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**"NO ONE CARES WHAT HAPPENS TO A GYPSY"**

**Conceptualisation and Reasons for Underreporting of Hate Crime by the EU  
Citizens of Roma Descent in Malmö, Sweden**

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## **Abstract**

**Objectives:** Romania joined to European Union (EU) in 2007. Consequently, the number of EU citizens of Roma descent increased in Sweden as the movement of freedom was granted. This study attempts to understand the conceptualisation and reason for underreporting hate crimes in Malmö, Sweden.

**Methods:** Qualitative data collection methods of semi-structured interview and participant observation were employed. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with 15 EU citizens of Roma descent and 6 Civil Society Organization Representatives (a social worker, lawyers, a project manager and a journalist/consultant). Participant observation took place in a community centre where EU citizens of Roma descent visit in Malmö.

**Principal Findings:** The majority of the research about EU citizens of Roma descent in Malmö must address the living and working conditions of the Roma: homelessness, deprivation of basic needs and working on the streets. Participants endure hate crimes daily. The conceptualisation of the hate crime of the Roma participants is primarily in line with Swedish Criminal Code with additions. Unless severe physical harm occurs, participants do not tend to report it as they do not have time, energy or trust in authorities.

**Keywords:** hate crime, reporting, lifestyle routine activity theory, cost-benefit theory, EU citizens of Roma descent

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*Defne Murt*

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## List of Abbreviations

Brå	National Crime Prevention Council
BLM	Black Lives Matter
CSO	Civil Society Organisation
DHCG	Democracy and Hate Crime Group
EU	European Union
LRAT	Lifestyle Routine Activities Theory
RQ	Research Question
RAT	Routine Activity Theory
SDG	Sustainable Development Goals
UN	United Nations

## 1. Introduction

In my first week at the community centre where vulnerable European Union (EU) citizens of Roma descent visit,<sup>1</sup> I initiated participant observation as a data collection method. A participant said someone spat on him on the way to the centre and yelled at him: “Go back to Romania, gypsy!”. I asked him if this type of serious abuse happens to him often. He looked at me, surprised: “This is not serious.”. I looked at him, surprised: “What would be serious abuse look like?”. He laughed: “I`m still walking and healthy. If someone had beaten me very badly, it would have been a serious abuse, a hate crime”. What he said stuck with me for a week, thinking he *must* have a unique tolerance. After talking with other visitors of the centre and Civil Society Organisation (CSO) representatives, I realized the importance of this topic, understanding the conceptualising of hate crime of the everyday victims and started to investigate it further. After a few interviews where EU citizens of Roma descent stated hate crime incidents are everyday occurrence for them and majority of the Roma in their circle, I checked the reported hate crimes to the Swedish authorities seeing crime rates are not significantly high which broaden my interest and I seek to understand the reasons of underreporting the hate crimes.

Roma is historically marginalised and stigmatised, wrongfully persecuted, and became a scapegoat for major issues affecting the societies such as unemployment, diseases and droughts by the authorities. Marginalisation and stigmatisation took place due to their lifestyle, livelihood sources, and ethnicity worldwide for centuries, including in Sweden. Today, the word *gypsy* is being used as an insult even though it means Roma, the ethnicity. Roma is the most significant minority in Europe, with 10-12 million people (Civil Rights Defenders and Skåne City Mission, 2020). Authorities in Sweden cannot know the exact number of EU citizens of Roma descent in their state at a given time. Because they are allowed to stay for three months at a time in Sweden as EU citizens, and they are one of most mobile groups within the EU. Figure 1 represents the estimated number of the target group of this study with the red dot: EU mobile citizens. According to the map, 10.000 Domestic Roma, EU mobile citizens, and non-EU citizens combined live in Gothenburg, 15.000 Domestic Roma and EU mobile citizens live in Stockholm, and 11.000 in Malmö, respectively.

Roma has many different sub-groups and is called different names depending on their time and place. The government of Sweden categorises the Roma in Sweden into six groups: Travelling Romani, Swedish Romani (*Zigenare*), Finnish Romani (*Kaale*), Non-Nordic Romani (*Lovari*, *Kelderash*, *Romungri*,

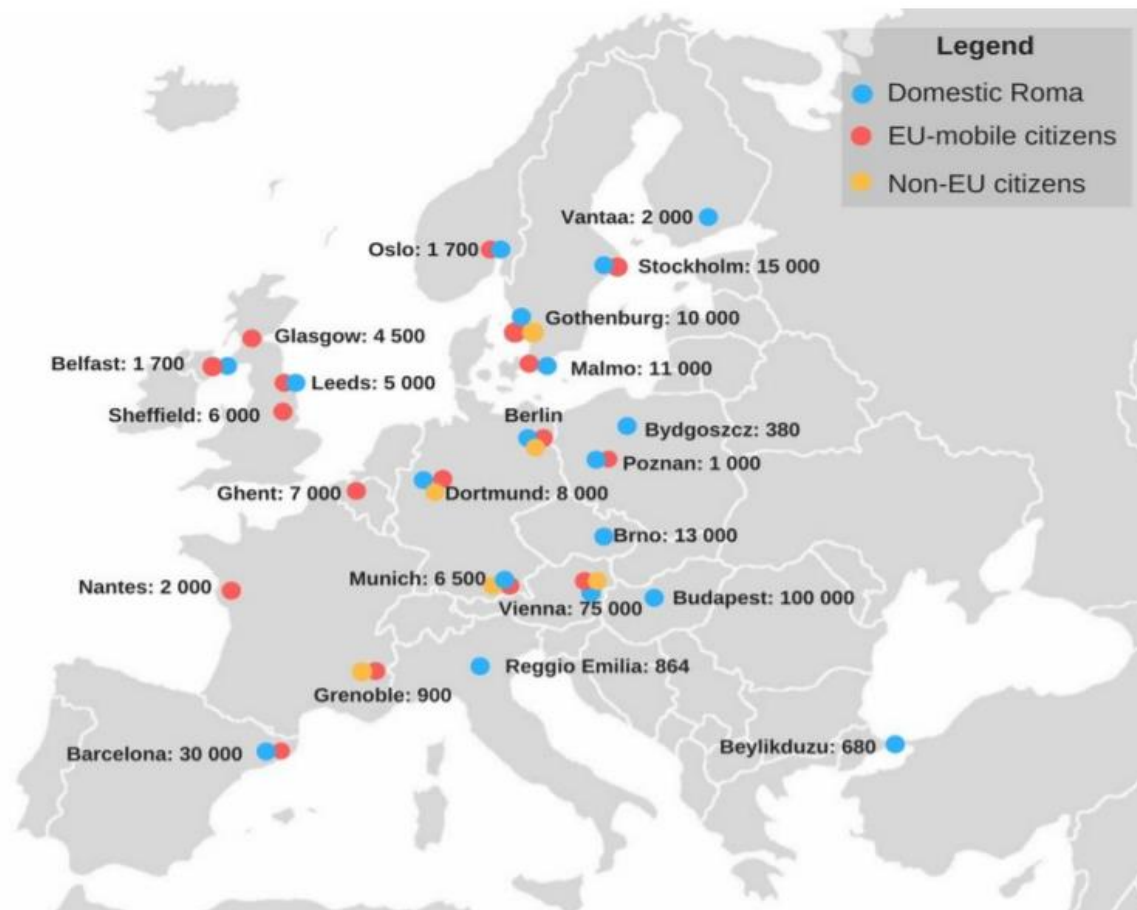
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<sup>1</sup> Crossroads is a community centre in Malmö, Sweden that aims to provide a safe space for vulnerable EU-citizens, mostly of Roma descent. Provides breakfast, bathroom and laundry facilities. A nurse and a social worker are present and provides access to available services.



*Tjurara*), Travellers (Roma mixed with ethnic Swedes, *Tattare*) and Recent Roma (EU citizens of Roma descent) (Sveriges Landsfiskaler, 1942, cited in Kotljarchuk, 2018).

**Figure 1:** Mapping of the of Roma in cities of Europe (Eurocities, 2018)



Except for the last group, EU citizens of Roma descent, other groups are represented in the Minority Council of Sweden to communicate their rights and needs to the Swedish Government. The last group is not represented in the council as they are irregular migrants in Sweden. Also, EU members are expected to include them in their Minority Councils equivalents under the Council of Europe: Secretariat of the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities. Therefore, this study is conducted with the last group, EU citizens of Roma descent.

Hate crime is a legal term; courts decide if a complained incident is a hate crime or not. I failed to find a hate crime case that resulted in a conviction filed by an EU citizen of Roma descent on the grounds of ethnicity in the courts of Sweden in the last five years. Lack of conviction could be due to a number of reasons, such as low reporting rates or shortcomings in the Swedish legal system processing hate crimes. Even though there is no hate crime case accepted by the court, this study chose to use the term hate crime to address all sorts of abuse the EU citizens of Roma descent participants experience

because of their ethnicity or other reasons as, according to them, what they experience is a hate crime. This study does not have a purpose of determining whether all the experiences shared by the participants are indeed hate crime incidents or not. Instead, this study aims to shed light on the conceptualisation of hate crime as definition, reasoning and reasons for not reporting the hate crime by the EU citizens of Roma descent participants. Another set of interviews was conducted with Civil Society Organisation (CSO) Representatives working with the EU citizens of Roma descent participants on a daily basis to create a data triangulation (See Chapter 5.3).

### **1.1 Research Purpose and Questions**

Hate crime issues are often discussed with the police, other governmental authorities, and the CSO actors. However, it is challenging for researchers to access EU citizens of Roma descent for two reasons. The first reason is that the group is mobile and often travels across Europe. The second reason is that the target group is a closed community that often does not engage with the host communities and authorities. Therefore, accessing the participants and discussing hate crimes from their point of view as victims is a key contribution this study offers.

The study aims to increase understanding of the conceptualisation and underreporting of the hate crime by the interviewed EU citizens of Roma descent in Malmö, Sweden. In this way, this thesis seeks to contribute to increasing the understanding of the policymakers, police and other authorities, journalists and members of the society in Malmö, Sweden, about the hate crimes against the EU citizens of Roma descent. Therefore, this study raises two research questions (RQ)'s:

RQ 1: How do the interviewed EU citizens of Roma descent in Malmö define hate crime and reasons for being a victim of a hate crime?

RQ 2: Why do EU citizens of Roma descent in Malmö do not report hate crimes to the police often?

### **1.2 Outline of the Thesis**

Following the introduction, research purpose and questions, I bring in the relevancy of this research to international development, Sustainable Development Goals and Sweden. Following, in the second chapter, I provide a history of the Roma in Sweden and legal background on hate crime and sleeping in the parks as they are relevant to the EU citizens of Roma descent in Malmö, Sweden. Next, I review the literature on hate crime conceptualisations and legal anthropology and provide detailed information on Lifestyle Routine Activity Theory and Cost-benefit Theory in the third chapter. In the

fourth chapter, I present the methodology and data collection methods while reflecting on delimitations, constraints, ethical considerations, positionality, and power. The fifth chapter is the presentation and discussion of my findings accordingly to the theoretical framework. Finally, in the sixth chapter, I conclude the findings and provide suggestions for future studies.

### **1.3 International Development and the Study**

International development studies repeatedly excluded the Global North and focused on the development issues of the Global South. However, the decolonising development movement in the field and academia thrived in recent years (Kapoor, 2014; Sultana, 2019; Cornwall, 2020). Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) set the aim globally, including the Global North similar to Millennium Development Goals and the Paris Climate Agreement. Today, developed and developing country lines are “blurring”, and the “global development” term is widely accepted by the organisations such as the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) and World Bank stopped using “developed” and “developing” country indicators since 2016 (Horner, 2019, pp. 2-8). Because focusing on only Global South regarding development-related problems reinforces the power structures and ignores global development issues such as climate change, migration, inequality, where the Global North needs the intervention of the development sector as well.

