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Discrimination and victimisation of minorities in Spain: The research potential of the EU-MIDIS project

Discriminación y victimización de minorías en España: El potencial para la investigación del proyecto EU-MIDIS

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ABSTRACT

This article highlights the research potential of the European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey (EU-MIDIS), which the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights had conducted twice across Europe by 2021. It begins with an overview of the EU-MIDIS project before concentrating on the second survey (EU-MIDIS II) conducted in 2015 and 2016 (N=25,500), the database of which is available in open access. The paper focuses on the main findings of the EU-MIDIS II in Spain, where the sample was composed of migrants from North Africa and people of Roma ethnicity (N=1,563). The main findings of the survey provide helpful insights into a form of victimisation that is usually absent in official criminal statistics, yet the Spanish EU-MIDIS II database is a mine of information waiting to be exploited. This article proposes a series of analyses that could be performed, including logistic and ordinal regression, as well as mediation modelling, which could

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identify the variables that influence minorities' discrimination and victimisation. Finally, the strengths and weaknesses of the EU-MIDIS project are discussed.

Keywords: Roma, North African, survey, minority, random route sampling, hard-to-reach collectives

RESUMEN

Este artículo presenta la Encuesta sobre las minorías y la discriminación de la Unión Europea (EU-MIDIS), que hasta 2021 ha sido conducida dos veces en Europa por la Agencia de los Derechos Fundamentales de la Unión Europea. Comienza con una descripción general del proyecto EU-MIDIS, antes de concentrarse en la segunda encuesta (EU-MIDIS II) realizada en 2015 y 2016 (N=25.500), cuya base de datos está disponible en acceso abierto. El documento se centra en los principales hallazgos del EU-MIDIS II en España, donde la muestra estuvo compuesta por inmigrantes del norte de África y personas de etnia gitana (N=1.563). Los principales resultados de la encuesta ya brindan información útil sobre un tipo de victimización que generalmente está ausente en las estadísticas criminales oficiales; sin embargo, la base de datos española EU-MIDIS II es una mina de información que espera ser explotada. Este artículo propone una serie de análisis que podrían realizarse, incluyendo regresiones logísticas y ordinales, así como modelos de mediación, que podrían ayudar a esclarecer las variables que influyen en la discriminación y victimización de las minorías. Finalmente, se discuten los puntos fuertes y débiles del proyecto EU-MIDIS.

Palabras clave: Gitanos, norte africanos, encuesta, minoría, caminata aleatoria, colectivos de difícil acceso

1. Introduction

1.1. The study of hate crimes

The study of *victims* of crime increased significantly in European criminology from 2001 to 2018, whilst the study of so-called *hate crimes* has decreased over the same period (see Vander Beken et al., 2020). From that perspective, performing research on minorities and ethnicity-based hate crime—defined as "… a criminal act motivated by hatred, bias or prejudice against a person or property based upon the actual or perceived race and ethnicity" (Muncie & McLaughlin, 2012, p. 211)—is a demanding task for criminologists, not only because the topic is sensitive and prone to ideological interpretations, but also because some groups are difficult to reach. This is the case for foreigners (Carvalho da Silva & Prado Manrique, 2020), but also for certain national minorities, like the Roma (Wallengren, 2020).

For instance, the latest version of the *International Crime Victim Survey* or ICVS (van Dijk et al.,2007) included a general question on hate crimes that could be used as a dependent variable, but did not collect the independent variables that would have allowed researchers to identify the victims' perceptions of the specific reason that had provoked the crime: Was it their nationality, ethnicity, religion, or sexual orientation?[3]. Collecting such information would have required several additional questions, because concepts such as nationality are fraught with nuances (e.g., acquired through *jus sanguinis* or *jus soli*, from birth or later, etc.), and the same is true for religion (e.g., believer, practising, etc.) and ethnicity. For example, most Roma in Spain are Spanish citizens of Roma ethnicity (see Fundación Secretariado Gitano, n.d.), which is why they are defined sometimes as domestic foreigners (see Teleleu, 2018). Further, official records are of limited utility because they include no record of ethnicity and therefore, cannot be used as a criterion to create a sample. In addition, unregistered migrants living in the country would also be excluded from such a sample.

The lack of data on minorities renders it difficult to implement evidence-based policies to prevent these individuals' discrimination and victimisation (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2009a, 2009b). Against that background, the European Union (EU) launched the *European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey* (EU-MIDIS hereafter) in 2007, the goal of which is precisely to fill that gap (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2009a, 2017a). To date, the EU-MIDIS survey has been conducted twice and its results compiled in open-access reports that present descriptive figures, as well as publicly accessible databases that scholars can use further for advanced statistical analyses (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2020).

These two macro-studies were designed to produce scientific knowledge to inform public policies for the evidence-based inclusion of minorities. Although we could find no academic empirical papers that used EU-MIDIS's data as a source for further analyses, several scholars have used a large amount of its descriptive data in their papers. For instance,

[3] "In the past 5 years, did you, or any member of your immediate family fall victim of a crime because, or partly because of your nationality, race or colour, religious belief, or sexual orientation?" (van Dijk et al., 2007, p. 230).

