of Education announced that it had been working on administrative harmonisation of home education applications.

Here are a few examples of progress:

- The development of school mediation. This is an ‘outreach’ initiative designed to bring children back into the mainstream. It is structured around three axes: helping children to go to school, to stay there and to succeed.
- Since 2020, DIHAL, in partnership with the education authorities, has been supporting mediation initiatives aimed at helping children living in very precarious conditions in squats, shanty towns and social housing.
- This is a unique and original programme, even at European level. There is no similar mediation scheme with the aim, beyond opening the door to school, of getting these people out of extreme poverty and exclusion.
- Between now and 2023–2024, 42 mediators, funded to the tune of 2 million EUR, will be helping to bring about a paradigm shift in the way this issue is dealt with, and to establish bonds of trust between parents, children and schools.<sup>16</sup>

### 2.2.1. Effectiveness of the NRSF in addressing the problems

In France, a decree issued on 29 June 2020 was designed to simplify the procedures for enrolling children in school. Despite the decree simplifying the enrolment procedures, —according to DIHAL figures—70% of children living in slums had still not been enrolled in school by the end of 2021. Although this statistic applies to all residents of slums rather than exclusively to the Roma population, it is symptomatic of a broader issue. Indeed, societal rejection of precarious living conditions forms an integral part of antigypsyist ideology, which in turn perpetuates the exclusion of Roma communities and deepens their precarious situation.

<sup>16</sup> DIHAL, *Toutes et tous à l'école [Everyone at school]*, p. 16, available at: <https://www.info.gouv.fr/upload/media/content/0001/12/3cee2e455e6b73289d030bcad69af133dcfc4d94.pdf>

Persistent obstacles to schooling have emerged. Many municipalities either refuse to implement the decree fully—demanding additional administrative documents—or deliberately delay the enrolment process, often in anticipation of potential evictions. In response, several families in Seine-Saint-Denis have initiated legal proceedings against local authorities, with a collective of mothers even establishing a “school of the rejected” outside the Montreuil administrative court. Between 2020 and 2022, a single department in France recorded 39 cases of school enrolment refusals.

Nonetheless, considerable efforts have been made by DIHAL, educational institutions, and grassroots associations to promote educational access. School mediation programmes have proven effective in bridging the gap between families living in slums, squats, and other precarious conditions and the formal education system. Under the “All in School” initiative, the number of school mediators funded by DIHAL increased from 30 in 2021 to 42 in 2024, facilitating the enrolment of 3,577 children in 2024. Moreover, the National Network for School Mediation—an informal collective led by associations specialising in school enrolment support—has enhanced cooperation and the sharing of best practices among mediators. Notably, in 2024, the mediation scheme was piloted in five departments to extend support to children from itinerant and Traveller families (EFIV), aiming also to counter all forms of discrimination and racism, including antigypsyism.

### 2.2.2. Addressing the problems beyond the NRSF

While the aforementioned measures represent significant progress, additional challenges persist that extend beyond the scope of the strategy. One such issue is the persistent difficulty faced by families in accessing education even when enrolment is achieved.

Furthermore, challenges also affect families relying on distance learning through the CNED. Since the implementation of the Law Reinforcing the Principles of the Republic in 2021, prior authorisation has been required for home education (IEF), a mode of education particularly vital for families whose lifestyles are based on itinerancy. The first two years of this policy were marked by a high rate of refusals—32.3% of applications were denied, largely due to geographical remoteness and the stringent requirement that parents demonstrate professional itinerancy three months in advance. This policy not only impinges on the freedom of movement but also exposes a significant disparity in how different education authorities process applications. Secondary schools, for example, are often ill-equipped to support children who fall behind academically, while the home education authorisation system imposes an almost unattainable standard by demanding proof of future itinerancy. In January 2025, the Ministry of Education announced ongoing efforts to harmonise the administrative procedures for home education applications, highlighting the need for further systemic reform.

These developments underscore that, while the strategy has achieved some progress, broader and more integrated efforts are required to overcome the entrenched challenges faced by marginalised communities in accessing education.

## 2.3. Employment

### 2.3.1. Effectiveness of the NRSF in addressing the problems

The implementation of France’s NRSF highlights varied efforts and significant challenges concerning employment for Roma populations. Over recent years, some initiatives emerged across various French territories, showcasing diverse approaches towards employment inclusion.

Initially driven by the national programme SIBEL,<sup>17</sup> employment inclusion strategies aimed at providing collective job preparation programmes (POEC). These programmes were aimed at people living in slums. These programmes were therefore not aimed solely at the Roma, but some of them were included. The objective was creating easily replicable solutions nationwide. However, practical implementation varied widely due to challenges, notably the need for collaboration with OPCOs (training finance bodies), which required a 75% employment success rate post-training. This target proved challenging due to combined employment and linguistic requirements, leading to funding difficulties and varied local adaptations.

Organisations such as UCRM in Toulouse adopted innovative approaches like the IOD mediation method, simultaneously supporting job seekers and engaging employers directly. Mediators thus became crucial, addressing barriers on both sides. Indeed, the role of employment mediators, often trained as professional insertion counsellors (CIP), has evolved substantially. These mediators focus on identifying suitable

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<sup>17</sup> DIHAL, *Résorption des bidonvilles : point d'étape [Resorption of informal settlements: status update]*, p. 24.

employment sectors, language training, workplace integration, and understanding basic employment rights, including payroll and labour standards.

Despite these initiatives, significant systemic barriers remain, such as linguistic requirements, formal documentation, social rights access, mobility constraints, childcare, housing instability, and discrimination. The coordination among multiple stakeholders, including regional authorities, training centres, employment agencies, and employers, has become essential. SocialCObizz<sup>18</sup> has been pivotal, facilitating cooperation among actors at local and national levels, supporting diagnostic assessments, constructing employment pathways, and organising multi-stakeholder engagements.

Concrete regional examples further illustrate these collaborative efforts. In Loire-Atlantique, an "Employers' Charter" is being drafted which addresses seasonal employment and housing stability, tackling exploitative informal intermediaries and improving transparency in recruitment processes. It also promotes employer accountability, improved working conditions, and stable accommodation arrangements.

Nevertheless, significant issues persist, notably discrimination and informal employment practices. The lack of formal mechanisms to access employment leads sometimes to intermediaries exploiting Roma workers by deducting wages or imposing fees. This represents a challenge, particularly in some regions such as Bordeaux and Loire-Atlantique. The necessity for continuous employer sensitisation and regulatory oversight by labour inspections remains critical.

Current national level working groups address seasonal employment, housing issues, and employer responsibilities, aiming at structured, replicable solutions across territories. Effective cooperation with employment services, notably France Travail, is critical despite ongoing challenges, including negative treatment experiences and discriminatory practices towards Roma job seekers. Recent reform efforts aim to better integrate specialised associations interventions with mainstream employment services.

Future strategic directions involve reinforcing mediation roles, expanding language and vocational training adapted to Roma populations, improving collaboration frameworks, and systematically addressing discrimination. Sustainable employment inclusion for Roma and *Gens du voyage* thus requires robust multi-level partnerships, dedicated mediators, consistent employer engagement, and continuous policy adaptation.

### 2.3.2. Addressing the problems beyond the NRSF

A critical barrier affecting Roma inclusion in employment and training opportunities is the requirement for affiliation to the French social security system. This affiliation is essential not only for accessing formal employment but also for receiving remuneration during certain training programmes, including vital language courses aimed at employment integration. The perspective of some remuneration is an important motivation for Romani individuals who live in precarious situations to participate in these training programmes. Yet many fail to receive due payments simply because their social security affiliation is limited to the State Medical Aid (AME).

This minimal health coverage, while important, does not qualify individuals for employment integration measures. Applications for full social security affiliation are regularly redirected towards AME by the CRIEC, a specific scheme for Europeans, targeting Romanians in particular, which we will develop in the next section.

## 2.4. Healthcare

### 2.4.1. Effectiveness of the NRSF in addressing the problems

The French NRSF addresses multiple dimensions of access to healthcare. It includes specific measures to strengthen knowledge of *Gens du voyage*' health status and to continue health mediation efforts.

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<sup>18</sup> SocialCObizz is an association co-created in 2016 by two major players in the field of social integration through economic activity. To achieve its objectives, Dihal, in partnership with the Socialcobizz association, is offering working and discussion sessions for professionals. If they wish, those working with shanty town populations can benefit from specialist support in terms of integration, by registering on the Dihal website. The support offered is spread over several months, from November 2024 to July 2025.

This support is based on the 'job mediation' method, which aims to help the target groups find permanent employment. The principle is based on raising the awareness of the parties involved (employers and target groups) and working on their respective representations.



Simultaneously, it integrates actions aimed at improving healthcare access for those living in slums, as part of broader efforts to reduce informal settlements.

Residents of informal settlements experience significantly deteriorated health due to precarious living conditions. The lack of basic amenities—such as running water, electricity, and sanitation—exacerbates health risks. A study conducted by *Santé Publique France*<sup>19</sup> and regional health agency between 2019 and 2022 in Nouvelle-Aquitaine highlights a direct correlation between the level of housing precariousness and worsening health indicators among *gens du voyage*. The study found that nearly half of surveyed households lived in environmentally hazardous areas, close to industrial sites, roads, or waste disposal facilities, exposing them to pollution-related health risks. These conditions contribute to a marked health disparity between these populations and the general public.

Accessing healthcare remains a challenge for intra-European immigrants due to administrative and systemic barriers. Many residents of informal settlements struggle to obtain health coverage, which requires a fixed address. In 2022, Médecins du Monde reported that 70% of pregnant women in informal housing lacked health coverage at their first consultation. European Union policies further complicate access, as some health insurance offices require proof that individuals are ineligible for an EU Health Insurance Card before granting national health coverage. The Centre for Inactive European Nationals (CREIC), created in 2018 to address these gaps, lacks sufficient resources, leading to administrative delays and errors in residency status assessments.<sup>20</sup>

For irregular migrants, access to healthcare is limited to State Medical Aid (AME), which is increasingly under threat from government efforts to tighten eligibility criteria. New restrictive provisions include mandatory in-person application submissions, a requirement to prove at least three months of irregular stay in France, and delays in accessing certain treatments. These obstacles, coupled with an intensified crackdown on perceived social benefits fraud, create additional barriers to medical care.

Frequent evictions of informal settlements significantly disrupt healthcare access. The constant threat of eviction causes stress and instability, leading individuals to miss medical appointments or deprioritise healthcare. Grassroots organisations report alarming trends, including delayed pregnancy monitoring, incomplete vaccinations, and untreated chronic conditions. When evictions occur, residents are often displaced to remote locations with limited healthcare services, further reducing access to medical care.

Evictions also undermine public health efforts to control infectious diseases. In 2024, outbreaks of scabies, tuberculosis, measles, and whooping cough were recorded in several regions.<sup>21</sup> In some cases, evictions took place during ongoing screening efforts, worsening the situation. For example, in October 2023, a slum was evacuated while tuberculosis tests were being conducted, displacing individuals before they could receive proper care. Similarly, in March 2024, authorities forcibly evicted residents of a squat in Sarcelles despite a recently reported measles case.

Roma individuals in informal housing frequently face discrimination in healthcare settings. This discrimination is often subtle and difficult to quantify, manifesting in dismissive attitudes, differential treatment, and biased assumptions. A study by Dorothee Prud'homme on Roma patients in emergency departments found that many healthcare professionals perceive them as "difficult" and question the legitimacy of their medical concerns.<sup>22</sup> Roma patients are often suspected of exaggerating symptoms to receive priority treatment, leading to delayed

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<sup>19</sup> *Étude épidémiologique sur l'état de santé, le recours aux soins et à la prévention des Gens du voyage en Nouvelle-Aquitaine, 2019-2022* [Epidemiological Study on the Health Status, Healthcare Use, and Preventive Measures Among Travelling Communities in Nouvelle-Aquitaine, 2019–2022]. Bulletin épidémiologique hebdomadaire, 20 February 2024, n°4.

<sup>20</sup> ODSE & CNDH Romeurope, *CREIC : quand la coordination se transforme en machine à exclure les précaires* [CREIC: when coordination turns into a machine for excluding the precarious], p. 11, available at: [https://www.odse.eu.org/IMG/pdf/ue\\_coordo\\_note\\_analyse\\_fonctionnement\\_odse\\_2018\\_12\\_18.pdf](https://www.odse.eu.org/IMG/pdf/ue_coordo_note_analyse_fonctionnement_odse_2018_12_18.pdf)

<sup>21</sup> Observatoire des expulsions des lieux de vie informels, *Rapport 2024* [National Observatory for the Eviction of Informal Living Spaces, 2024 Report], p. 37, available at: [https://www.observatoiredesexpulsions.org/storage/wsm\\_publication/lv0ZPe1qe5Xhn08xUmTcCGwQP8qNVRZJTeUuXv0c.pdf](https://www.observatoiredesexpulsions.org/storage/wsm_publication/lv0ZPe1qe5Xhn08xUmTcCGwQP8qNVRZJTeUuXv0c.pdf)

<sup>22</sup> Proud'Homme D., *La racialisation des patient.e.s "roms" par les médecins urgentistes – Invisibilisation des précarités et révélations des ambitions professionnelles – CAIRN* [Racialization of "Romani" patients by emergency physicians – Invisibilization of precariousness and revelations of professional ambitions], Editions. Lignes, 2012

or inadequate care. A forthcoming 2025 report by the Defender of Rights will address the issue of anti-Roma discrimination in healthcare, highlighting systemic biases that exacerbate health inequalities.

#### 2.4.2. Addressing the problems beyond the NRSF

This minimal health coverage, while important, does not qualify individuals for employment integration measures. Applications for full social security affiliation are regularly redirected towards AME by the CRIEC, whose decision-making processes lacks transparency and accountability. Additionally, evaluations of the right of residence of Roma applying for social security affiliation are excessively restrictive. According to official social security guidelines, affiliation rights are contingent upon meeting minimum resource requirements,<sup>23</sup> a practice clearly inconsistent with established European legal standards. This contradiction severely hampers Roma access to legitimate employment opportunities, thus perpetuating economic exclusion and vulnerability.