This study is conducted in Sweden, currently ranking as the second-best country, achieving SDG's by 85.61 points (Sachs et al., 2021). However, Sweden has its shortcomings regarding the development studies and SDG`s that are addressed in this study. Because, as Raworth said: “We are all developing countries now.” (2018, cited in Horner, 2019, p. 13). For example, all the Roma participants of this study were homeless and having difficulties accessing basic needs. At the same time, according to their statements, they were being subjected to hate crime on a regular basis in Sweden. All these issues are relevant to SDG 1 and SDG 10 directly. Nevertheless, it is a cross-cutting issue pertinent to other SDG's (See Annex 9.6).

## 2. Background

### 2.1 Roma in Sweden

Roma spread to the world in the 11<sup>th</sup> century from the North of India. They were in the Balkans by the 14<sup>th</sup> century and in Sweden by 1512 (Granqvist, 2020). Their main income generation activities were mainly being artists, fortune tellers, basket makers and horse traders. They are also known to have a nomadic lifestyle. According to Brearly (2001), the kings, popes, and other high-level authorities marginalised and criminalised the Roma from the beginning. The main reason for the discrimination was Roma practising fortune-telling, which is believed to be a sin in Christianity, the dominant religion in the region (Ibid.). Another reason is that they were nomadic, which made the tax collection harder for the authorities.

Laurentius Petri Nericius, Sweden's first protestant bishop, said in 1560 that Roma people are "godless", and he did not allow priests to engage with them as "the wicked people" should "neither be baptised nor buried" (Romska Ungdomsförbundet, n.d., cited in Hayn, 2016, pp. 169). In 1637, an announcement was made that women and children Roma in Sweden will be deported and men will be executed; however, no official records show how many Roma was affected by this regulation (Ibid.). In the 1660s, Roma was allowed to settle in Gränna, Hjo, Vimmerby, Falkenberg cities of Sweden (Lindwall, 2017). By 1686, the church allowed Roma children to be baptised and follow the Christian teachings; however, there is no record proofing the law's implementation (Svensson, 1993).

Since 1910, Roma is counted as "persons of an alien tribe" in official population registries together with the Sami population in Sweden (Statistiska Centralbyrån, 1914, cited in Kotljarchuk, 2018, p. 5). In 1914, the Deportation Act was issued and allowed Swedish authorities to deport the Roma, travelling musicians and beggars (Jansson, 2013). For immigration control, Sweden issued the 1917 Aliens Act, which meant an entry ban for Roma. According to Hammar, the act was the work of a nationalist group demanding "Sweden for the Swedes" (1964, p. 385). In 1922, Sweden became the first country to have a state-funded eugenics institute: State Institute for Racial Biology, where the sterilisation of the Roma girls and women executed, and Roma children sent to "Gypsy schools" because of the "scientific" reasons (Takman, 1963, cited in Ministry of Culture Sweden, 2015 pp. 83-243). "Gypsy problem" (*zigenarproblemet*) was one of the frequent agenda of the politics, press, and the academicians in Sweden and the Roma often addressed as "economic parasites ", "a genetically inferior group", and "a criminal and biological threat." (Bergstrand, 1942; Etzler, 1940; 1942; Hofsten, 1942; Lundman, 1943; Pira 1942; Ohlander 1943; Brandell 1943, cited in Kotljarchuk, 2018, p. 7). In 1940, a file of a sterilised fifteen year old Roma girl says sterilisation happened "as an act of mercy,

for herself, for society, and perhaps most of all for the offspring she will surely bring into the world" (Broberg and Tyden, 2005, cited in Yılmaz, 2019, p. 48).

In 1954, Alien Act was abolished, and in the 1970s, different Roma groups migrated, and some settled in Sweden (Ministry of Culture Sweden, 2015). In 1974, forced sterilisation of Roma and other groups stopped (Lynöe, 2007). European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, and the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities adopted by Sweden in 1999 and 2000, Roma officially recognised as a minority group in Sweden (Montesino and Al Fakir, 2015). In 2002, the Council of Roma was established to identify the needs of the Roma in Sweden and communicate them to the Swedish Government (Hansson, 2011).

After Romania joined the EU in 2007, the number of Roma in Sweden and other EU member countries increased (Civil Rights Defenders and Skåne City Mission, 2020). Because Roma in Romania is often denied the chance of having jobs due to marginalisation (Fleck and Rughiniş, 2008). Therefore, EU citizens of Roma descent seek jobs in the other EU countries, benefiting from the freedom of movement. However, this does not prevent them from being marginalised in other EU countries as well. Despite their vulnerable position, they are not represented in the Council of Roma in Sweden as they do not permanently reside in Sweden. Therefore, the basic needs of EU citizens of Roma descent in Sweden are prevalent such as shelter, warm food, water, sanitation, and hygiene facilities (Hansson and Mitchell, 2018).

In 2013, a Swedish newspaper, *Dagens Nyheter*, announced that Swedish police in the Skåne region illegally kept a record of 4,700 Roma (Kotljarchuk, 2018). One-fourth of the records belong to the children, and around 200 were deceased (Ibid.). The list also showed a somewhat family tree explaining the individuals married to each other and their families. Also, not only the police but Migration Board (*Migrationsverket*) had access to the list (Ibid.). The news attracted national and international media attention, and Swedish institutes, especially police and courts taken under the spotlight about their treatments of Roma. Initially, 12 Roma applied to the court for compensation. The court decided that the Swedish Government to pay compensation to victims; however, the government contested the decision.

In 2017, a Facebook group with the members of retired and on the job police members occupied the Swedish media due to police officers strong negative comments about migrants, including Roma, in Sweden and politicians supporting the migration policy of Sweden (Röstlund, 2017). Press Secretary of Stockholm Police commented: "Our freedom of expression is strong, so it's hard to say what a police officer should or should not post privately on their social media." (Ibid.).

In 2020, Sweden organised protests to show solidarity with the *Black Lives Matter*<sup>2</sup> movement. Another police group comments on Facebook criticised their fellow police officer for showing support with the protesters and attention brought by the media to the Swedish police's attitude towards the non-ethnic Swedes in Sweden (Kazmierska, 2020).

These three incidents of Swedish police and their activities on social media held a place in national and international news. While some argue that police officers are allowed to have political views and their comments fall under the freedom of speech, others argue that these incidents are evidence reflecting the police's perception of migrants and non-ethnic Swedes, causing a lack of trust between them and the police.

In 2018, two teens, 14 and 16, were arrested for the murder of an EU citizen of Roma descent in Jönköping (The Local, 2018). Allegedly, they were harassing the victim for the past two years, supported by the video evidence they take. Prime Minister, Stefan Löfven, focused on the victim's livelihood, begging, in his speech regarding the incident and said: "we need to [...] stop begging because it is no one's future" (Göteborgs-Tidningen, 2018, cited in Hansson and Mitchell, 2018, p. 19).

A study conducted in Malmö, Sweden and 20% of the participants said they "*disagree partially or totally*" with the following statement: "*I would feel comfortable if my employer decided to employ a Roma person who previously begged on the streets*" (Wallengren et al., 2019, p. 13).

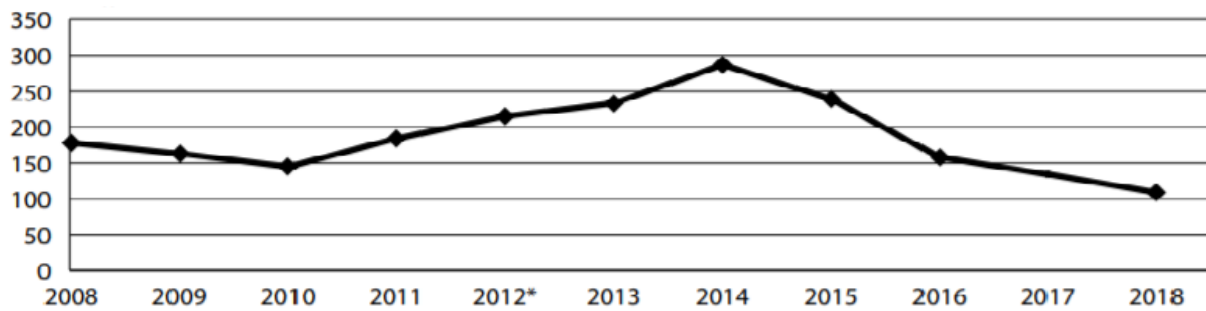
Almost half of the cases taken by the equality ombudsman are concerning the discrimination against Roma for housing in Sweden (Hartmann and Gerdes, 2015). Discriminatory laws against Roma were abolished, but abuse, discrimination, and hate crime against Roma continue to occur in society.

Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention (Brå) works under the Ministry of Justice to gather statistics on crime and contribute to crime prevention methods (Wallengren and Mellgren, 2015). In 2018, 110 crimes with a hate crime motive were committed against the Roma, which is the lowest since the statistics are last taken (Brå, 2019) (See Figure 2). Hate crime against the individuals, physically, highest against the Roma among the other hate crime victim groups (Ibid.) Once the hate crime complaint is filed, investigation of the police might take up to three years. In 2016, 160 hate crimes against Roma were reported. By 30 June 2019, none of the cases were resolved (Brå, 2019, cited in Civil Rights Defenders and Skåne City Mission, 2020).

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<sup>2</sup> Black Lives Matter (BLM) is a movement ignited in United States of America in 2015 due to systematic racism towards African Americans in state institution, especially in justice department. In 2020, movement caught a larger momentum and BLM became the voice of other oppressed groups (Indigenous people, other people of colour, LGBTQ community) and supported globally, approximately around 60 countries.

**Figure 2:** Crimes with a hate motive against the Roma in Sweden per year (Brå, 2019, p.51).



## 2.2 Legal Background

There is no law assigned explicitly for hate crime in Sweden. Hate crime laws constitute two laws: agitation against a population group and unlawful discrimination (Wallengren and Mellgren, 2015). Agitation against a population of group law stated as:

whether a motive for the offence was to insult a person or a population group on grounds of race, colour, national or ethnic origin, religious belief, sexual orientation or transgender identity or expression, or another similar circumstance; (The Swedish Criminal Code)

There is also a penalty enhancement rule. The penalty enhancement rule means that when any type of crime is committed, the police officer handling the case marks the case as a suspected hate crime. Suppose the court decides it is a hate crime, the perpetrator receives an increased punishment due to the penalty enhancement rule.

Another law relevant to Roma is about homelessness and sleeping outdoors. Homelessness is not a crime in Sweden, but multiple laws and procedures impact homeless people negatively (Housing Rights Watch, 2012). For instance, using public spaces different from their purpose without permission is prohibited in many jurisdictions in Sweden including in Malmö, such as sleeping in parks (Ibid.). It is important to note that there is a Right of Public Access (*Allemansrätten*) in Sweden where it is allowed to camp in the countryside (Sandell and Fredman, 2010). However, in the case of the vulnerable EU citizens of Roma descent, as they do not own cars or can spare money to use public transportation, losing time to commute to the countryside regularly is an issue. Hence, sleeping in the public parks and being woken up by the police and asked to leave is a common occurrence for the EU citizens of Roma descent in Sweden.