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Sardelić (2017) discussed the deprivation and discrimination Roma children endure in the EU, and highlighted EU-MIDIS's findings on the segregation of Roma children and their lack of quality education, as well as the overwhelming percentage (80%) of them who live below the poverty line. Similarly, Wrench (2015) discussed the EU legislation against racial discrimination among trade unions in EU states, and presented many data from EU-MIDIS, such as populations' perceptions of discrimination in EU countries. Moreover, Sokhi-Bulley (2011) also addressed such surveys' implications in the human rights discourse. Other authors who cited the EU-MIDIS data are Kolarcik et al. (2015) and Aebi and Linde (2010).

The purpose of this paper is to show the way EU-MIDIS's database could be used to increase what is known about the discrimination and victimisation of ethnic minorities in Spain. The paper describes the entire project, but concentrates on the findings of the EU-MIDIS II, which interviewed (1) first- and second-generation immigrants from North Africa and (2) people of Roma ethnicity. These topics are discussed after presenting a series of methodological issues related to the EU-MIDIS II and the population studied in it.

1.2. The populations studied in the Spanish EU-MIDIS II

1.2.1. The Roma

The Roma, referred to also as Gypsies or Romanies, are the most numerous European ethnic minority (Council of Europe [CoE], 2012). In Spain, they are referred to as Kalés or Gitanos (Hancock, 1997), and it is estimated that their population is between 500,000 and one million people (CoE, 2012). The Roma's migration from India to Europe is thought to have begun in the 5th century (Martínez-Cruz et al., 2016), while it appears that the Spanish Roma are descendants of those who crossed the Pyrenees in the 15th century and established themselves on the Iberian Peninsula (CoE, 2012). Historians such as Fraser (1995) consider that the Roma are perceived systematically as foreigners not only because the dominant group excluded them socially, but because of the Roma's tendency to self-isolate as well. In the 20th century, a legal source of discrimination was the Spanish Vagrancy Act (*Ley para vagos y maleantes*), which the Socialist Second Republic introduced in 1933 and Francisco Franco's Fascist Regime used as a tool for repression until 1970, when it was replaced by the

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law on dangerosity (*Ley sobre peligrosidad y rehabilitación social*). The latter was also a source of discrimination and was completely reappealed only in 1995. Moreover, early 20th-century Spanish criminologists, such as Rafael Salillas, Jerónimo Montes, and Bernaldo de Quirós, were influenced heavily by Lombroso's (1887) conclusion that the Roma were a criminal race (García Sanz, 2018).

In the first decades of the 21st century, the European Roma had lived, and still do, in a more precarious situation than the non-Roma populations (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2016). Moreover, research suggests that relatively often, they are victims of crimes related directly or indirectly to their ethnicity (Kisfalusi et al. 2020; Molnar & Aebi, 2021; Wallengren et al., 2019). Using data from the *Survey on Romani population households* from 2007 (N=2,664), Laparra et al. (2011) found that 54.5% of the Roma in Spain felt discriminated against when looking for a job. Further, the hate crimes the Roma suffer because of their ethnicity appear to be under-reported, as according to police data, only 12 people reported their hate-motivated victimisation in 2019 (Portal Estadístico de Criminalidad, 2020). Other Spanish researchers have highlighted the vulnerable situation of Roma children (Gutiérrez-Sánchez, 2015; Oliván, 2002), the challenges health personnel face when they attempt to detect intimate partner violence among the Spanish Roma (Briones-Vozmediano et al., 2021), and the over-representation of Roma women in Spanish prisons, which has been documented for at least 20 years (Cerezo, 2017; Hernández et al., 2001), as well as the extent of organised crime among Roma families (Giménez-Salinas et al., 2012). Some of these topics are not related directly to victimisation or discrimination biases, but they may well be interrelated, because the overlap between offending and victimisation has been corroborated in several settings (see Aebi, 2006; Jennings, Piquero, & Reingle, 2012; Pauwels & Svensson, 2011).

1.2.2. Migrants from North Africa

According to the Spanish National Statistical Institute, two main factors motivated persons from North Africa to migrate to Spain at the beginning of the 2000s: the lack of job opportunities in their countries of origin and demographic pressure, in the sense that birth

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rates in North Africa were twice to three times higher than in Western European countries (Instituto Nacional de Estadística [INE], 2001). Between 1998 and 2019, the number of African immigrants living in Spain overall increased ten-fold, from 150,000 persons in 1998 to 1.5 million in 2019 (INE, 2020). Today, this group represents roughly 2% of the entire population in Spain, but only approximately 15% of the foreign population (Instituto Nacional de Estadística [INE], 2021). Fanjul and Gálvez-Iniesta (2020) estimated that Northern Africans represent approximately 9% of the undocumented migrants in Spain. Nonetheless, the number of illegal immigrants among them is unknown thus far, which is an interesting denominator in this research.

Most of these migrants come from North Africa, a region that includes roughly the Western Sahara, Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, Egypt, Sudan, and South Sudan. From that perspective, among the many other highly industrialised countries available for immigration, the choice of Spain appears to be attributable to geographical (i.e., *situational*) factors (see Pérez, 1996). Two Spanish cities—Ceuta and Melilla—located in North Africa are separated from the remainder of the African continent only by a fence. In addition, in that area, only the 14 kilometres of the Gibraltar Strait separate Europe and Africa. Andalusian cities, such as Málaga, Motril, and Almería, are situated north of Morocco and separated by only several hundred kilometres.