Ensuring alignment of French domestic policies with European Union law is crucial. Policies must explicitly guarantee non-discriminatory access to full social security affiliation for Roma, independent of arbitrary resource criteria. Addressing this structural flaw will significantly enhance the effectiveness of France's Roma inclusion strategies, fostering genuine social integration and sustainable employment pathways.

The restrictive analysis of the residence rights for EU mobile Roma, applies fully and foremost here. Too often, AME is the best health coverage they can obtain. This means that many have not even AME and therefore have no choice but using emergency units, which are already overwhelmed. When assisted as needed by mediators they can also use the PASS, which stands for Permanence of Access to Healthcare in Hospitals. A recent government instruction<sup>24</sup> specifies the obligations of these services dedicated to the most precarious.

#### 2.5. Housing, essential services, and environmental justice

According to the latest DIHAL figures, in 2022, more than 25,000 people lived in slums in mainland France in metropolitan area. These people are forced to live in informal housing (without legal occupancy rights) in situations of extreme vulnerability, often due to pervasive discrimination, which effectively excludes them from mainstream society. Those compelled to live in informal housing are constantly confronted with measures that remind them they are not welcome. In 2024, 1,484 evictions were recorded by the Observatory of Informal Settlement Evictions demonstrates that the marginalisation of residents in informal settlements is both institutionalised and systemic.<sup>25</sup> This phenomenon impacts where they are able to settle. Forced to disappear from urban spaces and become invisible in public spaces, residents develop strategies to avoid or circumvent evictions, which, whether consciously or not, shape the locations of their settlements.

Faced with the threat of repeated evictions, some remain within cities to stay close to essential resources but settle in increasingly inaccessible and deteriorated areas. Others move further to the outskirts or into rural and often uninhabited areas, rejected by part of the population as undesirable (near waste disposal sites, factories, industrial zones, cement plants, etc.). In 2024, 108,406 people were evicted. Of these, 88% had to return to homelessness following eviction. In only 0.65% of cases was a dignified and permanent rehousing solution found for these people.<sup>26</sup> In all cases, these situations are created and sustained by the very process of marginalisation that targets them. This mechanism is also gradual: the more frequent and unaccompanied by solutions the eviction process is, the fewer options remain, forcing people into the most marginalised areas. Repeated evictions without appropriate accommodation or housing solutions deprive them of their right to live in a healthy environment.

<sup>23</sup> Website of Social Security: <https://www.ameli.fr/assure/droits-demarches/europe-international/protection-sociale-france/ressortissant-communautaire-inactif>

<sup>24</sup> Instruction N° DGOS/R4/2022/101 du 12 avril 2022 relative au cahier des charges des permanences d'accès aux soins de santé hospitalières (PASS) [Instruction No. DGOS/R4/2022/101 of 12 April 2022 concerning the specifications for hospital-based healthcare access serving units (PASS)], available at: [https://sante.gouv.fr/IMG/pdf/l\\_instruction\\_du\\_12\\_avril\\_2022\\_pass.pdf](https://sante.gouv.fr/IMG/pdf/l_instruction_du_12_avril_2022_pass.pdf)

<sup>25</sup> Observatoire des expulsions des lieux de vie informels, *Rapport 2024* [National Observatory for the Eviction of Informal Living Spaces, 2024 Report], p. 37, available at: [https://www.observatoiredesexpulsions.org/storage/wsm\\_publication/lv0ZPe1qe5Xhn08xUmTcCGwQP8qNVRZJTeUuXvOc.pdf](https://www.observatoiredesexpulsions.org/storage/wsm_publication/lv0ZPe1qe5Xhn08xUmTcCGwQP8qNVRZJTeUuXvOc.pdf)

<sup>26</sup> Id.

Regarding access to housing, a research project conducted by Sciences Po Paris on "Roma People's Access to Housing," which examined public policy instruments and regulations in five European countries, including France, highlighted that not everyone is included in housing access schemes. Selection is not based on clear, written, and objective criteria, with applications often evaluated based on the work efforts of the applicants. Furthermore, in France in particular, due to the saturation of social housing stock, available housing solutions primarily favour some people with special criteria. For example, in some départements, the criterion of a child under the age of one is given priority, while in others, the criterion of a child under the age of five is given priority. Ethnic categorisation, which can target Roma, remains strong, even in countries like France, where it cannot be explicitly declared. Negative selection decisions are never justified, leaving applicants without guidance on how to improve their applications. Thus, it is also impossible to challenge the decisions. This combination of radical uncertainty and the perception of ethnic exclusion fosters a deep sense of powerlessness.<sup>27</sup> Faced with scarce resources and an assessment system that evaluates families' "integrability" and financial stability on a case-by-case basis, officials acknowledge the problems but fail to take collective action based on reflective policymaking.

Regarding designated living spaces for so-called "*gens du voyage*," particularly halting sites, multiple studies published in 2021, 2022, and 2024 highlight a systemic issue concerning their locations.<sup>28</sup> These sites are proposed by municipalities which allocate specific spaces far from city centres. These sites are overwhelmingly situated far from urban areas and near sources of pollution or industrial hazards. In fact, 52% of these facilities are near landfills, sewage treatment plants, SEVESO-classified factories, or major roads. A 2024 study by *Santé Publique France* and FNASAT on the health of *gens du voyage* in Nouvelle-Aquitaine found that these locations negatively impact users' health, notably reducing their life expectancy by 8 to 12 years.

#### 2.5.1. Effectiveness of the NRSF in addressing the problems

The French government has introduced various measures aimed at mitigating the challenges faced by residents of informal settlements. Transitional housing programmes—often financed through European funds—have been developed to provide temporary accommodation for affected populations, primarily targeting individuals from Eastern Europe. While some of these initiatives serve as stepping stones towards permanent housing, many remain temporary, restrictive, and subject to stringent regulations outside the framework of mainstream housing policies.

Regarding residents of informal settlements, France has developed transitional housing programmes, often supported financially by European funds. These transitional villages primarily target populations from Eastern Europe, yet the affected individuals are never included in the decision-making and implementation processes of the schemes that concern them. These schemes vary: while some projects act as stepping stones to permanent housing, many are temporary, restrictive, and subject to strict, imposed regulations that operate outside mainstream housing policies. For example, there are integration villages in towns such as Montpellier, Villeurbanne and Lyon. These villages target Roma populations and constitute specific schemes outside the scope of mainstream policies. However, there are intermediate housing schemes that separate urgent housing needs from long-term life planning, allowing households greater agency (such as assisted rental management models like intermediation leasing, which facilitates housing stability and transition into mainstream housing). These schemes need stronger public support within a broader strategy to reduce informal settlements. These programmes are often run by local associations. One example is the rental intermediation programme run by the ALPIL association in Lyon or that run by the association HAS à Marseille.<sup>29</sup>

#### 2.5.2. Addressing the problems beyond the NRSF

The ministerial instruction of 25 January 2018, which aims to reinvigorate efforts to reduce illegal encampments and slums, provides a framework and sets objectives for implementing multi-stakeholder strategies that take into account the individual situations of those affected and seek appropriate solutions

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<sup>27</sup> *R-Home Roma: Housing, opportunities, mobilisation and empowerment*, 2014-2020, available at: <https://www.sciencespo.fr/centre-etudes-europeennes/en/research/project/r-home/>

<sup>28</sup> Acker, W., *Où sont les gens du voyage ? Une histoire actuelle de l'antitsiganisme [Where Are the Travelling People? A Contemporary History of Antigypsyism]*, 2023, p. 288.

<sup>29</sup> Association pour l'insertion par le logement ALPIL, *Rapport d'activité 2022* [Association for Housing Integration ALPIL, 2022 Activity Report], available at: [https://www.habiter.org/media/pages/publications/rapportsdactivite/rapport-d-activite-2022/03f82d4ad7-1697017596/ra\\_2022.pdf](https://www.habiter.org/media/pages/publications/rapportsdactivite/rapport-d-activite-2022/03f82d4ad7-1697017596/ra_2022.pdf)



within mainstream housing schemes. However, this instruction has been applied inconsistently, only in certain territories and for some informal settlements. By 2022, it is estimated that only ¼ of the areas affected by shanty towns will have a strategy in place to deal with them. Nonetheless, an increasing number of prefectures and local authorities are adopting strategic approaches. Promising approaches, such as in Nantes, Montpellier and Angers. For example, in 2020, the Villeurbanne municipality questioned the contractual terms and theoretical three-year exit period of certain temporary integration projects. The city developed a strategy based on the "Housing First" approach, signing a tripartite agreement with Lyon, the metropolitan authority, and the state to foster cooperation. Villeurbanne prioritised land policy, ensuring no empty buildings remained within its municipal assets, making vacant properties available, and contributing to collective efforts rather than replacing state responsibilities. Politically, Villeurbanne advocates for the "right to housing," drawing from the principles of the Housing First philosophy. Rather than a purely Housing First approach, the municipality has positioned itself as an inclusive local authority, leading to multiple projects that do not exclusively target Roma populations but support people experiencing severe precarity from diverse backgrounds.<sup>30</sup> This marginalisation is institutionalised and evident in the high number of evictions recorded by the Observatory of Informal Settlement Evictions.

## 2.6. Social protection

Both *Gens du voyage* and residents of slums and squats—the two key groups targeted by the strategy—face a high risk of poverty due to the precarious nature of their living conditions. As a result, the social benefits they may require and qualify for are often difficult to access.

### 2.6.1. Effectiveness of the NRSF in addressing the problems

The NRSF does not include specific measures directly targeting social protection. However, local grassroots associations supporting *Gens du voyage*, as well as certain broader initiatives aimed at slum residents, may have an indirect impact on access to social assistance.

For instance, the wider use of professional interpreting services and the development of school and health mediation could improve interactions with administrative services and facilitate access to social benefits. In practice, mediators working in education and healthcare often expand their role voluntarily, assisting individuals in navigating bureaucratic obstacles related to social protection. However, this remains an informal and empirical observation, with no systematic data available to assess its effectiveness.

### 2.6.2. Addressing the problems beyond the NRSF

Access to social benefits, employment, healthcare, and public services is obstructed by multiple barriers:

- Digital exclusion: The digitalisation of administrative procedures disproportionately affects these populations, as many struggle with online applications due to limited digital literacy and access to technology.
- Language barriers: Many slum residents face difficulties understanding and completing administrative procedures, highlighting the need for greater access to translation and mediation services.
- Restrictive interpretation of residency rights: Some family allowance offices (*Caisses d'allocations familiales* - CAF) apply overly strict criteria, leading to an increase in benefit suspensions and demands for reimbursement of alleged overpayments—sometimes reaching tens of thousands of euros. Since 2021, associations have reported a sharp rise in such cases in Île-de-France and the Nord department, placing families in severe financial distress.

## 2.7. Social services

While some progress is noted, it is far from being generalised and at the required level for the overall objectives of the NRSF to be reached.

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<sup>30</sup> Acker, W., *Où sont les gens du voyage ? Une histoire actuelle de l'antitsiganisme [Where Are the Travelling People? A Contemporary History of Antigypsyism]*, 2023, p. 288.

### 2.7.1. Effectiveness of the NRSF in addressing the problems

Globally, access to social services remain limited, especially for EU mobile Roma. From empirical observation on behalf of the RCM coalition as well as based on the interviews made with various actors, it results that mediation is needed in all fields. This finding is rather worrying in a country where equal and direct access to rights is an important principle, but understandable when we consider that intermediation of specialised associations is the rule when it comes to access to services for the gens du voyage.

Mainstream service providers do not usually reach out to the people in need, and this leads to non-take-up rates that reach up to 50% in some cases. This phenomenon which is recognised and more and more measured by the government<sup>31</sup> represents about 10 billion EUR of economies for the State's budget (the number of persons/households that do not take up is not available).<sup>32</sup>

Beyond these general considerations, the implementation of the NRSF faces significant challenges in effectively addressing the issues encountered by Roma communities regarding access to social services. Institutions such as the Family Allowance Funds (CAF), Health Insurance Funds, Employment agencies, municipal social action centres (CCAS), Child Protection Services etc. remain largely compartmentalised, operating within their own administrative silos with limited culture of cooperation. This fragmentation hinders the effectiveness of interventions, as there is a lack of coordination and data-sharing between different services, making it difficult for Roma individuals and families to navigate the system.

Furthermore, social services remain largely inaccessible to Roma populations, particularly for those who do not speak French. Language barriers significantly complicate their ability to understand and engage with the complex administrative procedures necessary to access benefits and support. Geographical isolation is another obstacle, as many communities targeted by the strategy live in slums located far from city centres, making it difficult to physically reach social service offices. Limited access to public transport further exacerbates this issue.

While there is now enough awareness within the DIHAL that a comprehensive and coordinated approach is indispensable for a successful implementation of the strategy, unfortunately the prefectures and local authorities, which are supposed to implement such an approach at the local level, are very rarely doing it. It is good news that the 8 million EUR budget for slums' clearance was conserved despite the uncertainty that reigned during several months. However, it was never a sufficient leverage for local authorities but a supplementary convincing element to take initiative. As for prefectures, which are the State authorities at the local level, the DIHAL has no hierarchic power on them. In other words, all leads to the conclusion that political will remains the basis of any positive change.

### 2.7.2. Addressing the problems beyond the NRSF

Discrimination at certain service counters also remains a concern. The practice of field actors indicates that some public service agents exhibit biases, either through direct refusal of service, additional administrative burdens imposed on Roma applicants, or an overall unwelcoming attitude that discourages engagement with the system.

Beyond the measures outlined in the NRSF, the PRADO (National Plan to combat racism, antisemitism and origin-related discrimination) introduces additional actions aimed at tackling these systemic issues. One key component is the training and awareness-raising of public service agents to combat discrimination and improve service accessibility. However, the implementation of these initiatives has been slow due to a lack of both financial and human resources, two constraints that are closely interlinked. Insufficient funding prevents the hiring of additional personnel and limits the scope of training programmes, thereby restricting the reach and impact of these measures.