Swedish Police Department received funding to create a department specialized in hate crimes in 2015, called Democracy and Hate Crime Group (DHCG) (Government Offices of Sweden, 2017). DHCG's established in 3 three major cities of Sweden, Malmö, Gothenburg and Stockholm. Major cities cover the surrounding jurisdictions as well. DHCG is part of the police department, but staff without a police background are hired based on their expertise on hate crimes as well. Once a police officer receives any type of complaint, they fill a case file on computer. The police officer has a choice to flag the case as a suspected hate crime or not, whether it targeted an individual or a building, whether the individual reported it as a hate crime or not. Once the police officer flags the case as a hate crime, DHCG investigates the crime, interviews the alleged victim or witnesses. DHCG Police Superintendent Eva Sund said: "Surveys show that trust in the police is low among groups that are exposed [to hate crime]." (Levandehistoria, n.d.). DHCG is responsible for training the police officers, including the emergency call operators, on hate crime laws, recognizing the hate crime signs, and approaching potential hate crime victims. Training packages are also available for police officers who want to learn more about hate crimes (Atak, 2020). Swedish Justice System also has "hate-crime prosecutors" who are specifically appointed to handle the hate crime cases (Granström and Åström, 2017, p. 9).

Even though hate crime is a widely discussed subject in academia and field, there is no definition agreed by UN, EU or other widely accepted agencies and definition changes per country and even per jurisdictions. For instance, disability is explicitly listed in the hate crime law of England, Wales, and Northern Ireland. In contrast, Sweden chooses to utilise "another similar circumstance" in the law (The Swedish Criminal Code). Therefore, services available for EU citizens of Roma descent are different in their home, transit country<sup>3</sup>, and Sweden.

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<sup>3</sup> "Countries that migrants cross on their way to their country of destination." (Council of Europe, 2015).



### 3. Literature Review

#### 3.1 Hate Crime

There is extensive literature regarding the definition and conceptualisation of hate crimes. According to Perry, hate crime is violence directed to the "stigmatised and marginalised" people due to a mismatch of their behaviour and social "hierarchies"(2001, p. 3). This could surface as a physical assault against a person of colour living or walking in a predominantly white neighbourhood. Perry says this type of hate crime happens because first, the victim is a "stigmatised and marginalised" member of a group, a person of colour in this example (Ibid.). Second, the victim is not acting according to the perpetrators "social order" hierarchy (Ibid., p.52). Meaning, the perpetrator's perspective based on the "social order" results in aggression, fuelled by the victim's *audacity* using the same space as if they are equals (Ibid.). According to the perpetrator, that behaviour, *audacity*, violates the social order hierarchy between the victim and the perpetrator, following up with the previous example between the person of colour and the white person in a predominantly white space. She refers to this "violation" as the "doing difference" of the victim (Ibid., p.53). Thus, the perpetrator sends the message to remind the victim, asserting either do not dare to cross the line and think we are equals, or you will be put in your place (Ibid.).

Minter (2007, cited in Kidd and Witten 2008, p. 49) argues that the perpetrator perceives the victim as "easy targets " in hate crimes. This does not necessarily contradict Perry's argument (2001). It simply points some hate crime victims are not only "doing difference" but also or instead, perceived as "easy targets" (Perry, 2001, p. 53; Kidd and Witten 2008, p. 49).

Chakraborti and Garland (2012) praised and criticised Perry's (2001, p. 3) hate crime framework. Praised because Perry successfully pointed the victim's profile as the "stigmatised and marginalised". and crystalised the perpetrator's "social order" and "hierarchy" concepts (2001, pp. 3-52). They criticised her because her framework was not overarching to include all types of hate crime incidents. Chakraborti and Garland (2012, p.14) argue that the "vulnerable" side of the victim is inclusive for both "doing difference" and "easy targets"; therefore, they argued combining both Perry's (2001) and Kidd and Witten's (2008) concepts provides a complementary definition of hate crime.

#### 3.2 Legal Anthropology

Legal anthropology questioned how the laws were "constructed" and adopted by the societies as a beginning point (Nader, 1965, p. 4). According to Mertz and Goodale, Herodotus, BCE 5, is the first

widely accepted legal anthropologist to shed light on individualistic and communal laws in different societies (2012). However, Malinowski made an early and significant contribution in 1926. He set methodologies to study legal anthropology and stressed the importance of fieldwork rather than the "armchair methodologies" used by the previous academics (Ibid., p. 5). He employed his methodology and conducted a researched in the Trobriand Islands for three years, where he observed the traditions of the indigenous community focused on trades among the nearby islands. His findings indicated that "savage societies" do not follow their laws and rules almost in a semi-instinctive manner like the many anthropologists claimed they do back in the time (Malinowski, 1926, p. 6). Instead, he noted that some "savage people" also do not follow the laws, try to get around it, and change the laws as "western society" do actively (Ibid., p. 27; Mertz and Goodale, 2012, p. 5).

A.R. Radcliffe-Brown also contributed to the field where he formed his theory based on the communities' political institutions to have laws (Mertz and Goodale, 2012). Thus, he concluded that the communities that do not have political institutions, such as the Trobrianders Malinowski conducted his research, "lacked law" (Mertz and Goodale, 2012, p.6).

Colonialism brought the term "legal pluralism" to legal anthropologists agenda where colonial law and customary law(s) coexists in the same communities (Ibid., p.8). By the 1970s, Clifford Geertz conducted studies in Morocco and Indonesia regarding the effects of culture on laws. He argued traditions are the basis for laws and have an essential impact on the decisions and actions of individuals (Geertz, 1973):

Believing, with Max Weber, that man is an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun, I take culture to be those webs, and the analysis of it to be therefore not an experimental science in search of law but an interpretive one in search of meaning. It is explication I am after, construing social expressions on their surface enigmatical. (Geertz, 1973, p. 5)

By the 1970s, Nader and her colleagues focused on "connections between agency, power relationships, and the resolution of disputes" under legal anthropology (Mertz and Goodale, 2012, p.6). This discussion revolved around positionality and power and finally led "legitimacy" of power holders discussed (Nader, 1997, p. 724). According to Meares, "legitimacy is critical" (2009, p. 665) when police and other authorities do their jobs. One of the most important reasons is that legitimacy is an effective way to ensure citizens obey laws (Ibid.). Where police and other authorities maltreat certain groups, the police legitimacy decreases in the eyes of certain groups and their allies outside of the group.

Local cultures, beliefs, and social factors play a role in shaping attitudes and opinions toward peace. Efforts to establish peace and accountability mechanisms must be informed by population-based data that reflect the opinions, attitudes, and needs of all sectors of a society. (Vinck et al., 2007, p. 553)

Unfair treatment enforces the marginalisation some group endures, including the Roma, because of their ethnicity. According to Nafstad (2019), the way legal diversity is not embedded in the Swedish legal system leads to the question of legitimacy in courts in the case of minorities, specifically Roma.

## 4. Theoretical Framework

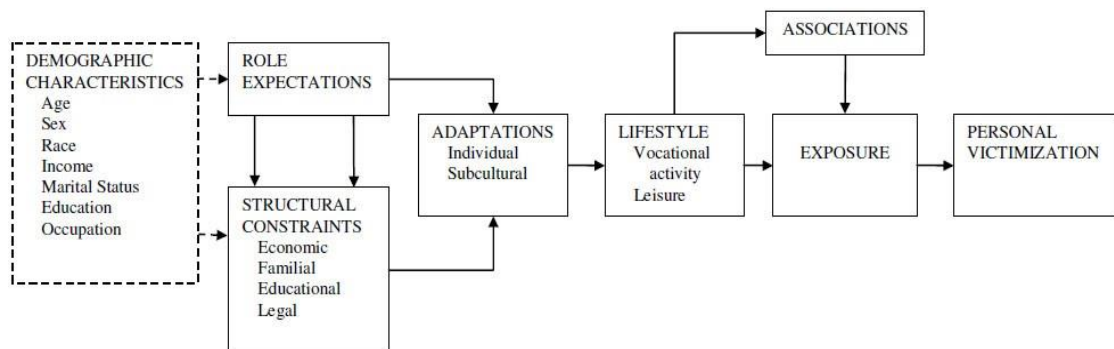
### 4.1 Lifestyle-Routine Activities Theory

In this section, the Lifestyle Theory (Hindelang et al., 1978) and Routine Activities Theory (Cohen and Felson, 1979) are introduced separately first. Then, the hybrid theory this study utilised introduced: Lifestyle Routine Activities Theory (LRAT) and its elements.

#### 4.1.1 Lifestyle Theory

Hindelang et al., (1978) observed a pattern regarding the lifestyles and personal characteristics of the victims and the perpetrators choice to assault them (See Table 3). According to the authors, lifestyle is defined as "... routine daily activities, both vocational activities (work, school, keeping house, etc.) and leisure activities" (Hindelang et al., 1978, p. 241). They surveyed participants in 8 cities of the United States of America. Indicators of the study were age, marital status, race, gender and family income. It is assumed these indicators determine the behaviours of the victims. The authors indicate that people with certain lifestyles are more likely to be victimised throughout their lives than others. This theory has been used in many criminology studies linking the lifestyle of the victim and the perpetrator's choice.

**Figure 3:** Lifestyle Theory of Victimization (Hindelang et al., 1978)



Source: Hindelang, M. J., Gottfredson, M. R., & Garofalo, J. (1978). *Victims of personal crime: An empirical foundation for a theory of personal victimization*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Hindelang and his colleagues found that males are 50% more likely to be victims than females and young people under 20 years old are three times more likely to be victims than people over 65 years and older (1979). According to a study, people with disabilities are more likely to be victims of violent assault by intimate partners (Perreault, 2009). Therefore, demographics are considered essential.

Based on the lifestyle theory, it is argued that young males are more likely to spend time outside of their homes due to work and social networks. In contrast, females and the older generation spend more time at home, which lessens their likelihood of being victimised. People working indoors and wealthy people are also considered less likely to be victimised since they spend their time in a protected environment. Therefore, lifestyle theory concludes that victims and perpetrators have a similar lifestyle, such as spending significant time outdoors (Mustaine and Tewksbury, 2000). Potential victims choice to report the crime may attract or yield the perpetrators. For instance, children, homeless people, refugees and migrants might be considered potential victims of the perpetrator.

#### **4.1.2 Routine Activity Theory**

In 1969, unemployment rates were lowest in the USA by 3.5%, and poverty was declining (Summers, 1986). However, against the expectations, crime rates were rising, and researchers conducted many studies to understand this phenomenon. Routine Activity Theory (RAT) formed within the scope of these studies conducted by Cohen and Felson (1979). Since then, RAT utilised for individual, household, neighbourhood and city level research (Osgood and Anderson, 2004; Roth and Roberts, 2015; Ngo and Paternoster, 2011, cited in Orscheln, 2017).

Cohen and Felson (1979) studied the routine activities of people to understand why crime rates were increasing when people were socio-economically doing better compared to the past. They concluded that significant changes in social structures affect ordinary people's routine activities, which leads to increased victimisation. For instance, they stated that the number of women who joined the workforce and college increased rapidly, resulting in increased number of household members to spend more time outside. Furthermore, spending more time outside of the homes led to a change in the individuals' routine activities, explaining the increased crime rates. Cohen and Felson identified routine activities as:

...recurrent and prevalent activities which provide for basic population and individual needs, whatever their biological or cultural origins. Thus, routine activities would include formalised work, as well as the provision of standard food, shelter, sexual outlet, leisure, social interaction, learning and childrearing. (1979, p. 593)

They concluded 3 components are essential for a crime to occur in a physical converges in time and space: (1) *motivated offenders*, (2) *suitable targets*, and (3) *absence of capable guardians against a violation* (See Figure 4). When all 3 components take place, "successful completion of a direct-contact predatory crime" (Cohen and Felson, 1979, p. 589) such as hate crime takes place. RAT studies often

analyse the victim's data rather than the perpetrators as motivated offenders accepted as omnipresent (Birkbeck and LaFree, 1993).