The status of North Africans living in Spain tends to be precarious (Gil-Alonso et al., 2009). For example, men are overrepresented in underqualified jobs in construction, industry, and agriculture, whilst women are employed in homes and hotels. It also appears that they tend to under-report their victimisation: In 2019, official Spanish police data recorded 120 Northern Africans who would have been victims of a hate crime related to their origins or skin colour (Portal Estadístico de Criminalidad, 2020). Nonetheless, data derived from self-reported sources indicate a much higher prevalence. For instance, EU-MIDIS II indicated that 21% of the North Africans in Spain reported being a victim of discrimination (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2017a). A report from 2015 on hate crimes in Spain also showed that 13% of the victims were from Africa, particularly Morocco (8%) and Senegal (2%) (Ministerio del Interior, 2015).

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Non-governmental organisations, as well as some Spanish jurists and criminologists, also consider that the so-called *hot expulsions*—those that take place when the Spanish police expel the migrants who enter Spain by jumping over the fence in Ceuta and Melilla immediately—constitute a form of institutional discrimination and unjust treatment, and do not comply with the international conventions on seeking asylum, which require the intervention of a judicial authority (Martínez Escamilla et al., 2014). In addition, a study based upon a convenience sample recruited via social media and snowball sampling, found relatively high rates of victimisation and offending among African migrants living in Spain, although in that case the majority of the sample was composed of persons from the sub-Saharan region (García-España, Aguilar-Jurado, & Contreras-Román, 2020).

2. Data and Methods

2.1. The EU-MIDIS survey: Overview

In the mid-2000s, the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA) decided to launch a pioneer study on difficult-to-survey groups, such as immigrants and ethnic and national minorities, on a large European scale. A scientific committee the FRA established developed the survey's content and methodology (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2009a). To ensure comparability with the survey data available for the general population already, the survey included questions from well-established instruments such as the *Eurobarometer* and the *ICVS*. After a pilot study conducted in 2007, the first full-scale survey was conducted in 2008 under the acronym of EU-MIDIS (*European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey*) and its results were published in 2009 (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2009a). The results of the first wave of the EU-MIDIS helped improve the questionnaire, and the survey was conducted a second time (EU-MIDIS II) in 2016 and 2017 (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2017a). Both EU-MIDIS were conducted in all EU countries (27 in 2009 and 28 in

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2017[4]) through face-to-face interviews based upon a standardised questionnaire and, according to the FRA, the weighted samples are representative of the target population (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2009a, 2017a).

The main themes addressed in the survey are *discriminatory treatment*, *ethnicity-based crimes*, *victimisation*, *awareness of rights*, and *reporting complaints*. In each country, two, or in some cases three, of the main minorities—immigrants from a specific country or region, ethnic minorities, or national minorities—were selected as target groups. This means that the groups interviewed vary from country to country, and they may also vary from the first to the second survey in the same country. Hence, in Spain, the three target groups in EU-MIDIS I were South American, North African, and Romanian immigrants, while in EU-MIDIS II, the two target groups were Roma and North African immigrants. It must be mentioned that, theoretically, both EU-MIDIS included only immigrants who speak the national language, or at least one of the national languages, and had been established in the country legally for at least one year, although in practice there were some exceptions to these rules. In this respect, irregular immigrants and those seeking asylum were not retained as target groups because the methodological challenges faced when trying to sample them could not be overcome. The team of experts considered that these were the *hardest-to-reach groups*.

In principle, experienced interviewers conducted the fieldwork. Whenever possible, women and interviewers with minority or immigrant backgrounds, and a wide door-to-door sampling practices were selected. In addition, each of them attended in-person training to familiarise them with the questionnaire and the data collection method, which included role-playing in different 'in the field' scenarios. The less experienced interviewers also received general training on the way to conduct interviews.

Because of the multifaceted target population and coverage area defined, the sampling design was quite complex. EU-MIDIS I adopted four sampling approaches: 1) *city/metropolitan random route sampling with focused enumeration*; 2) *registry-based*

[4] Both surveys are quoted according to the year in which the results and technical reports were published, 2009 and 2017, although the fieldwork was conducted in previous years.

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address sample; 3) *nationwide random route with focused enumeration*; and 4) *network sampling*. EU-MIDIS II used four types of sampling design as well, although they differed: 1) *multi-stage area sampling*; 2) *direct unclustered single-stage sampling*; 3) *location sampling or centre-based sampling;* and 4) *non-probability sampling* (quota sampling). Specific information about each type of sampling and its procedure can be found in both surveys' technical reports (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2009a, 2017a). Several *Main Findings* reports for both EU-MIDIS have been published and are available on the FRA's website (see European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2017b).