Moreover, emerging innovative expertise and knowledge in the field of antigypsyist discrimination, particularly through initiatives such as *La Voix des Roms*, is not sufficiently leveraged. This underutilisation is partly due to financial constraints but also stems from a lack of awareness among institutional actors about the existence

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<sup>31</sup> Webpage of the Ministry of Health and Solidarity: <https://drees.solidarites-sante.gouv.fr/jeux-de-donnees-communique-de-presse/non-recours-aux-prestations-sociales-le-manque-dinformation-en>

<sup>32</sup> *Aides sociales: plusieurs milliards d'euros non versés chaque année!* [Social assistance: several billion euros not disbursed each year!], available at: <https://www.previsima.fr/actualite/aides-sociales-plusieurs-milliards-deuros-non-verses-chaque-annee.html>

or relevance of these resources. Many officials remain unaware of the expertise available within Roma-led organisations or fail to recognise the added value they bring to policy implementation and service provision. This expertise should be better promoted and further expanded through training of trainers to be identified especially among Romani young people.

Addressing these shortcomings requires a more integrated and well-resourced approach, ensuring that both public services and grassroots organisations can collaborate effectively to dismantle the barriers Roma communities face in accessing social support systems. Without adequate investment and a shift in institutional culture, the structural limitations of the current framework will persist, perpetuating inequalities and hindering the effective inclusion of Roma populations in mainstream social services.

## 2.8. Child protection

The issue of child protection is one of the subjects that needs particular care both in actions to be taken, in the way they are implemented and in the choice of those entrusted to implement them. Indeed, according to the last report of CNCDH on racism in France, 57% of the respondents thought that Romani parents exploited children. Some realities like the begging of or with children or early marriages deserve better responses than being highlighted, exaggerated or distorted. As sometimes they are integrated by Roma themselves as being “cultural”, the deconstruction of the vicious circle from one practice to a stereotype to belief that it is cultural requires very-well thought intervention by Romani actors, as the belonging to the same community grows the influence on those concerned.

### 2.8.1. Effectiveness of the NRSF in addressing the problems

The French NRSF, refers to the multi-annual poverty reduction strategy, which includes specific measures for child protection. Among these, the strategy provides for mobile outreach teams, known as “*maraudes mixtes*,” composed of state services and departmental councils. These teams engage directly with families living on the streets, in squats, or informal settlements to offer tailored support especially for children.

Since 2019, this measure has received an annual budget of 2 million EUR and has been implemented in 15 departments. According to the 2020 implementation reports, these mixed outreach teams encountered more than 12,000 people, with 1,533 families and children benefiting from support such as accommodation, housing assistance, access to rights, and school enrolment. Additionally, 166 child protection measures were enacted. Following 2020, the objective was to expand the outreach efforts and enhance the effectiveness of the support measures provided. However, no accessible consolidated data were found for the recent years.

The risk of stigmatisation is a key concern in child protection efforts targeting Roma communities. According to the 2023 report from the National Consultative Commission on Human Rights (CNCDH), 57% of respondents believe that Roma people exploit their children. This prevailing stereotype contributes to systemic biases within child protection services, potentially leading to unjustified interventions. Field associations frequently encounter cases of unnecessary child placements, driven more by prejudice than by genuine concerns for the child’s well-being. Such actions not only disrupt families but also reinforce anti-Roma prejudices and sentiment, further marginalising the community.

### 2.8.2. Addressing the problems beyond the NRSF

Beyond the NRSF, further action is needed to improve child protection measures. The PRADO initiative introduces additional strategies, including awareness campaigns and training for public service agents, aiming to prevent discrimination and ensure better service provision. However, the implementation of these initiatives has been slow due to insufficient financial and human resources, which are closely interconnected. The awareness raising and training of professionals is very much needed in the whole chain that is involved in child protection, from police to judges, not to forget the educators and psychologists.

Another critical aspect of child protection within Roma communities is the prevention of early marriages. DIHAL has initiated awareness-raising efforts in collaboration with the Directorate General for Social Cohesion and the Interministerial Mission for the Protection of Women and the Fight against Human Trafficking. However, these initiatives must be carefully framed to avoid reinforcing existing prejudices against Roma cultural practices. Instead, a more inclusive and community-driven approach is needed to foster trust and collaboration.

To ensure more effective child protection, it is essential to improve the coordination of institutional responses and allocate additional resources to existing initiatives. Greater recognition and integration of Roma-led expertise could enhance the effectiveness of policies and interventions aimed at safeguarding children from

social exclusion and exploitation. All efforts made in this direction should also systematically take into account anti-Roma biases within child protection services, ensuring that interventions are justified, proportionate, and free from discriminatory assumptions.

## 2.9. Promoting (awareness of) Roma arts, culture, and history

Promoting Roma arts, culture, and history goes beyond mere cultural recognition—it is about creating a safe and legitimate space where Roma individuals can fully embrace their identity as equal citizens. While this objective may fall outside the immediate scope of anti-discrimination strategies, it is a fundamental step towards fostering a more inclusive society. Ensuring that Roma heritage is acknowledged and valued not only empowers Roma communities but also challenges the historical erasure that has contributed to their marginalisation.

At the same time, increasing awareness of Roma culture among the wider population carries a dual risk. While it can potentially counteract antigypsyism by fostering understanding and appreciation, it can also reinforce stereotypes if approached superficially. The danger lies in the folklorisation of Romani culture—reducing it to exoticised traditions that feed into pre-existing prejudices rather than challenging them. Additionally, there is a risk of passivity: if Roma individuals are not active participants in shaping how their culture is represented, they may remain trapped in the centuries-old conceptual exclusion that the NRSF fails to address. The promotion of Roma heritage must, therefore, ensure that it reflects the living, evolving culture—one that Romani people themselves define and express—rather than a static or romanticised vision imposed from the outside or liked by it. Only by making Roma communities central actors in this process can cultural promotion become a genuine tool for inclusion rather than another mechanism of (justifying) marginalisation.

### 2.9.1. Effectiveness of the NRSF in addressing the problems

In France, the approach to Roma issues is predominantly framed within the lens of social integration. While this strategy has its merits, it often sidelines the broader cultural and historical dimensions of the Roma experience. The recent inclusion of antigypsyism as a recognized issue is a welcomed development, applauded by civil society. However, this dual focus—social integration and combating discrimination—often exhausts the resources of the State and local authorities, leaving little room for a more comprehensive engagement with Roma arts, culture, and history beyond the scope of memorialization.

A major axis in the fight against antigypsyism also lies within cultural institutions in France. One of the most significant initiatives in this regard is the project to create a museum-memorial in Montreuil-Bellay, announced by the Prime Minister in January 2023. Initially envisioned as a full-fledged museum, the project was later scaled down due to budget constraints, resulting in a reduced interpretive trail. Spearheaded by the municipality of Montreuil-Bellay with support from local authorities and the State, the initiative has a total budget of 700,000 EUR and is expected to open to the public in September 2026. The memorial will serve as an educational space for the general public and school groups, focusing on the history of "nomads" during the Second World War. It represents an essential tool in efforts to combat antigypsyism.

However, given its geographical location and relatively modest scale, this initiative must be complemented by other projects across France. Currently, more than 40 former concentration or internment camps for nomads remain unrecognized as heritage sites. Another significant project addressing this gap is the *Camp des Familles* exhibition at the *Rivesaltes* Camp Memorial, which examines the internment of nomads during the Second World War. In both cases, additional programming accompanying the exhibitions has provided the public with workshops and cultural productions that engage with the topic of antigypsyism.

While memorialization efforts are vital, they should not be the sole approach to promoting Roma arts, culture, and history. Cultural festivals, artistic residencies, and the inclusion of Roma heritage in national institutions are necessary steps towards a more comprehensive recognition. The development of educational programs, grants for Roma artists, and partnerships with mainstream cultural institutions can further ensure a more vibrant and visible Roma cultural presence in France. Without such initiatives, the understanding of Roma history risks remaining confined to narratives of persecution rather than celebrating the richness and resilience of Roma artistic and cultural contributions.

### 2.9.2. Addressing the problems beyond the NRSF

It is worth noting that, beyond the NRSF, other museum projects have been supported by the State, including the *Barvalo* exhibition at the MUCEM in Marseille. This initiative took a different approach by celebrating Romani

pride and extensively addressing issues related to antigypsyism. Unfortunately, the exhibition was of limited duration. It would be beneficial for such exhibitions to be circulated in the future to reach a broader audience.

Local Roma-led initiatives also play a crucial role in cultural awareness and remembrance. For example, activities organized around April 8, the International Romani Day, contribute to raising awareness of Roma heritage and struggles. Additionally, since 2010, the *Fête de l'insurrection gitane*, initiated by *La Voix des Rroms*, has gained international recognition. Celebrating the 1944 uprising of the "Gypsy Families Camp" at Birkenau, this event provides a significant opportunity to encourage civic engagement and solidarity between Romani communities and other oppressed groups advocating for dignity and rights.

These activities are far from anecdotal; they address the gap between, on one hand, the focus on social inclusion and, on the other, the portrayal of "gypsy culture" in certain artistic and musical expressions in nightclubs, where cultural appropriation often distorts Roma heritage. Such misrepresentations undermine the Roma culture as the soul of a people in all its diversity

### 3. FOCUS ON KEY PROBLEMS AFFECTING ROMA

#### 3.1. Forced evictions and housing

In France, due to anti-Roma discrimination from birth, many Roma people live in informal housing (without property rights), experiencing an intersection of vulnerabilities and discrimination, both because of their origins and their living conditions. These living spaces are subject to eviction policies rather than stabilisation and security measures, further worsening the precarious situation of families. These evictions take place in a context where the prevention of forced evictions is not at the heart of an ambitious public policy, and where setbacks are multiplying, as exemplified by the Kasbarian-Bergé law,<sup>33</sup> known as the "anti-squatting law," which accelerates eviction procedures, contrary to a preventive approach.

Behind the term "housing" and the defence of "small property owners," this law primarily and predominantly targets squatting situations in nearly all vacant premises, including abandoned spaces designated for "economic use" (offices, warehouses, storage facilities), as well as tenants subject to eviction orders. Framed within a legalistic and security-focused framework, the text makes no mention of the social circumstances of the individuals concerned, nor of any support measures to facilitate their access to housing or shelter. On the contrary, it accelerates eviction procedures and introduces criminal penalties against those in precarious housing situations.

Meanwhile, the measures announced by the Government in the second *Housing First* Plan and the *Solidarity Pact* fall far short of the challenges and needs in terms of policies to combat exclusion and homelessness. Squatting serves as a refuge solution for homeless individuals in response to the lack of housing and the overstretched shelter system.

##### *Case study: Forced eviction without a solution*

In Saint-Genis-Laval (Rhône department), the informal settlement known as La Mouche, home to 122 people, including around fifty minors, had been identified as a priority site for the Rhône's squatter settlement reduction strategy since September 2021. In line with the objectives set out in the directive of 25 January 2018, comprehensive support measures were implemented within the settlement to enable the reduction of both the site and the precarious conditions of its residents. School and employment mediators were assigned to work closely with the social action services of the City and the Lyon Metropolis, as well as various charitable organisations (Alpil, the Red Cross, and Médecins du Monde).

However, living conditions on-site were particularly unsanitary, notably due to the accumulation of waste, which was not collected by municipal services. The municipality of Saint-Genis-Laval had provided an insufficient number of waste bins (only three) and had refused to implement a waste collection service. This situation led to numerous appeals from associations to various authorities (both prefectural and municipal) since autumn 2021. However, these requests remained unanswered, and no action was taken by public authorities to improve living conditions.

Yet, the 2018 directive instructs prefectures to establish a strategy covering a broad range of issues, including waste collection, environmental protection, and ensuring secure living conditions. On 24 June, a prefectural eviction order was issued on the grounds of severe public health and hygiene concerns.

The settlement was ultimately cleared four days later, and the site—despite repeated calls for a clean-up to ensure dignified hygiene conditions for residents—was only cleaned after their departure. This eviction could have been avoided if the warnings from residents and associations had been heeded and a comprehensive reduction strategy, including improvements to living conditions, had been implemented.

This situation is all the more regrettable given that resources had already been allocated to support the residents of this settlement, which had been designated a priority in the reduction plan. The eviction left many people homeless once again: only the 29 individuals still present in the settlement on the day of the eviction were offered accommodation solutions in integration villages or shelters.

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<sup>33</sup> Loi n° 2023-668 du 27 juillet 2023 visant à protéger les logements contre l'occupation illicite [Law No. 2023-668 of 27 July 2023 aimed at protecting housing against unlawful occupation], available at: <https://www.legifrance.gouv.fr/dossierlegislatif/JORFDOLE000046682522/>



### 3.1.1. Effectiveness of the NRSF in addressing the problem

Since 2018, France has attempted to shift its approach to informal settlements and slums, particularly those inhabited by EU nationals, from short-term eviction operations towards long-term housing solutions. However, interviews with various stakeholders, including Elise Blanchet (Bordeaux Métropole), François Prochasson and Julien Hegly-Delfour (Nantes Métropole), as well as CSO representatives William Acker (ANGVC) and Leonard Velicu (Eurrom), highlight ongoing challenges in housing access, eviction policies, and the precarious living conditions of affected populations.

The implementation of housing policies remains highly inconsistent across regions. In Bordeaux, efforts such as the "Squat Mission" and a digital platform for monitoring informal settlements have improved coordination, but land scarcity and bureaucratic constraints hinder meaningful progress. While temporary relocation options exist, they are often inadequate, either placing families in substandard housing or failing to account for their specific needs. In Nantes, local authorities acknowledge that despite alignment with national policies, financial limitations—particularly a lack of sufficient European and national funding—restrict their ability to implement sustainable housing solutions. The disparities between regions reflect broader challenges in ensuring an equitable nationwide response.

Forced evictions remain a major obstacle to long-term stability. While official policies emphasize the prioritization of stabilization over eviction, legal and practical constraints mean that eviction remains the default response. Velicu describes how in many cases, residents receive little to no warning before being removed, making it difficult to salvage personal belongings or make alternative living arrangements. In the past, evictions were sometimes preceded by brief notification periods, allowing families to dismantle their shelters and relocate independently. However, recent trends show a shift towards unannounced or last-minute evictions, exacerbating instability and deepening mistrust between communities and authorities. The destruction of property, including caravans and personal possessions, further intensifies the impact.

