

Perceived discrimination among Spanish Roma: the role of religion

Abstract

This paper aims to show that Roma people in Spain are targeted for discrimination because of perceptions about their religious beliefs, as well as for reasons linked to their socio-economic status. Data on the Spanish Roma population have been used and analysis reveals that Evangelical Roma people have a higher probability of perceiving discrimination than those Roma who profess the majority religion in Spain, i.e. Catholicism, once other socio-economic and demographic factors are controlled for. We recommend that this manifested higher degree of discrimination towards Evangelical Roma should be addressed by Spanish institutions and organizations promoting the rights of ethnic minorities by considering intersectional discrimination which allows for a more respectful and egalitarian approach to the diversity of Roma people. Additionally, Evangelical churches should be considered as active actors in an inter-culture dialogue.

Keywords: Ethnicity, religion, discrimination, Roma people

Introduction

Discrimination is a problem with harmful consequences. Those who feel discriminated against suppose that they will be evaluated on the basis of negative stereotypes, which implies that they need to work harder than advantaged group members to succeed (Biernat and Kobrynowicz, 1997) or, on the contrary, they may react by interacting less, which is particularly detrimental in situations where social networking matters, such as employment and education, emerging into a cycle of low expectations and low outcomes which leads to a reduction in social mobility (Al Ramiah et al., 2010). Discrimination also reduces psychological well-being (Pascoe and Richman, 2009), and life satisfaction (Vang et al., 2019). This paper focuses on discrimination against Roma in Spain. Discrimination towards Roma is a problem that is deeply rooted in history and is still prevalent today (Kende et al., 2017). In particular, the Spanish Roma population has suffered discrimination based on negative stereotypes associated with them, as Roma people are frequently linked to marginality, low levels of education (Bereményi and Carrasco, 2015) and poverty (Hellgren and Gabrielli, 2021). This paper strives to increase empirical evidence on discrimination against Roma by using the Spanish Roma Population Survey (SRPS), carried out jointly by the social non-profit organization Fundación Secretariado Gitano (FSG) and by the Soros Foundation, in 2011. By applying a multilevel analysis, by Spanish province, this research establishes that the conjunction of minority ethnic status plus minority religious affiliation is associated with higher levels of discrimination among Roma people, once other potential factors which might influence these findings are controlled for. In particular, this empirical study shows that an individual-level effect (of being Evangelical), and a contextual-level effect of living in a county that has a higher percentage of Evangelical Roma, are positively associated with the probability of perceiving discrimination, especially the former.

Different from other Roma groups, which have generally adopted the religion of the host country (Cace, 2012), most Spanish Roma people identify as Evangelical, 62.1%ⁱ (SRPS) while over 73% of the Spanish population identified as Catholic in the year 2011 (Centre for Sociological Research). In spite of having first arrived in Spain in the 15th century and Spain being a traditionally Catholic country in which Catholicism enjoys a privileged position, only 22.5% of the Spanish Roma population identifies as Catholic. The Church of Philadelphia is one of the Evangelical communities with greater visibility among Spanish Roma. The Roma Evangelical movement began in Spain in the 1960s and

grew rapidly. Although most theories base the success of this religion on its concern for marginal groups, for example, by implementing campaigns against drug addiction, Cantón-Delgado (2014) notes that conversions have also happened among Spanish Roma with regular incomes, attributing the rapid growth throughout Spain to the *ethnogenesis* intrinsic to this religious group, that is to say, the ethnic and culture reaffirmation by means of combining the traditional heritage with its resignification. This process of cultural change around a religious system has generated critical attitudes among some Catholic sectors, guided by a paternalistic vision of the Roma world, and by some non-confessional associations which identified themselves as staunch defenders of Roma culture (Cantón-Delgado, 2010).

By using quantitative data, this research establishes that Evangelical Spanish Roma have a higher probability of discrimination than non-Evangelical Spanish Roma, which points to the existence of prejudice against Evangelical Roma within mainstream society in Spain, who seem to tolerate Catholic Roma relatively better. This evidence reveals that Spanish institutions have not done enough for reducing anti-gypsyism. In particular, an issue of intersectional discrimination derived from being Roma and Evangelical should be seriously considered. The combination of several discriminations generates intersectional obstacles and thus intersectionality might be a more precise tool to address this complex reality (Kóczé and Popa, 2009; Kóczé and Trehan, 2021), than tackling discrimination against Roma and against Evangelical people separately. As the new EU Roma strategic framework 2020–2030 recognizes, there is a long way to go to achieve equality and each member state should implement measures according to specific needs of the Roma population on their territory. In the case of Spain, discrimination against Roma should be first monitored and second, different administrative levels, governmental and municipal, should provide specific measures taking into account the economic, cultural, social and religious diversity of Roma. By following the statement of the EU Roma strategic framework 2020–2030, whatever initiative aimed at non-discrimination could be implemented *in close cooperation with all relevant stakeholders* (European Commission, 2020aⁱⁱ). Clearly stating that the Spanish government is the main responsible actor with regard to developing an effective national Roma strategy with a clear focus on equality, Evangelical Roma communities should also see this as a chance to develop an active role as relevant stakeholders in the battle against discrimination. In the case of Spain, Evangelical institutions might take part of the system of support for

victims, they might keep fostering positive narratives about Roma, including inter-community encounters and inter-cultural learning, which would contribute to the empowerment of Roma. In fact, the transfer of prestige and authority from the respected Roma elders to the Evangelical pastors (Cantón-Delgado, 2017) puts Evangelical institutions in a privileged position as capacity-builders to reach the three horizontal objectives of equality, inclusion and participation of Roma people.

The structure of the paper is as follows: in Section 2, a revision of the main theories that explain religious discrimination and Roma discrimination is presented. Section 3 presents the empirical study, and the last section outlines the conclusions.

Section 2: Theories about religious discrimination and Roma discrimination

Several theoretical frameworks have been formulated to explain religious discrimination. Firstly, *secularization theory* considers that modernization leads to religion being confined to the private sphere, and thus expressions of religion in the workplace, policy and law are viewed as inappropriate. This theory is noted by Wright et al. (2013) and Wallace et al. (2014) who found that any mention of religion on a resume was detrimental to job applicants in New England and in the Southern United States, respectively. This theory suggests that those who express their religious convictions in their social milieu will suffer a higher level of discrimination, regardless of whether they belong to a minority religion or not. The transition to democracy in Spain in the late 1970s led to the beginning of a secularization process which has continued up to the present. Whereas 13.7% identified as non-religious in 1998, this percentage went up to 29.7% in 2017 (Centre for Sociological Research, 1998; Centre for Sociological Research, 2017ⁱⁱⁱ). This process of secularization has run parallel to a reduction in the influence of Catholicism in Spanish society. While 83.5% of Spanish people declared themselves Catholic in 1998, this percentage has declined to 63.2% in 2017 (Centre for Sociological Research^{iv}), although this indicates that the Catholic religion retains its hegemony in Spain.

This domination of Spanish Catholicism demands we consider the *religious stratification theory* (Davidson, 2008). This theoretical framework stresses the importance of the social and economic status of each religious group in such a way that those religious groups with higher socio-economic status might use their advantaged position to preserve their place in society, and they thus would discriminate against lower-

status religions. This distinction between majority and minority religions is supported by Drydakis (2010), who conducted a study in Greece using resumes that randomly assigned affiliation to Greece's majority religion (Greek Orthodox) or one of its three largest minority religions (Pentecostal, Evangelical, and Jehovah's Witnesses). He found that the religious minorities were offered fewer interviews, especially for higher-status jobs. In the Spanish case, Catholicism exercises power over other religious groups through the state. The Spanish constitution establishes that no religion has a state character, but the Catholic Church maintains exclusive privileges (such as that citizens can allocate part of their taxes to the Catholic Church or its charities, and not to other religious groups), and Catholic schools receive greater support from the government (Office of International Religious Freedom, 2021). This discrimination proceeding from the state is explicitly reflected in the *religious economic theory* (Iannaccone, 1992) which proposes that minority religions face discrimination because they represent undesirable competition to the state-supported religion. Religious institutions compete for economic resources and minority religions threaten these resources by challenging the views of the dominant religion, and the preferential treatment it receives from the state or society. Although a cooperation agreement was reached between the Spanish Federation of Religious Evangelical Entities (FEREDE) and the Spanish state in 1992, which it entailed a significant improvement for Evangelical communities, the same privileges granted to Catholicism have not been achieved.

