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EU-MIDIS

European Union Minorities and
Discrimination Survey

English

2010



Data in Focus Report **Multiple Discrimination**

European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA)

EU-MIDIS

EUROPEAN UNION MINORITIES AND DISCRIMINATION SURVEY

WHAT is EU-MIDIS?

It is the first European Union-wide survey to ask immigrant and ethnic minority groups about their experiences of discrimination and criminal victimisation in everyday life.

As many incidents of discrimination and victimisation go unreported, and as current data collection on discrimination and victimisation against minority groups is limited in many Member States, EU-MIDIS provides the most comprehensive evidence to date of the extent of discrimination and victimisation against minorities in the EU.

In total – 23,500 immigrant and ethnic minority people were surveyed in face-to-face questionnaire interviews in all 27 Member States of the EU during 2008. A further 5,000 people from the majority population living in the same areas as minorities were interviewed in ten EU Member States to allow for comparisons of results concerning some key questions.

Each interview lasted between 20 minutes and one hour, and asked people a series of detailed questions depending on the extent of their personal experiences of discrimination and victimisation.

Survey Themes

The bulk of survey questions in EU-MIDIS covered the following themes:

- general questions about respondents' perceptions and experiences of discrimination on different grounds in addition to ethnic or immigrant origin – such as age and gender;
- questions about respondents' awareness of their rights with respect to the prohibition of discrimination on the basis of ethnicity or immigrant background, and knowledge about where to make complaints about discriminatory treatment;
- specific questions about respondents' experiences of discrimination because of their minority background in different areas of everyday life – such as looking for work or finding a house or an apartment to rent or buy – including whether they reported experiences of discrimination to any organisation;

- questions about respondents' experiences of being a victim of crime, including whether they considered their victimisation happened partly or completely because of their minority background, and whether they reported victimisation to the police;
- questions on encounters with law enforcement, customs and border control, and whether respondents considered they were victims of discriminatory ethnic profiling practices.

Respondents were asked about their experiences of discrimination and victimisation in the five years and 12 months prior to the survey.

The data reported here focuses on respondents' feelings of being discriminated against in the last 12 months.

Box 1

EU-MIDIS methodology and sampling

Sample

In each Member State between 500 and 1,500 respondents were interviewed face-to-face using a standardised questionnaire.

A minimum of 500 people were interviewed per ethnic minority or immigrant group surveyed in a Member State – for example, 500 Roma respondents or 500 respondents with a Sub-Saharan African background. Between one and three ethnic minority/immigrant groups were surveyed per Member State.

The survey results draw comparisons between Member States where the same groups were surveyed – for example, the EU-MIDIS Data in Focus 1 report looks at the experiences of Roma interviewees in seven Member States.

Interview period:

May - November 2008

Sampling approach:

- 1) Random route sampling with focused enumeration: Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Greece, Estonia, France, Hungary, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia and Spain
- 2) Address-based sampling: Denmark, Germany, Finland and Luxembourg
- 3) Interviewer generated and network sampling: Malta
- 4) Combination of (1) and (3): Ireland, Netherlands, Slovenia, Sweden, and the UK

For more information about EU-MIDIS sampling and methodology, please see the *EU-MIDIS Technical Report: Methodology, sampling and fieldwork* (2009), available at: fra.europa.eu/fraWebsite/attachments/EU-MIDIS_Techn-Report.pdf

DATA IN FOCUS SERIES

This is the **fifth** in a series of EU-MIDIS **Data in Focus** reports that explore specific findings from the survey. EU-MIDIS Data in Focus reports provide only an introductory ‘snapshot’ of the full results from the survey, and are intended to introduce the reader to some core findings in specific fields or with regard to certain minority groups. Previous Data in Focus reports include:

- Data in Focus 1: The Roma
- Data in Focus 2: Muslims
- Data in Focus 3: Rights Awareness and Equality Bodies
- Data in Focus 4: Police Stops and Minorities

A comprehensive EU-MIDIS ‘Main Results Report’ was published in December 2009.

In due course, the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA) intends to make the dataset available from the survey so that anyone can undertake their own analysis of the results.

The current Data in Focus report examines :

- **Respondents’ general perceptions about and experiences of discrimination in their Member State on the basis of a range of grounds for discrimination (‘multiple discrimination’)** – such as gender and age, as well as ethnicity and immigrant background. These findings are compared with results for the majority population that are taken from a Eurobarometer survey conducted in the same year.
- **Respondents’ personal experience of discrimination – as they perceive it – specifically on the basis of their ethnicity or immigrant background**, which is explored in relation to personal characteristics such as gender and age, and socio-economic variables such as employment status.

Defining ‘multiple discrimination’: The term ‘multiple discrimination’ can be understood as meaning discrimination on more than one ground. The concept of multiple discrimination is elaborated further in the section of this report titled ‘Discrimination on Different Grounds’.

All reports and other documentation from the survey are available at:
fra.europa.eu/eu-midis

DATA IN FOCUS REPORT 5

KEY FINDINGS ON MULTIPLE DISCRIMINATION

- Every fourth ethnic minority or immigrant respondent interviewed in EU-MIDIS indicated they had felt discriminated against on at least two of the following grounds in the last 12 months: ethnic or immigrant origin, gender, sexual orientation, age, religion or belief, disability, or for 'other' reasons.
- Comparing EU-MIDIS and Special Eurobarometer 296 results shows that the majority population in EU Member States felt discriminated against less often across a range of grounds than ethnic minority and immigrant persons surveyed in EU-MIDIS. The results therefore suggest that ethnic minority and immigrant groups are generally more vulnerable to multiple discrimination than the majority population in the EU.
- Ethnicity or immigrant origin consistently emerges as the most significant ground for experiencing discrimination among ethnic minorities and immigrants surveyed in EU-MIDIS – more than other grounds such as age or gender.
- EU-MIDIS clearly shows that 'visible' minorities – that is, those who generally look different to the majority population – feel discriminated against more often and across a range of grounds than other minorities. For example, Roma and people of African origin indicate that they experience more discrimination than former Yugoslavians, those with a Russian background, and Central and East Europeans.
- Gender and age are strong predictors of discrimination for certain groups: for example, young ethnic minority/immigrant men tend to report high levels of discriminatory treatment; however, this overall finding differs for certain minority groups surveyed in EU-MIDIS.
- Twice as many ethnic minority/immigrant women compared with ethnic minority/immigrant men indicated that they experienced discrimination on the basis of gender. This indicates that minority women are vulnerable to 'multiple discrimination' on the basis of their ethnicity/immigrant background and their gender.
- Socio-economic disadvantage is a contributing factor to the experience of discrimination: on average, 46% of respondents who experienced what they considered to be discrimination on different grounds were in the lowest income quartile recorded for their EU Member State.
- The majority population in EU Member States generally *perceive* discrimination across a range of grounds as being more widespread than ethnic minority and immigrant respondents in EU-MIDIS do. This also holds true with respect to perception of discrimination on the ground of ethnic and immigrant origin. In contrast, ethnic minority and immigrant respondents in EU-MIDIS indicate that they experience what they consider as discrimination, across a range of grounds, more often than the majority population in Member States.