2.2. The EU-MIDIS survey in Spain

Data collection for the EU-MIDIS I in Spain took place from May to July 2008. The sample included migrants (N=1,526) from North Africa, South America, and Romania living in Barcelona and Madrid (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2009b). They were selected using *city random route* sampling with focused enumeration. Among the 2,637 individuals selected to be interviewed, 1,526 agreed to participate in the study, for a response rate of 58%. The latter was similar across the three target groups. As expected, the response rate affected the final sample's representativeness, which differed from the distribution of the population under study, but this problem was minimised by weighting the final sample by households and individuals. The interviewers also filled out a post-interview section where they indicated their perception of the type of neighbourhood (predominantly immigrant or not; predominantly poor or not) and the difficulties the respondents faced when answering the questionnaire. The latter were largely language-related, as reflected in the percentage of respondents who had such difficulties: 5% among South Americans, 13% among Romanians, and 27% among North Africans. Because of these linguistic limitations, 4% of the North Africans were interviewed in Arabic, and 2% of the Romanians in Romanian. It is worth mentioning that no specific report is available on the results of the survey among the sample of South Americans (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2009b).

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For the EU-MIDIS II, Spain modified the target groups, which also implied changing the sampling methodology. As ethnicity is not recorded in the official records, the number of Roma living in Spain (550,000) had to be estimated on the basis of data provided by the *Secretariado Gitano*—a foundation that supports the Spanish Roma—while the number of North Africans (1.15 million) was based upon the Spanish Census from 2011, which concerned first-generation immigrants primarily (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2017a). They surveyed the target groups from cities with areas with more than 200 Roma households, but less than 10% of the concentration of this population, as well as areas with more than 3.5% of concentration of North Africans. In total, 776 Roma and 787 North Africans were surveyed. Interviewees were 16 years or older who had lived in the country for at least twelve months before the survey. In contrast, institutionalised people—for instance, those in prison or hospitals—were not included in the survey. Samples were assigned according to the statistical information available on minority groups by the city section, and the main method applied to select households in these sections was *random route sampling*. In brief, within each of the *primary sampling units* selected, a first address was chosen arbitrarily, and then the interviewers followed a pre-established random route and rang on the front door of the house selected (for details, see European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2017a, p. 53 and following). FRA considered that the Spanish sample was less reliable than others for different reasons, including its final size—which was not as large as the suggested optimal allocation—and its frames, as well as the interviewers' abilities and the cost of the survey overall. The survey coverage for the Roma was 65%, whilst it was 55% for the North Africans. The response rate was 56% among the Roma, and 65% among the North Africans.

3. Findings: The potential of the EU-MIDIS II for criminological research in Spain

3.1. Description of the variables

The main variables of the EU-MIDIS II available in open access (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2017a, 2017c, 2020) are shown in Table 1.

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Table 1

Variables available from the European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey (EU-MIDIS)

1. *Household information.*
2. *Rights awareness, perceptions and attitudes:*
   - 2.1. Level of attachment to various areas (e.g., neighbourhood, city, country or EU).
   - 2.2. Self-identification dimensions.
   - 2.3. Prevalence of discrimination.
   - 2.4. Awareness of support organisations, equality bodies, existing antidiscrimination legislation, recent antidiscrimination campaigns in the relevant country.
   - 2.5. Worry about being discriminated against when out in public.
   - 2.6. Avoidance behaviour.
3. *Employment:*
   - 3.1. Employment situation.
   - 3.2. Experiences of discrimination on any ground, and specifically related to ethnic or immigrant background when looking for work and at work.
   - 3.3. Reporting of the last incident of discrimination to any organisation.
   - 3.4. Level of satisfaction with the way the complaint was handled.
   - 3.5. Reasons for not reporting an incident of discrimination.
4. *Experience of discrimination; corruption and police stops experience:*
   - 4.1. Subjective assessment of own health condition.
   - 4.2. Unmet medical care needs.
   - 4.3. Highest level of education attained.
   - 4.4. Discrimination experiences while using health care services, when trying to rent or buy an apartment or a house, or when in contact with school authorities.
   - 4.5. Discrimination experiences while using various other services such as entering a bar or a restaurant, a shop; at administrative offices or public services; in public transport.
   - 4.6. Reporting of the last incident of discrimination to any organisation.
   - 4.7. Level of satisfaction with the way the complaint was handled.
   - 4.8. Reasons for not reporting an incident of discrimination.
   - 4.9. Awareness of discrimination experiences among friends and family.
   - 4.10. Expectations to pay a bribe.
   - 4.11. The governmental official involved.
   - 4.12. Police stop experience in different situations.
   - 4.13. Reasons for being stopped.
   - 4.14. Level of police respectfulness.
   - 4.15. Prevalence of physical assault by the police.
   - 4.16. Reasons for not reporting an incident of physical assault by the police.
5. *Victimisation: experiences of harassment and violence.*
   - 5.1. Prevalence of harassment and victimisation incidents.
   - 5.2. Characteristics of the last incident: forms, frequency, perpetrators, reporting, and reasons for non-reporting, satisfaction with handling of complaint by police.

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Table 1 (cont.)