Beyond economic reasons, cultural considerations are rooted in *the cultural distaste theory* which stresses the development of negative views and stereotypes by majority groups toward minority groups which become culturally embedded and are transmitted through socialization. Those religious groups most culturally different from the majority religion will be most discriminated against. In fact, the aforementioned studies of Wright et al. (2013) and Wallace et al. (2014) conclude that cultural distaste theory best explains religious discrimination in the workplace. As an alternative to the cultural conflict between majority and minority religious groups, *subcultural theory of religious commitment* (Smith et al., 1998) proposes that the conflict a religious group experiences might be with its environment or with the broader culture. Some religious groups are considered a cultural threat by the environment and, at the same time, they view themselves as in conflict with the environment in such way that their traditions might generate tension in one local environment and none in another. Following this idea,

Wellman and Corcoran (2013) find that both Evangelical and Liberal Protestants perceive themselves as in conflict with the culture of the American Pacific Northwest region.

Whatever the economic or cultural justifications bandied about by those who commit religious discrimination, these justifications have also been employed to describe discrimination against Roma people. Discrimination on the basis of being Roma is considered the most widespread in Europe^v and the Roma are a group with a long history of severe discrimination, marginalization, and poverty. From an economic point of view, Roma people are often perceived as undeserving beneficiaries of the welfare system who receive too many public resources (Kende et al., 2017), which feeds an inter-group dispute over the limited resources between the Roma minority and the majority population. From a cultural perspective, anti-gypsyism establishes unfavorable acculturation preferences toward Roma people by having a tendency toward demanding assimilation (adaptation to the culture of the prevailing culture) or segregation (isolation) of the Roma, instead of integration, i.e. the desire for contact with members of the majority while maintaining Roma culture (Kende et al., 2021). Discrimination behavior is also justified on the basis of the belief that Roma people bring problems, e.g. criminality, or are themselves a problem. Additionally, there is a stereotype of laziness (Kóczé and Trehan, 2009) which captures the belief that the system is fair in such a way that those who have high status have obtained this status due to their worthiness, while those with low status deserve to be discriminated against because they are rendered shameful by their failures. This belief in meritocracy rejects the historical and social forces that determine socio-economic conditions and, hence, the social exclusion of Roma in Europe is normalized (Kóczé, 2018). In fact, anti-Roma prejudice is expressed explicitly in the media all over Europe (Kroon et al., 2016).

Literature has also formulated other theories that explain the individuals' subjective perceptions of those who are discriminated against. The perception of discrimination reflects both exposure to discrimination and attributional processes. Klumpp and Su (2013) designed a situation in which individuals belonging to two separate groups competed for a fixed pool of prizes. One group's belief that a lower share of prizes was reserved for them led to perception of discrimination, even where no quotas actually existed. This example illustrates *the justice model* (Goldman, 2001), which formulates that fairness considerations play a key role in perception of discrimination. The *prototype model* (Inman et al., 1998) establishes that people have certain expectations or

preconceptions which define their judgements of discrimination. Harris et al. (2004) give an illustrative example of this theory by means of a situation in which a white manager in a bank rejects a candidate. In this situation, a black candidate would be more likely to attribute this decision to discrimination than a white candidate, since blacks have historically experienced troubles in getting employment in the banking sector. Finally, and supporting the idea that previous convictions matter, the subgroup identity theory (Kobrynowicz and Branscombe, 1997) formulates the hypothesis that those subgroups who have historically suffered from discrimination will be more likely to perceive discrimination. The psychological experience of perceiving discrimination will be very different depending on whether one belongs to a group that is disadvantaged relative to other groups, or to a group that is relatively privileged. This theory is tested in an ethnic context by Operario and Fiske (2001) who find that people who show a high level of ethnic identity report perceiving significantly more discrimination than those who have a low level of ethnic identity. An explanation is that members who identify more with a subgroup are more sensitive to inequalities (Sellers and Shelton, 2003). Roma people tackle discrimination in different ways (Petriu, 2012). One strategy is taking refuge in the community; community provides a buffer of protection against discrimination. Others try to dissociate from the Roma ethnicity as a defense against racism (Abajo and Carrasco, 2004). Petriu (2012) highlights a third strategy to combat discrimination which consists of finding refuge in a religious community. In particular, Evangelical churches are playing an important role in process of the perpetuation of Roma as a distinct 'identity' and as a way of life by reinforcing the moral barrier between Roma and non-Roma (Gay y Blasco, 2002).

Considering that discrimination against Roma and some minority religious groups share parallel causes, it would be interesting to explore the intersection of discrimination across religion and the Roma. The intersection of religion and ethnic origin has been analyzed previously but the evidence is not conclusive. By analyzing ethnic minorities included in the Minorities at Risk Phase 3 dataset which covers the 1992–1993 period, Fox (2000) shows that religious variables are significantly associated with different types of discrimination; emerging dissimilarities between religiously differentiated minorities and minorities that are not religiously separated. In a later study, Fox et al. (2009), conducting analysis over the period between 1990 and 2002, found that state religion exclusivity, that is, the state support for a single religion to the exclusion of all others, is

significantly associated with higher discrimination levels against ethnic minorities. By using the National Household Survey carried out in Canada in 2011, Khattab et al. (2020) found that the intersection between ethnicity and religion exacerbates labor disadvantages for some racial groups, especially in the case of Muslims, giving, as explanation, the existence of discrimination. However, Litchmore and Safdar (2015) did not detect a significant relationship between religiosity, ethnicity and perceptions of discrimination on a personal level after analyzing a sample of Muslim-Canadian students aged between 18 and 29 years. These opposite results are likely due to the very different datasets employed. Returning to Roma people and considering that the religious stratification theory and religious economic models suggest that more discriminated groups are those that rank lowest for socioeconomic status, together with the cultural distaste theory and the subcultural theory of religious commitment suggest that more discriminated groups are those that are most culturally different from the dominant group or the broader culture, we formulate the following hypothesis:

Hypothesis: Evangelical Roma people have a higher probability of suffering from discrimination than Catholic Roma people.

The following section provides empirical evidence for the intersection of religion and Roma minority.

Section 3: Data and econometric analysis

In order to test the hypothesis as to whether Evangelical Roma people have a higher probability of suffering from discrimination than Catholic Roma people, SRPS was employed^{vi}. Although Spanish laws about protection of data prohibit the use of ethnic variables in official statistics, which makes it difficult to study ethnic groups in Spain, the social non-profit organization, FSG, has allowed us the use of SRPS. This survey is based on the same indicators and methodology as Spain's Economically Active Population Survey^{vii}. Religious affiliation is asked of the interviewees^{viii}, together with other demographic, sociological, and economic identifiers. In particular, it includes the Spanish Roma population, those who were born and reside in Spanish national territory, aged 16 and over^{ix}. The estimated number of Roma living in Spain is around 725,000 (National Roma Integration Strategy in Spain 2012–2020^x), and of these we had access to a sample of 1497 interviews with Spanish Roma residents, which allowed us to infer results with a

2.5% margin of error. The exploitation of the data applies the appropriate weighting factors to balance the interviewee sample. The analysis does not include immigrants who identify as Roma because they differ greatly in terms of past and present backgrounds (Magazzini and Piemontese, 2016).

The dependent variable is *perceived discrimination in the past 12 months*, a dichotomous variable that indicates whether the respondents had experienced discrimination. Those who reported perceiving discrimination were coded as 1, otherwise 0. The survey reveals that 30.3% of all respondents declare having suffered discrimination, a prevalence level close to the 35% of all Spanish Roma respondents obtained in the Second European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey carried out between 2015 and 2016.