UNDERSTANDING DISCRIMINATION

Principles of Equal Treatment and Non-Discrimination

The principles of equal treatment and non-discrimination lie at the core of democratic societies. At the level of the European Union these principles are enshrined in primary law as reflected in Article 21 of the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union. According to this article, any discrimination based on grounds such as 'sex, race, colour, ethnic or social origin, genetic features, language, religion or belief, political or any other opinion, membership of a national minority, property, birth, disability, age or sexual orientation' shall be prohibited. Moreover, Article 19 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (Part II 'Non-Discrimination and Citizenship of the Union') gives the Union the competence to combat discrimination on grounds of sex, racial or ethnic origin, religion or belief, disability, age and sexual orientation. At the time of publication (2011), different Directives variously address discrimination across a range of grounds and in different contexts encompassing employment through to goods and services (see Box 2).

Box 2

European Union anti-discrimination legislation

The original Treaty establishing the European Community (1957) contained a provision prohibiting discrimination on the ground of sex in the field of employment. Recent examples of legislation that have added additional grounds of discrimination, and have further developed the ground of discrimination in relation to sex, include:

Directive 2000/43/EC – Racial Equality Directive: establishes a framework against discrimination based on racial or ethnic origin inside and outside the labour market;

Directive 2000/78/EC – Employment Equality Directive: establishes a framework for equal treatment in employment and occupation, and in Article 1 lays down a general framework for combating discrimination on the grounds of religion or belief, disability, age or sexual orientation as regards employment and occupation;

Directive 2004/113/EC – Gender Directive (and Gender Recast Directive 2006/54/EC): establishes a framework for equal treatment between men and women in access to and supply of goods and services.

See European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights and European Court of Human Rights (2011) *A Handbook on European Non-Discrimination Law*.

The European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights has a Multi-Annual Framework that identifies nine general thematic areas for its research activities in the period 2007-2012. One of the nine areas encompasses discrimination across a range of grounds – including sex, race or ethnic origin, religion or belief, disability, age or sexual orientation, and persons belonging to minorities – and specifically refers to 'any combination of these grounds (multiple discrimination)'. In sum, discrimination on more than one ground is highlighted in the Agency's Multi-Annual Framework as an area for data collection with respect to enjoyment of fundamental rights in the EU.

Reference to multiple discrimination in the Agency's work reflects the slow but growing recognition of this phenomenon at the level of European Union law and policy. For example, recital 14 of the Racial Equality Directive refers to 'multiple discrimination', and in the preparatory work of the European Commission for a new Directive prohibiting discrimination on different grounds – commonly referred to as the 'Horizontal Directive' – reference is made to 'the need to tackle multiple discrimination, for example by defining it as discrimination and by providing effective remedies' (which, however, is considered as going beyond the scope of the directive).¹ In addition, the European Commission has commissioned reports² and has funded research on multiple discrimination – such as the 'Genderace' project under the 7th Framework Programme.³

Also, the European Parliament has frequently highlighted the problem of multiple discrimination. In its resolution on the Stockholm Programme, it stressed that 'while EU law and policy makers have adopted an extensive body of law to combat the multiple discrimination suffered by women from minority backgrounds, especially Roma women, no significant progress can be demonstrated'; it therefore called on the EU Member States 'to review the implementation of all policies related to the phenomenon of multiple discrimination'.⁴ The Parliament also stressed that 'older women and older people from ethnic minorities may face multiple discrimination'.⁵

EU-MIDIS presented a user-friendly 'definition' of discrimination that could be understood by interviewees: *'when somebody is treated less favourably than others because of a specific personal feature, such as age, gender or minority background'*.

No specific definition of multiple discrimination was used in the survey.

1 COM (2008) 0426 final, available at: eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=CELEX:52008PC0426:EN:NOT.

2 European Commission (2007) *Tackling Multiple Discrimination: Practices, policies and laws*, Luxembourg: Publications Office, available at: <http://ec.europa.eu/social/main.jsp?catId=738&langId=en&pubId=51&type=2&furtherPubs=no>.

3 For further information, see: http://ec.europa.eu/research/social-sciences/pdf/genderace-brochure_en.pdf.

4 European Parliament resolution of 25 November 2009 on the Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament and the Council – An area of freedom, security and justice serving the citizen – Stockholm Programme, in OJ C 285 E as of 21 October 2010, paragraph 31.

5 European Parliament resolution of 21 February 2008 on the demographic future of Europe, in OJ C 184E as of 6 August 2009, paragraph 44.

This Data in Focus report contributes to the development of knowledge in the EU with respect to the experience of multiple discrimination, which to date is relatively under-researched compared with work addressing discrimination on single grounds.

Discrimination on Different Grounds

The evidence described in previous Data in Focus reports shows that certain minority groups, such as the Roma (Data in Focus Report 1) and respondents with a self-identified Muslim background (Data in Focus Report 2), experience significant levels of discrimination in different areas of everyday life based on their immigrant or ethnic origin, or their religious background. For some groups, such as Muslims, it is difficult to distinguish between experiences of discriminatory treatment on the basis of their ethnicity/immigrant background and/or their religion – as the two are closely intertwined as a reflection of cultural and personal identity.

The current Data in Focus report explores the issue of **multiple discrimination**. The concept recognises the fact that an individual can be discriminated against on more than one ground in any given situation or time. In other words, a person does not only have a minority background, but also a certain age and gender that might add to her or his vulnerability to discrimination. For example, a woman with an ethnic minority background might be affected by discrimination in a different way to a man with the same minority background. Other personal characteristics or circumstances, such as disability or educational background, also impact on one's exposure to and experience of discrimination. It is the adding up and/or combination of different grounds of discrimination that form the substance of what is commonly understood as 'multiple discrimination', and which has been variously addressed by different authors and academic disciplines as 'additive discrimination' or 'compound discrimination', and as 'intersectional discrimination'.

There has been progressive acknowledgement of the role that multiple discrimination can play in people's lives by disciplines such as gender studies, and in some branches of socio-legal research⁶. In contrast, the law has been slow to recognise and respond to the concept of multiple discrimination in practice. The relatively few cases addressing discrimination on more than one ground is evidence of the law lagging behind in this area, and of the limitations imposed on addressing multiple discrimination through the application of the 'comparator' approach in discrimination cases in a number of jurisdictions.⁷

FRA research on multiple discrimination

The FRA has included reference to and analysis of multiple discrimination in some of its work to date, for example in its reports on:

- *Homophobia and Discrimination on Grounds of Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity in the EU Member States: Part II – The Social Situation* (2009), which includes a chapter on multiple discrimination. See: fra.europa.eu/fraWebsite/attachments/FRA_hdgso_report_part2_en.pdf
- *Housing conditions of Roma and Travellers in the European Union* (2009) which includes a brief section on 'Multiple discrimination and housing'. See: fra.europa.eu/fraWebsite/attachments/Roma_Housing_Comparative-final_en.pdf

As a reflection of the need for more concrete research to explore the realities of multiple discrimination, the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights initiated research at the end of 2010 on 'Inequalities and multiple discrimination in access to healthcare'. The project will look at healthcare with respect to the intersection of discrimination in relation to ethnicity, gender and age. The results of this research will offer examples of multiple discrimination as it is experienced in practice, which can serve to inform socio-legal research and policy responses in this field.