The Observatory on Informal Settlement Evictions reported 1,484 evictions in 2024—a 34% increase compared to 2023. Many of these evictions lacked a legal basis, and only one-third were preceded by a social assessment. In 88% of cases, eviction led to a return to homelessness. Additionally, 157 recorded incidents of physical or verbal violence occurred during evictions, though every eviction carries a symbolic violence in itself. Since 2022, there has been evidence of explicitly anti-Roma evictions carried out by local residents and, in some cases, elected officials, as demonstrated by the significant case in Villeron.<sup>34</sup>

On 18 September 2022, approximately 150 Romanian Roma individuals settled in a woodland area owned by the Roissy-Pays de France urban community in Villeron (Val d'Oise). On 29 January 2023, a public gathering was held in the town before residents marched toward the settlement. The municipal bulletin featured a front-page image of the settlement with the caption: "Shame on Europe for encouraging the wandering of marginal populations." On 5 February 2023, nearly 200 people, led by the mayor, gathered near the settlement to expel the Roma residents. Journalists reported hearing racist remarks such as "Get out, Roma," "Clear off," and "Filthy thieves."<sup>35</sup> Protesters bypassed the police, entered the settlement from the rear, and began destroying property. Following complaints, a court hearing is scheduled for 2025.

These incidents are not isolated. Threats and instances of openly anti-Roma violence have been recorded in other municipalities (Wissous, Grigny, etc.) in 2024.<sup>36</sup> The Defender of Rights has noted that public authorities

<sup>34</sup> CNDH Romeurope et Fondation Abbé Pierre, *Expulsion illégale et discriminatoire à Villeron : la Fondation Abbé Pierre et le CNDH Romeurope portent plainte (Communiqué de presse)* [Illegal and Discriminatory Eviction in Villeron: the Abbé Pierre Foundation and the CNDH Romeurope File a Complaint (Press Release)], available at: <https://www.romeurope.org/villeron-fap-cndh-romeurope-plainte/>

*Expulsion illégale à Villeron - nous portons plainte contre le maire et contre X* [Illegal Eviction in Villeron — We Are Filing a Complaint Against the Mayor and Persons Unknown], available at: <https://www.lavoixdesroms.com/single-post/expulsion-ill%C3%A9gale-%C3%AO-villeron-nous-portons-plainte-contre-le-maire-et-contre-x>

<sup>35</sup> Perrotin, D., Médiapart, *Sales voleurs ! : des habitants chassent violemment des familles roms de leur village* ["Dirty Thieves!": Residents Violently Expel Roma Families from Their Village], 2023, available at: <https://www.mediapart.fr/journal/france/080223/sales-voleurs-des-habitants-chassent-violemment-des-familles-roms-de-leur-village>

<sup>36</sup> Perrotin, D., Médiapart, *Qui veut se faire du roms ? A Wissous, des propos anti-roms du maire agitent la ville* ["Who Wants to Get the Roma?" In Wissous, Anti-Roma Remarks by the Mayor Stir Up the Town], 2024, available at:

often fail in their duty to protect individuals, uphold the law, and respect human dignity. In its 2023 contribution to the CNCDH report on fighting racism, antisemitism, and xenophobia, the Defender of Rights warned of the continued evictions without appropriate alternative solutions, leading to increased precariousness and forced displacement.

Temporary housing solutions introduced as alternatives to informal settlements are often inadequate. In Bordeaux, *Logement Temporaire d'Insertion* (Inclusive Temporary Accommodation, LTI) provides transitional housing, but Velicu highlights its shortcomings. Many of these sites are in isolated locations with poor access to public transport and employment opportunities, making them impractical for long-term residence. Additionally, residents report feeling over-monitored, with strict conditions that leave little room for autonomy. Acker points out that for many Travellers, the lack of legal recognition for caravan-based living further complicates their ability to secure permanent housing. Even those who attempt to purchase land face restrictive zoning laws that prohibit caravans as permanent residences, effectively rendering them ineligible for housing rights.

Discrimination in housing allocation remains a major challenge. Velicu describes how Roma families placed in social housing often face hostility from neighbours, complaints about noise, and substandard living conditions. Poor insulation, heating issues, and general neglect contribute to additional financial burdens, with many tenants facing high utility costs due to inefficient housing. Some families return to informal settlements as a response to worsening economic conditions, particularly in the wake of rising living costs and inflation. He notes that some families, unable to cope with the financial strain of rent, utilities, and daily expenses, deliberately default on rent payments, leading to eventual evictions and a return to slum conditions.

### 3.1.2. Synergy with other actions

Housing measures of the strategy intersect with other national initiatives, such as the Housing First Plan and the Solidarity Pact, both aimed at tackling homelessness and housing exclusion. However, these measures remain insufficient in addressing the scale of the crisis. The second Housing First Plan and the Solidarity Pact fall short in providing sustainable solutions, leaving squatting as a last-resort option for many homeless individuals due to the severe shortage of affordable housing and the saturation of shelter systems.

Implementation of housing policies varies significantly across regions. In Bordeaux, initiatives like the Squat Mission have enhanced coordination, yet land scarcity and bureaucratic hurdles continue to impede progress. Temporary relocation programs exist but often fail to meet the needs of displaced families, placing them in inadequate housing. Similarly, in Nantes, local authorities recognize that while their efforts align with national policies, financial constraints, particularly insufficient European and national funding, limit their capacity to implement lasting solutions. These regional disparities highlight broader challenges in achieving an equitable response.

Forced evictions persist as a major destabilizing factor. While national policies theoretically prioritize settlement stabilization over eviction, in practice, eviction remains the default response. Many individuals receive little to no warning before being removed, making it nearly impossible to safeguard personal belongings or secure alternative housing. Previously, short grace periods allowed for independent relocation, but recent trends indicate an increase in unannounced or last-minute evictions, deepening instability and eroding trust between affected communities and authorities. Additionally, the destruction of property, including caravans and personal belongings, exacerbates the precariousness of those evicted.<sup>37</sup>

Alternative housing solutions often fail to provide sustainable options. In Bordeaux, the *Logement Temporaire d'Insertion* (LTI) scheme offers transitional housing, but many sites are in remote areas with poor transport links, limiting access to employment and essential services. Residents also report excessive monitoring and restrictive conditions that curtail their autonomy. For many Travellers, the absence of legal recognition for caravan-based living further restricts their housing choices. Even those seeking to purchase land for

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<https://www.mediapart.fr/journal/france/080223/sales-voleurs-des-habitants-chassent-violemment-des-familles-roms-de-leur-village>

<sup>37</sup> Observatoire des expulsions des lieux de vie informels, *Rapport 2024* [National Observatory for the Eviction of Informal Living Spaces, 2024 Report], available at: [https://www.observatoiredesexpulsions.org/storage/wsm\\_publication/lvOZPe1qe5Xhn08xUmTcCGwQP8qNVRZJTeUuXvOc.pdf](https://www.observatoiredesexpulsions.org/storage/wsm_publication/lvOZPe1qe5Xhn08xUmTcCGwQP8qNVRZJTeUuXvOc.pdf)



permanent settlement face zoning laws that prohibit caravans as legal residences, leaving them without viable housing options.

Discrimination in housing allocation exacerbates these challenges. Roma families placed in social housing frequently encounter hostility from neighbours, leading to complaints, surveillance, and social exclusion. Moreover, many allocated housing units suffer from poor maintenance, inadequate insulation, heating failures, and high utility costs due to inefficient energy systems. Some families, overwhelmed by financial difficulties, deliberately stop paying rent, resulting in evictions and a return to informal settlements. Rising living costs and inflation further hinder vulnerable families from maintaining stable housing.

Access to basic infrastructure remains another critical issue. Studies<sup>38</sup> indicate severe health disparities in slums and designated Traveller sites due to poor sanitation, environmental hazards, and limited access to clean water. Even when authorities provide water connections in informal settlements, these installations often come too late—just before evictions—rendering them practically useless. While waste collection is relatively consistent, electricity and sanitation services remain unreliable, forcing many families to rely on makeshift solutions such as bottled water and unauthorized electricity connections.

Beyond housing, evictions create significant barriers to accessing fundamental social rights. Administrative domiciliation, a prerequisite for obtaining essential services, is difficult to secure for homeless individuals. A 2024 survey of 96 municipal social action centres (CCAS) in Île-de-France highlights systemic obstacles, including restrictive requirements and non-compliance with legal frameworks. Many CCAS demand prior appointments, refuse domiciliation for those living on the streets (57%), or deny it to residents of shantytowns (46%), effectively preventing access to social benefits.

Education is also severely impacted. By the end of 2021, 70% of children living in shantytowns and squats had never been enrolled in school. Housing insecurity and evictions contribute to high dropout rates, with evicted children missing an average of six months of schooling. While support programs exist for allophone pupils (UPE2A and UPE2A NSA), they are not adequately adapted to the unique challenges faced by children in extreme precarity. School mediators play a vital role in facilitating access to education, but inconsistent funding and bureaucratic delays undermine the sustainability of these initiatives. Moreover, increasing administrative barriers threaten the principle of unconditional access to education.<sup>39</sup>

Ultimately, while national policies and social initiatives exist, they lack cohesion and fail to provide a coordinated, sustainable response to the housing crisis affecting Roma, Travellers, and other marginalized communities. The persistent reliance on eviction, combined with inadequate rehousing options and poor infrastructure access, perpetuates cycles of displacement and precarity. Strengthening the synergy between housing policies, financial support mechanisms, and long-term integration strategies is essential to developing inclusive and lasting solutions.

### 3.2. Health

It has been demonstrated that housing largely influences health, education, and overall well-being. The two groups identified as targets of the strategy (i.e. the *gens du voyage* and the EU mobile Roma) live in quite dire conditions, not only when their dwelling place is illegal or informal, but also when it is legal. This is for example particularly the case of the halting areas of the *gens du voyage* which are built by authorities, as it was shown very clearly in the book “Où sont les ‘gens du voyage’? Inventaire critique des aires d’accueil”, written by William Acker.<sup>40</sup>

#### Case study: Butte de Montarcy lead contamination

At the beginning of the 2000s, families in precarious situations settled without legal authorisation on a piece of land located on the Butte de Montarcy, in the commune of Méry-sur-Oise. In 2018, the results of a study conducted by the Île-de-France Regional Health Agency (ARS) and the Interdepartmental Syndicate for

<sup>38</sup> Observatoire des expulsions des lieux de vie informels, *Rapport 2024* [National Observatory for the Eviction of Informal Living Spaces, 2024 Report], available at:

<sup>39</sup> CNDH Romeurope, *Résorber dignement les bidonvilles* [Reducing Informal Settlements with Dignity], p. 47, 2022

<sup>40</sup> Acker, W., *Où sont les « gens du voyage » ? Inventaire critique des aires d'accueil* [Where Are the “Travellers”? A Critical Inventory of Reception Areas], Rennes, Éditions du Commun, 2021.

Sanitation of the Paris Agglomeration (SIAAP) revealed high levels of lead contamination in the soil of sites located in former sewage spreading areas of the Seine. The Butte de Montarcy was among these exposed sites. Associations supporting these families expressed concern over the risk of lead contamination, as some had been living on these polluted grounds for nearly 20 years.

On the Butte de Montarcy, an initial blood screening was carried out in April 2019 by the Maternal and Child Protection service (PMI). The child tested showed a blood lead level exceeding 50 µg/L, triggering a Mandatory Declaration to the Regional Health Agency. In October 2019, the PMI screened a second child. Environmental investigations, including soil sampling, were then conducted by the ARS at the site, confirming a significant presence of lead in the soil. The *Collectif de soutien du 95 aux familles Roms de Roumanie et d'ailleurs* (Support collective of the 95 for Roma families from Romania and elsewhere) subsequently requested that the ARS organise screening for all children living on the Butte de Montarcy. This request was initially refused on the grounds that too few cases had been declared.

Faced with this refusal, the Collective, in collaboration with the PMI, conducted blood lead screenings on-site between March and September 2020. Of the 14 tests carried out, 12 children were diagnosed with lead poisoning, while 2 were within the borderline range of 25 to 50 µg/L. Meanwhile, the Defender of Rights was informed of the situation. In response to these findings, the ARS of Val-d'Oise launched a lead poisoning screening campaign in September 2020, testing 16 children and pregnant women, or women planning a pregnancy. When combined with previous results, 86% of the tested individuals had blood lead levels above 50 µg/L. A second screening was conducted five months later. For those who had been relocated to hotels following the first screening, blood lead levels had already decreased. Over the entire period, 42 cases of lead poisoning were detected among 52 tested individuals.

For the families exposed to dangerously high lead levels, the Collective, and in particular the association Acina, compiled applications for emergency accommodation or even rehousing, which were then submitted to the Val-d'Oise prefecture. Additionally, the association Solidarités International was asked to examine the possibility of providing water access to the site; however, their proposals were rejected by the Méry-sur-Oise municipality. Eventually, only a single water fountain was installed, approximately 2 km away from the informal settlement.

From 2020 onwards, families whose children had blood lead levels exceeding 100 µg/L were provided with emergency shelter in social hotels, while others managed to secure stable social housing. In September 2021, the newspaper *Libération* exposed the case to the wider public, prompting a quicker response from the authorities. However, a majority of households remained in the informal settlement, as their applications were deemed insufficient for accessing accommodation or because the proposed solutions did not meet their expressed needs.

In 2022, the Île-de-France Regional Health Agency took up the issue and implemented a Regional Action Plan to Combat Lead Poisoning in Informal Settlements, Squats, and Unconventional Housing. This initiative included screening campaigns across ten sites in the region. During the summer of 2022, the remaining residents of the Butte de Montarcy were evicted. Some families resettled a few hundred metres away but were violently expelled again, and their dwellings were destroyed. Some families returned to Romania, while others moved to squats or occupied land in neighbouring municipalities. Following multiple evictions from their living spaces, most now continue to live in precarious conditions under the constant threat of eviction.

### 3.2.1. Effectiveness of the NRSF in addressing the problem

The French national strategy addresses health issues from multiple perspectives. As part of Strategic Objective No. 2, which aims to improve the living conditions and social inclusion of Gens du voyage, Axis 4 focuses on facilitating access to healthcare and preventive services through two main actions: strengthening knowledge on their health status to identify suitable intervention strategies and continuing support for the national health mediation programme. Additionally, under Strategic Objective No. 3, which seeks to accelerate the reduction of slums inhabited by vulnerable intra-European nationals, the strategy includes initiatives to improve healthcare access for people living in informal settlements.