Variables available from the European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey (EU-MIDIS)

6. *Societal participation:*
   - 6.1. Residence status, family reunification.
   - 6.2. Application for country citizenship.
   - 6.3. Migration and mobility.
   - 6.4. Level of religiosity, wearing religious symbols.
   - 6.5. Political and civic participation.
   - 6.6. Group relations, collective identities.
7. *Socio-economic background:*
   - 7.1. Marital status.
   - 7.2. Household income.
   - 7.3. Support received by the household.
   - 7.4. Monetary remittances.
   - 7.5. Making ends meet.
   - 7.6. Household possessions.
   - 7.7. Prevalence of household members going to bed hungry.
8. *Location sampling information:*
   - 8.1. Frequency of visiting various locations in the city/town/village.
   - 8.2. Interviewer's observations concerning the setting of the interview.

3.2. Descriptive analyses

The Roma subsample in the Spanish EU-MIDIS II includes 469 women and 307 men, whilst the North African includes 407 women and 380 men. Most of the interviews (58.1%) were carried out in ethnically segregated areas, which, according to the qualitative methodology applied for the fieldwork, indicates that the interviewer perceived that the neighbourhood was inhabited largely by foreigners.

Only 26% of the North Africans had a secure residence status, such as Spanish citizenship or a residence permit valid for at least five years; the remainder had only a short-term authorisation to stay in the country. In contrast, all of the Roma were Spanish citizens, and 97% identified themselves strongly with Spain. In contrast, 57% of the North Africans identified with Spain, with no substantial differences between first- and second-generation immigrants (57% vs. 58%). Only 3% of the Roma had completed an upper secondary education, although 43% of the North Africans had. The *Main Findings* reports of the EU-MIDIS II cross-tabulate these demographic variables with the main outcome variables

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described below (see European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2019). The dynamic data explorer also allows users to conduct their own analyses online (see European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2017c).

Table 2 summarises the primary descriptive analyses of the *outcome variables* (*dependent variables*) studied in EU-MIDIS II. Approximately 35% of the Roma and 21% of the North Africans in Spain reported that they had been victims of *overall discrimination*—based upon their ethnic or immigrant background, such as skin colour, origins or religion—during the year preceding the survey (*last year prevalence*, see Aebi, 2006). These percentages rose to 51% and 32%, respectively, when the period was extended to the five years before the survey. In particular, 35% of the Roma and 28% of the North Africans felt discriminated against when applying for a job, at work, when looking for housing, or in contact with school authorities as a parent or a guardian in the five years before the study. During the twelve months preceding the survey, 13% of the Roma and 10% of the North Africans felt discriminated against when looking for a job, but both percentages decreased to 5% for those who were already working and felt discriminated against by their colleagues. When searching for a place to rent, 14% of the Roma and 10% of North Africans felt discriminated against, while the percentages were 30% and 10%, respectively, when contacting public or private services.

As anticipated already in the introduction, discrimination passes unnoticed officially because the victims seldom report it to the police: only 5% of the Roma and 7% of the North Africans had reported their last incident of discrimination. In fact, only 21% of the Roma and 30% of North Africans knew that Spanish legislation punishes discrimination. Moreover, only 17% of the Roma and 6% of the North Africans were aware of the existence of victim-assistance services.

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Table 2

Main descriptive outcome variables (N=1,563)

Discrimination	
Prevalence of discrimination previous year	
Roma	35%
North-Africans	21%
Prevalence of discrimination in previous five years	
Roma	51%
North-Africans	32%
Five years' work-related prevalence of discrimination	
Roma	35%
North Africans	28%
Five years' prevalence of discrimination when looking for housing	
Roma	14%
North-Africans	10%
Five years' prevalence of discrimination when contacting public or private services	
Roma	30%
North-Africans	10%
Knowledge of victim-support organisation	
Roma	17%
North-Africans	6%
Knowledge of laws prohibiting discrimination	
Roma	21%
North-Africans	30%
Victimisation	
Harassment because of ethnic or immigrant background in the year before	
Roma	30%
North-Africans	24%
Violence because of ethnic or immigrant background in the year before	
Roma	2%
North-Africans	1%
Experiences with authorities	
Violence suffered by the police	
Roma	4%
North-Africans	1%
Stopped by the police	
Roma	45%
North-Africans	23
Stopped by the police: racially motivated	
Roma	21%
North-Africans	11%
Stopped by the police: respectful treatment	
Roma	53%
North-Africans	59%
Trust in police (0-10)	
Roma	3.7 / 10
North-Africans	6.6/10

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When specific types of victimisation are studied, some members of both groups felt that, during the last year, their ethnic or immigrant background had been the cause of *harassment* (30% of the Roma and 24% of the North African) or *violence* against them (2% of the Roma and 1% of the North Africans). Four percent (4%) of the Roma and 1% of the North Africans indicated that the police had assaulted them physically because of their ethnic or immigrant background in the last five years. During the same period, 45% of the Roma and 23% of the North Africans said that they had been stopped by the police, and roughly half of them (21% of all Roma and 11% of all North Africans) perceived it as *racial profiling*. Among those the police stopped, 26% of the Roma and 15% of the North Africans felt treated disrespectfully, while the majority (53% of the Roma and 59% of the North Africans) felt that they had been treated very or fairly respectfully.