For project details see: fra.europa.eu/fraWebsite/research/projects/proj_multiplediscriminationhealthcare_en.htm

Although EU-MIDIS was developed with the primary purpose of looking at discrimination on the single ground of ethnicity or immigrant background, some general questions were also developed to capture discrimination across a range of grounds and with respect to respondents' personal characteristics. However, the nature of the questionnaire instrument means that the results cannot definitively show whether respondents experienced discrimination across a range of grounds at the same time, or as the intersection of various grounds that are difficult to distinguish from each other. What the results do point to is the existence of discrimination on more than one ground in a 12-month period, and on the basis of different personal characteristics that may operate individually or together to exacerbate experiences of discrimination.

The importance of recognising multiple discrimination lies with the fact that it takes into account the complexity of discrimination as it is experienced by some people.

6 Burri, S. and Schiek, D. (2009) *Multiple Discrimination in EU Law: Opportunities for legal responses to intersectional gender discrimination?*, Report by the European Network of Legal Experts in the Field of Gender Equality for the European Commission DG Employment, Social Affairs and Equal Opportunities; Crenshaw, K. (1989) 'Demarginalizing the intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics', in *University of Chicago Legal Reform*, pp.137-167.

7 The 'comparator approach' in discrimination law means that a claimant who says they have been discriminated against will have to demonstrate 'less favourable treatment' by identifying a person outside their 'group' who was treated better as a result of not being a member of the group that the complainant belongs to (group 'being' the ground under which discrimination is claimed – such as age, or gender, or disability). This becomes complex in cases of multiple discrimination as the comparator – the person against whom the complainant should be compared – is unclear, and could theoretically involve several people.

WHAT DID THE SURVEY ASK?

Multiple discrimination – perceptions and experiences

EU-MIDIS asked respondents two questions about discrimination on the grounds of disability, religion or belief, age, sexual orientation, gender, and ethnic or immigrant origin.

- The first question concerned respondents' **perceptions** about the extent to which discrimination, across the range of grounds listed above, is widespread in their country (Question A1, see Box 4).
- The second question explored respondents' personal experiences of discrimination – **with regard to whether they felt discriminated against** – across the same range of grounds in the past 12 months (Question A2, see Box 5). Respondents could indicate whether they had experienced discrimination in the last 12 months on more than one ground – the results of which can be interpreted as an indicator of multiple discrimination.

The results to both of these questions are compared in this report with findings from identical questions that were asked of the majority population in a Special Eurobarometer survey on discrimination (No. 296), which collected data in the same year as EU-MIDIS – 2008.

Discrimination on the ground of ethnic/immigrant origin with respect to respondent characteristics such as gender, age and socio-economic status

The majority of questions in EU-MIDIS asked respondents about their personal experiences of discrimination – according to their feelings of having been discriminated against – across nine areas of everyday life on the basis of a single ground of discrimination – ethnic or immigrant origin. Discrimination was asked about with respect to the following nine areas:

- when looking for work;
- at work;
- when looking for a house or an apartment to rent or buy;
- by healthcare personnel;
- by social service personnel;
- by school personnel;
- at a café, restaurant, bar or club;
- when entering or in a shop;
- when trying to open a bank account or get a loan.

The results to these questions are looked at in this report in relation to respondents' personal characteristics such as gender and age. In this way, the findings can indirectly point to the potential existence of multiple discrimination; for example, when ethnic minority women are reporting higher levels of discrimination than men from the same minority group.

The results in relation to the nine areas of discrimination on the basis of respondents' ethnicity/immigrant background are also examined with respect to respondents' socio-economic position. Three background variables that were collected in the survey are used to create a measure of respondents' socio-economic position to see if the experience of discrimination differs for persons who are materially and socially better off in comparison with those who are socially and economically disadvantaged (see Box 3).

Box 3

Measuring respondents' socio-economic position

Background variables – such as gender, age and years in education – were collected for all EU-MIDIS interviewees. In order to create a proxy for socio-economic position, the following background variables are used in the analysis:

- education in years;
- income level in quartiles;
- employment status at the time of the interview.

The results related to socio-economic position should be interpreted with caution as the variables used have certain limitations.

The education variable is collected as the number of years in education, which poses a problem of interpretation as it does not always correspond to the highest level of education attained. It is potentially problematic in the case of recent arrivals in an EU Member State who might need to study longer to have their qualifications recognised in their host country. In addition, migrant workers are often working in areas that are below their level of qualifications and, as a consequence, have lower incomes than might be expected given their years of education. At the same time the income variable is not comparable between most EU Member States, and can only be used as an indicator relative to available data at Member State level on average incomes. For employed respondents, the survey did not collect data on their occupation, and therefore it is impossible to distinguish between those having 'good' and 'bad' jobs.

SURVEY RESULTS

MULTIPLE DISCRIMINATION

Perception of multiple discrimination

Box 4

EU-MIDIS Question A1 (Special Eurobarometer 296, Question A1): Perceptions about discrimination on different grounds

For each of the following types of discrimination, could you please tell me whether, in your opinion, it is very widespread, fairly widespread, fairly rare, or very rare in your country? Discrimination on the basis of ...

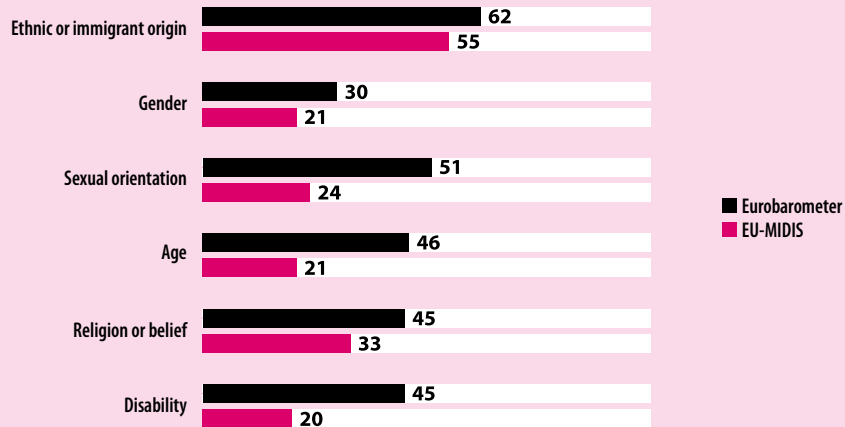
1. ethnic or immigrant origin
2. gender
3. sexual orientation
4. age
5. religion or belief
6. disability

all six grounds asked about. Strikingly, 62% of the general population thought that discrimination on the basis of ethnic origin was widespread in comparison with 55% of ethnic minority and immigrant respondents, and 45% of the majority population in comparison with 33% of minority interviewees considered that discrimination on the basis of religion or belief was widespread. At the same time, 33% of both majority and minority interviewees thought that discrimination on the basis of ethnicity or immigrant origin is 'fairly' or 'very' rare in the EU Member State where they live (not shown in Figure 1).

When comparing perceptions of whether discrimination on the basis of ethnicity or immigrant origin is 'widespread' (Figure 2), there is great variation in the extent to which this form of discrimination is identified as a problem between groups and Member States. For example, whereas in Sweden perceptions are roughly the same between the majority and minority groups surveyed, in the case of Poland the majority population perceives significantly lower levels of discrimination against minorities in comparison with Roma interviewees. These findings warrant further exploration at the Member State level.