Residents of informal settlements face significant health challenges due to poor living conditions, exposure to hazardous environments, and difficulties accessing medical care. A study conducted between 2019 and 2022 by Santé Publique France,<sup>41</sup> the Nouvelle-Aquitaine Regional Health Agency, and local associations highlights the impact of housing conditions on health, categorising settlements from "adequate" to "precarious

<sup>41</sup> Santé publique France, *La santé des gens du voyage [The health of Travellers]*, February 2024

and illegal." The findings show a clear deterioration in health status correlated with the precariousness of living conditions, revealing a social gradient of exclusion. Many settlements lack essential infrastructure: 22% of surveyed families had no access to running water, 24% were not connected to an electricity meter, and 41% lacked sanitation facilities. The study also identified environmental hazards, with 43% of surveyed sites located less than 200 metres from a major road or railway, 20% near industrial sites, and 9% close to waste disposal areas. Such exposure significantly increases health risks, leading to conditions far worse than those of the general population.

Administrative barriers further hinder healthcare access. Many essential services require health coverage, which depends on proof of residency, posing difficulties for squatters and slum dwellers. In 2022, seven out of ten pregnant women seen by Médecins du Monde in France lacked health coverage at their first consultation. EU law has also complicated access for intra-European migrants, with some social security offices requiring proof that individuals are ineligible for the European Health Insurance Card before granting national healthcare rights. As already discussed in chapter 2, for irregular European Roma migrants, access to healthcare is provided through State Medical Aid (AME), yet restrictions have increased, imposing additional conditions such as a required three-month irregular stay before eligibility, in-person application submissions, and prior authorisation for certain treatments in the first nine months of coverage. These measures contribute to a growing exclusion from essential healthcare services.

Evictions further disrupt access to healthcare. The constant fear of eviction often leads residents to miss medical appointments, delay treatments, or deprioritise health needs. Organisations assisting these populations report frequent cases of disrupted pregnancy monitoring, incomplete vaccinations, untreated chronic illnesses, and neglected acute conditions. Forced relocations push people into areas with even poorer access to medical facilities, worsening public health outcomes. Additionally, evictions frequently take place during ongoing public health interventions, undermining disease control efforts. As reported in chapter 2, in October 2023, for example, a tuberculosis screening campaign was interrupted when a slum was evacuated despite advocacy groups requesting a delay. A similar incident occurred in March 2024 when authorities proceeded with evicting a squat in Sarcelles amid a measles outbreak, jeopardising containment efforts.

### 3.2.2. Synergy with other actions

The French government has placed emphasis on outreach-based healthcare initiatives and support for health mediation programmes as part of its 2020-2030 strategy. Given the multiple barriers preventing informal settlement residents from accessing care, health mediation plays a crucial role in preventing discrimination and refusals of treatment. Health mediators act as intermediaries between marginalised populations and healthcare providers, facilitating access to medical services and advocating for fair treatment. Their role also includes raising awareness among healthcare professionals about the specific challenges faced by these communities and combating anti-Roma discrimination.

Despite its importance, health mediation remains underfunded and inconsistently implemented. Regional Health Agencies coordinate outreach efforts, but these programmes suffer from a lack of structure, limited resources, and weak inter-agency coordination. Expanding health mediation and formalising it as a recognised profession, with official training and employment status, would enhance its effectiveness and sustainability. Further investments in outreach initiatives, improved coordination between healthcare providers and advocacy organisations, and the elimination of bureaucratic barriers are essential to achieving equitable healthcare access for marginalised communities.

Healthcare access is also closely linked to housing stability. The repeated evictions faced by people living in informal settlements not only disrupt their daily lives but also severely affect their ability to receive continuous medical care. Without a stable address, individuals struggle to maintain consistent medical records, register with healthcare providers, or receive follow-up treatment. Many social service programmes that provide free or low-cost healthcare are difficult to access without proof of residence, leaving many people without options for preventive care or ongoing treatments. Greater synergy between housing policies and healthcare services is necessary to ensure that systemic obstacles do not continue to undermine public health efforts.

Efforts to integrate healthcare services within broader social and housing policies have had some success. Mobile health units have been deployed in several regions to provide immediate medical attention to populations in informal settlements, but their reach remains limited. The extension of universal healthcare coverage to include more marginalised groups, coupled with strengthened outreach programmes, would provide more sustainable solutions. Additionally, advocacy efforts have called for the reinforcement of legal

protections against discriminatory healthcare practices and for increased monitoring of public health impacts on displaced populations.

By strengthening collaboration between housing, social, and healthcare services, the strategy can become more effective in addressing the health inequalities faced by Gens du voyage and people living in informal settlements. Prioritising long-term solutions over temporary interventions and ensuring that public health measures are not undermined by housing instability are crucial to making sustainable improvements. Addressing these challenges requires a more integrated approach that aligns healthcare stability with social inclusion policies, ensuring that no one is excluded from essential medical care due to their living conditions.

### 3.3. Antigypsyism

#### 3.3.1. Effectiveness of the NRSF in addressing the problem

The PECAO project's 2022 study<sup>42</sup> on online hate speech recorded thousands of instances of antigypsyist rhetoric across various digital platforms, showing that antigypsyism is one of the most tolerated forms of racism. In many cases, these messages contained incitement to violence or dehumanising language, yet they were rarely removed by content moderation systems. Similarly, ARCOM's media monitoring in 2024 revealed that 96% of media reports concerning Roma and Gens du voyage were linked to crime or social distress, reinforcing public hostility and normalising discrimination. The absence of positive representation in mainstream media contributes to deep-seated prejudices, making it harder for Roma communities to challenge discriminatory narratives.

Institutional discrimination is also evident in law enforcement and judicial responses to crimes against Roma. The case of Angela Rostas, a Roma woman murdered in Chênex in February 2024, demonstrates this systemic bias. Swiss media<sup>43</sup> covered the crime extensively, while in France, it was largely ignored. Investigators initially did not consider racism as a primary motive, despite previous attacks against Roma caravans in the region, further illustrating the reluctance to recognise antigypsyist violence. This reflects a broader pattern of underreporting and misclassification of hate crimes against Roma, which contributes to a lack of accountability and impunity for perpetrators.

#### *Case study: Angela Rostas – racist assassination and its treatment*

##### **A deadly antigypsyism...**

On 22 February 2024, Angela Rostas, aged 40, mother of three daughters and seven months pregnant with a boy, was shot dead in Chênex, a village near the Swiss border. Two days earlier, gunfire had been directed at caravans in two other nearby locations, though no victims were reported. Angela was killed on the doorstep of her mobile home. Given the sequence of events, it was clear that this murder was a racist assassination.

##### **... that hardly made any noise**

While some Swiss media outlets reported on the murder (see footnotes below) and the emotions it stirred in Geneva, where the victim worked, in France, it went almost unnoticed. The complaint filed by La Voix des Roms with the public prosecutor for racist assassination did not receive much media attention either, despite major media outlets being informed. However, media interest surged when two suspects were arrested in June 2024 and confessed to the crime. It is fair to conclude that media attention was not drawn by the murder of a Roma woman but rather by the arrest of the perpetrators.

The lack of interest—both immediately after the murder and following the complaint by La Voix des Roms—reflects a negligence that can be analysed as antigypsyism by omission. There was also no response from

<sup>42</sup> La voix des Roms, *Rapport national du projet "Education entre pairs contre l'antitsiganisme en ligne"* [National Report of the "Peer Education Against Online Antigypsyism" Project], 2022, available at: <https://www.lavoixdesroms.com/single-post/rapport-national-pecao>

<sup>43</sup> *Plainte déposée après le meurtre d'une femme rom enceinte* [Complaint Filed After the Murder of a Pregnant Roma Woman], TdG, 6 mars 2024, available at: <https://www.tdg.ch/france-plainte-deposee-apres-le-meurtre-dune-femme-rom-432647242266>

RTS, *Les beaux parleurs, le billet de Coline de Senarclens - Hommage à Angela Rostas* [The Smooth Talkers, Coline de Senarclens' Column — A Tribute to Angela Rostas], 24 March 2024, available at: <https://www.rts.ch/play/tv/les-beaux-parleurs/video/le-billet-de-coline-de-senarclens---hommage-a-angela-rostas?urn=urn:rts:video:14792319>

institutions, including those specifically tasked with combating racism, as they would have done in other cases. For 'antigypsyism is not only linked to what is said but also to what is done and to what is not done.'

### **An antigypsyism that hindered the Investigation**

Although *La Voix des Roms* is not established in the region, it immediately highlighted the racist nature of this crime, given that two other firearm attacks had previously targeted caravans in nearby villages. Yet, this was not the primary line of investigation for the *Gendarmerie nationale* detectives. One of them stated that it ranked only fourth on their list of hypotheses:

*"The four working hypotheses before us were femicide, a family dispute, a settling of scores, and then, quite quickly, we sensed a certain hostility from the local community. The fourth hypothesis that emerged after a few days was a motive linked to xenophobia."*<sup>44</sup>

Information regarding the other attacks was circulating online, leading *La Voix des Roms* to conclude that this was a racist crime. If anything, local gendarmes should have been aware of the pattern of three consecutive attacks, the last of which resulted in Angela Rostas's death. Moreover, in July 2022, gunfire had already targeted caravans in the same department, in the village of *Faverge*. Several associations had lodged complaints, and the *Gendarmerie* had conducted an investigation, albeit without results.

Given this context, how can it be explained that investigators initially pursued leads related to femicide, family disputes, or a settling of scores? The choice to prioritise these three avenues clearly indicates that, in the minds of the gendarmes, the perpetrator was also assumed to be Roma, including in this case when two other attacks with firearms occurred in the previous two days in the area.

### **A deep-rooted and pervasive racism**

The mayor of Chênex had received several complaints from residents about cars passing by at night and loud music. However, the mobile home was located far from other houses, and in any case, it is difficult to see how passing vehicles at night—if indeed they were numerous—could have been so disruptive. This general resentment, evidence of how deeply ingrained antigypsyism is, reached its climax in the minds of the two perpetrators.

The murderer expressed his antigypsyist hatred to investigators in the following terms, as reported by the media:

*"I had nothing particularly against these people, except that they take advantage of everything on these sites, no one says anything, and everyone lets them do as they please. They are invasive people. Franck [the accomplice of the murderer who drove this last before and after the crime] shared the same hatred."*

These words reflect the impersonal nature of antigypsyist sentiment, which goes hand in hand with dehumanisation. In the antigypsyist thinking and feeling, 'the Gypsy' is an abstract concept, a mental category, and the individuals associated with it are not seen as people, as fellow human beings. This dehumanisation is also collective, as illustrated by the accomplice's lawyer, who disputed the racist nature of the crime with the following argument: 'They have no cultural awareness to think in terms of ethnicity or race. It is the justice system that assigns these labels.' To defend his client, this lawyer easily goes so far as to say that "gypsies" do not constitute a "race" corresponding to the legal conception of the word.

### **Conclusion**

Despite the fact that there is no verdict yet, the murder of Angela Rostas and its aftermath is a striking case that exemplifies antigypsyism in almost all its aspects. This form of racism is the most widespread, the least condemned, the least measured, and the least combated, with these characteristics reinforcing one another. It is also worth noting that before settling on the municipal land where she was killed, Angela and her family

<sup>44</sup> Sept à Huit, TF1, *Tuée d'un coup de fusil alors qu'elle était enceinte : le choc en Haute-Savoie après le meurtre d'une mère de famille rom* ["Shot Dead While Pregnant: Shock in Haute-Savoie After the Murder of a Roma Mother"], 23 September 2024, available at: <https://www.tf1info.fr/justice-faits-divers/video-reportage-sept-a-huit-tuee-d-un-coup-de-fusil-alors-qu-elle-etait-enceinte-douleur-et-choc-en-haute-savoie-apres-le-meurtre-d-angela-mere-de-famille-rom-2320961.html>



lived on the land of a farming couple, Jean-Michel and Dominique Favre, who were among the few who showed solidarity and were deeply affected by Angela's death.

However, such solidarity is an exception and remains an individual act. In contrast, antigypsyism is systemic, and fighting it begins with recognising its existence.

### 3.3.2. Synergy with other actions

The PRADO framework, which aims to address racism and promote equality, refers for the first time to antigypsyism as a form of racism. While this framework includes it into general anti-racism measures, the specific actions to combat antigypsyism remain underdeveloped, necessitating greater focus on Roma inclusion and the fight against antigypsyist hate speech and actions. A more tailored approach, including increased representation of Roma communities in PRADO's oversight mechanisms, is necessary to ensure that antigypsyism is not sidelined in broader antiracist initiatives. This approach necessitates support for developing human resources among Roma, especially youth.

Ersilia Soudais, a French Member of Parliament, has taken a leading role in addressing antigypsyism in the National Assembly, the lower chamber of French Parliament. She has proposed renaming the "Parliamentary Study Group on Gens du Voyage" to "Parliamentary Study Group on Antigypsyism," reflecting a shift towards recognising systemic discrimination rather than focusing solely on mobility issues. Her commitment extends beyond legislative work, as she has also employed Ritchy Thibault, the only Roma parliamentary assistant in France, marking an important but still rare example of Roma representation in political institutions. The symbolic significance of Thibault's position highlights the broader issue of Roma underrepresentation in public life and the urgent need to create more pathways for Roma individuals to participate in political decision-making.

It is generally admitted that widespread antigypsyist prejudices relate to a lack of historical and cultural education about Roma communities. Many actors of civil society and also the NRCP advocates for integrating Roma history into school curricula and teacher training to combat stereotypes from an early age and promote a more inclusive society. However, implementation remains slow, and without proper material up to date and teacher training, these efforts risk being superficial. There is a need for structured training programmes that equip educators with the tools to deconstruct prejudices and provide an accurate historical account of Roma contributions to society.

A key measure of PRADO involves the training of public officials, including police officers and magistrates, to better understand and address antigypsyism. While this initiative is crucial, it has faced significant challenges in implementation. Law enforcement officers already have numerous training obligations, making it difficult to prioritise sessions on antigypsyism. Additionally, the current training modules for magistrates do not include interventions from Roma representatives, despite the invaluable insights that Roma community members could provide. Including Roma voices in such training would allow officials to develop a more nuanced understanding of antigypsyism and improve institutional responses to discrimination and hate crimes. Expanding and properly integrating these training sessions within PRADO's framework remains a pressing need.