Since the aim of this research is to check whether a statistically significant link between self-perceived discrimination and religiosity among Spanish Roma exists, the variable *religious affiliation* is introduced as a factor variable with four categories: Catholic, Evangelical, other religions and people who declare no religion. The survey shows that Spanish Roma are mostly Evangelical, 62.1%, followed by 22.5% of Spanish Roma who identify as Catholic, 14.0% are of no religion and 1.4% belong to other religions. Catholic is the reference category. The raw data of the survey reveal that the percentage of those who reported perceiving discrimination totals 37.8% among Evangelical Roma, and is just 14.9% among Catholic Roma.

Although the existence of higher levels of self-perceived discrimination among Evangelical Roma seems to suggest that professing a minority religion worsens the problem of discrimination among members of a minority group, further factors are considered, to avoid spurious association. As explanatory variables, in-group and out-group friendship, level of educational attainment, work status, location of the dwelling, gender, age, and marital status have been considered at an individual level, besides *religious affiliation*, being included. The descriptive statistics of all variables are provided in Appendix A.

Previous literature has detected that cross-group friendship plays a role in reducing negative reactions, e.g. perceived discrimination, because it generates greater knowledge about the true lifestyle of majority and minority members and builds strong affective ties by enhancing empathy (Aberson, 2015). In particular, self-reported friendship is the

preferred measure of contact among social psychologists, since this type of contact produces positive intergroup contacts (Davies et al., 2011). Interviewees are asked about their close friends, distinguishing three categories: close friends are only or predominantly Roma, the ethnic group of close friends does not matter, and no close friends. Close friends are only or predominantly Roma is the reference category.

Economic variables might also play a role because discrimination and a lack of economic resources often go hand in hand. In fact, there is an academic consensus that the ethno-racial dimension is central in understanding anti-gypsyism (Cortés and End, 2019). Three economic variables are used: educational level; work status; and the location of dwelling. Educational attainment was obtained by asking respondents the last grade of school completed. It is a variable factor with seven levels: none; incomplete primary school; complete primary school; incomplete high school; complete high school; higher level training cycle; and university studies, with none as reference category. In other empirical studies that introduce education level as an explanatory variable, the two first categories are fused into one. However, the Spanish Roma are a minority with very low education levels. The survey reveals that 18.1% of Roma have completed no studies and 41.2% declare themselves to have failed to complete primary school, thus considering both categories separately is considered more appropriate. Work status might also be a variable factor with which to explain self-perceived discrimination. The work status variable is comprised of five categories: employee; self-employed; assist the family business; unemployed and inactive; with employee as reference category. Labor market categories are mutually exclusive, in such a way that, for instance, those who claim to assist in the family business do not declare themselves as unemployed, or employees, or self-employed, or inactive. The location of the house is also an indicator of higher or lower economic levels. Furthermore, previous research reveals that residential segregation by ethnic group is often caused by discrimination in the housing market and not as a result of voluntary choice based on preferences for neighbors (Acevedo-García et al., 2003). Five categories are considered: living in a small village in the country; in the neighborhood of a small village in the country; right in the middle of a city; in the suburbs of a city; and in the extreme periphery of a city. The first category is the reference variable.

Socio-demographic variables are included, comprising gender, age and marital status of respondent. Using the 2006 Spanish National Health Survey, Gil-González et al.

(2013) show evidence that women have higher levels of self-perceived discrimination, which justifies the inclusion of gender into the analysis. Gender is a dichotomous variable with 1 being female, and 0 being male. Age is also included as a continuous variable because previous studies find a significant association between age and self-perceived discrimination, although the association is not conclusive. Whereas Rippon et al. (2014) find that perceived discrimination is higher among older adults, Luo et al. (2012) find that older individuals are less likely to report perceived discrimination than younger individuals. To close the list of explanatory variables, marital status is added since there is previous evidence that single people might be more stigmatized (Fisher and Sakaluk, 2019). Further to this research, Martin and Gamella (2005) established that the preference for marrying within the extended family of Spanish Roma is a response to ethnic discrimination, and a choice with social and economic advantages. Marital status consists of five dummy variables including single, as the reference group, married, cohabiting with a partner, widowed, divorced or separated.

Multilevel models can more accurately determine how much of the variation in a dependent variable is due to characteristics of the individual (e.g. age, work status, education, religion identity) and how much is due to characteristics of the geographic area where the individual lives (e.g. percentage Catholic, etc.). The model specification follows a random slope structure:

$$D_{ij} = \beta_{0j} + \beta_{1j}r_{ij} + \beta_{2j}s_{ij} + \beta_{3j}e_{ij} + \beta_{4j}d_{ij}$$

$$\beta_{hj} = \gamma_{h0} + \gamma_{h1}p_j + u_{hj} \quad h = 0, 1, 2, 3, 4$$

where D_{ij} is the logit link for the probability of the self-perceived discrimination of an individual i living in the province j , r_{ij} is the religious affiliation of an individual i living in the province j , s_{ij} characterizes the in-group and out-group friendships of an individual i living in the province j , e_{ij} refers to the group of variables which reflect the socio-economic status of an individual i living in the province j (education, work status and location of the dwelling), d_{ij} represents the group of variables linked to demographic features of an individual i living in the province j (gender, marital status and age), and p_j is the percentage of Spanish Roma who are Evangelical in the province j . The level 1

predictor variables are r_{ij} , s_{ij} , e_{ij} , and d_{ij} and the level 2 predictor variable is p_j . The intercept and the slopes associated with each level 1 predictor variable are allowed to vary randomly across provinces. The coefficients γ_{h0} and γ_{h1} , with $h = 0, 1, 2, 3, 4$, are the fixed effects. The unconditional model or null model in which no predictor variable at any level is included shows that the ratio of the variance in the intercept and its standard error is 2.82, higher than 2, which indicates that inter-province variance is significant. The total variance of self-perceived discrimination explained by inter-group variance is 9.7%, that is to say, almost 10% of the total variance is accounted for by province in level 2^{xi}. Table 1 presents the estimations of the multilevel model^{xiii} and Table 2 presents the adjusted probabilities of self-perceived discrimination for each explicative variable, by fixing all other factors to their mean value.

Table 1. Estimations of the multilevel model.

	Odds Ratio	Std. Err.	z	P> z	[95% Conf. interval]
Religion (Reference: Catholic)					
Evangelical	2.1276	0.6013	2.67	0.008	1.2227 3.7023
Other religions	0.6150	0.4002	-0.75	0.455	0.1718 2.2018
Non-religious	1.7642	0.5648	1.77	0.076	0.9420 3.3041
Group friendship (Reference: Close friends are only or predominantly Roma)					
The ethnic group of my friends does not matter for me	0.5995	0.0918	-3.34	0.001	0.4440 0.8093
No close friends	0.7951	0.6055	-0.30	0.763	0.1788 3.5366
Education Level (Reference: None)					
Incomplete primary school	0.7843	0.1493	-1.28	0.202	0.5401 1.1389
Complete primary school	0.8820	0.1652	-0.67	0.503	0.6109 1.2733
Incomplete high school	0.6817	0.1334	-1.96	0.050	0.4646 1.0002
Complete high school	0.6591	0.1549	-1.77	0.076	0.4157 1.0448
Higher-level training cycle	0.7937	0.3699	-0.50	0.620	0.3184 1.9784
University studies	0.1899	0.1956	-1.61	0.107	0.0252 1.4295
Work status (Reference: employee)					
Self-employed	1.1322	0.3018	0.47	0.641	0.6714 1.9092
Assisting the family business	1.0126	0.3189	0.04	0.968	0.5462 1.8773
Unemployed	2.3866	0.5515	3.76	0.000	1.5173 3.7540
Inactive	1.2623	0.1533	1.92	0.055	0.9950 1.6015
Location of the dwelling (Reference: In the country. In a small village)					

In the country. In the neighborhood of a small village	1.4667	0.6390	0.88	0.379	0.6245	3.4451
In a city. Right in the middle	1.6148	0.5002	1.55	0.122	0.8799	2.9633
In a city. In the suburbs	1.5020	0.4458	1.37	0.170	0.8395	2.6873
In a city. In the extreme periphery	2.3667	0.9247	2.20	0.027	1.1005	5.0902
Gender (Reference: Male)						
Female	1.0498	0.1335	0.38	0.702	0.8181	1.3471
Age	0.9884	0.0048	-2.39	0.017	0.9790	0.9979
Marital Status (Reference: single)						
Married	1.9676	0.4026	3.31	0.001	1.3175	2.9383
Cohabiting	2.7678	0.6952	4.05	0.000	1.6917	4.5284
Widowed	3.7241	0.1590	3.08	0.002	1.6133	8.5968
Divorced or separated	3.0383	0.1053	3.21	0.001	1.5405	5.9923
Proportion of Evangelicals among Roma	1.0088	0.0052	1.71	0.087	0.9987	1.0190
Cons	0.0925	0.0483	-4.56	0.000	0.0333	0.2573
Var (Evangelical)	0.0375	0.2167			0.0000	3079.6
Var (constant)	0.2937	0.3028			0.0389	2.2160
Covar	-0.0783	0.2356	-0.33	0.739	-0.5402	3.8347

Table 2. Adjusted probabilities of self-perceiving discrimination, by fixing all other factors to their mean value.