Figure 1 shows that in comparison with the minority groups questioned in EU-MIDIS, more respondents from the majority population, who were interviewed for Special Eurobarometer 296, considered discrimination to be *widespread* across

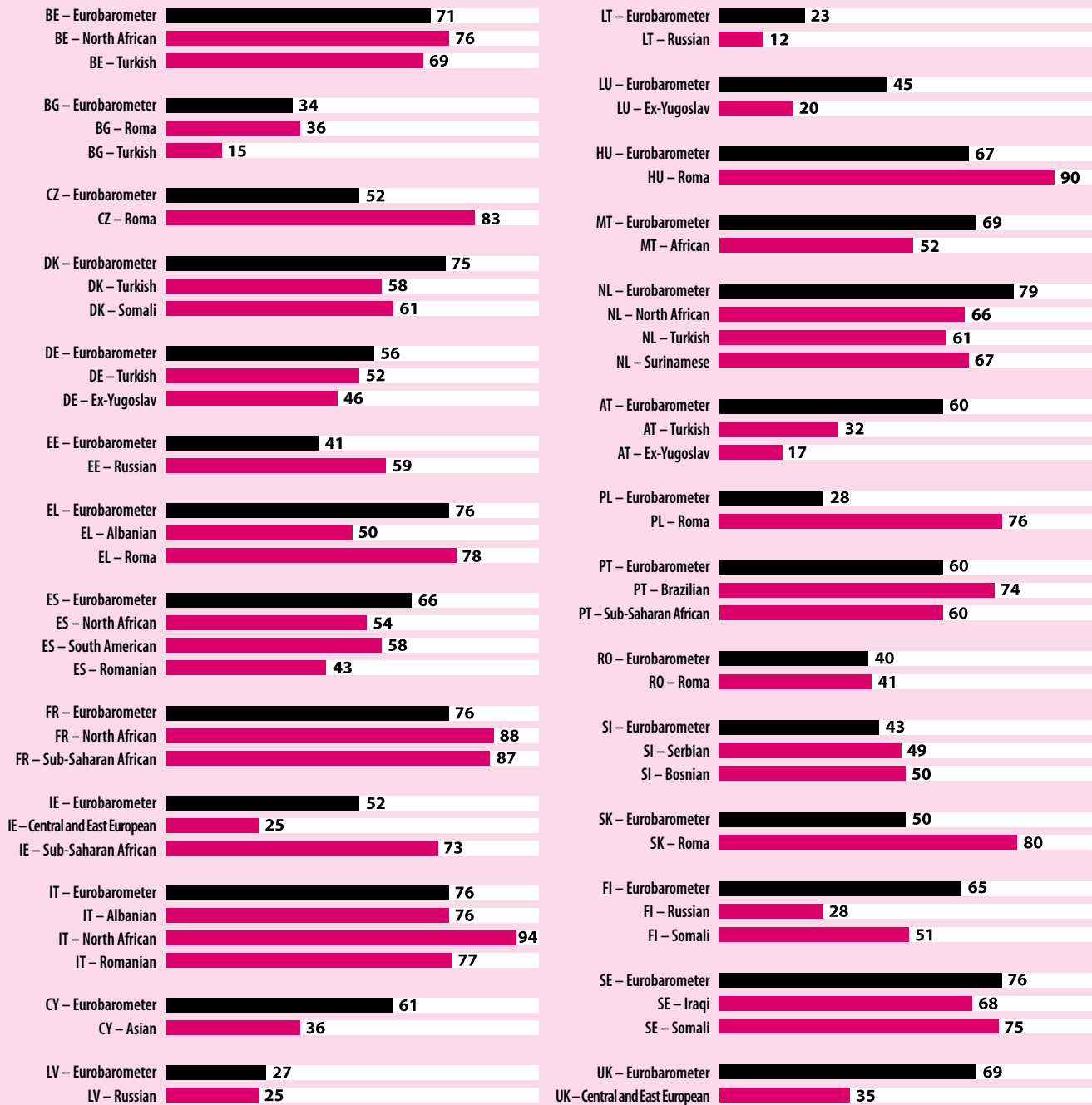
Figure 1
Perception of discrimination as 'very' or 'fairly' widespread, EU-MIDIS and Special Eurobarometer 296, all survey respondents (%)



EU-MIDIS and Special Eurobarometer 296, both question A1 (see Box 4)

Figure 2

Comparison of perception of discrimination based on ethnic or immigrant origin as being 'very' or 'fairly' widespread, EU-MIDIS and Special Eurobarometer 296, all survey respondents (%)



EU-MIDIS and Special Eurobarometer 296, both question A1 (see Box 4)

Perceptions present an important reading of the 'mood' of a country with respect to specific questions, but they should not be read as indicators of realities on the ground. In most cases where people are asked to comment on their perception of the extent of discrimination in their country, they are answering hypothetically in relation to a number of grounds that typically do not apply to them – for example, when asked about discrimination on the basis of ethnicity

the majority population cannot, in most cases, respond from personal experience. In contrast, minority interviewees might be expected to respond with respect to their own or that of their families' or friends' experiences; in this case, it can be assumed that minority respondents only 'speak' for their ethnic or immigrant group rather than that of others who may experience higher or lower levels of discrimination.

Experience of multiple discrimination: based on respondents' personal feelings of having been discriminated against

Findings from EU-MIDIS and comparison with Special Eurobarometer 296

Bearing in mind the limitations of looking at general perceptions to judge the situation regarding discrimination in a country, EU-MIDIS also asked questions about discrimination as respondents themselves felt they had experienced it.

Question A2 in the EU-MIDIS survey asked ethnic minority/immigrant respondents if they had **experienced discrimination** on the basis of different grounds (see Box 5). The same question was asked in the Special Eurobarometer 296 survey on the majority population.

Box 5
EU-MIDIS question A2 (Special Eurobarometer 296, question A3): experiencing discrimination on different grounds

In the past 12 months have you personally felt discriminated against or harassed on the basis of one or more of the following grounds? Please tell me all that apply:

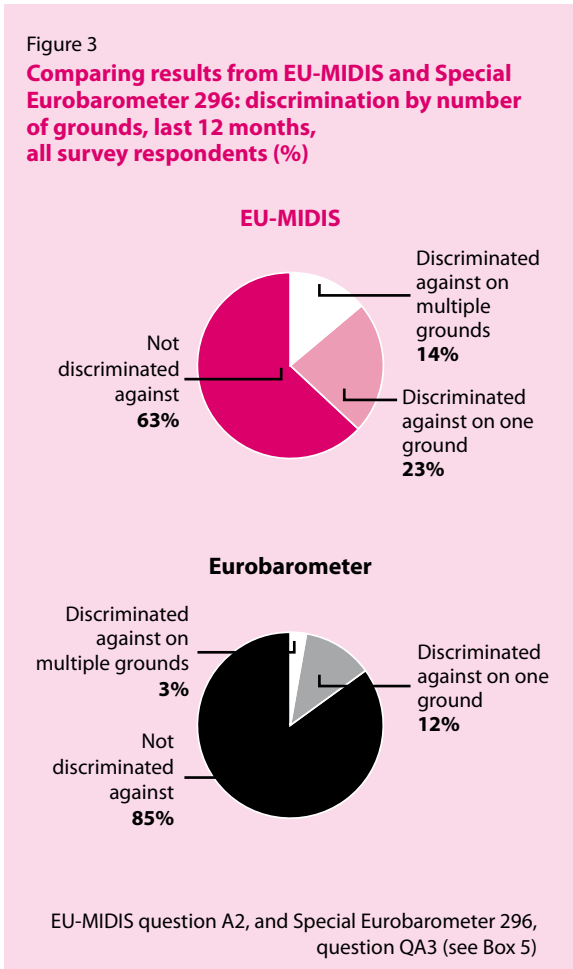
1. ethnic or immigrant origin
2. gender
3. sexual orientation
4. age
5. religion or belief
6. disability
7. another reason

Box 6
Comparing results between EU-MIDIS and Special Eurobarometer 296

By bringing together the results from EU-MIDIS and the data collected through the European Commission's Special Eurobarometer on discrimination (No. 296) – both of which were conducted in 2008 – it is possible to compare experiences of multiple discrimination between the ethnic minority and immigrant groups surveyed in EU-MIDIS and the majority population in the EU-27. In this way, the results can offer some preliminary findings on the extent to which discrimination on a single ground and on more than one ground is more prevalent among minority and immigrant groups in comparison with the majority population.