The EU-MIDIS II also measured trust in the police using a scale from zero (no trust at all) to 10 (complete trust), which revealed huge differences between the groups studied, as the score was 3.7 for the Roma, but 6.6 for the North Africans. In percentages, this corresponds to 24% of the Roma and 64% of the North Africans trusting the police by more than 5 points. These scores appear lower than those obtained by the European Social Survey (Jackson et al., 2011) with a sample of the general Spanish population, among whom 90% had a positive image of the police. In addition, the EU-MIDIS II shows that 11% of the Roma trust the parliament and 17% trust the country's legal system, but these percentages rose to 38% and 50% among the North Africans. With respect to immigrants, Casado-Patricio (2020) found similar results in Málaga, as those in her sample had a positive image of the authorities and tended to trust Spanish institutions.

3.3. Inferential models

Setting aside the descriptive analyses presented in the previous section, the EU-MIDIS II's greatest potential, in our opinion, is that it allows researchers to conduct advanced statistical analyses with large samples of hard-to-reach populations, which have usually been addressed

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previously using qualitative methods with small samples. Given the variables available[5], this section suggests some of the models that could be tested. These include logistic regression, ordinal regression, and mediation models, but the list is not exhaustive because the goal is to illustrate the possibilities the EU-MIDIS-II database offers. We note that, to respect the goals of this special issue, we do not test the models in this paper, but simply propose and describe them.

3.3.1 Logistic regression models

Many of the outcome variables of the EU-MIDIS II are categorical, in that they are composed of a limited number of categories that are not numerical and follow no order. Such variables allow *logistic regression models* to be constructed (see Britt and Weisburd, 2010), which permit the risk and protection factors of discrimination and victimisation to be assessed. In this way, it is possible to establish the profiles of persons at greater risk of being discriminated against and those at less risk to concentrate prevention efforts on the first when resources are limited. However, from that perspective, it is useful to keep in mind that one of the positive outcomes of the EU-MIDIS II is that, contrary to the theoretical expectations, the prevalence of ethnically-motivated serious violence against these vulnerable populations is very low in Spain. Overall, only 1% of the entire sample had been victims of ethnically-motivated physical assault, which equates to approximately 15 persons among the 1,563 included in the sample, and logistic regression models cannot be applied with such a small sample.

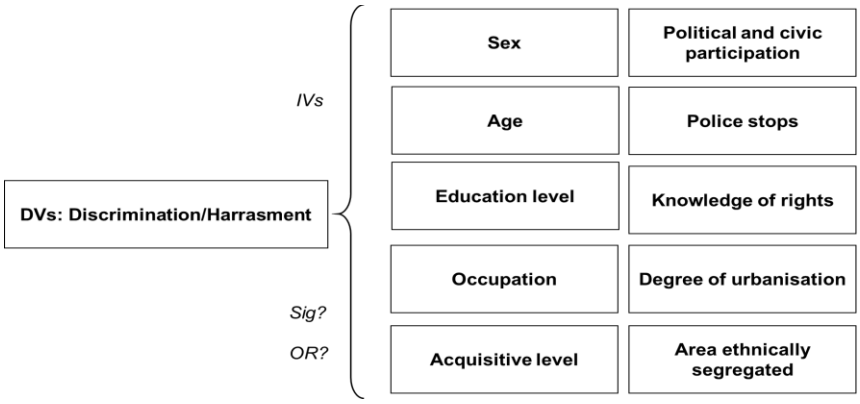
In contrast, harassment and discrimination are acts of less gravity, but higher prevalence—between approximately 400 and 500 individuals, as shown in Table 2 above—which allow logistic regressions to be conducted. Figure 1 illustrates theoretical models that could be tested using the prevalence (during the last year or the last five years) of the experiences of harassment or discrimination the respondents perceived as dependent variables (DVs) and several indicators measured at the individual and the neighbourhood

[5] As pointed out by an anonymous reviewer, some of the independent variables in Figures 1 and 2 are unit-level variables while others are area-level variables. That opens the possibility of applying other types of multilevel models that can be developed by the potential users of the database and could account for the nested structure of the data.

level as independent variables (IVs). For instance, at the individual level, potential variables include (1) sex, (2) age, (3) education level, (4) occupation, (5) acquisitive level (measured as economic resources), (6) political and civic participation, (7) former experiences of police stops, and (8) people's knowledge of their rights; at the neighbourhood level they include (9) the degree of the neighbourhood's urbanisation, and (10) the area's level of ethnic segregation. These analyses could clarify the statistical relations among these variables and help predict the likelihood—expressed as the odds ratio (*OR*)—of suffering discrimination given certain independent variable or variables. For example, it would be possible to estimate whether women are more likely than men to feel discriminated against, which age group has a greater risk of discrimination, or whether people living in ethnically segregated areas are more likely to experience harassment than those living in heterogeneous neighbourhoods.

Figure 1

Potential logistic regression models with discrimination or harassment as DVs.