	Margin	Delta- method Std. Err.	z	P> z	[95% Conf. interval]	
Religion						
Catholic	0.1847	.0374	4.93	0.000	0.1113	0.2580
Evangelical	0.3201	0.0237	13.49	0.000	0.27358	0.3666
Other religions	0.1234	0.0631	1.95	0.051	-0.0003	0.2472
Non-religious	0.2821	0.0429	6.57	0.000	0.1979	0.3662
Group friendship						
Close friends are only or predominantly Roma	0.3416	0.0295	11.60	0.000	0.2838	0.3993
The ethnic group of my friends does not matter to me	0.2404	0.0224	10.74	0.000	0.1965	0.2842
No close friends	0.2937	0.1538	1.91	0.056	-0.0076	0.5951
Education level						
None	0.322	0.0254	12.65	0.000	0.2720	0.3717
Incomplete primary school	0.2729	0.0282	9.67	0.000	0.2176	0.3283
Complete primary school	0.2960	0.0367	8.06	0.000	0.2241	0.3680

Incomplete high school	0.2468	0.0321	7.70	0.000	0.1840	0.3097
Complete high school	0.2408	0.0399	6.03	0.000	0.1625	0.3191
Higher-level training cycle	0.2752	0.0904	3.04	0.002	0.0980	0.4524
University studies	0.0859	0.0788	1.09	0.277	-0.0690	0.2407
Work status						
Employee	0.2169	0.0309	7.02	0.000	0.1563	0.2774
Self-employed	0.2381	0.0384	6.20	0.000	0.1628	0.3133
Assisting the family business	0.2190	0.0431	5.08	0.000	0.1345	0.3035
Unemployed	0.3909	0.0438	8.93	0.000	0.3051	0.4767
Inactive	0.2577	0.0266	9.68	0.000	0.2056	0.3099
Location of the dwelling						
In the country, in a small village	0.2170	0.0327	6.64	0.000	0.1530	0.2811
In the country, in the neighborhood of a small village	0.2866	0.0732	3.92	0.000	0.1432	0.4300
In a city, right in the middle	0.3060	0.0459	6.66	0.000	0.2160	0.3959
In a city, in the suburbs	0.2913	0.0418	6.96	0.000	0.2093	0.3732
In a city, in the extreme periphery	0.3891	0.0883	4.41	0.000	0.21607	0.5622
Gender						
Male	0.2722	0.0219	12.44	0.000	0.2293	0.3151
Female	0.2816	0.0260	10.81	0.000	0.2305	0.3326
Marital Status						
Single	0.1813	0.0244	7.43	0.000	0.1335	0.2291
Married	0.2992	0.0269	11.13	0.000	0.2465	0.3519
Cohabiting	0.3723	0.0559	6.66	0.000	0.2628	0.4818
Widowed	0.4410	0.0856	5.15	0.000	0.2733	0.6088
Divorced or separated	0.3935	0.0666	5.91	0.000	0.2631	0.5240

Statistically significant differences between religious Evangelical and Catholic Roma can be observed in Spain. Evangelical Roma are slightly more than twice as likely to perceive discrimination than Catholic Roma at an individual level (2.13) at a significance level of 5%. The percentage of Spanish Roma who identify as Evangelical in each Spanish province is significant at 10%, but the odds ratio is close to one (1.01), which means that the effect of religion in the perception of discrimination works fundamentally at personal level, and not at a context level. Therefore, being both Evangelical and Roma aggravates discrimination, independent of whether the Evangelical religion extends among close Spanish Roma or not^{xiii}. The adjusted probability of suffering from discrimination and being Evangelical, by fixing all other factors to their

mean value, is 0.32, whereas the adjusted probability of suffering from discrimination for Catholic Roma people is 0.18. This result can be explained in three ways. First, the higher perceived discrimination among Evangelical Roma is consistent with prejudice and hostility against this emerging religious phenomenon. Cantón-Delgado (2010) stresses that Evangelical Spanish Roma are often perceived as members simultaneously of a stigmatized ethnic minority and a religious 'sect', with this perception enhanced by mass media (Méndez, 2005). The criticisms come from multiple directions: non-confessional Roma associative movements, some Catholic organizations, the Spanish state and even the academic world. Cantón-Delgado et al. (2019) emphasize the hidden leadership competition among pastors and activists for representing Roma people and the scarcity of academic work on Evangelical Roma people, especially in countries of Catholic hegemony. Although there has been a policy paradigm shift in relation to religious minorities in such a way that both pluralism and inclusive policies are permeating the public sphere (Griera, 2012), the Spanish state maintains important privileges for the Catholic Church to the detriment of religious minorities. Religion and the unity of Spain often appear together in the discourse of Catholic ecclesiastical hierarchy (Pérez-Agote, 2010), which feeds a fear that the renaissance of religion undermines social cohesion which does not help to diminish discrimination against different religious creeds from the majority (Dietz, 2007). These disapprovals fit with religious stratification theory and/or religious economic theory, which attribute discrimination to the influence exerted by the majority religion and/or the state.

A historical perspective also provides a valid explanation for the higher levels of discrimination against Evangelical Roma. During the 1960s and 1970s, the Catholic church worked with some Roma communities combining religion with social programmes (Bereményi and Mirga-Kruszelnicka, 2012). Despite most Roma identifying as Catholic in the 1970s and 91% of Spanish Roma self-identifying as Catholic in 1978^{xiv}, Evangelism spread rapidly in the 1980s and 1990s, following different patterns through Spanish territories. Unemployment, illegal drugs as a way of life, and the concentration of Roma in ghettos arose in this period, but mainstream society and Catholic organizations did not provide a way out (Cantón-Delgado, 2003; Méndez, 2005). It is plausible to think that, in those communities where the Catholic community offered ways of social inclusion, a good quality of cohabitation and lower levels of discrimination, converting to Evangelism did not offer a sufficiently attractive alternative. Consistently,

in communities with problems of marginalization, social exclusion and higher levels of discrimination, Evangelism provided an escape from this situation, although this need not rule out other reasons for the rapid number of conversions, such as the importance of spiritual compensation (Podolinská, 2014), the complementarity between Evangelical beliefs and Roma culture (Méndez, 2005) and the development of social and/or political movements led by Roma people (San Román, 1999). Since our data are cross-sectional, this hypothesis cannot be tested, but several studies highlight the positive role played by the Philadelphia Church in the development of Roma communities and their empowerment, while ensuring their multiplicity and diversity (Amador et al., 2018; Cantón-Delgado, 2010; Méndez, 2005).

Thirdly, under the justice-prototype model and the subgroup identity theory, a relatively higher level of perceived discrimination among Evangelical Roma people might be due to the fact that, in Spanish Evangelical churches, pastors preach a clear separation between the Roma and non-Roma populations (Cantón-Delgado et al., 2019; Gay y Blasco, 2002), foster ethnic cohesion by enhancing solidarity among their members and accentuate the importance of the extended family for the structuring of the Roma community, all of which are aimed at the affirmation of Roma as an ethnic group. While activists adopt the institutional support for identity offered by the non-Roma, Roma Pentecostalism put the Roma at the center of the world and non-Roma in the periphery (Gay y Blasco, 2002). Whereas the Evangelical Church of Philadelphia (ECP) (to which most of the Evangelical Spanish Roma people belong), is composed only of individuals of Roma ethnicity, the structure of other Evangelical churches includes individuals of different groups (Cantón-Delgado, 2017).