Although identical questions were asked in EU-MIDIS and Eurobarometer survey 296, it should be noted that the data collection for EU-MIDIS was mainly carried out in urban areas while the Eurobarometer surveys are based on nationwide samples of respondents; therefore the results have to be cautiously interpreted as reflecting the locations where the two surveys were conducted.

For Special Eurobarometer 296 findings, see: http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/ebs/ebs_296_en.pdf



Comparing results from EU-MIDIS and Special Eurobarometer 296 (as shown in Figure 3):

Some 23% of all respondents to EU-MIDIS indicated they had felt discriminated against on a single ground in the last 12 months, whereas 12% of the majority population indicated this to be the case; 14% of EU-MIDIS respondents said they had felt discriminated against on multiple grounds in the past 12 months in comparison with only 3% of the majority population; and 63% of EU-MIDIS respondents indicated they had *not* felt discriminated against on any ground in the last 12 months compared with 85% of the majority population.

These findings indicate that **minority respondents interviewed in EU-MIDIS experienced what they considered to be discrimination on the basis of a single ground and on multiple grounds more often than the majority population interviewed in Special Eurobarometer survey 296.**

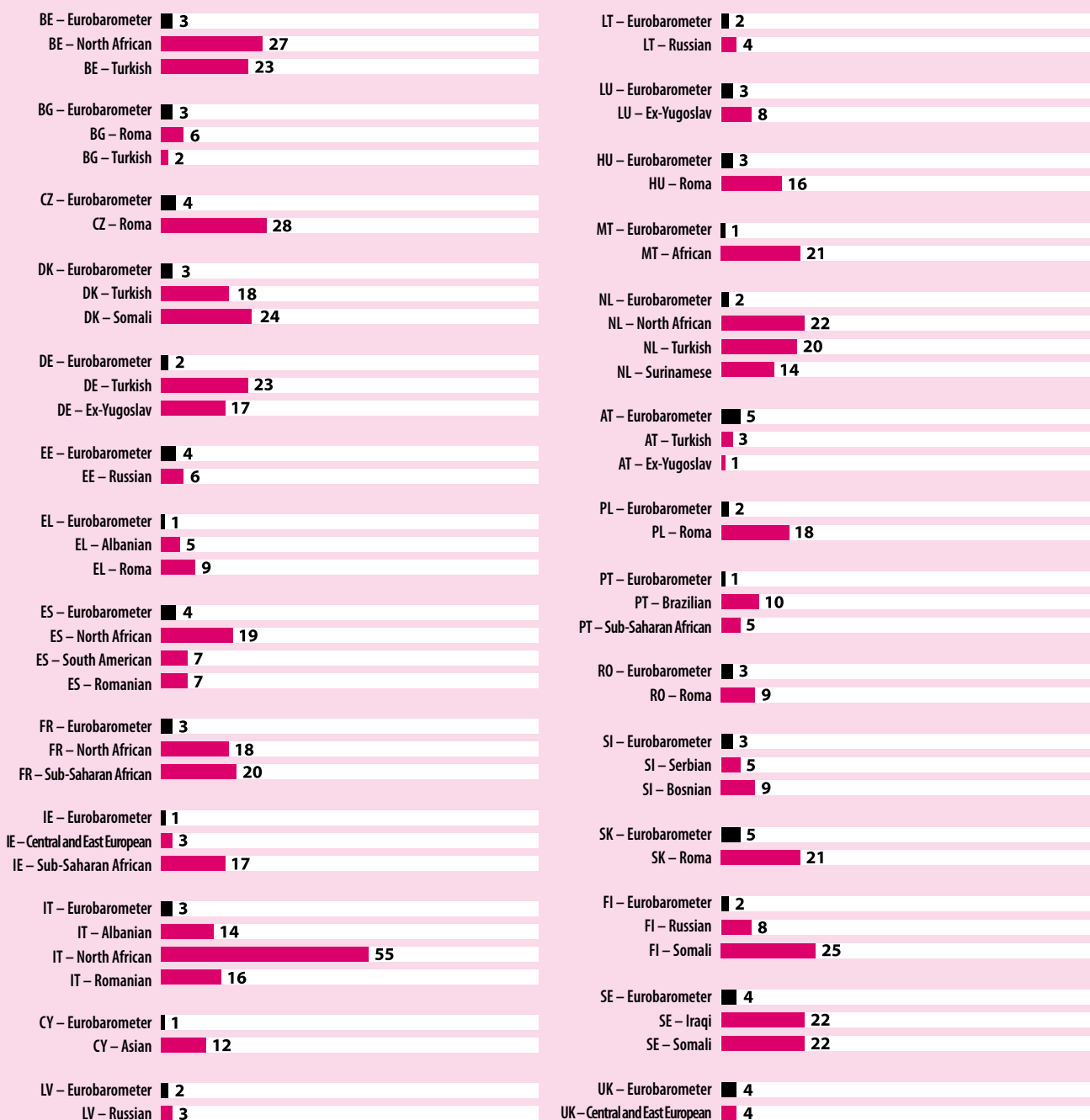
Figure 4 breaks down these results by EU Member State and in relation to the different groups surveyed in EU-MIDIS. It shows that experience of discrimination on more than one ground is generally highest for 'visibly different' minorities, such as people of African or Roma origin in comparison with Central and East Europeans, and people of Russian origin.

In comparison with most other EU Member States: in Austria, both of the minority groups surveyed in EU-MIDIS indicated very slightly lower levels of having experienced discrimination (as they perceived it) on more than one ground compared with the majority population; although the overall rates of discrimination in Austria never exceeded 5% for either majority or minority population respondents. The main Eurobarometer results for Austria (as referenced in Box 6) indicate that majority respondents reported high

levels of experiencing discrimination on grounds of both gender and age in comparison with majority respondents in other EU Member States (6% of Austrians said that they had been discriminated against because of their gender, and 11% because of their age, whereas the EU-27 averages were 3% and 6%, respectively). As a result, the findings on discrimination experiences for majority respondents in Austria, as shown in Figure 4, were slightly higher in comparison with many other countries.