### 3.3.3. Roma participation

The role of Roma organisations in shaping and implementing national strategies is essential. La Voix des Roms has been one of the most active Roma-led organisations advocating for Roma rights and exposing institutional neglect. The organisation played a critical role in pushing for an official investigation into the racist motivations behind the murder of Angela Rostas and continues to campaign for stronger institutional responses to antigypsyist violence. By actively engaging with policymakers and the media, La Voix des Roms has challenged narratives that frame Roma communities as inherently problematic and has pushed for greater institutional accountability.

Roma participation has also been crucial in policy development. La Voix des Roms was actively involved in the drafting of both the national antigypsyism strategy and the PRADO framework, ensuring that Roma perspectives were included in these policy documents. Additionally, they have played a key role in monitoring the implementation of PRADO, advocating for better funding and targeted measures. However, there remain significant barriers to sustained Roma participation in policymaking, as many institutions at the local level fail to engage with Roma organisations.

An important example of Roma-led advocacy is the European conference on antigypsyism, co-organised by La Voix des Roms and ERGO Network with the National Contact Point and broadcast globally (accessible via

YouTube).<sup>45</sup> This event brought together Roma activists, scholars, and policymakers to discuss strategies for combatting antigypsyism at both national and European levels, strengthening the movement against systemic discrimination. Such platforms provide crucial spaces for Roma voices to be heard and for international collaboration on policy recommendations.

Despite these efforts, structural barriers continue to limit Roma political participation. Roma-led projects remain chronically underfunded, and Roma representation in decision-making bodies remains disproportionately low. The presence of Ritchy Thibault as the only Roma parliamentary assistant in France underscores the urgent need to create more opportunities for Roma individuals to engage in public institutions and policymaking. Given the institutional barriers, civil society organisations represent an alternative for fostering civic engagement of young people. Therefore, the rare initiatives in this direction should be supported.

To ensure meaningful Roma participation, structural reforms must address the exclusion of Roma from political and institutional spaces. This includes increasing funding for Roma-led initiatives which contribute to the deconstruction of the image of the “gypsy” as counterexample of the citizen. Without such measures, antigypsyism will continue to be under-addressed, and the effectiveness of national strategies will remain limited.

Indeed, in France maybe more than elsewhere due to the diversity of both Romani population and of the population targeted by antigypsyism, dismantling this particular form of racism requires a wise combination of institutional commitment and grassroots mobilisation. While PRADO provides a framework for action, its success depends on ensuring that Roma communities have the power, resources, and institutional support needed to conceive and lead their struggles. A comprehensive approach—including legal protections, educational reforms, media accountability, and direct investment in Roma-led initiatives—is essential to challenging deep-seated discrimination and fostering long-term inclusion.

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<sup>45</sup> *Antitsiganisme : comprendre pour nommer et agir [Antigypsyism: Understanding to Name and Act]*, Conference in the framework of French Chairmanship of EU, 28 June 2022, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=scrE2zOIGIk>



## 4. ADDITIONAL FINDINGS

### 4.1. The challenge of achieving Roma participation

Citizen participation, a strategic objective of both the EUSF and the French NRSF, will remain the most difficult—if not impossible—goal to achieve as long as the first strategic axis, “combating antigypsyism,” is interpreted solely through the lens of the second axis, “improving living conditions and inclusion for *Gens du voyage*,” and the third axis, “accelerating the clearance of slums where precarious intra-European migrants live.” This narrow interpretation undermines the broader fight against antigypsyism for several reasons:

1. It is well known that those who participate most actively in public and civic life tend to come from the middle classes. By focusing efforts primarily on communities experiencing extreme precarity, the strategy overlooks the conditions necessary for fostering active civic engagement.
2. Whether referring to *Gens du voyage* or *intra-European migrants in slums*, these groups are ethnically and nationally diverse. Neither together nor separately do they represent the broader Romani population in France. Thus, a strategy focused on them alone cannot fully address the issue of Roma civic participation.
3. The Romani population in France is the most diverse in Europe, historically including Roma, Sinti (commonly referred to as *Manouches* in French), and Kalé (widely known as *Gitans*). This diversity is both a strength and a challenge, as public policies often fail to acknowledge the full spectrum of Romani identities and experiences.
4. *Gens du voyage* and *migrants in slums* are the most visible victims of antigypsyism precisely because they fit the stereotype of the “Gypsy” created by antigypsyism itself. Their visibility reinforces a narrow perception of who Roma are, further entrenching discrimination and exclusion.
5. All Roma, Sinti, and Kalé in France suffer from antigypsyism because the “Gypsy” stereotype follows them and harms them in all aspects of life. Oppressed by this image, they face a painful choice: either abandon their centuries-old culture to assimilate or confine it to an almost bunkerised private sphere, following the adage, “*To live happily, live hidden.*”

Thus, the goal of fostering Roma civic participation in France—the most culturally diverse Roma population in Europe—is severely undermined by the exclusion of those most capable of achieving it: those who, having successfully integrated into society, could enrich it with their culture. So far, they have only been able to do so in an incomplete and fragmented way.

### 4.2. The risk of reinforcing antigypsyism

If the fight against antigypsyism is not only exclusively but also primarily focused on *Gens du voyage* and intra-European migrants living in slums, it will only serve to perpetuate the original opposition between the figure of the “Gypsy” and that of the “citizen.” In this scenario, the very fight against antigypsyism will be completely distorted and will ultimately reinforce antigypsyism itself.

Thus, France, which prides itself on not adopting an ethnic-based approach, will have contributed—through a coordinated public policy—to legitimising this conceptual opposition between “gypsy” and “citizen.”<sup>46</sup> The positive alternative would be for the first strategic objective of the NRSF (i.e. the fight against antigypsyism) to be implemented as an autonomous objective and not as an accessory to the fulfilment of the second and third strategic ones, which concern the social inclusion of the most visible victims of antigypsyism in the eyes of the mainstream society.

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<sup>46</sup> Started in Romanian principalities where, according to the dictionary of Romanian language, “*ruman*” meant “bond paysan” and “*țigan*” meant “slave”, this conceptual opposition was crystallised in France in the second half of the 19th century and formalised with the establishment of the legal status and anthropometric ID for “nomads” by the law of 16 July 1912, a few decades before the establishment of the National ID for its citizens.

## CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The implementation of the French NRSF represents a structured attempt to address antigypsyism, improve living conditions, and foster social inclusion. However, despite certain advancements, significant challenges remain, particularly concerning the strategy's ability to effectively combat antigypsyism, ensure Roma civic participation, and provide sustainable solutions in key areas such as education, employment, healthcare, and housing.

### Limitations of the NRSF's approach

One of the central weaknesses of the NRSF lies in its narrow interpretation of antigypsyism, which is often conflated with the precarious living conditions of *gens du voyage* and intra-European Roma migrants living in slums. By focusing primarily on these two groups, the framework fails to fully address antigypsyism as a structural and systemic issue that affects all Roma, including those who are socially integrated but still face discrimination. This limited scope not only weakens the fight against antigypsyism but also reinforces the very stereotypes it aims to dismantle, sustaining the historical opposition between the concepts of "Gypsy" and "citizen."

Moreover, the NRSF's lack of concrete measures for fostering civic participation further isolates Roma communities. Active engagement in public and political life is typically strongest among middle-class citizens, yet the strategy fails to recognize and support Roma who have achieved social integration. Instead, by focusing almost exclusively on those in the most precarious situations, the strategy inadvertently excludes Roma individuals who could be key actors in political and social life, thereby limiting the impact of policies intended to promote inclusion.

### Structural deficiencies in implementation and monitoring

The effectiveness of the NRSF is undermined by fragmented governance, insufficient funding, and weak data collection. The lack of dedicated monitoring mechanisms prevents the effective assessment of progress, while the absence of ethnic data collection in France makes it difficult to quantify the extent of antigypsyism and exclusion. Although civil society organizations attempt to fill this gap, their efforts remain limited by financial constraints and the absence of institutional support.

Additionally, the division of responsibilities among multiple governmental bodies—each addressing different aspects of Roma-related policies—creates inefficiencies and hinders comprehensive oversight. The discontinuation of the NCP's monitoring officer in 2023 exemplifies the broader challenges in ensuring accountability and effectiveness in policy implementation. Without better coordination and systematic data collection, the NRSF risks becoming a symbolic rather than transformative policy instrument.

### Persistent challenges across key sectors

- **Education:** Despite improvements in school mediation programs, access to education remains limited for Roma children due to administrative barriers, school refusals, and logistical challenges. The exclusion of Roma children from schooling perpetuates social marginalization and limits future opportunities for integration.
- **Employment:** While certain local initiatives show promise, systemic barriers—including discrimination, lack of formal employment opportunities, and administrative hurdles—continue to hinder Roma access to stable work. The requirement for full social security affiliation further restricts employment prospects, exacerbating economic exclusion.
- **Healthcare:** Roma populations, particularly those in informal settlements, face significant health disparities due to precarious living conditions, limited access to medical care, and discrimination within healthcare services. Frequent evictions disrupt medical treatment, and restrictive policies on State Medical Aid (AME) further limit access to essential healthcare.
- **Housing and Forced Evictions:** The high number of forced evictions recorded in recent years reflects the systemic marginalization of Roma communities. Repeated evictions not only deepen social exclusion but also undermine public health and educational stability, creating a cycle of poverty and displacement.

- **Social Protection and Services:** Digital exclusion, language barriers, and restrictive interpretations of residency rights prevent Roma from accessing essential social benefits. Discriminatory practices at service counters further discourage Roma individuals from seeking support, reinforcing economic vulnerability.

### Need for a comprehensive and inclusive strategy

For the NRSF to be truly effective, it must adopt a broader and more inclusive approach. Key recommendations include:

- **Expanding the Fight Against Antigypsyism:** The recognition of antigypsyism in public discourse and policy frameworks is a step forward, but it must be backed by adequate funding and concrete measures. Allocating only 42,000 EUR to combat antigypsyism out of a total 10 million EUR budget for anti-discrimination efforts demonstrates the lack of serious commitment to addressing this issue. France must significantly increase financial support for initiatives targeting antigypsyism and ensure that Roma voices lead these efforts.
- **Ensuring Meaningful Roma Participation:** Romani communities must be active participants in policy design, implementation, and monitoring. This requires not only supporting existing Romani civil society organisations but also encouraging Romani individuals to take leadership roles within public institutions and decision-making bodies. Without this, the strategy risks reinforcing the very exclusion it seeks to eliminate.
- **Strengthening Data Collection and Monitoring:** While France does not collect ethnic data, alternative methodologies—such as qualitative studies and targeted surveys—should be developed to assess the impact of antigypsyism and the effectiveness of policy measures. A dedicated monitoring mechanism with adequate resources should be reintroduced to ensure continuous evaluation of the NRSF's implementation.
- **Enhancing Coordination and Accountability:** A clearer division of responsibilities and improved inter-agency collaboration are essential for effective policy implementation. The fragmentation of tasks between different governmental bodies weakens the overall impact of the strategy and must be addressed through better coordination mechanisms.
- **Addressing Systemic Barriers Across Sectors:** Policies on education, employment, healthcare, housing, and social protection must be designed with an integrated approach that acknowledges the interconnected nature of these issues. Sustainable solutions require long-term investments rather than short-term, fragmented interventions.

### Future of Roma inclusion in France

If France is to fulfil its commitments under the EUSF and ensure meaningful inclusion of Roma communities, a fundamental shift in approach is necessary. The current NRSF remains too limited in scope and impact, reinforcing existing inequalities rather than dismantling them. Moving forward, France must not only refine its policy framework but also ensure that Roma individuals—particularly those who have achieved social integration—are empowered to lead and shape their own futures in a society which accepts them with their identity, which by no means undermines the Republic's principle of equality. Only through genuine inclusion and systemic reform can antigypsyism be effectively challenged and Roma be recognised as full and equal citizens.

### Recommendations to national authorities

#### 1. Increase Financial and Human Resources to Combat Antigypsyism

Allocate a significantly larger share of funding to initiatives specifically addressing antigypsyism, ensuring that it is not only recognised but actively tackled. This includes increasing financial support for Roma-led organisations, awareness campaigns, and training programmes for public officials.

#### 2. Enhance Roma Participation in Public Life

Develop mechanisms that actively encourage Roma civic engagement, particularly by supporting middle-class Roma who are socially integrated but currently absent in civic involvement. This should include mentorship programmes, leadership training, and targeted recruitment within institutions.

### **3. Implement a Comprehensive Monitoring and Data Collection Strategy**

Establish a dedicated monitoring mechanism with sufficient resources to track the effectiveness of the NRSF. Alternative data collection methodologies—such as qualitative studies and targeted surveys—should be developed to assess discrimination and social exclusion while respecting France’s legal constraints on ethnic data collection.

#### ***Recommendations to European institutions***

### **4. Ensure Stronger Oversight of Member States’ Implementation of Roma Strategies**

Strengthen monitoring mechanisms to ensure that NRSF align with EU objectives, particularly regarding the fight against antigypsyism. Introduce performance-based funding to ensure that EU financial support leads to tangible improvements for Roma communities.

### **5. Promote Roma Inclusion Beyond Social Policies**

Encourage Member States to integrate Roma concerns into mainstream political, cultural, and economic policies, rather than limiting Roma inclusion efforts to social and poverty-related issues. This includes facilitating Roma representation in EU institutions and decision-making processes.

### **6. Support the Establishment of Independent Research and Data Collection Mechanisms**

Encourage and finance independent research projects that provide alternative data collection methods on antigypsyism and Roma exclusion, ensuring that the lack of ethnic statistics does not justify inaction.

#### ***Recommendations to the civil society***

### **7. Strengthen Roma-Led Initiatives and Leadership Development**

Prioritise capacity-building programmes that empower Roma individuals to take leadership roles within their communities and within broader civil society organisations. Develop mentorship networks and training initiatives to foster new generations of Roma advocates.

### **8. Enhance Collaboration Between Roma and Non-Roma Organisations**

Promote stronger partnerships between Roma-led and pro-Roma organisations to ensure a more coordinated approach to advocacy. Establish joint advocacy platforms to influence policy at national and European levels more effectively.