**Figure 4:** Routine Activity Theory (Cohen and Felson, 1979)



#### **4.1.3 Lifestyle-Routine Activities Theory (LRAT) of Victimization**

Lifestyle-Routine Activities Theory (LRAT) is a combination of the Lifestyle Theory of Victimization (Hindelang, Gottfredson and Garofalo, 1978) and Routine Activities Theory (Cohen and Felson, 1979). Cohen, Kluegel, and Land (1981) crystallised the theory by stating that demographics are affecting the likelihood of victimisation due to five domains: "(1) exposure, (2) guardianship, (3) proximity to potential offenders, (4) attractiveness of potential targets, and (5) definitional properties of specific crimes themselves" (p. 507) (See Figure 5). The first two factors are defined in the Lifestyle Theory of Victimization by Hindelang, Gottfredson and Garofalo (1978). The remaining three is inspired by RAT (Cohen and Felson, 1979).

*Exposure* is defined as the perpetrators access to the potential victims. It implies "the physical visibility and accessibility of persons or objects to potential offenders at any given time or place" (Cohen et al., 1981, p. 507).

**Figure 5:** LRAT Theory (Figure inspired by Hindelang, Gottfredson and Garofalo, 1978; Cohen and Felson, 1979; Cohen, Kluegel, and Land, 1981)



*Guardianship* is the presence of police or any other authority that can protect the potential victim or a functional surveillance camera that could yield a potential perpetrator (Reynald, 2009). Another example of a guardian is living in a safe house where you can install minor or major protection systems like locking your door or installing security systems or carrying weapons, having a dog trained for protection, living in a neighbourhood where there is a neighbourhood watch structure is in place (McNeeley, 2014).

*Proximity* is defined as the physical access of a likely perpetrator to a potential victim. This explains the conclusion of Hindelang, Gottfredson and Garofalo, where they concluded both victims and offenders spend time outdoors together for criminal activity to take place (1978).

A study revealed that Roma in Malmö chooses not to work on certain days, such as Midsummer (Midsommar) Day in Sweden, as there are more likely to be people on the streets that consumed alcohol and drugs (Wallengren and Mellgren, 2018). This coping mechanism is due to lack of *guardianship*, living and working on the streets, increased *proximity*, and *exposure* as more people are in the outdoors.

*Target Attractiveness* could be a human being as well as a building, purse or belonging. The target is perceived as vulnerable by the offender to proceed with the violent act. This could be the target's weight and size that determines if the potential victim is a suitable target or not.

*Definitional Properties of Specific Crimes* is defined as the perpetrator's knowledge of routine activities of the potential victim. For instance, in a pickpocketing case, the perpetrator would not necessarily invest in understanding the routine activities of the victim. In contrast, in a bank robbery, the perpetrator would invest in learning the routine activities around the targeted bank. Motivated offender chooses their suitable target based on their perception of the victim's lifestyle, habits or characteristics. For instance, a motivated offender might insult a suitable target because they *look queer*. However, the reality of the suitable target is not necessarily relevant in this process, offender might end up assaulting a non-queer person. Similarly, a motivated offender might choose to assault a homeless person because they believe homeless people are lazy and abuse alcohol and drugs. Again, the real personality of the homeless person is not accounted for in this thinking and choosing process.

#### **4.1.4 Critics to LRAT**

According to Clarke, the guardianship domain in LRAT is faulty as guardianship cannot prevent criminal acts to take place (1997, cited in Brunet, 2002). Guardianship can only affect where the crime is going to take place (Ibid.). For instance, where there is high surveillance in the main road or police presence, it is less likely for a criminal act to occur there, but the crime does happen somewhere, at all times.

Garofalo is one of the authors of the lifestyle theory (1978); however, almost a decade later, he criticised the theory (1987, cited in Maxfield, 2014). Because according to him, the lifestyle theory of victimisation puts the victimisation on an individual's choices or way of living. It does not do a good job to address the people who do not have a choice (Ibid.). For instance, people who have to work on nights shifts live in neighbourhoods where crime rates are high or, in the case of this study, people who are homeless and working outside.

#### **4.2 Cost-benefit Theory**

The underreporting of crimes is the case for all sorts of crimes (Yoon, 2015). Victims tend not to report the hate crime for various reasons. A widely accepted theory that explains the reason for not reporting is the cost-benefit theory (Felson et al., 2002). According to the theory, victims often consider the investment they need to make to report the crime and compare it with the possible outcome scenarios and decide not to file a complaint in most cases. There are incentives in favour of reporting and costs against the reporting and, eventually, the decision made by the victim. It is argued that hate crime is one of the main types of crimes being underreported (Pezzella, Fetzer and Keller, 2019). When a minority or a migrant is subjected to a hate crime, costs often weigh heavier than incentives and



migrants victims of hate crime are more reluctant to report a hate crime than others (Zaykowski, 2010).

#### **4.2.1 Incentives**

Incentives are "protection", "a desire for retribution or justice" and "protect other people" (Felson et al., 2002, pp. 619-620). Incentives to report for *protection* often either solve the "immediate crisis" where the victim believes there is a possibility of serious harm that might come to them (Gottfredson and Gottfredson, 1987, cited in Felson et al., 2002, p. 619), or they believe reporting the crime will prevent the offender from committing the crime against them in the future. *A desire for retribution or justice* where victims believe the perpetrator crossed a line "and deserves to be punished" (Felson et al., 2002, p. 620). *Protecting other people* is when the victim often tends to think about the greater good or fears the safety of their loved ones and chooses the report (Ibid.)

#### **4.2.2 Costs**

It is widely accepted that all crimes, including hate crimes, are not reported widely by the victims for several reasons. One of the main costs is that the victim classifies the criminal act as a "private matter" (Felson et al., 2002, p. 621). A couple of reasons under the private matter reason is that first of all, victims feel ashamed and embarrassed, or they are afraid to be a "snitch" (Ibid.). Another cost is the "Protect the offender from criminal prosecution", where the victim wants to protect the offender as it often takes place in domestic violence cases or the victims "sympathy for the offender" (Ibid., p. 617). The third cost is the fear that the perpetrator will "retaliate" against them, where the victim calculates the risk of being hurt by the offender (Felson et al., 2002, p. 621). The fourth cost is "The victim is engaged in illegal activities", which could be an undocumented migrant victim of a crime worried to be deported in case of reaching out to police (Black, 1983, cited in Felson et al., 2002, p. 621). The last one is the "opportunity cost", where the victim believes involving the authorities, following up legal or process or even talking to the police is requires too much time or energy (Felson et al., 2002, p. 621). A reason for not reporting a crime is often formed by the opinion and advice received by the victims (Greenberg and Ruback, 1992). Another example of opportunity cost is that some victims do not report the crime to the police as they believe police will not conduct an efficient investigation or take the crime seriously (Fishman, 1979; Reiss, 1971; Baumer and Lauritsen, 2010). Similarly, victims' belief that police lack fairness and sympathy towards them also falls under the opportunity cost (Felson et al., 2002).

**Figure 6:** Cost-benefit Theory (Figure inspired by Felson et al., 2002).

Incentives	Costs
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>•Protection</li><li>•A desire for retribution or justice</li><li>•Protecting other people</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>•Private matter</li><li>•Protect the offender from criminal prosecution</li><li>•Fear that the perpetrator will retaliate against them</li><li>•The victim is engaged in illegal activities</li><li>•Opportunity cost</li></ul>

Fisher (2014) says victims fell into two categories: those who did not have many experiences with police and authorities who believe mechanisms to ensure justice works pretty. The others are "more cynical and less trusting" about it due to their prior negative experiences (Ibid., p. 1). When people believe that the police and the authorities are corrupted, treating people unfairly or do not have legitimacy due to other reasons, they do not respect what police and authorities represent, such as the laws, and they are more likely unwilling to report the crimes committed in the community (Gutierrez, 2012). Similarly, Tarling and Morris (2010) claim that if the victim is repeatedly subjected to a similar crime, they are less likely to report the crime.

According to Fishman (1979), reasons for not reporting the hate crime among the victims with low and high socio-economic backgrounds are similar, such as not trusting police and fear of retaliation. Gomes (2017), however, argues that socio-economic background is essential, especially for minorities when accessing justice, whether it means access to a lawyer for a representation or a translator to communicate with police and other authorities.

## 5. Methodology

### 5.1 Research Design

I planned the research design based on the research aim and objectives (Gray, 2014). The descriptive nature of the RQ-1 aims to answer the *how* as it seeks to define the hate crime act and reasoning of it by the victims (Gall, Gall and Borg, 2007, cited in Nassaji, 2015). Descriptive nature does not explain the reporting reasoning of the participants (Punch, 2005). Therefore, RQ-2 has an exploratory nature as it aims to understand human behaviour and draw conclusions based on it by asking *why* (Gray, 2014). Hence, I chose to proceed with the qualitative data collection: Semi-structured interviews and participant observation. I conducted the semi-structured interviews with purposeful sampling in two months, whereas participant observation lasted five months.

### 5.2 Research Methods and Data Collection

#### 5.2.1 Semi-structured Interviews

Qualitative data was collected through semi-structured interviews with 15 EU citizens of Roma descent<sup>4</sup> and 6 CSO representatives working with the participants regularly (See Annex 9.5). Name of all the Roma Participants and some of the CSO Representatives exemplified by participant numbers to safeguard anonymity per their request. Semi-structured interviews for both sets of participants were originally prepared for an evaluation conducted by me. Initially, 17 EU citizens of Roma descent, 12 police officers, and 8 CSO Representatives were interviewed for the evaluation. I requested informed consent before the interviews and utilised where I obtained consent for my thesis as well with the Roma participants. I obtained the consent of 12 EU citizens of Roma descent and 6 CSO representatives and none from the police. Some of the Roma participants were worried about being identified and rejected to share their interviews for this study. Some said they did not understand what I'm going to do with my thesis, and they do not have time to listen to my explanation to decide. Some of the CSO Representatives and police did not respond to my e-mail seeking consent; thus, I did not include their interviews in the study.

After realising *basic needs* is an emerging theme throughout the interviews with the Roma representatives, I conducted three more interviews as Phase 2 to increase my understanding of the daily life of the Roma participants (See Annex 9.1, 9.2 and 9.3 for Interview Questions). Semi-

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<sup>4</sup> For sake of word count and readability, hereafter EU citizens of Roma descent participants of this study will be referred as Roma participants or representatives.

structured interviews assisted me in having an in-depth understanding. However, on the other side, it was time consuming, and I reached to small sample size comparing to what could be achieved by utilising quantitative research methods (Rahman, 2016). Nevertheless, based on the research questions and the profile of the participants, I believe semi-structured interviews and participant observation was the most suitable research design.

Due to COVID-19, some of the CSO Representatives were working from home; therefore, I conducted the interviews with four of them online while all the interviews with the Roma participants and remaining two CSO Representatives were conducted in person.

### **5.2.2 Participant Observation**

I also spent two to three days of a week in a community centre providing basic needs for vulnerable EU citizens for five months (See Footnote 1, p. 1). I utilised my time there as participant observation. I used Patton's guide to "skilled observer" (2015, pp. 497-498). I observed the morning routine of the Roma Representatives, which provided me with a better understanding of their daily lives, and it made me a familiar face for the participants. Being a familiar face helped me obtain consent for the interviews as almost all the participants were visitors of the centre.

On the other hand, being involved in the environment actively brought the risk of jeopardising my objectivity (Kawulich, 2005). In order to mitigate this risk, I have utilised data triangulation (See Chapter 5.3). I kept my observation notes brief and precise as "encyclopedic recording is neither possible nor particularly useful" for my study (Becker et al., 1961, cited in Patton, 2015 p. 500). Participant observation method supported my reflections on my positionality and power (See Chapter 4.5).