With respect to the control variables, those whose close friends are only, or predominantly, Roma report a significantly higher level of perceived discrimination than those who declare that the ethnic group of my friends does not matter to them. This significant association might have two explanations. The first might be that positive intergroup contact between non-Roma and Roma people diminishes discrimination experiences (Orosz et al., 2016). The second explanation is that expressing the irrelevance of friendship ethnicity might be an indicator of a lower level of ethnic identity. Under this assumption, reporting a lower level of ethnic identity is related to a lower level of self-perceived discrimination, which coincides with evidence found by Operario and Fiske (2001) that the higher the degree of ethnic identity the more intense the perception of

discrimination. But whatever the explanation, the religious gap relative to adjusted probabilities of perceiving discrimination is higher for those whose close friends are only or predominantly Roma (Figure 1). Among those who declare that their group of friends is mostly Roma, the predicted probability takes a value of 0.40 for Evangelicals and this decreases to 0.25 when the interviewee is Catholic. Among those who affirm that the ethnic origin of close friends is not important, the adjusted probability of perceiving discrimination is 0.29 for Evangelicals and 0.17 for Catholics.

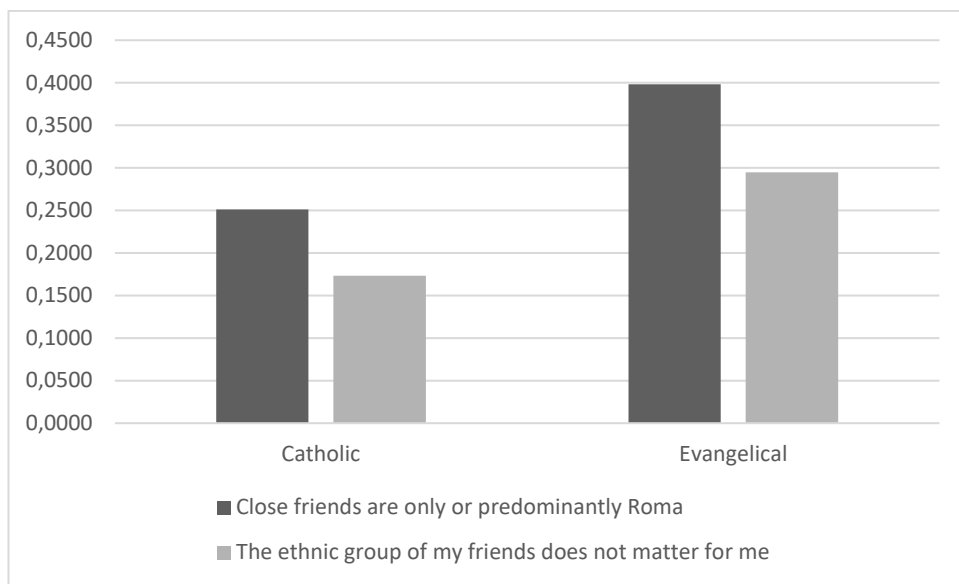


Figure 1. Adjusted probabilities of self-perceived discrimination by religion and group friendship.

As expected, socio-economic variables also appear as significant factors. Those who have secondary studies (complete or not) show significantly lower odds of suffering from discrimination than those who have no studies. More interestingly, the religious gap in terms of adjusted probabilities of suffering from discrimination is around 10–12 percentage points higher for Evangelicals than Catholics for all educational categories except for those with university studies, where this religious gap decreases to 5 percentage points (Figure 2). However, it should be noted that having higher education levels is not statistically associated with lower levels of self-perceived discrimination. A possible explanation is that higher levels of education are embedded in those who have a higher level of integration in the labor market and it is precisely through work status that the

perception of discrimination is significantly higher or lower depending on whether the inclusion in the labor market is successful or not.

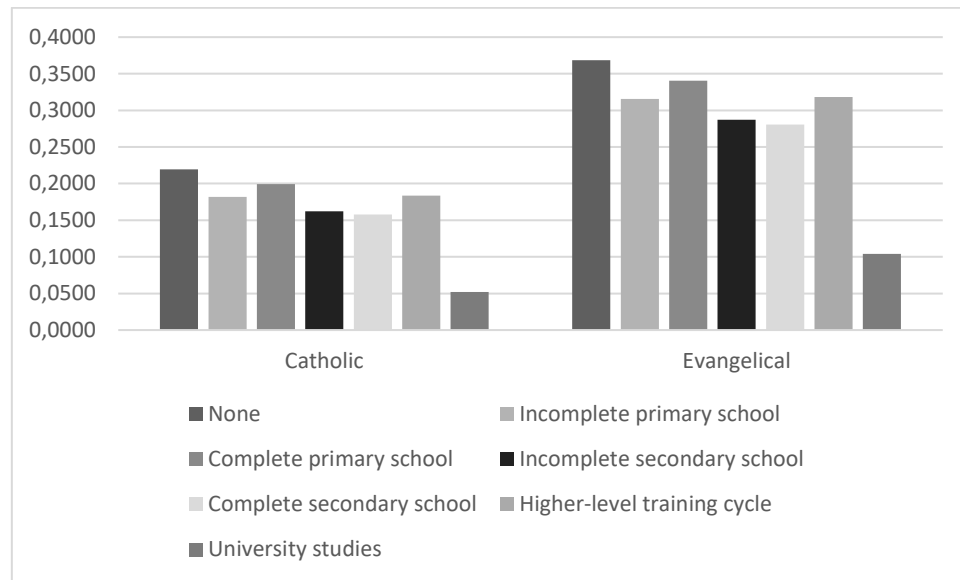


Figure 2. Adjusted probabilities of self-perceived discrimination by religion and education level.

Focusing on work status, Roma who are unemployed are more than twice as likely to perceive discrimination than those who are employees. Being inactive is also positively linked to a higher likelihood of perceiving discrimination. Additionally, being unemployed intensifies the differences between Evangelical and Catholic Roma (Figure 3). The predicted probability of feeling discrimination for an Evangelical unemployed is 0.44, whereas for a Catholic unemployed it is 0.28. This evidence contrasts with the predicted probability of suffering from discrimination for an Evangelical employee which is 0.25, while that for a Catholic employee is 0.14. These results give support to the importance of employment to guarantee the full development of citizenship. In line with these findings, the Spanish state has traditionally concentrated on the socio-economic dimension of the integration of the Roma, identifying integration with the idea of improving socio-economic conditions, in particular, to achieve the convergence of the unemployment rate and education level of Roma persons to that of the non-Roma population (Magazzini, 2020). Our study adds the additional finding that unemployment

together with identifying as a follower of a minority religion exacerbates the problem of self-perceived discrimination.

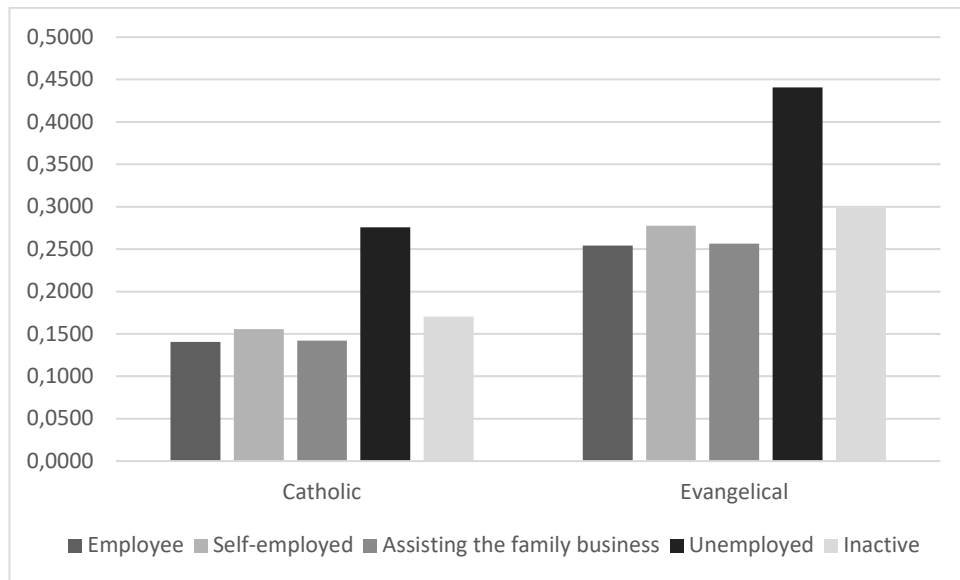


Figure 3. Adjusted probabilities of self-perceived discrimination by religion and work status.