### **9. Improve Public Awareness and Education on Antigypsyism**

Develop and expand educational programmes, workshops, and media campaigns to challenge stereotypes about Roma people. Target key stakeholders, such as journalists, educators, and public servants, to shift public narratives and combat discrimination.

#### ***Recommendations to other stakeholders***

### **10. Ensure Local Authorities Implement National Strategies Effectively**

Prefectures and local governments should actively enforce and implement policies aimed at combating antigypsyism, ensuring that national strategies do not remain abstract commitments but translate into concrete action at the local level.

### **11. Encourage the Private Sector to Support Roma Employment and Economic Inclusion**

Develop partnerships between businesses and Roma employment programmes, including apprenticeships, vocational training, and corporate diversity initiatives that explicitly include Roma. Incentivise companies to hire Roma employees through government-backed initiatives.

### **12. Promote Ethical and Inclusive Media Representation of Roma**

Journalists and media professionals should be provided with training on responsible reporting on Roma issues, avoiding stereotypical or sensationalist portrayals. Media outlets should commit to fair and accurate representation of Roma in public discourse.

## REFERENCES

### List of interviews

1. Group interview in person with DIHAL (the NRCP) team: Mr Manuel Demougeot, Director of the Mission Slums' clearance; Ms Izia Viennot, Chief of Project on gens du voyage; Mr Jean-Paul Bachelot, Adviser in Education and Child's Rights.
2. Video interview with Mr Mathias Dreyfuss, Deputy Delegate, Advisor for Education, Culture, Higher Education, and Research.
3. Video group interview with Mr François Prochasson, Municipal Councillor of Nantes, Delegate for the Right to Housing and Social Housing, and Vice-President of Nantes Métropole; and Mr Julien Hély-Delfour, Head of the Slum Clearance Mission at Nantes Métropole.
4. Ms Elise Blanchet Project Officer for Temporary Insertion Centres/Housing, Bordeaux Métropole.
5. Mr William Acker, General Delegate, Association Nationale des Gens du voyage Citoyens.
6. Ms Mélanie Laborde Senior Adviser in Social Innovation, SocialCObizz.
7. Mr Leonard Velicu, president of the association Eurrom.

### Key policy documents and reports

*French strategy 2020 – 2030 in response to the European Council's recommendation of 12 March 2021, for the equality, the inclusion and the participation of Roma*, available at:

[https://commission.europa.eu/system/files/2022-10/1\\_1\\_france\\_national\\_roma\\_strategic\\_framework\\_en\\_2020-2030.pdf](https://commission.europa.eu/system/files/2022-10/1_1_france_national_roma_strategic_framework_en_2020-2030.pdf)

*La lutte contre le racisme, l'antisémitisme et la xénophobie, CNCDH, Rapport 2023 [The fight against racism, antisemitism and xenophobia, CNCDH, 2023 Report]*, available at:

[https://www.cncdh.fr/sites/default/files/2024-06/CNCDH\\_Rapport\\_Racisme\\_2023.pdf](https://www.cncdh.fr/sites/default/files/2024-06/CNCDH_Rapport_Racisme_2023.pdf)

*Mise en oeuvre des schémas départementaux d'accueil et d'habitat des gens du voyage, Bilan au 31 décembre 2023 [Implementation of the departmental schemes for the reception and housing of Travellers, Report as of 31 December 2023]*, available at:

<https://www.info.gouv.fr/upload/media/content/0001/12/044f5d6fca26a9276b2524880e5bcdb9767bb481.pdf>

*National Plan to combat racism, antisemitism and origin-related discrimination 2023-2026*, available at:

<https://www.dilcrah.gouv.fr/ressources/plan-national-de-lutte-contre-le-racisme-lantisemitisme-et-les-discriminations-liees-lorigine-2023-2026>

*National Plan to fight exploitation and Human Trafficking 2024 – 2027*, available at: <https://www.egalite-femmes-hommes.gouv.fr/lancement-du-plan-national-de-lutte-contre-lexploitation-et-la-traite-des-etres-humains-2024-2027>

*Rapport annuel de l'Observatoire des expulsions de lieux de vie informels [Annual Report of the Observatory on Evictions from Informal Living Spaces]*, available at: [https://www.romeurope.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/12/Rapport-Observatoire-des-expulsions\\_2024\\_version-web.pdf](https://www.romeurope.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/12/Rapport-Observatoire-des-expulsions_2024_version-web.pdf)

## ANNEXE: LIST OF PROBLEMS AND CONDITIONS

### Fighting antigypsyism and discrimination

<b>Problems and conditions:</b>	<b>Significance:</b>	<b>Identified by strategy:</b>	<b>Measures to address:</b>	<b>Targets defined:</b>	<b>Details of NRSF implementation relevant to the problem:</b>
antigypsyism not recognised as a specific problem in national policy frameworks	critical problem	understood with limitations	present but insufficient	adequate but with room for improvement	<p>Measures adopted in the Plan on fighting racism, antisemitism and racial discrimination 2023-2026, in which antigypsyism is mentioned 18 times.</p> <p>The effectiveness of the measures is however reduced. Financial resources allocated are limited and the expertise of the civil society not enough put in contribution for training public servants.</p> <p>There is no data collection, but only a longitudinal indicator of tolerance measured by the CNCDH upon survey.</p>
Prejudice against Roma	critical problems	understood with limitations	adequate but with room for improvement	adequate but with room for improvement	Some resources are made available for teachers on a website putting together material for school professionals.
Hate speech towards and against Roma (online and offline)	significant problems	understood with limitations	adequate but with room for improvement	adequate but with room for improvement	<p>It exists a specialised police service (Pharos Platform) but it does not seem reactive to hate speech, including to calls to genocidal acts.</p> <p>Data collection remains impossible.</p>
Weak effectiveness of protection from discrimination	significant problems	understood with limitations	adequate but with room for improvement	adequate but with room for improvement	In general, discrimination remains unpunished, i.e. there have not been court cases with sanctions on this basis.



Segregation in education, housing, or provision of public services	critical problems	understood with limitations	present but insufficient	adequate but with room for improvement	<p>A joint circular signed by the minister of Interior and that of Housing on 10 January 2022 calls on relaunching the departmental schemes of hosting and lodging the <i>gens du voyage</i> in conditions that avoid spatial segregation for new sites; however, the existing ones remain in remote areas.</p> <p>As for the shanties, they are more and more located far from cities, therefore from public services.</p>
Forced evictions and demolitions leading to homelessness, inadequate housing, and social exclusion	Significant problems	understood with limitations	adequate but with room for improvement	adequate but with room for improvement	<p>Forced evictions are generally based on administrative or judicial decisions; as soft law, the strategy does not intend to counter them, but to change the situation in such way that eviction is not anymore necessary/legal.</p> <p>For the <i>gens du voyage</i> they result from the lack of adequate legal halting areas (62,2% of the needed places were created as of 31 December 2023)..</p> <p>For shanties, the strategy and the action of DIHAL is oriented towards a resorption, through relocation of the inhabitants in other conditions.</p> <p>Both the creation of new sites or adapted housing for <i>gens du voyage</i> and the resorption of the shanties are very slow.</p> <p>Data are collected for the <i>gens du voyage</i> thematic and to much lower extent for the resorption of shanties, these last through an online platform.</p>
Misconduct and discriminatory behaviour by police (under-policing/over-policing)	critical problems	mentioned but not analysed significantly	present but insufficient	some targets but not relevant	<p>DILCRAH attempts to make links between the police authorities and CSOs aiming at an improvement of the relations with discriminated against communities, especially through trainings of officers, however their program of training is too much charged to add the proposed content on antigypsyism.</p> <p>There exists a resources intranet website on hate crimes for the police officers, in which a definition of</p>

					<p>antigypsyism is introduced as a contribution of La voix des Roms.</p> <p>In November 2024, the Central Office on Hate Crimes (OCLCH) of the Gendarmerie's included for the first time in the training of the regional trainers on hate crimes (about 150) an intervention on antigypsyism, ensured by La voix des Roms.</p> <p>Despite these very modest changes, there is considerable room for improvement in the field of the relations between security forces (police and gendarmerie) and Roma, as with the general population.</p>
Barriers to <i>de facto</i> exercise of EU right to free movement	significant problems	mentioned but not analysed sufficiently	present but insufficient	some targets but not relevant	<p>This point is within the police jurisdiction and unfortunately the Ministry of Interior is not very sensitive to the implementation of the strategy, considered mainly as a social policy document. There have not been measures concerning the barriers to the <i>de facto</i> exercise of EU right to free movement.</p> <p>Abusive expulsion orders continue to be delivered by police without any assessment of the right to free movement or to residence in the individual/family situation of EU mobile Roma.</p> <p>There is no available data on the number of EU-mobile Roma expelled, nor desegregated data on nationality, but the Legal department of <i>La Voix des Roms</i> has observed that the perpetuation of the discriminatory practice of deliverance of abusive expulsion orders.</p>

## Education

Problems and conditions:	Significance:	Identified by strategy:	Measures to address:	Targets defined:	Details of NRSF implementation relevant to the problem:
High drop-out rate before completion of primary education	significant problems	understood with limitations	present but insufficient	some targets but not relevant	<p>Development of the school mediation for inhabitants of shanties. 50 school mediators are already employed, and 30 new ones are planned until 2027.</p> <p>Data are available on the web platform dedicated to the resorption of the shanties: <a href="https://www.blog-resorption-bidonvilles.fr">https://www.blog-resorption-bidonvilles.fr</a>.</p> <p>On the same model, but with a different budget line, it is planned to employ 40 school mediators for the "gens du voyage"'s children, in 20 departments (2 per department).</p> <p>The ex ante evaluation for these last is however mitigated, as often these mediators are employed by local organisations operators of authorities, which in the eyes of the families are associated with evictions. Therefore, the mediation can be made very difficult.</p>
Increased selectivity of the educational system resulting in concentration of Roma or other disadvantaged pupils in educational facilities of lower quality	significant problems	irrelevant	absent	absent	No particular measures are taken on this point. However, it is related with the location of the families, who often live in poor areas where services in general are of lower quality.
Limited access to second-chance education, adult education, and	critical problems	irrelevant	present but insufficient	some targets but not relevant	No measures known, but problems are mentioned with students who reach secondary school without having the necessary level and who, although in the age of mandatory education, are not supported in their learning process.

lifelong learning					
Limited access to and support for online and distance learning if education and training institutions close, as occurred during the coronavirus pandemic	critical problems	understood with limitations	present but insufficient	some targets but not relevant	<p>Distance (in home) training is particularly relevant for itinerant families ("<i>gens du voyage</i>"). A law said "anti-separatism" restricted the possibility for in home learning and the educational authorities demand from parents proof of the itinerancy to come, which is impossible to prove. Therefore, they check passed itinerancy by any means, which produces some arbitrary in the decisions made.</p> <p>Non-public data, mentioned in a meeting, state that 74% of the requests for in home learning because of itinerancy were granted in 2024 at the national level.</p>
Low level of digital skills and competences and limited opportunities for their development among pupils	critical problems	irrelevant	absent	absent	No measures are known on this point.
Low level of digital skills and competences and limited opportunities for their development among adults	critical problems	irrelevant	absent	absent	No measures are known on this point.

## Employment

<b>Problems and conditions:</b>	<b>Significance:</b>	<b>Identified by strategy:</b>	<b>Measures to address:</b>	<b>Targets defined:</b>	<b>Details of NRSF implementation relevant to the problem:</b>
Poor access to or low effectiveness of public employment services	significant problems	mentioned but not analysed sufficiently	present but insufficient	some targets but not relevant	<p>The public service of employment in general is very little effective.</p> <p>There are no data about <i>gens du voyage</i> or EU mobile Roma, but empirical observation from CSO shows difficulties to access and maintain the registration in France Travail's offices, due to linguistic barriers and to digitalisation of services (appointments, updates of the situation etc.).</p>
Youth not in employment, education or training (NEET)	significant problems	understood with limitations	present but insufficient	some targets but not relevant	No general measures are taken but some local associations develop programs of civic volunteering for EU-mobile young Roma.
Poor access to (re-) training, lifelong learning and skills development	significant problems	understood with limitations	adequate but room for improvement	some targets but not relevant	<p>No measures known.</p> <p>No existing data.</p>
Discrimination on the labour market by employers	significant problems	understood with limitations	adequate but room for improvement	some targets but not relevant	<p>The strategy refers to the criminal law which is general; no specific measures exist, nor data.</p> <p>Empirical observation from CSOs concern rather discrimination in work: this is manifested in large scale with EU mobile Roma employed especially in seasonal work (agriculture, slaughterhouses, canneries) in work conditions and wages. In another individual case treated by <i>La Voix des Roms</i> abuse of the vulnerable situation of a cleaning lady reached patterns of modern slavery (several months of unpaid work and violence when she asked to be paid).</p>

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in France

Lack of activation measures, employment support	significant problems	understood with limitations	adequate but room for improvement	some targets but not relevant	<p>Modest measures since 2019 with SIBEL program are pursued since 2024 especially with two thematic working groups (seasonal work and mediation on work) steered by the NCP and an NGO.</p> <p>No data are available as for now for a quantitative assessment. Qualitatively however it looks that the "role of intermediaries", one of the topics of these working groups, tends to be analysed in terms of smuggling, under the French concept of "emprise".</p>
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## Healthcare

<b>Problems and conditions:</b>	<b>Significance:</b>	<b>Identified by strategy:</b>	<b>Measures to address:</b>	<b>Targets defined:</b>	<b>Details of NRSF implementation relevant to the problem:</b>
Exclusion from public health insurance coverage (including those who are stateless, third country nationals, or EU-mobile)	Significant problem	irrelevant	adequate but room for improvement	adequate but with room for improvement,	<p>No measures adopted with the strategy.</p> <p>Exclusion from public health insurance for inactive EU mobile Roma results from a distortion in the coordination of EU healthcare systems in many insurance offices who submit it to a check of absence of European insurance card. The Centre for Inactive European Nationals in France created in 2018 for this mission has limited resources and became one more administrative layer which brings longer delays in processing applications and frequent misjudgements of residency rights, according to the Defender of Rights.</p>
Poor access to preventive care (vaccination, check-ups, screenings, awareness-raising about healthy)	significant problems	understood with limitations	adequate but room for improvement	adequate but room for improvement	<p>The strategy mentions some measures like the interpretation or mediation, but their implementation remains extremely poor.</p> <p>As a consequence, specialised organisations like Médecins du Monde but also general ones, observe a gap with the general population. To mention only two examples: 50% of <i>gens du voyage</i> children are</p>

lifestyles)					vaccinated at 24 months vs. 90% of the general population; pregnancies and post-natal health are very rarely monitored.
Inequalities in measures for combating and preventing potential outbreaks of diseases in marginalised or remote localities	critical problems	understood with limitations	present but insufficient	some targets but not relevant	Some measures are taken and implemented such as access to water, or a governmental instruction which conditions State subsidies for halting areas for <i>gens du voyage</i> to their location, but these remain insufficient. Many slums have no adequate access to water and the halting areas already constructed remain in remote and dangerous areas in their majority.