Researchers should retain only the relevant variables in their models, from a theoretical and statistical point of view, which will allow assessment of the percentage of the variance the model explains (normally according to the statistics of the pseudo-R^2 of Nagelkerke). Evidently, precautions must be taken when conducting such analyses, as many assumptions must be met to perform logistic regression appropriately (Garson, 2016, with references). For example: (1) the DV must be a dichotomous variable; (2) normally distributed; (3) not homoscedastic; (4) with either continuous or nominal IVs; (5) not inter-

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correlated (to avoid the phenomenon referred to as multicollinearity, measured via the VIF statistic, for example), and mutually exclusive and exhaustive; (6) the error terms must be independent; (7) there must be low error in the explanatory variables, as well as (8) linearity in the logits; (9) the variables should be centred; (10) there should be no outliers; (11) the sample size should be large (at least 10 to 50 cases per independent variable); (12) the sampling adequate; and (13) there should be expected dispersion. For more information about logistic regression, there are many useful handbooks in addition to Garson (2016).

3.3.2 Ordinal regression models

EU-MIDIS' dataset offers researchers the possibility to perform *ordinal regression models* as well when they have variables measured on an ordinal scale. It must be noted that Britt and Weisburd (2010) criticised many papers in the field of criminology and criminal justice that deal with ordinal dependent variables because they tend to (1) dichotomise them to perform binary logistic regression models, (2) treat them as categorical variables to carry out multinomial logistic regression, or (3) assume that they are continuous and perform linear regression. From a statistical viewpoint, these authors believe that all three approaches are inappropriate because the nuances of the distribution are lost in the transformation. Consequently, they suggested using *ordinal logistic regression models*.

Figure 2 proposes an example of an ordinal regression model intended to explain *trust in the police*, a construct that the EU-MIDIS II measured using an ordinal scale. From that perspective, not only can the IVs mentioned above be introduced in the model as explanatory variables, but also harassment and discrimination—used as DVs in the previous logistic regression models suggested—could become IVs. In that context, it is to be noted that (1) the DV introduced in an ordinal regression model must be ordinal, (2) the IVs can be either continuous or categorical, (3) they must have proportional odds (measured through the test of parallel lines), (4) they must not be intercorrelated to avoid multicollinearity, and (5) they must have a satisfactory model fit (p<0.05) (O'Connell, 2006). If these requirements are met, the regression model proposed could help determine the variables that influence trust in the police and, potentially, help develop interventions to increase the levels of trust.

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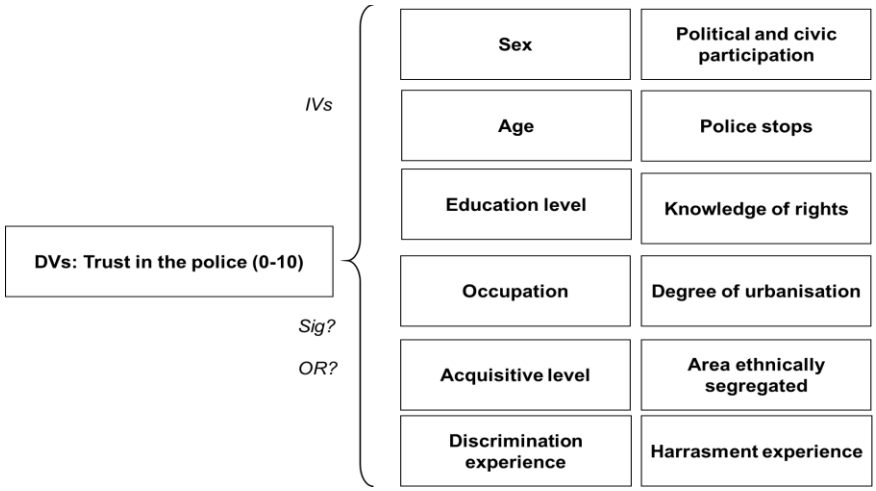
Figure 2

Potential ordinal regression model with trust in the police as a dependent variable.



3.3.3 Mediation models

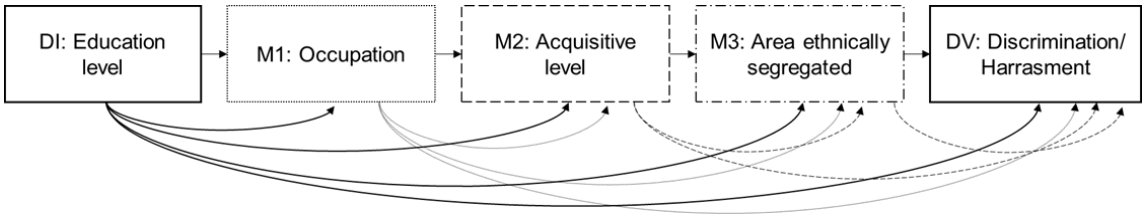
Mediation analysis is used to identify the mechanism or path through which an IV is related to a DV (Pearl & Mackenzie, 2018), and it can be performed in SPSS with a simple macro, *Process*, which Hayes (2018) developed. Kane and Ashbaugh (2017) highlighted many practical applications of mediation analyses using Process, and the resulting models are particularly nuanced.