It was expected, too, that residential segregation appears related to the probability of suffering from discrimination. Residential segregation emerges in this econometric analysis since those who live in the extreme periphery of a city have a 2.37 times greater probability of suffering from discrimination than those who live in a small village. Living in enclaves separated from the broader society implies a lack of positive inter-group contact and increases the likelihood of experiencing discrimination. Although the number of Spanish Roma households living in slum housing has decreased, and the cliché that links the Roma population with segregated areas is not true, the economic crisis has negatively affected the socio-residential situation of the Roma population in Spain (Study Map on Housing and the Roma Community, 2015^{xv}). The predicted probabilities for those living in the extreme periphery of a city distinguishing between Evangelical and Catholic are shown in Figure 4. Looking at Figures 3 and 4, we can see that both employment and housing are key factors in the fight against discrimination, especially where the religious belief is Evangelical and not Catholic: adjusted self-perceived discrimination odds for Evangelicals who live in the extreme periphery are similar to those who are unemployed: 0.439 and 0.441, respectively.

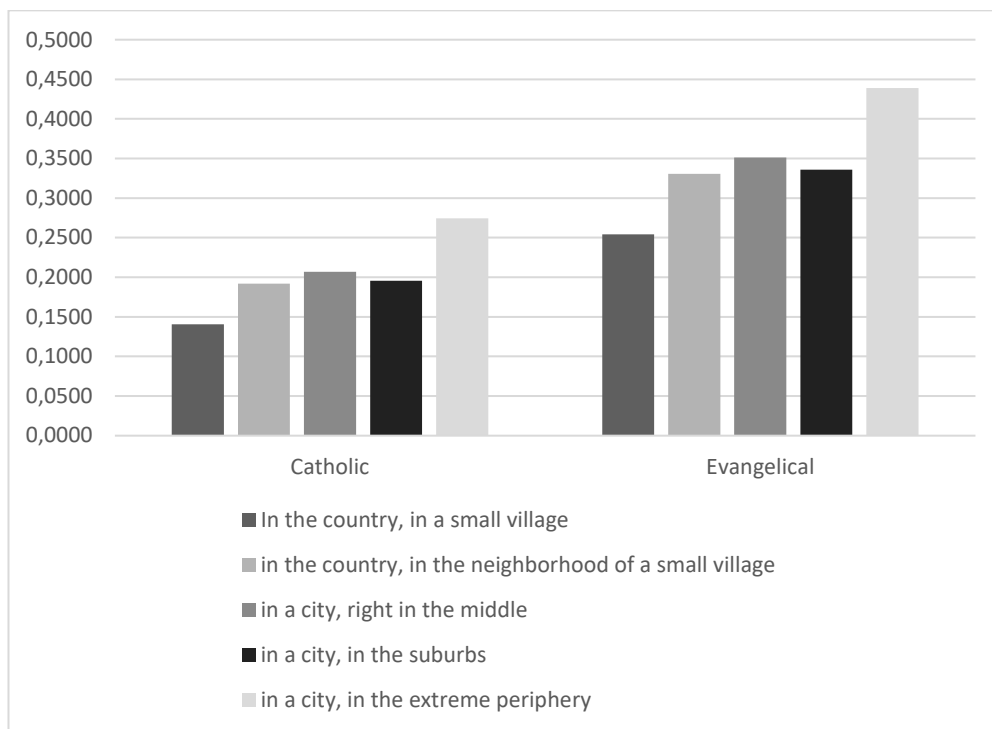


Figure 4. Adjusted probabilities of self-perceived discrimination by religion and location of the dwelling.

With respect to demographic variables, gender differences in levels of self-perceived discrimination are not detected, a result in line with evidence found by Litchmore and Safdar (2009) about Muslim-Canadians. Although Roma women face a double dose of discrimination, first as women in a patriarchal society, the same as non-Roma women, and second for belonging to a stigmatized minority, the odds of perceiving discrimination are not statistically different from men. This outcome might be attributed to the fact that Roma women are experiencing emancipation from gender roles, as has been reported in some studies (Márquez et al., 2017), invalidating female Roma stereotypes such as the prioritization of the needs of the family over women's own needs (Gay y Blasco, 1997; Vives-Cases et al., 2017). Differences between Evangelical and Catholic Roma women are detected: the predicted probability of perceiving discrimination takes a value of 0.33 for Evangelical women and this decreases to 0.19 for Catholic women (Figure 5). This much higher perception of discrimination against Evangelical women fits with the prototype-justice model and it is in agreement with the literature which indicates a much more active role for Evangelical Roma women than

Catholic ones. An example is the work of Amador (2017, 2019) who shows (by using communicative methodology) that Evangelism has gone hand in hand with the revalorization of female status, their participation in different contexts, the building of care support networks and the promotion of the equality. Taken together, this has led to an increase in aspirations and expectations of Evangelical women, and hence to an increase in feelings of inequality of opportunities and a higher awareness of discrimination experiences. Evangelical Roma women might accumulate a higher level of relative deprivation than Catholic Roma women, that is, a higher perception that the person is unfairly disadvantaged in comparison with others (Pettigrew et al., 2008), which fits with the justice framework.

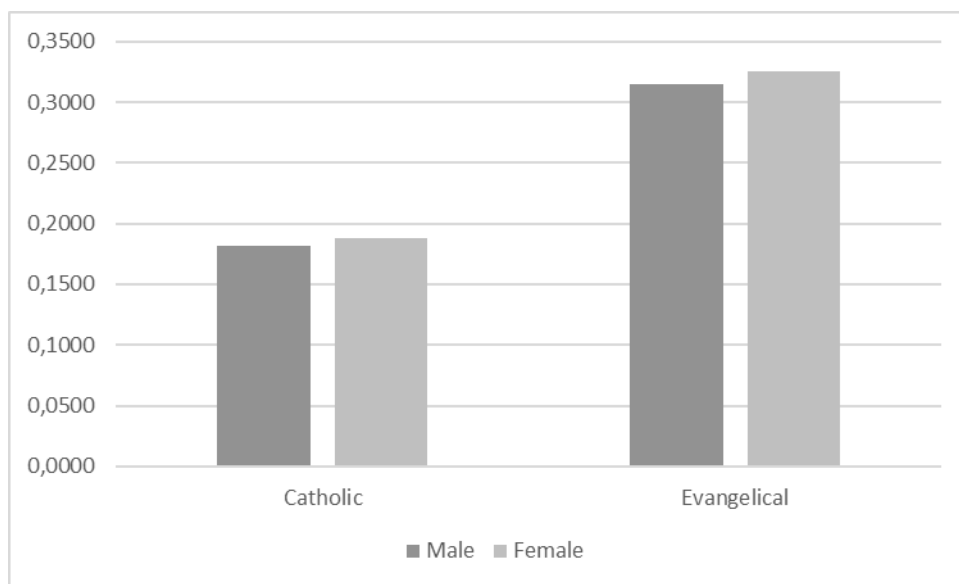


Figure 5. Adjusted probabilities of self-perceived discrimination by religion and gender.

With respect to age, as with Luo et al. (2012), we find that the probability of perceiving discrimination diminishes as Roma people get older, the religious gap becoming narrower as people age (Figure 6).