Figure 4

Comparing results from EU-MIDIS and Special Eurobarometer 296: discrimination experiences on more than one ground, last 12 months – all survey respondents (%)



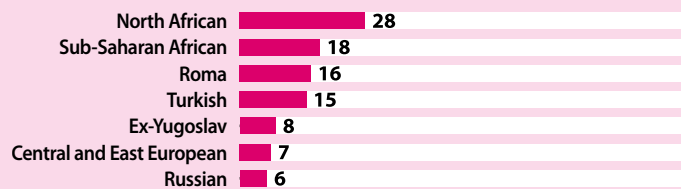
EU-MIDIS question A2, and Special Eurobarometer 296 question QA3 (see Box 5)

EU-MIDIS: Grounds for multiple discrimination and aggregate respondent groups

Looking specifically at results from EU-MIDIS, the main grounds identified by minorities who reported feeling discriminated against on different grounds were – unsurprisingly given the respondents’ backgrounds – ethnic and immigrant origin (93%) and religion or belief (64%), followed by gender (34%) and age (29%) – note the percentages do not add up to 100 as respondents could indicate more than one ground of discrimination. It cannot be determined from the EU-MIDIS results whether discrimination on more than one ground was experienced as different incidents over a 12-month period, or whether discrimination on different grounds occurred at the same time; however, the findings do indicate that minorities are particularly vulnerable to discrimination because of their ethnic minority and immigrant background and because of other personal characteristics such as religion.

In particular, Muslim respondents indicated that religion was either ‘very’ or ‘fairly’ important in their lives – 91% of North Africans and 85% of Turkish respondents indicated this to be the case – while 90% of Sub-Saharan Africans, coming from a mixture of different religious backgrounds, also indicated that religion was important to them. This suggests that identity – encompassing factors such as ethnicity and religion – can be experienced as intersectional discrimination by many minority ethnic groups in Europe, meaning that different grounds of discrimination interact and are hard to distinguish from each other. This interpretation is useful to keep in mind when looking to understand high levels of reported discrimination on multiple grounds by specific aggregate groups – as shown in Figure 5.

Figure 5
EU-MIDIS – Discrimination experiences on more than one ground, by aggregate respondent groups, last 12 months – all survey respondents (%)



EU-MIDIS question A2 (see Box 5)

EU-MIDIS: Background characteristics of those who reported discrimination on more than one ground

Looking specifically at the gender and age of respondents in EU-MIDIS who indicated they had experienced discrimination on several grounds reveals some notable results. Namely, on average among those who reported multiple discrimination, there were slightly more men than women (respectively 53% and 47%). Men indicated they experienced discrimination slightly more often than women in most of the grounds tested (see Figure 6) – with the exception of gender.

As Figure 6 shows – among those indicating they had been discriminated against on different grounds – women reported much higher levels of experiencing what they considered to be discrimination on the basis of ‘gender’, with 44% of women and 24% of men indicating this as a ground of discrimination. In comparison, the percentage of men and women identifying ‘age’ as a ground of discrimination was almost identical – 30% of men and 29% of women. With respect to age, a detailed analysis of the survey data shows that – of those indicating experience of discrimination on different grounds – only 9% were over 55 years old, while 41% were between 25-39 years of age.

Together, these results in consideration of age and gender need to be interpreted with respect to the survey’s overall finding that most respondents who said they had been discriminated against indicated that this occurred most often when looking for work and when at work – this in general tends to be ‘economically active’ males among the minorities surveyed in EU-MIDIS; 20% of women among the minority groups surveyed indicated they were ‘homemakers’, as opposed to 1% of men surveyed, with the proportion of women identifying themselves as ‘homemakers’ being as high as 42% among Roma women, and 28% among Turkish and North African women respondents. In this regard, the results could be further explored with respect to the vulnerability of particular groups to discrimination on different grounds in relation to employment – namely, younger males with minority backgrounds.

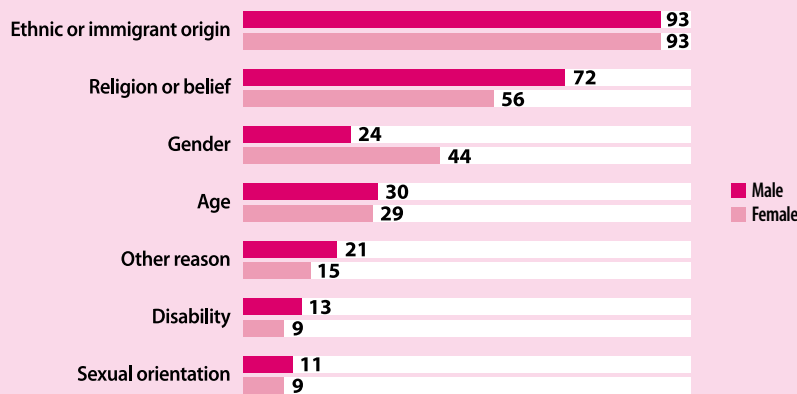
In addition, the results indicate that respondents who are more exposed to multiple discrimination tend to come from socially disadvantaged backgrounds (see Box 3 concerning the interpretation of these results), since as many as 46% of them were located in the lowest income quartile recorded in the survey. And, as a reflection of this, unemployed respondents were particularly exposed to discrimination on more than one ground in comparison with employed respondents, with 21% of the unemployed reporting discrimination on more than one ground compared with 12% of those who were employed. Hence, the results show that two indicators of social disadvantage – namely, income and employment status – are reflected in respondents’

heightened exposure to discrimination across a range of grounds. However, the analysis of results did not find that a low number of years in education is related to heightened experience of discrimination across different grounds – a finding that is addressed later in the report.

These results indicate that certain sub-groups within the minority groups surveyed in EU-MIDIS are vulnerable to discrimination. It is these groups that are in particular need of targeted policy interventions recognising their experiences of multiple discrimination with respect to indicators of social disadvantage, such as employment status and income.

Figure 6

EU-MIDIS – Grounds of discrimination among those who had been discriminated against on multiple grounds, last 12 months (%)



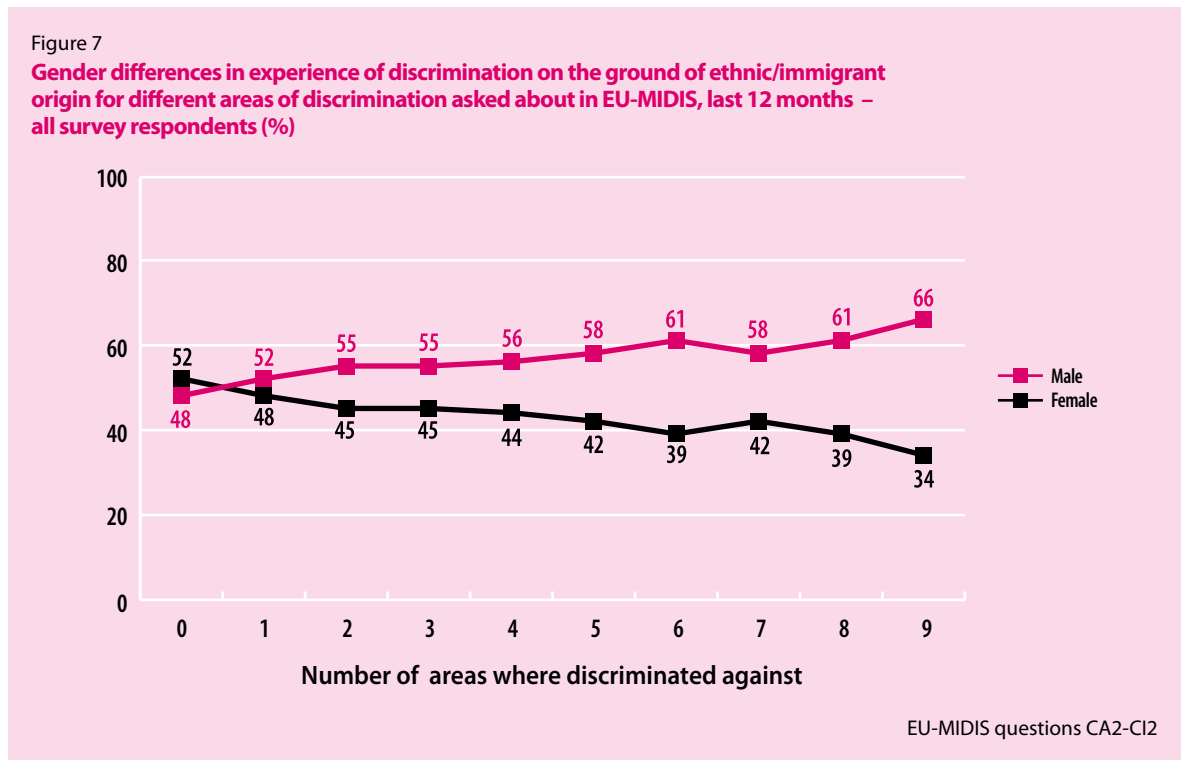
EU-MIDIS question A2 (see Box 5)