### **5.3 Data Analysis and Triangulation**

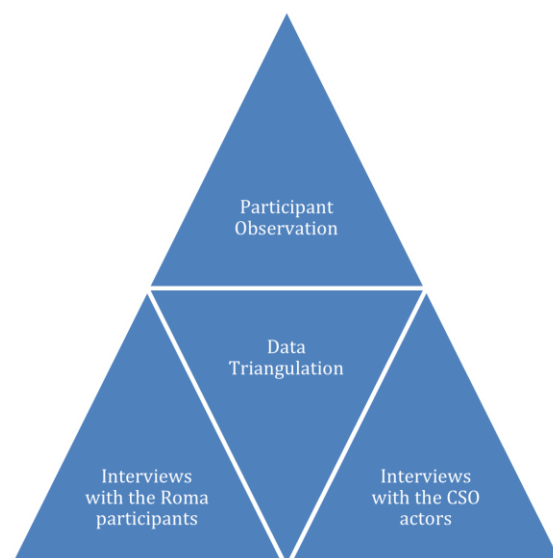
Initial 12 Roma participants declined the voice record request of the interviews as they wanted to be strictly anonymous. 3 Roma participants I interviewed afterwards were willing to consent to a voice record as well. All the interviews with the Roma representatives were conducted in Romanian and translated to English. Both the translator and I took notes, and I merged them. Interviews with the CSO Representatives were held in English, and I obtained voice record consent; I transcribed those interviews verbatim.

I used NVivo 12 to analyse the interviews and coded with the deductive approach. I used what Gibbs says "parent ", "children ", "sibling" codes to create general and subcodes (2007, p. 74) (See Annex

9.4.1 and 9.4.2). Eventually, general codes emerged to nine themes presented in the Chapter 6. According to Saldaña, "coding is not a precise science; it is primarily an interpretive act." (2013, p. 4). Yet I tried to mitigate the "not a precise science" part of it by being meticulous with coding (Ibid.). I coded the interviews sentence by sentence and even word by word; as Charmaz (2006) says, this approach reduces the chance of "imputing your motives, fears, or unresolved personal issues to your respondents and to your collected data" (p. 84). I also used the Word Count function of the NVivo 12 to have a snapshot of the interviews (See Annex 9.4.3).

Participant observation contributed to the quality of the interviews. For instance, I've observed a participant arguing about his begging spot with another participant and a mediation meeting the community centre worker held before my interview with him. He identified the hate crime as "stealing one's begging spot" (Participant, 3.) at first. Knowing why he is aggravated due to the specific subject help me to "seeing the unseen" (Patton, 2015, p. 504). On another note, I was surprised to hear many Roma participants said they had not been victims of a hate crime in Romania. Because it was the opposite of the many studies, I have done a literature review about the hate crimes against the Roma in Romania. I asked CSO Representatives about what they think about this finding. A few of them said the participants are living a sheltered life in Romania. They often live in all-Roma and areas in the rural side. They do not engage with Romanian society and authorities unless they have to. Later on, I asked participants, and they confirmed what CSO Representatives suggested. Thus, I used semi-structured interviews with the participants and CSO Representatives. CSO Representatives have been working with the Roma participants for a long time. I included my participant observation to triangulate the data and increase the validity (See Figure 7).

**Figure 7:** Data Triangulation (Figure inspired by Carugi, 2014, p. 71)



#### **5.4 Delimitations and Constraints**

COVID-19 pandemic resulted in travel restrictions across the globe and within the EU countries. Travel restrictions caused many Roma to be stuck in a country of transit or denied access altogether. This resulted in a challenge to reach Roma participants as the number of Roma was decreased in Malmö. This challenge is partially mitigated by including participant observation in the data collection methods.

All the interviews were conducted with Roma participants from Romania. Their mother tongue is Romani, and they speak Romanian as well. A few participants said they are having difficulty explaining their feelings and thoughts in Romanian as it is not their mother tongue. Romanian to English translators also supported their statement, saying some participants used a very simple vocabulary and formed basic sentences. Expressing thoughts and feelings in a second language is not efficient as when using a mother tongue (Bryman, 2012). Thus, it is safe to assume that the language barrier did affect the study. I have tried to find a translator speaking both Romani and English, but I could not. Many published studies conducted with the Roma community speak Romani is done in Romanian instead of Romani due to lack of resources; language is a common barrier with the studies targeting Roma groups.

All participants were willing to join interviews with the condition of keeping it not more than 20 mins. All the participants who refused to join said they are worried someone else will take their begging spot if they are late or people will not donate money while they are being interviewed. To mitigate this challenge, I started to interview a few people in their begging spots. I worked with two translators, one asking the questions and the other simultaneously providing translation to me.

#### **5.5 Ethical Considerations, Positionality and Power**

There were two incidents where I could not follow the ideal practice to conduct the semi-structured interviews. In the first phase, two female participants insisted on joining in the interview together, and they take turn answering the questions. There is a high possibility they affected each other's answers. They are both listed individually in Annex 9.5. A similar incident happened where a female participant requested for her husband to join in the interview. The participant's husband remained silent throughout the interview. He only spoke to support the participant when she was talking about her experiences with the Swedish authorities. That interviewed is listed as one individual in Annex 9.5. A trade-off has been made between best practices and the participant's well-being or even having a chance to interview in these two incidents.

Roma participants were not particularly interested in the academic research I was conducting. The majority of them gave their consent with the motivation to help a student to finish her studies. Also, even though my research is focused on hate crime, participants were keener to discuss their basic needs. Basic needs are very relevant to the hate crime phenomena this study focuses on. Still, I often had to focus on the daily hate crime incidents and reporting mechanisms where the participants were more interested in discussing basic needs. A similar incident occurred when some of the participants were disclosing sexual abuse they go through due to their living and working conditions. As a social worker and a humanitarian aid worker, it was a challenging task for me to continue to be a researcher and keep the focus on the study, hate crimes. I kept listening and realised the participants already know all the available support they can receive on the subject, so it made the task of shift our focus to the next question of the interview easier for me. These incidents made me reflect on "who is autonomous and who is vulnerable" (Ragin and Amoroso, 2011, p. 93). I started to question if my thesis is indeed just for me to have a degree as the Roma participants approach or if it could have the slightest effect on their lives by increasing the readers' understanding.

## **6. Findings and Discussion**

I present the findings and discussion based on the research purpose and research questions while referring to the theoretical framework in this chapter.

### **6.1 Conceptualisation of the hate crime: What is it? Why does it happen?**

Initially, I planned to present the findings of the definition and reasoning of the hate crime incidents according to Roma participants as two different headlines. After spending a long time analysing the findings and structure, I realised findings are intertwined because the definition of the hate crime is also the motive, therefore the reason behind the perpetrator's act of committing the hate crime. Moreover, this structure provides a clearer understanding of the conceptualisation of hate crime incidents by the Roma participants by merging both the definition and motive of the hate crime incidents.

The majority of the participants defined a hate crime as an act that could be committed because of the victim's ethnicity, religion, and sexual orientation. However, none of the participants experienced a hate crime based on their religion or sexual orientation; therefore, the interview focused on the following themes (See Table 1).

**Table 1:** Research Purpose, RQ -1 and Themes

Research Purpose	Research Question -1	Themes	References from the Literature Review and Theoretical Framework
<p>Understanding the conceptualisation of the hate crime of the interviewed EU citizens of Roma descent in Malmö, Sweden</p>	<p>What is a hate crime, and why does it happen?</p>	<p>Ethnicity</p>	<p>Stigmatised and marginalised and social hierarchies (Perry, 2001)</p> <p>Easy targets (Kidd and Witten, 2008)</p> <p>Target Attractiveness (Cohen et al., 1981)</p> <p>Swedish Criminal Code</p>
		<p>Work and Living Conditions</p>	<p>Social hierarchies and doing difference (Perry, 2001)</p> <p>Guardianship, Exposure, Proximity and Target attractiveness (Cohen and Felson, 1979)</p> <p>Critics to LRAT, Guardianship, Living and working conditions (Clarke, 1997, cited in Brunet, 2002; Garofalo cited in Maxfield, 2014)</p> <p>Swedish Criminal Code</p>
		<p>Inefficient implementation of laws and procedures</p>	<p>Easy targets (Kidd and Witten, 2008)</p> <p>Target attractiveness, Guardianship and Definitional properties of specific crimes (Cohen and Felson, 1979).</p> <p>Access to justice and socio-economic situation (Gomes 2017)</p>
		<p>Lack of communication and understanding</p>	<p>Definitional properties of specific crimes (Cohen and Felson, 1979)</p>
		<p>The gap between the definition and the incident telling</p>	<p>Understanding of the (Vinck et al., 2007)</p>



### 6.1.1 Ethnicity

The majority of the Roma participants define the hate crime in line with the Swedish laws by defining the hate crime incidents as an act targeting their ethnicity, being a Roma. Thus, the police, policymakers, and the Roma participants share a common definition of the hate crime act itself per Swedish laws (See Legal Background).

According to participants, what *gives away* their ethnicity to the perpetrators, is their clothing style, especially women wearing long skirts and headscarves, their skin and hair colours, darker comparing to an ethnic Swede and their livelihood resources, begging, selling Faktum, collecting recyclables. Roma participants are often verbally abused by being yelled at *gypsy* with aggressive hand gestures and physical violence from the perpetrator at times.

Roma is historically marginalised and stigmatised worldwide, including in Sweden (See Chapter 2.1 Roma in Sweden). The word *gypsy* is used as a slur by the perpetrators. Roma participants perceive the reason for the perpetrators' aggression based on their ethnicity due to racial slurs. Many compared themselves with Swedes or Swede looking beggars where they do not subject to racial slurs while the participants are.

Participants definition and reasoning of the ethnicity is in line with Perry's definition of hate crime victims being "marginalised and stigmatised" (2001, p. 3). "Because Swedish people don't want us to be here. Because of our race, because we are gypsy, we are Roma. " (Participant 4). The participants believe perpetrators see them as inferior because they are Roma, and they are used to treat Roma people as they do. Another perception that matches Perry's definition is that Roma participants believe they somewhat ignore a social "hierarchy" and show an *audacity* (Perry, 2001, p. 3) by existing in Malmö. A few of the Roma participants said when they greet someone in Swedish by calling them "*Hej hej!*" to make themselves visible to potential donors, perpetrators become more aggravated and shouting at them, "How dare you to speak to me, you gypsy!" (Participant 11). According to Roma participants, some of the perpetrators commits a hate crime because they feel anger towards the Roma, daring to speak to them as if they were equals. Even greeting becomes dangerous when your ethnicity is perceived as inferior by the potential perpetrator.

Another reason for being targeted based on ethnicity, according to Roma participants, is that they are perceived as "easy targets" (Kidd and Witten, 2008, p. 49). Because they are a member of an inferior ethnicity, according to the perpetrator, Roma participants assert that they are being targeted because the perpetrator thinks they cannot defend themselves or complain.

According to Roma participants, they are "marginalised and stigmatised" due to their ethnicity, leading them to break a social "hierarchy" and become *audacious* by being present in Malmö (Perry, 2001, p. 3). Their ethnicity is also perceived as "easy targets", which increases their "target attractiveness" (Kidd and Witten, 2008, p. 49; Cohen et al., 1981. p.507).

### 6.1.2 Working and Living Conditions

Participants expressed that the reason for their victimisation is their livelihood sources, mainly begging and living conditions, being homeless. The reasoning of the hate crime by most of the Roma participants is similar to Perry's understanding of social "hierarchy" and "doing difference" (Perry, 2001, p. 3). According to the Roma participants, perpetrators believe that the Roma participants do not belong to Malmö, Sweden. Because begging is an unacceptable form of livelihood according to the perpetrator. Therefore, the participants are breaking a code of social hierarchy by existing in a developed country that eradicated poverty a long time ago. They are begging, which is an illustration of poverty. Some of the participants even claimed that if they were not begging, they would not be the victim of a hate crime for solely being a Roma. "They hate begging more than our race, I think, because when I beg, that is when they attack me more. When I'm not begging, they do not hit me. They just yell at me." (Participant 11). "If I was dressed like you and had a job, they wouldn't hit me. Maybe they would still yell at me like: *'Go home, gypsy!'* . But I don't think they would hit me." (Participant 4).