### Housing, essential services, and environmental justice

<b>Problems and conditions:</b>	<b>Significance:</b>	<b>Identified by strategy:</b>	<b>Measures to address:</b>	<b>Targets defined:</b>	<b>Details of NRSF implementation relevant to the problem:</b>
Poor physical security of housing (ruined or slum housing)	critical problems	understood with limitations	adequate but room for improvement	some targets but not relevant	The whole strategic objective of the strategy related to EU mobile Roma is about resorption of slums, and all the measures target this objective.  However, it is still far from being reached.
Lack of access to drinking water	significant problems	understood with limitations	adequate but room for improvement	some targets but not relevant	Depending on political will at the local level, an NGO <i>Solidarité Internationale</i> realises the installation of drinking water.
Lack of access to sanitation	critical problems	understood with limitations	present but insufficient	some targets but not relevant	No measures nor data known.
Lack of access to	significant	understood with	adequate but room for	some targets but	Halting areas do have access to electricity, but the management enterprises invoice it to a (much) higher price than the usual operators to the general



electricity	problems	limitations	improvement	not relevant	population, and more and more payable in advance with some prepaid cards.  In the slums there is generally no regular access to electricity.
Limited or absent public waste collection	significant problems	understood with limitations	adequate but room for improvement	some targets but not relevant	Depending also on the local political will and on the location of the slums.
Restricted heating capability (families unable to heat all rooms/all times when necessary) or solid waste used for heating	significant problems	understood with limitations	adequate but room for improvement	some targets but not relevant	No measures adopted on this point.
Lack of security of tenure (legal titles are not clear and secure)	significant problems	understood with limitations	adequate but room for improvement	some targets but not relevant	No measures on this point, although it is relevant especially for <i>gens du voyage</i> living either on lands they own but which are classified as agricultural or non-constructible, or on public lands on which they have been tolerated sometimes from decades then evicted.
Lacking or limited access to social housing	significant problems	identified and analysed sufficiently	adequate but room for improvement	some targets but not relevant	Social housing is in crisis in general. The strategy encourages adapted housing, including the so-called "family lands" for <i>gens du voyage</i> . However, like the halting areas, they are scarce and obviously insufficient. Access to social housing for EU mobile Roma is rarely made possible, in most of the cases thanks to specialised associations who work on their social inclusion. Sometimes however they do not succeed in maintaining such housing, either for financial reasons, or because they are excluded for other reasons.

Housing in segregated settlements/ neighbourhoods	critical problems	mentioned but not analysed sufficiently	present but insufficient	some targets but not relevant	The problem is inherent to the target group because of the way it is defined. Halting sites as slums are the most often segregated. While for EU mobile Roma measures seek the resorption of slums, the caravans' sites which are built by the authorities remain in segregated areas.
Housing in informal or illegal settlements/ neighbourhoods	significant problems	understood with limitations	adequate but room for improvement	some targets but not relevant	The lack of legal areas for <i>gens du voyage</i> and the social situation of EU mobile Roma pushes them to informal or illegal occupations. The strategy as well as the actions undertaken for its implementation do not address the illegal settlements, which are considered to be the sole jurisdiction of police authorities who proceed to evictions. Informal settlements (slums) are sometimes subject to social intervention with the objective of resorbing them. However, in the recent years, some authorities, including the NCP are considering that ad hoc solutions should be explored for some EU mobile Roma instead of relocation in social housing, as this sometimes is not adapted to their mobility. Instead, they think of new solution, inspired also by those applied to the <i>gens du voyage</i> .
Exposure to hazardous factors (living in areas prone to natural disasters or environmentally hazardous areas)	critical problems	understood with limitations	present but insufficient	some targets but not relevant	The problem is inherent to the target group because of the way it is defined. A recent regulation addressed to prefects conditions the state's subsidies for the construction of halting areas for <i>gens du voyage</i> to their location in places which do not represent hazards; however, the existing sites are already in such areas. As for the EU mobile Roma, their social situation as well as the repetitious evictions pushes them into segregated and sometimes hazardous areas. This last is very often used by authorities (mayors or prefects) as a legal ground for eviction, without relocation proposals.
Limited or lacking access to	significant problems	understood with limitations	present but insufficient	some targets but not relevant	Locally some initiative has been taken, like in Bordeaux area, where a car was transporting children to school and back but this stopped when the concerned families were evicted from the slum

public transport					and went in other places.
Limited or lacking internet access (e.g., public internet access points in deprived areas, areas not covered by broadband internet)	significant problems	irrelevant	absent	absent	Access to internet is often considered as a luxury, including among the organisations who work in close contact with the target group. However, the growing digitalisation of services and the disappearing of physical desks with officers makes access to internet a necessity.
Limited or lacking access to green spaces	significant problems	mentioned but not analysed sufficiently	present but insufficient	some targets but not relevant	Both groups are in extreme situations: most of the halting areas of the <i>gens du voyage</i> lack green spaces. Informal settlements, including slums, are sometimes in forests but they don't last due to eviction and sometimes in hazardous areas, including polluted ones.
Roma excluded from environmental democracy	significant problems	irrelevant	absent	absent	No measures on this point.

### Social protection

<b>Problems and conditions:</b>	<b>Significance:</b>	<b>Identified by strategy:</b>	<b>Measures to address:</b>	<b>Targets defined:</b>	<b>Details of NRSF implementation relevant to the problem:</b>
High at-risk-of-poverty rate and material and social deprivation	critical problems	mentioned but not analysed sufficiently	present but insufficient	some targets but not relevant	Measures are planned for the social inclusion, which are more detailed for the EU mobile Roma than for <i>gens du voyage</i> .  The online platform on slums resorption created in 2019 allows for collection of data but they are

					incomplete and often outdated.
Income support programmes fail to guarantee an acceptable level of minimum income for every household	critical problems	mentioned but not analysed sufficiently	present but insufficient	some targets but not relevant	The programmes would guarantee acceptable level of minimum income if they were accessible but often they are not.
Limited access to income support schemes (low awareness, barrier of administrative burdens, stigma attached)	significant problems	identified and analysed sufficiently	adequate but with room for improvement	adequate but with room for improvement	Access to various allowances (family, handicap etc.) is made difficult by the very restrictive of the examination of the residence right of EU mobile Roma by family allowance fund services.

### Social services

<b>Problems and conditions:</b>	<b>Significance:</b>	<b>Identified by strategy:</b>	<b>Measures to address:</b>	<b>Targets defined:</b>	<b>Details of NRSF implementation relevant to the problem:</b>
Limited quality, capacity and comprehensiveness of help provided by social services	significant problems	mentioned but not analysed sufficiently	adequate but with room for improvement	adequate but with room for improvement	Very often associations in departmental level assist <i>gens du voyage</i> acting as intermediary between them and social services. While the strategy recalls the continuation of support to these associations, no consolidated data exist at the national level and those possibly created by these associations themselves are not easily accessible. As for the slums inhabitants, the web platform is supposed to centralise this kind of information but there too, local actors do not feed and update it enough and data are not easily readable.

Limited access to social services: low awareness of them, low accessibility, (e.g., due to travel costs) or limited availability	significant problems	identified and analysed sufficiently	adequate but with room for improvement	adequate but with room for improvement	Support to local actors who help for better access is continued but although consolidated data are not available, empirical observation shows that there has not been enough improvement. A relatively new trend consists of considering the methods of the associations who work on this domain as naïve and not enough aware of the real functioning of the EU mobile Roma groups. As a consequence, the support to them has been reduced for supporting especially one association who present itself as connoisseur of the diversity of EU mobile Roma groups and provides advice and training to local authorities and implementers of projects.
Services providers do not actively reach out to those in need	significant problems	understood with limitations	present but insufficient	some targets but not relevant	The mediation is there too the only tool, employed by associations; not only the services do not reach out actively those in need but as mentioned before, often they refuse services on more or less justifiable grounds, including discrimination.
Limited ability of social services to effectively work together with other agencies (e.g., public employment service) to help clients	significant problems	irrelevant	present but insufficient	present but insufficient	No known measures.
Discrimination by social service providers	significant problems	understood with limitations	adequate but room for improvement	adequate but room for improvement	While the strategy and the PRADO provide for training of social services officers as for public service agents in general, in practice trainings on antigypsyism are exceptional and initiated exclusively by associations.

Problems and conditions:	Significance:	Identified by strategy:	Measures to address:	Targets defined:	Details of NRSF implementation relevant to the problem:
Specific vulnerability of Roma children as victims of violence not considered	significant problems	mentioned but not analysed sufficiently	present but insufficient	some targets but not relevant	Positive measures taken concern the education. The school mediation has been developed in the recent years. Currently the NCP supports 50 school mediators who work with slums' inhabitants and their number is planned to grow up to 80 in 2027. On another budget line 40 school mediation position are to be created for <i>gens du voyage's</i> children. However, while these actions have allowed for 3700 children (out of 5000 - 6000 estimated in need) to start school, no data exist as for the disparate interventions in schools in order to combat antigypsyist attitudes and behaviours which lead to dropouts.
Biassed treatment of Roma youth by security and law enforcement	significant problems	irrelevant	absent	absent	<p>No general measures are taken, but some meetings in the framework of DILCRAH allowed for contacts between <i>La voix des Rroms</i> and Police and Gendarmerie representatives. As a result, the resources webpage of the police officers was updated with a definition of antigypsyism and the association was given the opportunity to address some 150 regional trainers of the gendarmerie in their training seminar organised by the Central Office of Fighting Hate Crimes.</p> <p>There is however some worrying process within the circle of the social inclusion actors. The relaunch of the National commission on slums' resorption in the end of 2023 corresponded with the launching of the National Plan of fight against exploitation and trafficking of human beings 2024 - 2027<sup>47</sup>. This Plan, to which contributed also civil society, was presented in the relaunching meeting of the Commission and since then the growing attention granted to some realities, like the begging of/with children or the</p>

<sup>47</sup> Lancement du Plan national de lutte contre l'exploitation et la traite des êtres humains 2024 - 2027 <https://www.egalite-femmes-hommes.gouv.fr/lancement-du-plan-national-de-lutte-contre-l'exploitation-et-la-traite-des-etres-humains-2024-2027>

					intermediation in employment risks to reinforce antigypsyism and justify inaction of authorities in implementing the strategy. These behaviours should of course be addressed, but with a different approach. Especially those interpreted as “cultural”, be this by mainstream society or by Roma themselves, should preferably be addressed by Romani actors, in order to avoid counterproductive effects.
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### Promoting (awareness of) Roma arts, culture, and history

<b>Problems and conditions:</b>	<b>Significance:</b>	<b>Identified by strategy:</b>	<b>Measures to address:</b>	<b>Targets defined:</b>	<b>Details of NRSF implementation relevant to the problem:</b>
Poor or lacking awareness of the general population of the contribution of Roma art and culture to national and European heritage	significant problems	understood with limitations	adequate but with room for improvement	adequate but with room for improvement	<p>More than poor or lacking, such awareness is disconnected from the recognition of Roma as equal humans/citizens. The so-called “positive” stereotypes on “gypsies” coexist, including in the mindset of a person who can discriminate against Romani people.</p> <p>The Exhibition Barvalo in the Museum of European and Mediterranean Cultures was a positive initiative. However, it was limited in time (May 10<sup>th</sup> – September 4<sup>th</sup> 2023). Dedicated to the history and diversity of Romani populations in Europe, this exhibition deserves to circulate so that it reaches out more public.</p>
Exclusion of Roma communities from national cultural narratives	critical problems	mentioned but not analysed sufficiently	present but insufficient	some targets but not relevant	No measures taken on this point.



Romani history and culture not included in school curricula and textbooks for both Roma and non-Roma students	critical problems	understood with limitations	present but insufficient	adequate but with room for improvement	Genocide of Roma is included in history textbooks which mention it very briefly. While this is important, it remains a very partial view which elude the six centuries Frech history of Roma and any narrative about their agency in the society.
Lack of memorialisation of Roma history through establishing monuments, commemorative activities, and institutionalising dates relevant to Roma history	significant problems	mentioned but not analysed sufficiently	present but insufficient	adequate but with room for improvement	<p>The main measure in terms of memorialisation is the announcement of a museum on the former internment camp for nomads in Montreuil-Bellay, in the PRADO. This measure is finally extremely reduced, as the government did not grant the necessary funds.</p> <p>Commemorative activities are anyway taking place, thanks essentially to civil society who takes the initiative. Among these, one can mention the participatory project of the wall of names Nomades<sup>48</sup> by the National Centre of Scientific Research CNRS in cooperation with the Maison Méditerranéenne des Sciences de l'Homme MMSH and in partnership with the association Devoir de Mémoire – Aux Voyageurs Internés et leurs Enfants (DE-MAVIE)<sup>n</sup> or the first Symposium “Bohémiens, Nomades, <i>Gens du voyage</i>. Vérité et Justice”, organised by the Memorial of Nomads and Fairground People of France and the Observatory of the Rights of Itinerant Citizens on 13 February 2025.</p> <p>While globally some progress is made, it has also to be pointed that memorialisation focuses almost exclusively on persecution and is mainly realised by civil society and academia.</p>

<sup>48</sup> Mur des noms des internés et assignés à résidence en tant que «Nomades » en France de 1939 à 1946 <https://murdesnomades.mmslh.fr/a-propos-du-projet-nomades/>

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