Figure 3 proposes a basic serial mediation model that could allow researchers to test whether *education level* (IV) influences *the discrimination or harassment endured* (DV) directly, or whether the relation between these two variables is mediated through the indirect effect of other factors (M). For example, it is plausible to postulate that *education level* (IV) will have an effect on *people's occupation* (M1), which in turn will influence their *acquisitive level* (M2) that should condition *the choice of the area of residence* (M3), and some areas will put the residents at a higher risk of experiencing *discrimination or harassment* (DV). This model does not allow the causal direction of the relation to be tested, because EU-MIDIS II data are based upon a cross-sectional design and testing causation would require a randomised controlled trial or a longitudinal study of the same participants. However, if the development of the mediation model is guided by solid theoretical assumptions, the results

should be logically consistent. From that perspective, confounders such as age, sex, or other sociodemographic variables should also be introduced as controls depending upon the type of research (for more nuances about the choice of confounding variables, see Pearl & Mackenzie, 2018).

Figure 3

Serial mediation model



All of these models are simply examples, and it is up to the researchers to include or exclude variables according to their objectives and data analysis expertise. In that context, political and civic participation also appears to be a fruitful indicator. It is also relevant to acknowledge that mediation analyses are diverse in nature, and in addition to the simple mediation analysis with one mediator, there are serial mediation models (such as the one proposed here), parallel mediation models, and other more complex models that depend upon the theoretical framework of the research (see examples in Hayes, 2013/2018, p. 169).

4. Discussion and Conclusion

The EU-MIDIS constitutes an excellent dataset for researchers interested in obtaining insights into hard-to-reach populations. The Spanish survey studied the Roma and immigrants from North Africa to determine their perceptions of discriminatory treatment, their ethnicity-based victimisation and awareness of rights, tendency to lodge complaints, and trust in such authorities as the parliament, justice system, and the police. The survey has helped reveal the dark shadow of crime against these populations already. Further analyses of the database could help develop evidence-based policies on the integration of these minorities and also help address the inter-ethnic problems that emerge between minorities as well as between them and the autochthonous.

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The primary limitation of the EU-MIDIS is its lack of homogeneity with respect to methodology—particularly sampling—and reporting the results, which affect the survey's potential to be used in comparative research over time. For example, in Spain, the EU-MIDIS I interviewed South Americans, North Africans, and Romanians, while the EU-MIDIS II interviewed the Roma and North Africans. The reasons for excluding Romanians and South Americans have not been presented explicitly. In the case of South Americans, little information is available and one plausible interpretation is that the levels of victimisation were not as high as among North Africans and Romanians. If that is the case, this encouraging result should have been reported.

Comparative research can still be conducted with the Spanish samples of North Africans from both EU-MIDIS. From that perspective, the study of second-generation immigrants has a long tradition in criminology and could provide a suitable theoretical framework for this kind of research. However, to achieve that goal, it would be necessary to have the same types of information in both surveys, which is why we suggest harmonising the technical and main findings reports of the survey.

Keeping in mind that questions on physical assault and harassment are among the least ambiguous ways to measure victimisation, we would suggest adding a series of follow-up questions to obtain additional information on the victims' perceptions of the reasons for the hate-based crime. There will always be a level of subjectivity when people answer a questionnaire, but researchers should try to reduce it to the minimum. In that context, both under-reporting and over-reporting are possible, as often, the victims do not necessarily know the perpetrators' motivations. For example, Kisfalusi et al. (2020) conducted a study on school bullying in Hungary, in which the authors' interviews with the perpetrators indicated that both Roma and non-Roma pupils tended to bully peers perceived to be Roma, a finding that was not detected when the victims were interviewed. They hypothesised that, as the victims could not know the perpetrators' intentions, they under-reported hate crimes.

Thus, one potential way to improve the EU-MIDIS is to revisit these questions and use alternative methodologies to measure victimisation. For example, it should be possible to provide vignettes of hate crimes and ask the interviewees whether they have experienced

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that kind of situation. The same applies to the feeling of being discriminated against when looking for a job or a house. From that perspective, it is crucial to determine whether discrimination is based upon ethnicity or nationality or whether it is based upon illiteracy, working experience, work permit, acquisitive level, or some other factor. One possibility here is to include an additional sample of the autochthonous population with a profile that is similar to that of the main samples. For example, this should allow researchers to clarify whether the main reason for not obtaining a job is that the person has not finished secondary school or rather that s/he is a foreigner or belongs to a minority.

From a similar perspective, one of the most explanatory theories of victimisation is the *life-style theory* (Hindelang, Gottfredson & Garofalo, 1978), which may be operationalised, for example, as the frequency of going outside at night. These kinds of variables should be studied in research on minorities, and their interaction with discrimination, ethnic segregation, or other ethnic-related factors[6] should be considered also. The influence on lifestyles could be tested via moderation analyses, such as those Madero-Hernandez and Fisher (2017) conducted. Finally, the reader may have observed that, despite their over-representation, victimisation is still a rare event among minorities. This suggests that larger samples are needed to conduct advanced statistical analyses.

In summary, the EU-MIDIS survey is a promising database for Spanish researchers to employ. It could surely be improved in the future, but, in the meanwhile, it offers the opportunity to conduct sophisticated research at no cost, because the databases are available on open access. In this paper, we have suggested certain possibilities for analyses, including logistic and ordinal regression, as well as mediation models, but there are many other possibilities that depend largely upon the researchers' imagination.

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[6] See, for example, Madero-Hernandez and Fisher (2017) and McNeeley and Overstreet (2018).

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