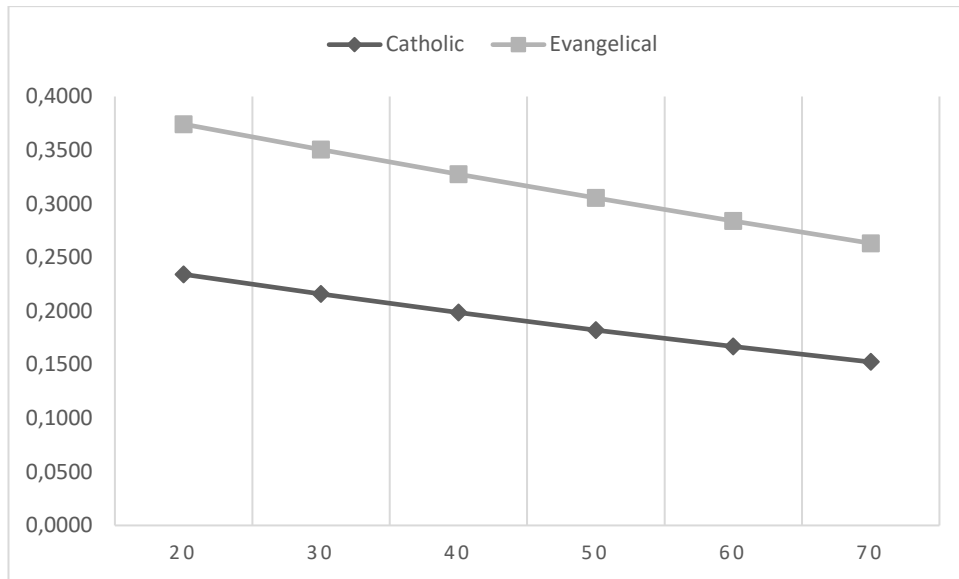


Figure 6. Adjusted probabilities of self-perceived discrimination by religion and age.

Finally, marital status affects the probability of perceiving discrimination. Being single is associated with lower self-perceived discrimination probabilities compared with the other marital status categories and narrows the difference between Evangelical and Catholic Roma (Figure 7). This finding is attributed to Martin and Gamella (2005) who linked marriage with ethnic discrimination. Moreover, since the transmission and continuation of customs, traditions and acceptable behaviors strongly correlate with family environment, the institution of marriage might reinforce membership in the Roma world and hence through the subgroup identity mechanism, discrimination may be perceived more acutely.

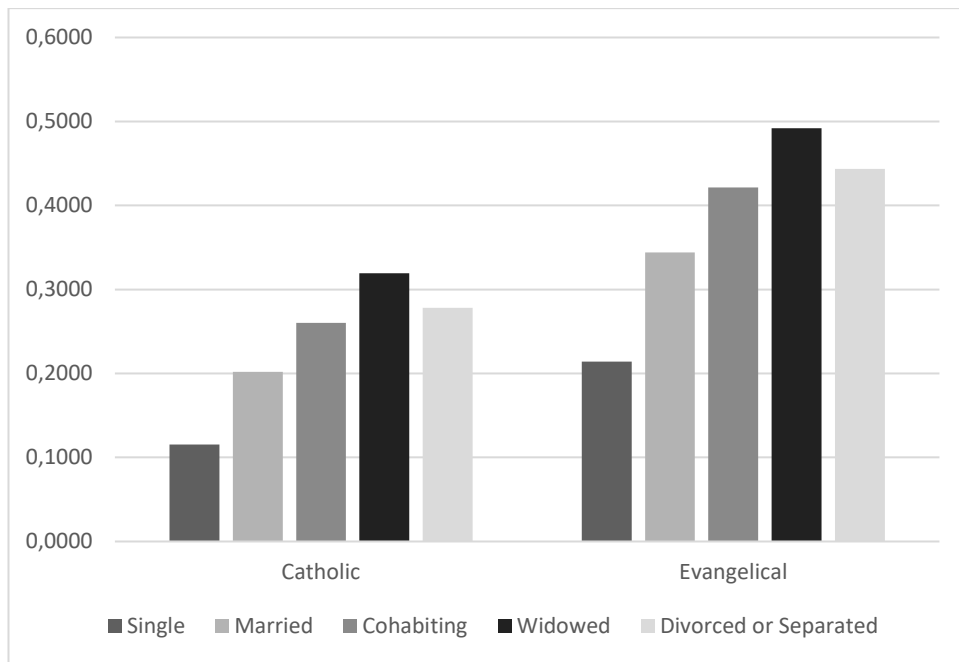


Figure 7. Adjusted probabilities of self-perceived discrimination by religion and marital status.

In the estimated econometric model, the residual variance in the intercept is 0.297, the slope variance for Evangelicals is 0.038 and the covariance between the intercept and the Evangelicals slope is -0.078. Other alternative variables have been tested without changing the results. It should be noted that, since our study relies on transversal data, causal links between religious affiliation and discrimination cannot be established. There is no reason to deny the possibility that the decision to join to a particular religion is a reaction to social outcomes that individuals experience themselves, among them self-perceived discrimination. As Iannaccone (1998) points out, the association between religiosity and personal attitudes may follow a route from religiosity to attitudes through indoctrination and from attitudes to religious membership via self-selection.

Although it has been established that personal characteristics (ethnicity of close friends, work status, education level, location of the dwelling, demographic features) explain the problem of discrimination, the novel result from this research is that those who belong to both a stigmatized minority, i.e. Spanish Roma, and identify as a follower of a minority religion, i.e. Pentecostalism, have a higher probability of perceiving discrimination. This raises the issue of *intersectional discrimination*. The concept of intersectionality was introduced by black feminists in the United States in the 1970s and 1980s and this concept has been applied to address the reality of Roma women. As Kóczé and Popa (2009) highlight, too often Roma policies feed gender stereotypes of Roma

women by assuming that women oversee the care of their families and communities and, at the same time, gender equality policies feed ethnic biases. As a result, Roma women are negatively affected by both anti-racist and gender equality interventions. Intersectional discrimination does not mean to add different forms of discrimination or to make one form of discrimination prevail over another, rather it means that the interaction between two or more forms of discrimination produce a particular and different type of discrimination that is much more complex. Intersectional discrimination distinguishes from *multiple discrimination* because the former comes from situations in which different grounds operate simultaneously while the latter happens when a person is discriminated against on several different grounds at different times. Intersectional discrimination is, in turn, different from compound discrimination because the latter assumes that one cause of discrimination creates an added burden to another cause of discrimination (Makkonen, 2002). Central to the intersectional discrimination is the specificity of discrimination: An Evangelical Roma person faces a specific type of discrimination not experienced by Catholic Roma or Evangelical non-Roma people. Multiple, compound and intersectional discriminations are not mutually exclusive. This sample does not allow us to find out the types of discrimination since our sample does not allow for testing whether Evangelical Roma are more discriminated against than Evangelical non-Roma, but our hypothesis is that Evangelical Roma people do face intersectional discrimination for two reasons. First, it is extremely difficult to think that those who discriminate separate religion from ethnicity. Second, intersectional discrimination directs attention to those who are disadvantaged *within* the disadvantaged, which allows for highlighting the diversity, in this case of Roma, even though Roma are often represented as homogenous. This is the main advantage of intersectionality, a tool that is beginning to be considered with respect to Roma women, but should be considered with respect to Evangelical Roma men and women.

Not forgetting the diversity of Roma people and thus making clear that each recommendation should be adapted to the specific context, this research raises awareness that discrimination against Roma not only involves socio-economic dimensions but also has a religious facet. The relation between religion, ethnicity and social problems is more complex and rich. Obviously, it cannot be recommended that individuals alter their religious beliefs. Quite the opposite. In the forefront, this research gives support to the notion that policies devoted to closing the gap in terms of education, employment and

economic standards are not enough to guarantee an optimal coexistence of majority and minority groups in terms of equality. A mechanism for reporting and monitoring anti-gypsyism and discrimination against Roma which considers the economic, cultural, social and religious diversity of the Roma population should be implemented by the Spanish government as part of Spanish Roma strategic framework and, especially, to prevent systemic discrimination. This task is the responsibility of the different levels of Spanish administration, from the central administration to local, in ways that promote inclusivity, rather than 'otherness'. Therefore, discrimination of Spanish Roma should be addressed, first and foremost, in the political realm (Magazzini, 2018). At the same time, emancipatory dynamics which aim at the active involvement and participation of Roma people are also effective in the fight against discrimination, according to the new EU Roma strategic framework for equality, inclusion and participation. Since religious institutions can provide a forum for people with shared values or beliefs, religious organizations might have a role in the fight against discrimination by helping victims of discrimination among their parishioners and participating in the design and evaluation of locally implemented measures to combat discrimination. The intra-ethnic status and charisma of Evangelical pastors in the Roma community allow them to establish networks which sustain regular dialogue between Roma communities and local and regional authorities (Cantón-Delgado, 2017). This should be utilized to combat discrimination in Spain. Nowadays, training to fight discrimination for both civil servants and the media is demanded by public and private organizations concerned for the welfare of the Spanish Roma^{xvi}. This demand for training should be extended to religious institutions, in particular, Spanish Evangelical churches. In Eastern Europe, there are examples in which Evangelical practices have been oriented to the social inclusion of Roma people in society (Marushiakova and Popov, 1999; Podolinská, 2017; Slavkova, 2007). Obviously, addressing Pentecostalism or another religion only in terms of their role as vehicle for attaining the equality of the Roma population or another ethnic minority would be to have a myopic view. The responsibility should be laid at the door of political institutions and the value system of majority population.