I think that actually the best solution would be if they integrated in the society and had a job, a place to live, and that would probably reduce the amount of hate crimes to a very high extent, because they are vulnerable. [...] Because they don't have a place to live. [...] They are out there right in the street and are vulnerable to basically every person who passes by, so the socio-economic issues are the most important in combating hate crimes. (Participant 17)

Roma participants state that they are being subjected to hate crime during begging more than at any other time of their lives. As they do spend most of their time in Malmö on the streets, living and working, this is a major issue for them, leading to hate crime victimisation. A few of the participants even claim that working and living conditions are a more significant motive than ethnicity when it comes to being victims of a hate crime.

According to LRAT, *exposure, proximity, target attractiveness, and guardianship* affect victimisation (Cohen, Kluegel, and Land, 1981) (See Chapter 4.1.3 LRAT). Roma participants are *exposed* to potential

perpetrators during their stay in Malmö. They beg in front of market chains and busy shops to engage with potential donors, resulting in increased engagement with the potential perpetrators. All the hate crime incidents participants exposed were in close *proximity*. They do not have a privacy of a home or a workspace. Working on the streets and sleeping in the outdoor parks results in potential perpetrators and victims in the same space. *Guardianship* is a factor almost all the participants stated as well. Many said they choose their begging spot close to surveillance cameras. If someone threatens them, they raise their voice to attract witnesses as well as keeping their phones charged, ready to record if needed. All these prevention and reaction methods aim to increase *guardianship* and decrease hate crime victimisation. However, decreasing proximity and exposure is not viable as long as the Roma participants live and work in the streets. Which resonates with the critics to LRAT regarding the guardianship, living and working conditions (Clarke, 1997, cited in Brunet, 2002; Garofalo cited in Maxfield, 2014) (See Chapter 4.1.4).

Like the previous quote, a participant who defines hate crime incidents endures as people "picking a fight" with him due to his race and livelihood source. The participant has experience with begging, collecting recyclables and selling Faktum:

I used to make more money when I was begging, collecting and recycling bottles. But I prefer to sell Faktum even though it is less money because then people don't try to fight with me like they did when I was begging, or they don't run away or stare at me as they do when I am collecting bottles. It's not a big difference still, but it is better this way for me. I still collect bottles in the morning, and then I sell Faktum afternoons.

(Participant 15)

As the participant said, begging increases *target attractiveness* comparing to collecting bottles for recycling or selling Faktum. Participants sit four to eight hours at the same place to beg while collecting recyclables and selling Faktum is required for participants to be more active. They have to walk around the city all day. Roma participants claim that selling Faktum and collecting recycles means being active and perceived as a form of work. Whilst begging is passive and perceived as *laziness* by the perpetrators, as beggars are perceived as lazy, *target attractiveness* increases.

One participant described the hate crime as another beggar trying to take away his begging spot, which is not in line with the legal definition (See Chapter 2.2 Legal Background). Covering basic needs is the main priority for the Roma participants (See Chapter 6.2.1 Time and Basic Needs). The said participant had been worried to lose their livelihood source at the time of the interview; therefore,

the participant answered all the questions relevant to the very recent problem he is experiencing, which is working conditions.

Begging and being homeless is not a motive for hate crime victimisation stated in the Swedish law explicitly. Although, as lawyer CSO Representatives stressed, "another similar circumstance" (Swedish Criminal Code) (See Chapter 2.2 Legal Background) part of the law is there to be interpreted for begging, homelessness, living in poverty and any other grounds by the Swedish authorities. And it is not supposed to invalidate the claims of the victims ideally. However, mishaps take place when a Swedish authority is not trained about the law.

According to Roma participants, the second primary reason for them to be hate crime victims is their living and working conditions. First of all, by begging and being homeless in a developed country, they threaten "social hierarchy" and "doing difference" (Perry, 2001, p.3). Increased *exposure, proximity, target attractiveness and decreased guardianship* is a result of being homeless and begging (Cohen, Kluegel, and Land, 1981). Even though Roma participants developed strategies such as begging in front of a surveillance camera or keeping their phones charged for recording a potential perpetrator to increase the *guardianship*, due to their working and living conditions, it is not possible to decrease the *exposure, proximity and target attractiveness*. (Ibid.)

### **6.1.3 Inefficient Implementation of Laws and Procedures**

Many Roma participants believe they have high *target attractiveness* because there is a lack of *guardianship* as "No one cares what happens to a gypsy." (Participant 1), in Malmö, Sweden. Implementation of the laws and the authorities' behaviour is one of the most potent *guardianship* domains, especially in a developed country such as Sweden. Furthermore, this type of guardianship is essential when it comes to the case of the Roma participants and their victimisation of hate crime.

According to Gomes (2017), the lower the victim's socio-economic state, their access to justice chance lowers. One of the reasons is the inefficient implementation of laws and procedures. Therefore, it might be a rational decision for the perpetrator to commit a crime against a homeless beggar. Yet, their chance of reporting a crime or accessing justice is usually challenging.

Roma participants state that they are perceived as "easy targets" due to inefficient implementation of laws and procedures on hate crime (Kidd and Witten, 2008, p. 49). Their criteria to decide the efficiency of the laws and procedures on hate crime is the attitude of the police towards the Roma, hate speech of the politicians towards Roma without a legal consequence. In addition, the hate crime

investigations take up to three years without receiving any update from the police officers handling the case.

Roma and CSO Representative participants address that all these factors create an image of the Roma as an *easy target* which increases the target attractiveness of the Roma decreases the *guardianship*.

#### **6.1.4 Lack of Communication and Understanding**

Roma participants believe that the perpetrators of the hate crime have a lack of understanding of the Roma. Moreover, they believe there would be fewer hate crimes if it were not for the lack of communication and understanding.

I want people to see a day in my life, in our life. I want them to see how our life in Romania is. Why we choose to come here and endure their insults, kicks, punches, spits every day. I want them to see how we feel after what they did to us. I want them to know if we had any other way, we wouldn't leave our families and sleep on the streets. [she starts to cry]. I want to give them the money they think I have. I want to take hate from their hearts. I want them to see what happens when a gypsy asks for a job in Romania or just walk at the street. I want to ask why do you hate me? What did I do to you? I just sit here and beg; I do nothing to hurt you. Why are you hating? I want them to take my place for a day. Like a roleplay so maybe they can see it's not just them in a day hurting me? Maybe they understand how it feels when people spit at you, tries to buy sex from you every day, insisting, kicking, punching you. Maybe then they will understand how bad it is to treat other people like that. (Participant 11)

I think if people could see my life, they wouldn't treat me this way. They don't know my culture. I went to school for 2 years then I started to work. I got married when I was 15 and I had a child when I was 16 years old. I had to take care of my wife and children when I was a child myself. I didn't have a chance to go to school. Maybe in your culture it is a shameful thing to marry that young and it is the opposite in mine. So maybe it is hard for you to imagine my life. I see people in Sweden, they decide to have a child when they are 50 years old or whenever they want. They go to schools, they learn languages and they get a proper job, they save money. Neither me nor my wife went to school, and we live with our parents still. Swedish people see the big difference between them and us, but they don't understand it. Maybe things would

be different if they understand but I don't know maybe not, it's just how it is.

(Participant 15)

Roma participants believe the host community, Swedes, are focused on their ethnicity, working and living conditions and make assumptions accordingly. Participants believe that if there was a chance to communicate and explain their lifestyle, the choices they had to make and even a chance to have a roleplay, there would be less hate crime in Malmö, Sweden, towards Roma. On the other hand, Roma participants believe that they are more perceptive towards the lifestyle of the Swedes. They perceive Sweden as where education levels are higher, and unemployment rates are lower compares to their country of origin, Romania. Another point is the false belief of the host community has about the Roma participants that they have a lot of money, and they do not really need to beg. This type of belief results in aggression towards the participants. It has its roots in a lack of understanding and communication. Roma participants believe that if people were aware of their financial situation, they would be more understanding and less aggressive. Some participants believe hate crime perpetrators are simply ignorant and do not have enough life experience to understand the participants' lives.

Lack of understanding and communication leads to *definitional properties of specific crimes* being low in the case of Roma participants. Consequently, it increases the hate crime victimization risk.

#### **6.1.5 The Gap between the Definition, Reasoning and the Hate Crime Incident Sharing**

Many of the participants provided a legal definition. They said they had not been victims of the hate crime at first. Then, later on, during another question, they casually shared the hate crime incidents they experienced as victims and referred to the incident as a hate crime. When participants asked why they did not share this incident when asked previously, most of them said their experience (verbal harassments: "Go home, gypsy! ", kicking the cup they are begging with or spitting at it) was "not serious enough" (Participants 4, 6, 9, 10, 15) to share. Thus, there is a pattern of having a gap between the definition and incident sharing among the participants. Here are the quotes from two CSO representatives regarding the possible reasons for this gap:

They don't feel that it's important enough. They have much more urgent problems than the hate crime that is committed against them, which they are used to. Most of the Roma, people are used to being discriminated or used to being exposed to crime. And if it's not a violent crime or it's not threatening their children or something, that's

what they see is very, very serious crimes. You know, if it's just somebody spitting on them or kicking their cup, they can handle it. You know? (Participant 20)

I think also that this group is very accustomed to abuse, in different ways of use. So, it has become kind of part of their daily life, something they have to deal with and something that they don't necessarily identify as a hate crime or at least something that they identify as a normality that they just have to live with. I think that's part of the explanation and it's very sad one, but I think that is part of it. (Participant 18)

I interpret this gap as the Roma participants do not believe sharing every *little* incident would serve any purpose as they endure those *little* incidents daily. It sounds redundant to share part of your daily life. Therefore, only the more violent, *serious* incidents are worth sharing as the rest is a common experience within the community travels to Malmö.

Years of marginalisation and daily abuse shaped the understanding of the peace of the Roma participants (Vinck et al., 2007). Consequently, the conceptualisation of the hate crime of the Roma participants has been constructed accordingly. Even though almost all of the Roma participants defined the hate crime in line with the Swedish laws and textbooks, when it comes to hate crime incident sharing, only the serious physical violence cases surface as the rest is a part of the everyday life of a Roma participant.

## 6.2 Reasons for not Reporting

The main reason for not reporting a hate crime for the Roma participants is that they decide the cost of reporting is higher than the benefits (Felson et al., 2002) (See Table 2).

**Table 2:** Research Purpose, RQ -2 and Themes

Research Purpose	Research Question -2	Themes	References from the Literature Review and Theoretical Framework
Understanding the underreporting of the EU citizens of Roma descent in Malmö, Sweden	Reasons for not reporting	Time and Basic Needs	Protection and Opportunity Cost (Felson et al., 2002)
		Not trusting to police and authorities	Victim engaging in illegal activities (Black, 1983, cited in Felson et al., 2002)  Legitimacy (Meares, 2009)  Negative experiences with authorities (Fisher, 2014)  The desire for retribution (Felson et al., 2002)  Fear of retaliation (Felson et al., 2002)
		Not connected to Swedish society	Protect other people and Protect the offender (Felson et al., 2002).
		Feeling sympathy for the perpetrator	Protecting the offender (Felson et al., 2002).