Note: Does not sum up to 100 due to the possibility to indicate multiple grounds of discrimination by the respondent.

EXPERIENCE OF DISCRIMINATION ON THE SINGLE GROUND OF ETHNIC/IMMIGRANT ORIGIN WITH RESPECT TO SELECTED RESPONDENT CHARACTERISTICS

The previous section of this Data in Focus report looked at the experience of discrimination on more than one ground. This part focuses on discrimination, as respondents perceived it, on the single ground of ethnic/immigrant origin in nine areas of everyday life – from looking for work to renting an apartment – with respect to respondents’ personal characteristics such as gender and age. In this way, findings from EU-MIDIS concerning discrimination on the single ground of ethnic minority or immigrant origin are explored in relation to heightened exposure to discrimination⁸ on the basis of gender and age. Hence, the findings can be tentatively explored as proxy indicators with respect to multiple discrimination.

With regard to the nine areas of everyday life asked about in EU-MIDIS (see p. 7) in relation to discrimination on the single ground of ethnic minority or immigrant background, the results indicate that – overall – men experience more instances of discrimination than women over a 12-month period. Conversely, among those respondents who indicated they did not experience discrimination on any of the grounds asked about in the last 12 months (zero discrimination experiences) there are more women than men (a difference of about five percentage points) (Figure 7).



⁸ Heightened exposure to discrimination is measured here as the number of areas, of the nine tested, where the respondent was discriminated against. While high incidence of discrimination across the nine areas of everyday life could be the result of repeat discrimination by one person or organisation, the number of areas of discrimination – ranging from 0 (= no discrimination) and 1 (= discriminated against on one of the nine areas in the past 12 months) to 9 (= discriminated against at least once in all of the nine areas in the past 12 months) – indicates how varied and pervasive discrimination is.

Figure 7 reveals a clear pattern: for every increase in the number of different areas where a discriminatory incident on the basis of a respondent's ethnic minority/immigrant background occurs, the share of men generally increases while the proportion of women decreases. Among those most vulnerable to discrimination, namely those who reported being discriminated against in two or more areas, around 55% and above were men. One of the possible explanations for this pattern, which has been referred to earlier in the report, is that men are more likely to be seeking paid employment or to be in paid employment, while women are more likely to take up the role of 'homemaker'. The role of homemaker means that women are not exposed to discrimination to the same extent as men in two of the nine areas asked about – looking for work and at work – which, taken together as discrimination in relation to employment, represented the field where discrimination was most often reported in the survey by respondents. Therefore, the finding that men are more exposed to discrimination on the grounds of ethnicity/immigrant origin has to be interpreted with respect to the impact that gendered roles can have on exposure to discriminatory treatment. Taking the two areas of discrimination related to employment out of the analysis – when looking for work and when at work – results in a slight reduction in differences in reported discrimination between men and women.

Also, when looking at Figure 7, it needs to be kept in mind that the number of those who experienced what they considered to be discrimination on the basis of their ethnic minority or immigrant background in five or more areas is very small – that is, only 2% of the EU-MIDIS sample experienced this level of discrimination. In this regard, the experience of men and women is more similar with respect to less frequent or less 'extreme' experiences of discrimination in a 12-month period.

When looking at the age of respondents reporting discrimination on the basis of ethnicity/immigrant origin for the different areas of everyday life asked about, a pattern of heightened exposure to discrimination emerges among younger respondents. Figure 8 shows that younger people, namely those in age categories 16-24 and 25-34 years, generally experience higher levels of discrimination in relation to one or two areas. Overall, respondents aged 50 years and over experience the lowest levels of discrimination on the basis of their ethnicity/immigrant origin; for example, 82% of those aged 50 years and over experienced no discrimination in the last 12 months on the basis of ethnicity/immigrant origin, whereas 36% of those aged 16-24 years and 34% of those aged 25-34 years experienced discrimination.

This pattern with respect to age and decreased exposure to discrimination in the last 12 months holds true when the data is looked at with respect to different aggregate groups. Again, this result – as with gender – is likely to reflect the fact that people are less likely to be looking for work or to be in work as they get older, and therefore are effectively excluded from questions relating to discrimination on the basis of looking for work or being in work. Yet, if a question had been asked about exposure to discriminatory treatment on the basis of ethnic minority or immigrant origin during the course of several years or a lifetime, it would have likely been the case that older respondents would have reported much higher levels of discrimination.

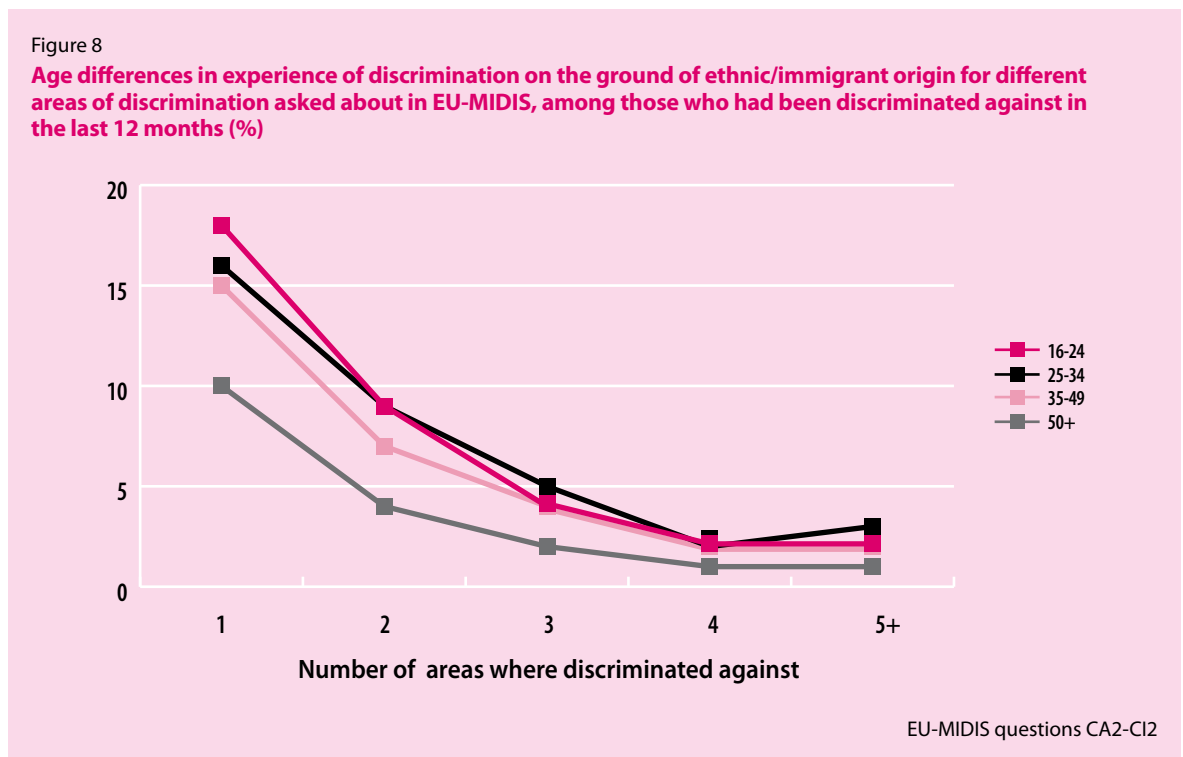
Notably, the findings reported in Figure 8 would seem to present the inverse of the current emphasis on discriminatory treatment in relation to age, which tends to focus on older people's exposure to age discrimination in relation to employment as well as other areas. However, this current emphasis tends *not* to look at the intersection of age with other grounds of discrimination, such as ethnicity or immigrant origin.