Conclusions

The econometric analysis confirms that Evangelical Roma people have a higher probability of perceiving discrimination than those Roma who identify as followers of the

majority religion in Spain, i.e. Catholicism, once other socio-economic and demographic factors are controlled for. This finding corresponds with increased prejudice against minority religions considered to be 'sects' which give support to a religious stratification-economic model. Although Catholicism is not officially the state religion in Spain and the rate of attendance at Catholic church services has declined drastically, Catholic organizations maintain a de facto monopoly on religion, especially in education, and religious diversity has not been well accepted by mainstream public opinion. The greater discrimination perceived by Evangelical Roma people also fits well with the Evangelical doctrine which establishes a clear separation between the Roma and the non-Roma population, increases ethnic cohesion by enhancing solidarity among their members and empowers Roma people. By increasing ethnic cohesion, this second explanation is consistent with the subgroup identity theory while, by empowering Roma people, it is more in line with the prototype-justice model. Last, but not least, a historical perspective about the diffusion of the Pentecostal movement throughout Spanish territories, especially in those more affected by marginalization and social exclusion, where this religious movement took a more serious look at their internal problems, concurs with the expectation that there is a higher probability of Evangelical Roma people suffering discrimination; it clearly states that the adverse socio-economic situation is not the only explanation for the diffusion of Evangelism among Roma people. The discrimination gap regarding religious beliefs is also detected among Catholic and Evangelical Roma women. The active status that the latter are reaching in the Evangelical Church of Philadelphia might make them more aware of unequal treatment according to the prototype-justice model. As expected, other factors such as being unemployed or living in the extreme periphery of a city, aggravate discrimination of Spanish Roma people.

Spanish institutions have employed a mainly economic-oriented approach towards the Roma population through universal access to essential social services such as education, health, work and housing, but implemented policies have failed to generate Roma empowerment or to consider Roma diversity. Our study is a first step towards understanding intersectional discrimination against Evangelical Roma people in Spain. This does not mean either that social and economic support of marginalized people is not necessary, or that an emphasis on religious diversity solves the problem of discrimination, but it is a call to all actors to consider intersectional discrimination in a broad sense which includes ethnic, social, economic, cultural, religious and gender perspectives. In fact, the

post-2020 EU initiative recognizes the importance of *an intersectional approach, sensitive to the combination of ethnicity with other aspects of identity and the ways in which such intersections contribute to unique experiences of discrimination*^{xvii}. In order to identify intersectional discrimination in an adequate way, which allows the design of policies in the broader framework of the management of socio-economic and cultural diversity, high-quality databases are required. The lack of official statistics to avoid stigmatization labels, a main concern of Roma activists, produces shortcomings in the application of standard tools of analysis based on quantitative data in order to detect discrimination in practice and its evolution. This research is a clear example, since the cross-sectional sample impedes the consideration of historical patterns which are unquestionably relevant, while the source of the sample calls into question conceptual and methodological research considerations such as the complex nature of Roma identification. There is a consensus among researchers that self-identification is valid, but self-identification excludes many of those who have Roma roots (Messing, 2019). By explaining and offering guarantees of anonymity and by including Roma participation at all stages of conducting interviews and realizing this research, it would be possible to improve the data sample significantly. Bearing in mind these shortcomings, the greater probability of discrimination against Evangelical Roma than that experienced by Catholic Roma is a sign that the Spanish government at different administrative levels should take note and delve into this issue.

Finally, organizations promoting the rights of ethnic minorities such as the Roma population are demanding measures and economic resources to eliminate the gap in terms of education, employment and housing between the different social groups which coexist in Spain. They also demand training to fortify the struggle against discrimination. This research also indicates that, at least in Spain, these demands should be extended by including Evangelical institutions bearing a central role as mediators and builders of an inter-cultural dialogue which allows for a more respectful and egalitarian approach to the diversity of Roma people.

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Appendix A. Descriptive statistics

	Proportion
Have perceived discrimination in the past 12 months	30.3
Haven't perceived discrimination in the past 12 months	69.7
Catholic	22.5
Evangelical	62.1
Other religion	1.4
Non-religious	14.0
Close friends are only or predominantly Roma	39.2
The ethnic group of my friends does not matter to me	60.1
No close friends	0.7
None	18.1
Incomplete primary school	41.2
Complete primary school	18.8
Incomplete high school	11.9
Complete high school	7.4
Higher-level training cycle	1.4
University studies	1.1
Employee	16.4
Self-employed	14.5
Assisting the family business	11.2
Unemployed	27.1
Inactive	30.8
In the country, in a small village	26.5
In the country, in the neighborhood of a small village	3.0
In a city, right in the middle	37.5
In a city, in the suburbs	31.5
In a city, in the extreme periphery	1.5
Male	49.7
Female	50.3
Age*	36.3 years
Single	26.6
Married	58.2
Cohabiting	5.7
Widowed	4.5
Divorced or Separated	4.9

*Mean value

ⁱ This percentage is close to other sources such as Cantón-Delgado (2017) who establish that half the Spanish Roma population was Evangelical in 2011.

ⁱⁱ See page 19 of the Proposal for a council recommendation on Roma equality, inclusion and participation.

https://ec.europa.eu/info/sites/info/files/commission_proposal_for_a_draft_council_recommendation_for_roma_equality_inclusion_and_participation_en.pdf

ⁱⁱⁱ See studies number 2301 and 3194.

^{iv} Ibid.

^v Special Eurobarometer 493, 2019. <https://europa.eu/eurobarometer/surveys/detail/2251>

^{vi} See Spanish and Migrant Roma Population In Spain: Employment And Social Inclusion – 2011- A Comparative study, http://www.gitanos.org/upload/14/10/Situatia_romilor_-_english.pdf.

^{vii} http://www.ine.es/en/inebmenu/mnu_mercalab_en.htm

^{viii} There is a more recent database obtained in the year 2018 but there is no information about the religious affiliation of the interviewed person.

^{ix} 16 is the minimum legal age of employment in Spain.

<https://www.msbs.gob.es/ssi/familiasInfancia/PoblacionGitana/docs/SpanishRomaStrategy.pdf>.

^{xi} See Liu (2016) pages 379–380.

^{xii} The linearity of age has been checked.

^{xiii} Alternative estimations included the percentage of Catholic Roma population, but this variable was non-significant and the results were similar.

^{xiv} Source: Estudio sociológico de los gitanos españoles, 1978. Asociación Secretariado General Gitano. 1990. <https://www.gitanos.org/publicaciones/estudio1978/>

^{xv} https://www.msbs.gob.es/ssi/familiasInfancia/PoblacionGitana/docs/R-E-NGL-_ESTUDIO-MAPA_SOBRE_VIVIENDA_Y_P.G.pdf.

^{xvi} See, for example, the Fundación Secretariado Gitano 2019 Annual Report on discrimination and the Roma Community (https://www.gitanos.org/centro_documentacion/publicaciones/fichas/129965.html.es)

^{xvii} A Union of Equality: EU Roma strategic framework for equality, inclusion and participation, page 2 (European Commission, 2020b).

https://ec.europa.eu/info/sites/info/files/eu_roma_strategic_framework_for_equality_inclusion_and_participation_for_2020_-_2030_0.pdf