### 6.2.1 Time and Basic Needs

Time was a recurring theme throughout the interviews with the Roma participants (See Chapter 5.4). All the participants were keen to finalise the interview and go back to work to earn money. Anything but covering their basic needs and working in Sweden is seen as counterintuitive for the Roma participants because the main goal is to earn enough money and go back to their families at home in Romania.

Complaining about a hate crime incident costs time; time not being spent to work means loss of income and jeopardizing the basic needs for the Roma participants. Thus, participants often choose not to complain. All the participants who reported a hate crime incident to police were subjected to serious physical violence (beating with a baseball bat, punching several times etc.). When asked why they report serious physical violence incidents and not others, participants said that serious physical violence might cause them to stop working and not earn enough money for their families.

Another possible outcome of reporting a hate crime is having to stay in Sweden more than they planned and spending less time with their families at home. A few quotes explaining their point of view: "No, I haven't filed any complaint. I will file a complaint if someone hurts me really bad, physically." (Participant 7). "We should report the crimes. But we do not have time or energy for that; we are trying to make a living and send money to home, Romania. " (Participant 6). "That is when we decided to complain to the police because if he hurts us physically, how can we work? Then my children in Romania will stay hungry." (Participant 4)

*Protection* from "immediate crisis" is one of the few times participants decides to report hate crime incidents, i.e., being subjected to severe physical harm (Gottfredson and Gottfredson, 1987, cited in Felson et al., 2002, p. 619). Participants explained this course of action as the need to survive and ensure their families at home survives. This finding aligns with Cost-benefit Theory's argument that the most significant incentive to report is *protection* (Ibid.).

Therefore, one of the main reasons for not reporting is the majority of the hate crimes participants endure is not physical or not *serious enough physical* to report to the police and the *opportunity cost* as participants stressed, they do not have time or energy to report crimes as it happens almost on a daily basis.

The main goal of the Roma participants is to access basic needs and earn enough income to provide for their families at home in Romania. Complaining about a hate crime takes time and energy, an *opportunity cost*. An individual struggling to access basic needs such as food and shelter needs to

preserve their time and energy to meet their daily needs. An exception to report a hate crime is when there is a *protection* incentive from an *immediate crisis* rose. Moreover, protection cost is still connected to the rational decision of being able to work and meet the basic needs; thus, fearing to sustain serious physical injuries is a strong incentive. Because the participants suffer from serious physical injuries, they will not be able to work and provide for themselves and their families.

### 6.2.2 Not Trusting to Police and Authorities

Another reason for not reporting is the low trust levels of Roma participants towards authorities, including the police. There is a specific case where interviewed CSO Representatives believe it was a turning point for trusting relationships between the Roma participants and authorities in Malmö. One of the Roma representatives known well by the participants was subjected to a hate crime and filed a complaint. After police investigated it and collected evidence for more than a year, the prosecutor rejected the case. Rejection of the case caused disappointment within the Roma community. They shared their disappointment with the CSO representatives interviewed in this study. CSO`s decided to take the matter to the media and talked to a journalist about the process (Kaya, 2020). Once the journalist called the prosecutor who rejected the case, the prosecutor said she would reopen the case and did not comment why she rejected the case at the first place and why she is considering reopening it. This incident somewhat confirmed the belief of the Roma participants that "no one cares what happens to a gypsy" (Participant 1), including the authorities in Malmö, Sweden.

When it comes to the Roma participants, it is essential to note that there is a low trust towards authorities going centuries back (See Chapter 2.1 Roma in Sweden). Therefore, trust is hard to come and easy lose when communicating with them:

And they know bad things happen in contact with the police. But everything changed when the prosecutor, when everybody was waiting from behind, you know, we had three people who complained about the same perpetrator in this case, and they were waiting, but the others in the background, they were waiting to see the results. And we knew that if the results are good, people will come out with real situations. They don't have the guts and they don't have the time and patience to go and go on and work on which they know that it's not worth it. So, they waited the moment when the cases were closed, everything changed the whole trust window. It was very hard for us. It was a turning point there. So, you see, as a small thing, as a case can change your whole community. It is easy to the untrust, which they live for several centuries with. It's very easy to go back there. It's somehow a security place. (Participant 19)

Trust is fragile between the Roma participants and authorities in Sweden. As the Roma participants are strongly tied community, a negative experience of one of the participants is known by the rest of the community. Therefore, when an individual complains, there is a whole community waiting to see if they could trust authorities or not based on that individual's experience with accessing justice. In this case, trust is damaged, possibly making it harder for the rest of the community to file a complaint as hate crime victims.

Almost all the participants are sleeping in the parks, and that is not allowed per Swedish Criminal Code (See Chapter 2.2 Legal Background). Therefore, they interact with the police regularly at night. The cost of the *victim engaging in illegal activities* suggests that if a victim is engaged in illegal activities, they are less willing to contact a police officer and report a crime. Some participants expressed only unpleasant experiences with the police, while some said they do encounter good and bad police behaviour in Malmö, Sweden:

It depends on the police officers. Some of them are nice. They just do their job and tell us we cannot camp there, it is against the law, and we need to take our stuff and leave. Some of them are very aggressive. They took all of my luggage and threw it away. One of them, he took my shoes and threw them to the middle of the road. I can walk only slowly, and they laughed at me when I was trying to find my shoe back. (Participant 15)

I would like to add that the police in Malmö are mistreating us during the nights. For example, when we sleep in the park, they come and wake us up. They are very rude to us; they scream at us: "*No sleep, no camping, no relaxing!*", "*Five minutes, go!*". When I wake up from sleep in the middle of the night and try to get my stuff together, it is very stressful. I feel dizzy, and several policemen are putting the flashlight in your face and shouting, "*Five minutes, go!*". Sometimes when we are packing our stuff, they laugh at us because we panic and drop something to the floor. It is not nice. They honk and put the flashlights to our eyes while yelling and laughing at us. We feel degraded like we are not human beings. (Participant 12)

The participants' experiences with the Swedish police and the prosecutors shapes their perception of authorities in Sweden. *A desire for retribution or justice* is a crucial incentive for participants to report. However, it requires a "legitimate" police and authority perception for participants to report the crime (Meares, 2009, p. 665). As Fisher said, the "more cynical and less trusting" participants tend not to believe that retribution and justice will be maintained (2014, p.1). Therefore, there is a trade-off

between the desire for retribution or justice and legitimacy. According to the participants, there is a lack of legitimacy due to bad police behaviour and no convictions; thus, they do not report.

Tied to not seeing any convictions for the perpetrators, Roma participants said if they would report a hate crime incident, the perpetrator could quickly locate them as they live and work on the streets and *retaliate* against them (Felson et al., 2002, p. 621). Since they do not see the authorities as *legitimate*, they are worried to report. As a Roma participant said: "I'm old and slow I can't do anything about it." (Participant 14). Participants feel desperate and do not believe they can protect themselves or authorities in Malmö can provide protection to them from retaliation.

None of the Roma participants has an official address registered in Sweden as they are homeless. They are unwilling to share their phone numbers with the police due to a lack of trust, and they do not have an email address. They are often in Sweden for a few months and travel back home until they spend the money earned in Sweden. Sometimes they change their begging spots around Malmö. Overall, there is a tendency to choose not to contact the police unless they must. Once a hate crime complaint is filed, police often need to do a follow-up call or interview with the victim. According to CSO representative participants, since the Roma participants are unwilling to contact the police often or are not living in Sweden, complaints coming from Roma participants are harder to investigate for the police. Because the police cannot follow up on the reported incidents of hate crimes with the victims, another issue stressed by the CSO representatives is that they are following up on cases where the victim complained two years ago. However, there is still no update about the complaint. Two years of investigation without any updates is another factor causing a lack of trust in authorities among the Roma participants.

*The legitimacy* of to police and authorities is an essential requirement when reporting any type of crime. In the case of the marginalised communities such as the Roma participants, it is challenging as trust is fragile due to years of negative experiences they endured collectively and prevents the *desire for retribution* incentive to kick in. Roma participants are sleeping in parks as they are homeless, and it is illegal in Malmö to sleep in the parks. Victims engaging in illegal activity and have to contact with police at night, sometimes with bad behaviour. Engaging in illegal activity as a victim is another cost, another reason to not report the hate crime to police and authorities.

### **6.2.3 Not Being Connected to Swedish Society**

All the participants said they do not plan to reside in Sweden permanently. There is a distinction that the Roma participants have made: Swedish society versus us. Therefore, hate crime is somewhat of a

*them* problem rather than *us*. As they are not planning to live in Sweden permanently, they do not feel the responsibility to have an impact on *them*. In other words, they do not see the added value of bettering society as they do not feel part of it. A Swedish CSO representative states:

They know that there are very few convictions and in reality, it's very hard to come to conviction, then that will affect how interested you are bringing a case to court. The other thing is that the reason why you are in Sweden as a migrant is to make money and then time is a resource you don't have, because that's the time you can work. So going to court when the benefits will not be reaped by you, in most cases, it will be reaped in terms of me. I mean, a better society in terms of maybe less hate crime in Sweden that you will not benefit from that because you will, you live in Romania.  
(Participant 21)

All the Roma participants wanted to stay in Romania with their families. None of them plans a life in Sweden, and they go back home every couple of months to see their families. As the Roma participants do not feel connected to Swedish society and hope to stay in Sweden temporarily, they do not want to spend time filing a complaint as they will not experience a direct benefit from this action due to a lack of convictions.

*Protecting other people* surfaces differently than the original definition in the case of the participants (Felson et al., 2002). Almost all the Roma participants have children, and all said they do these jobs so their children can have a better chance than they had. As many of them left their loved ones at home in Romania, protecting them equals earning as much as money in Sweden in the case of the participants. Moreover, spending time and energy on *not so serious* incidents are counter-intuitive to fulfil this purpose. Thus, in the case of the Roma participants in this study, I interpret *protecting other people* as the cost of reporting rather than the incentive as originally listed (Felson et al., 2002). Because Fisher suggests, the victim might feel responsible for other potential victims of the perpetrator and file a report for the *greater good*. Nevertheless, the participants are more interested in their families' *greater good* at home than other potential hate crime victims; they do not necessarily have a bond in Malmö, Sweden. Bearing daily abuse, not losing time and money to report a hate crime means providing better for the families at home.

#### **6.2.4 Feeling Sympathy for the Perpetrator**

Many of the participants' associated hate crime perpetrators with drug and alcohol abuse, mental illnesses, faithlessness. From their point of view, hate crime happens because the perpetrator has

something going wrong in their life, and they feel *sympathy* towards the perpetrator. One of the Roma participants even decided not to file the complaint after police caught the perpetrator:

People were nice, but a racist man came, and he punched me a few times. Other people in the church did not say anything; they just watched. The next day, I saw him on the street again; he was passing by. I took a picture of him and called the police to file a complaint. Police came and detained him in front of [redacted].<sup>5</sup> Then the police asked me: `Do you want to forgive him, or do you want to continue to file a complaint and hurt him?`. His old and disabled mother in a wheelchair was with him. She looked like 70 years old or older. She started to cry and begged us not to hurt him. He promised he would never hurt us again, so we forgave him. (Participant 4)

When Roma participants believe they are in danger of serious physical harm that may cause their income generation, they tend to report hate crime incidents. However, once they believe the possible threat is over, a perpetrator promising never to hurt them again in front of his mother with disability crying, the participant decided not to file the complaint. The decision of not reporting might be affected by multiple reasons in this case, such as considering the opportunity cost (time and basic needs); however, clearly feeling sympathy towards the perpetrator affects the decision-making process to file a report or not.

Participants believed that the perpetrators were troubled either due to alcohol or drug abuse or mental health illnesses such as depression. Therefore, the cost of protecting the offender results in not reporting the incidents.