In this regard, as might be expected, the EU-MIDIS findings in consideration of older respondents *do* indicate that they report 'age' as a ground of discrimination more than younger respondents. Namely: among the respondents who said they were discriminated against in the past 12 months on one or more grounds, age was identified as a ground for discrimination by 29% of respondents who were 50 years old or older, compared with 8% of respondents in the 25-34 age group (11% of 16-24 year olds and 12% of 35-49 year olds who had been discriminated against mentioned age as a ground for discrimination). However, the results from EU-MIDIS show that younger ethnic minority and immigrant groups are reporting higher levels of discriminatory treatment on the basis of ethnicity/immigrant origin. These general findings warrant closer inspection with respect to the relationship between discrimination on the ground of ethnicity/immigrant origin and discrimination in relation to age. Heightened exposure to discriminatory treatment on the basis of ethnicity/immigrant origin among young or younger second and third generation immigrants, or among established minority groups, is a worrying sign with respect to these groups' long-term prospects for social integration into mainstream society.⁹

In addition to looking at discrimination on the ground of ethnicity/immigrant origin in relation to gender and age, indicators measuring respondents' socio-economic position can be looked at to better understand vulnerability to discrimination on the ground of ethnicity/immigrant origin. In this regard, the survey results show that 57% of respondents who experienced discrimination in five or more areas of everyday life come from what can be

described as a low income household (lowest income quartile in their country). Furthermore, of the respondents who did not experience discrimination on the grounds of ethnic or immigrant origin, only 9% were unemployed in comparison with 59% of those in paid employment. Therefore, and supporting the earlier analysis with respect to socio-economic background and exposure to multiple discrimination, it can be concluded that economic vulnerability goes hand in hand with experience of discrimination on the basis of ethnic/immigrant origin.

In contrast, ethnic minority and immigrant respondents with more years of education tend to be over-represented among those who said that they were discriminated against in one or more areas of everyday life. This finding would appear to be counter-intuitive in relation to the fact that unemployed respondents and those on lower incomes are also reporting high levels of discrimination. A possible explanation could lie with the fact that respondents with more years of education are more likely to be integrated into mainstream society: for example, through employment in occupations that are typically held by the majority population – and therefore they are more exposed to discriminatory experiences than those who are socially isolated from the majority population. Alternatively, it could be the case that more educated people are more likely to be aware of their rights with respect to non-discrimination,¹⁰ and also that ethnic minorities and immigrants are under-employed as regards the qualifications they have and the jobs they are in. However – as noted in Box 3 – these explanations cannot be tested further, given that the survey did not ask respondents about the kind of job they had.



9 FRA (2010) *Experience of discrimination, social marginalisation and violence: a comparative study of Muslim and non-Muslim youth in three EU Member States*, Luxembourg: Publications Office. The report looks at the experiences of Muslim and non-Muslim youth (aged 12-18 years) in France, Spain and the UK in relation to experiences of social marginalisation and racism, and in relation to a sense of social isolation and support for and involvement in violence; see: fra.europa.eu/fraWebsite/attachments/Pub-racism-marginalisation_en.pdf.

10 See FRA EU-MIDIS Data in Focus report on *Rights Awareness and Equality Bodies* (2010).

USING THESE RESULTS

Bearing in mind this report's general findings on ethnic minority and immigrant groups' heightened exposure to multiple discrimination, relative to the majority population in EU Member States, the following points are forwarded:

- Policies aimed at combating discrimination should recognise the interplay between different grounds of discrimination in order to highlight and effectively address the phenomenon of multiple discrimination.
- The concept of 'multiple discrimination' could be defined and introduced into legislation that sets out to address discrimination that can occur on more than one ground.
- Effective complaints procedures should be made available to deal with situations of multiple discrimination. In particular, legal procedures should ensure that a victim of multiple discrimination can lodge a single complaint encompassing more than one ground of discrimination in a single procedure, ideally before a single body. Avoiding overly complex complaints mechanisms is particularly important in consideration of certain minority groups – such as recent immigrants – who may have limited knowledge of the respective systems in a country for lodging discrimination complaints.
- As people with an ethnic minority or immigrant background appear to be more vulnerable to discrimination on single and multiple grounds than the majority population – policy responses that aim

to address discrimination on the basis of factors such as gender or age should mainstream ethnicity and immigrant origin into any accompanying programmes.

- Data needs to be collected about the extent and nature of multiple discrimination that can be used as evidence in the formulation of policies addressing discrimination. Such data collection needs to capture discrimination that occurs on different grounds against the individual or group, and in relation to the same incident or incidents.

Information should be collected and disaggregated for all grounds of discrimination. It should also be combined with data collection on background respondent variables – which can be made anonymous for statistical purposes – that serve to highlight patterns of discrimination.

- Non-governmental organisations that work to highlight and respond to the fundamental rights situation of particular vulnerable ethnic minority and immigrant groups should be encouraged to look at the interplay of different grounds of discrimination on the groups they serve. In this way, their work can more effectively address discrimination on more than one ground.
- Equality Bodies that address multiple grounds of discrimination are to be encouraged in their work to record and address manifestations of multiple discrimination.

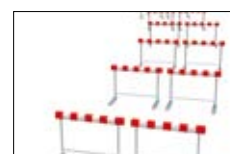
Abbreviations used for EU Member States

Belgium	BE	France	FR	Austria	AT
Bulgaria	BG	Italy	IT	Poland	PL
Czech Republic	CZ	Cyprus	CY	Portugal	PT
Denmark	DK	Latvia	LV	Romania	RO
Germany	DE	Lithuania	LT	Slovenia	SI
Estonia	EE	Luxembourg	LU	Slovakia	SK
Ireland	IE	Hungary	HU	Finland	FI
Greece	EL	Malta	MT	Sweden	SE
Spain	ES	Netherlands	NL	United Kingdom	UK

This report addresses matters related to non-discrimination (Article 21) falling under Chapter III 'Equality' of the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union.

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