*Protecting the offender* is observed as the sympathy directed the hate crime offenders by the Roma participant of hate crime victims.

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<sup>5</sup> Location of the incident is redacted to protect the anonymity of the participant.

## 7. Conclusion

This research aims to contribute to our understanding of the conceptualisation and underreporting of the interviewed EU citizens of Roma descent in Malmö, Sweden. Qualitative data collection methods of participant observation and semi-structured interviews held with the EU citizens of Roma descent and CSO Representatives in Malmö, Sweden and Lifestyle Routine Activity Theory and Cost-benefit Theory were utilised to achieve this purpose. Data analysis was conducted via NVivo 12, and 9 themes emerged.

According to the interviewed EU citizens of Roma descent, the study found that the conceptualisation, meaning definition, and reasons of being a victim of a hate crime is mostly in line with Swedish laws. For instance, being subjected to hate crime due to their ethnicity aligns with Swedish laws, whereas living and working conditions, begging and homelessness, are not explicitly listed in the law. Interviews with the CSO Representatives, especially with the lawyers, indicated that the "another similar circumstance" part of the law could be utilised for this purpose by the police and prosecutors (The Swedish Criminal Code). However, training and mainstreaming this interpretation among the police and prosecutors are still needed. Even though there is a consensus when defining the hate crime among the Roma participants, there is a gap when sharing the hate crime incidents. Roma participants only share the hate crime incidents they have suffered physically. As being subjected to hate crime is almost a daily occurrence and *minor* incidents do not threaten their livelihoods, they do not share the minor incidents when asked.

Sleeping and working in the streets cause vulnerability for the Roma participants. Due to their working and living conditions, *exposure* and *proximity* are high at all times during their stay in Sweden. Especially when working, they choose to work in crowded places such as in front of grocery stores or malls to reach the maximum amount of people willing to donate when they are begging. Therefore, they are surrounded by by-passers, potential perpetrators of hate crimes. As proximity and exposure are high, the participants' livelihood and living resources increase their target attractiveness. In addition, their socio-economic situation, perceived vulnerabilities, distrust of police and authorities reduce guardianship, resulting in increased hate crime victimisation.

All the Roma participants' main goal in Malmö, Sweden, is to earn enough money to support their families at home. Therefore, none of them is interested in settling in Sweden. Therefore, all the actions, including reporting a hate crime incident or not, are rationally calculated according to the cost-benefit analysis. Roma participants simply aim to earn the most money possible given the time and go home to their families as soon as possible. Therefore, they do not feel connected to Swedish

society or *bettering* it as they will not be reaping the benefits. Feeling sympathy for the perpetrator is also a significant reason for Roma participants choice of not reporting the accompanied by focusing on their livelihoods.

The *private matter* cost, feeling ashamed to report, is the only element of the Cost-benefit theory I have not associated with the Roma participants decision-making process when it comes to reporting. I believe the reason is that Felson et al., conducted this study initially with the domestic violence victims, and it is not relevant when it comes to hate crime victims of this study (2002).

Sweden is ranking as the second-best country according to SGD`s at the time of this study (Sachs et al., 2021). Nevertheless, all the interviewed EU citizens of Roma descent participants of this study, irregular migrants in Sweden, have difficulties accessing basic needs such as shelter, water, sanitation and hygiene facilities, warm food, and facing hate crimes. Particularly SDG 1 and 10 concerns the subject of this study. At the same time, it is a cross-cutting issue concerning other SDG`s as well (See Annex 9.6). Therefore, it needs improvement from the Swedish Government and other stakeholders.

### **7.1 Future Studies**

The basic needs of the EU citizens of Roma descent in the EU is prevalent. However, few donors target the basic needs of EU citizens of Roma descent in Sweden or improve their livelihood conditions. According to this study, living and working conditions are among the main reasons for hate crime victimisation. Further studies suggested focusing on the possible discrepancies between the mainstream donor agenda and the needs of the EU citizens of Roma descent to improve their living and working situations.

Future studies are advised to include police and prosecutors to understand their perception of the EU citizens of Roma descent. This study concluded a lack of trust by the interviewed EU citizens of Roma descent in Malmö, Sweden, towards police and authorities. A study to understand the perception of the police of EU citizens of Roma descent in Malmö, Sweden, could provide a better understanding of the relationship between the police and the Roma.

Another suggestion is to analyse the reasons for low convictions based on ethnicity, being an EU citizen of Roma descent in Sweden, despite the complaints in Malmö, Sweden. For example, could it be because proving the perpetrator's motive is the victim's obligation or interpretation of "another similar circumstance" of the law is not mainstreamed sufficiently among the police and prosecutors? (Swedish Criminal Code).



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> [Accessed 6 March 2021].

## 9. Annexes

### 9.1 Phase 1 Interview Questions of Roma Participants

Date:		Interviewer:	
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#### 1. Responders:

1.1 Age:

1.2 Gender:

Male

Female

Other

2. In your own words, what is a hate crime?
3. Why do you think people commit a hate crime?
4. How is your experience with hate crime in Romania?
5. What are the differences between hate crimes in Sweden and in Romania?
6. How is your experience with complaining about hate crimes in your country of origin? - Would you consider filing a hate crime case in Romania?
7. What can be done to prevent hate crimes?
8. What is your impression on hate crime/hate speech in Malmö (what is it for you, how common is it and how severe)?
9. What should/could be done to decrease hate crime/speech against Roma migrants in Malmö?
10. Have you had a hate crime or hate speech incident in Malmö?
11. Please describe the incident.
12. Is there anything you would like to add?

## 9.2 Phase 2 Interview Questions of Roma Participants

Date:		Interviewer:	
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### 1. Responders:

9.1 Age:

9.2 Gender:

Male

Female

Other

2. What is a day in your life looks like?

(What do you do when you wake up? How do you arrange your food? Where do you go to use the facilities? Where do you sleep?)

3. How do people treat you in the streets of Malmo?

(Society, police, shop owners, other groups, i.e., other migrant groups.)

4. In your own words, please describe hate crime.

5. Have you ever been subjected to a hate crime? If yes, please describe the incidents. If you filed a complaint, please describe your experience with the filing and processing phase.

6. What are the differences between hate crimes in Sweden and in Romania?

7. What can be done to prevent hate crimes?

### 9.3 Interview Questions of CSO Representatives

Date:		Interviewer:	
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**1. Respondent:**

**1.2 Full Name:**

**1.3 Title:**

**1.4 Age:**

**1.5 Gender:**

Male

Female

Other

**2.**What are the strong sides of the policy and procedures in place to handle the hate crime?

**3.**What could be improved regarding the policy and procedures in place to handle the hate crime?

**4.**What are the challenges to support EU citizens of Roma descent victims of hate crime?

**5.**What do you think is the most significant achievement when supporting the EU citizens of Roma descent victims of hate crime?

**6.**Do you believe Roma migrant victims are reporting all the hate crimes in Sweden, why?

**7.**What could/should be done to decrease hate crime/speech against Roma migrants in Malmö (long-term)?

**8.**Is there anything you would like to add?

## 9.4 NVivo

### 9.4.1 Nodes Part 1

Nodes				
Name	Files	References	Created	
Basic Needs		0	0	DM
Shower and Toilet		3	5	DM
Food		5	13	DM
Shelter, Warmth, Sleep		13	27	DM
Livelihoods		0	0	DM
Other		0	0	DM
Recycle		1	2	DM
Faktum		3	8	DM
Begging		12	34	DM
Hate Crime		0	0	DM
Sweden		0	0	DM
Incidents		0	0	DM
Sexual		2	10	DM
Economical		7	21	DM
Verbal		7	16	DM
Intimidation		7	11	DM
Physical		9	32	DM
Society		12	23	DM
Romania		0	0	DM
Incidents		0	0	DM
Sexual		0	0	DM
Economical		3	4	DM
Intimidation		3	4	DM

## 9.4.2 Nodes Part 2

Nodes				
Name	Files	References	Created B	
Sweden	0	0	DM	
Incidents	0	0	DM	
Economical	7	21	DM	
Intimidation	7	11	DM	
Physical	9	32	DM	
Sexual	2	10	DM	
Verbal	7	16	DM	
Society	11	21	DM	
Sweden vs Romania	13	16	DM	
Language	4	6	DM	
Livelihoods	0	0	DM	
Begging	12	34	DM	
Faktum	3	8	DM	
Other	0	0	DM	
Recycle	1	2	DM	
Police	0	0	DM	
Romania	5	5	DM	
Sweden	10	25	DM	
Quotes	13	53	DM	
Reasons for not reporting	10	17	DM	
Social Life	2	5	DM	
Transportation	2	4	DM	





## 9.5 Participant List

No	Participant Name	Interview Capacity	Interview Domain	Occupation	Gender	Age
1	1	Roma Representative	In person	Begging	Male	36
2	2	Roma Representative	In person	Begging	Female	36
3	3	Roma Representative	In person	Begging	Male	38
4	4	Roma Representative	In person	Begging	Female	52
5	5	Roma Representative	In person	Begging	Female	65
6	6	Roma Representative	In person	Begging	Male	36
7	7	Roma Representative	In person	Begging	Female	62
8	8	Roma Representative	In person	Begging	Male	71
9	9	Roma Representative	In person	Begging Faktum	Male	36

10	10	Roma Representative	In person	Begging	Male	51
11	11	Roma Representative	In person	Begging	Female	23
12	12	Roma Representative	In person	Begging	Female	51
13	13	Roma Representative	In person	Begging	Female	33
14	14	Roma Representative	In person	Begging	Male	55
15	15	Roma Representative	In person	Begging Faktum Recycling	Male	23
16	16	CSO Representative	Online	Lawyer	Female	32
17	17	CSO Representative	Online	Lawyer	Female	27
18	18	CSO Representative	Online	Lawyer	Male	56
19	Albert Dandos	CSO Representative	Online	Consultant Journalist	Male	59

20	Maria Kratz-Larsen	CSO Representative	In person	Social Worker	Female	44
21	Niklas Schmidt	CSO Representative	In person	Project Coordinator	Male	42

## 9.6 SDG's in Relevance to the Study

Table inspired by UN, 2020

Goal	Target	Indicator
SGD 1: End poverty in all its forms everywhere	1.4 By 2030, ensure that all men and women, in particular the poor and the vulnerable, have equal rights to economic resources, as well as access to basic services,	1.4.1 Proportion of population living in households with access to basic services
SDG 10: Reduce inequality within and among countries.	10.3 Ensure equal opportunity and reduce inequalities of outcome, including by eliminating discriminatory laws, policies and practices and promoting appropriate legislation, policies and action in this regard	10.3.1 Proportion of the population reporting having personally felt discriminated against or harassed in the previous 12 months on the basis of a ground of discrimination prohibited under international human rights law preventing the growth of sustainable and inclusive cities.
	10.7: Facilitate orderly, safe, regular and responsible migration and mobility of people	10.7.2 Number of countries with migration policies that facilitate orderly, safe, regular and responsible migration and mobility of people  10.7.3 Number of people who died or disappeared in the process of migration towards an international destination
SDG 6: Ensure availability and	6.2: Achieve access to adequate and equitable sanitation and hygiene all	6.2.1 Proportion of population using (a) safely managed sanitation services

sustainable management of water and sanitation for all		and (b) a hand-washing facility with soap and water
SDG 8: Promote decent work and economic growth	8.5: Achieve full and productive employment and decent work for all women and men, including for young people and persons with disabilities, and equal pay for work of equal value	8.5.1 Average hourly earnings of employees, by sex, age, occupation and persons with disabilities
SDG 11: Make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient, and sustainable	11.1: Ensure access to adequate, safe and affordable housing and basic services and upgrade sums	11.1.1 Proportion of urban population living in slums, informal settlements or inadequate housing