



REPORT ON MULTIPLE DISCRIMINATION

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The project is co - funded (80%) by the Rights, Equality and Citizenship (REC) Programme of the European Union

Part I

MULTIPLE DISCRIMINATION: A SOCIAL SCIENCE APPROACH

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1. Introduction: legal and social science approaches to discrimination

Discrimination has until now been considered predominantly from a legal point of view. The contexts, the acts, the concepts, the subjects (perpetrators or victims), the needed reforms, the restitutions or the remedies were mainly legal. Law was the basic reality from which we must interpret and act upon discriminatory actions. However, beyond law, a social science approach must be applied to better analyse and tackle discrimination.

Makkonen strongly supports this point of view: “Much of the discussion on discrimination assumes that discrimination is something that occurs at a specific point in time within a particular field of life, and typically involves a limited number of individuals, i.e. the victim(s) and the perpetrator(s). This view, which could be characterised as ‘the episodic view of discrimination’, is related to and probably derives from the field of law, where – for the purposes of determining liability – the identification of a specific legally meaningful event is crucial, as is the identification of particular complainants and respondents. But discrimination, and its impact on the lives of the individuals concerned and on the society at large, cannot be properly understood unless discrimination is viewed in its broader context and as a dynamic process that functions over time in several, often unexpected, ways” Makkonen (2007: 17). “The predominant understanding of discrimination is one which focuses on single events that take place because of malevolent intentions”. “The prevailing, or “common sense” understanding of discrimination is a formal juridical one, and reflects the usage of the concept especially in the field of criminal law”. It focuses on *single events* where one or more persons are discriminated against on the basis of a prohibited ground (events-oriented approach). “Some researchers have suggested that instead of this events-oriented approach, we should see discrimination in its historical and social context, i.e. as a process (process-oriented approach), due to which disadvantaged groups may become excluded or subordinated” (Makkonen, 2002: 5).

Blank et al. expressed one and the same idea: “For instance, discrimination can occur in entry level hiring in the labour market or in loan applications in mortgage lending. But this episodic view of discrimination occurring may be inadequate. ... discrimination should be seen as a dynamic process that functions over time in several different ways” (Blank et al., 2004: 68). “Although our definition encompasses the legal definitions of discrimination, we do not believe that a social science research agenda for measuring discrimination should be limited by those legal definitions” (Blank et al., 2004: 41).

These two perspectives, legal and social, also inspire the different organisations of the institutional architecture for tackling gender equality in Europe. “The activity of gender equality machineries and consultative bodies can be viewed along the lines of a combination of transformative and positive action approaches. They stand to compensate for disadvantages of women in policymaking, but they also stand to transform society and policymaking in acting as a coordinating body for gender mainstreaming. Anti-discrimination bodies place the emphasis on an equal treatment approach; though they can be seen to have a more short-term individual impact than machineries as they bring direct remedies to individual victims, they also have a more limited understanding of inequality as they largely neglect structural components and wider transformation” (Kriszan, 2012: 549). Similarly, Davaki highlights the limitations of anti-discrimination laws. “There is thus a need to include a positive element to counteract possible discriminatory outcomes”, “positive actions have been shown to be more effective in reducing inequalities than anti-discrimination legislation”.

In sum, legal approaches promote an episodic or event-oriented view of discrimination, understanding people (both victims and perpetrators) and situations in the context of law for the sole purpose of determining criminal liability in particular juridical cases. A social science approach promotes a process-oriented view of discrimination, involving every member of a social category or group. This approach did not work only with singular cases, but mainly with risk factors that determine the likelihood of a member to be discriminated against. The remedies are not only legal but also and mainly social. The social approach is not only worried about law crimes and the violation of people rights and freedoms, that is, not only about intentional discriminatory actions but also about the general impact of unintentional discriminatory facts on the quality of life and functional capabilities of vulnerable groups members treated unequally.

2. Discrimination and multiple discrimination

2.1. The concept of discrimination

There are two alternative ways of defining discrimination. The first one is based on differential treatment of people based on improper and unjustified grounds (*unequal treatment*). The second one is based on equal treatments that have differential, negative and unjustified impacts on some people (*disparate impact*).

For example, Blank et al. (2004: 4) report on racial discrimination adopted a social science definition that includes these two components: “1) differential treatment on the basis of race that disadvantages a racial group, and 2) treatment on the basis of inadequately justified factors other than race that disadvantage a racial group (differential effect)”. “An example of potentially unlawful disparate treatment discrimination would be when an individual is not hired for a job because of his or her race”. “An example of potentially unlawful disparate impact discrimination would be when an employer uses a test in selecting job applicants that is not a good predictor of performance on the job and results in proportionately fewer job offers being extended to members of disadvantaged racial groups compared with whites” (Blank et al., 2004: 4)

Discrimination, *strictu sensu*, refers to unequal treatment.

However, for Feagin and Eckberg (1980: 9), “Race-ethnic discrimination consists of the practices and actions of dominant race-ethnic groups that have a differential and negative impact on subordinate race-ethnic groups. This definition focuses explicitly on actions with negative effects”.

“According to its most simple definition, racial discrimination refers to unequal treatment of persons or groups on the basis of their race or ethnicity. In defining racial discrimination, many scholars and legal advocates distinguish between differential treatment and disparate impact, creating a two-part definition: Differential treatment occurs when individuals are treated unequally because of their race. Disparate impact occurs when individuals are treated equally according to a given set of rules and procedures but when the latter are constructed in ways that favour members of one group over another (Reskin 1998, p. 32; National Research Council 2004, pp. 39– 40)”. “A key feature of any definition of discrimination is its focus on behaviour. Discrimination is distinct from racial prejudice

(attitudes), racial stereotypes (beliefs), and racism (ideologies) that may also be associated with racial disadvantage (see Quillian, 2006)” (Pager and Shepherd, 2008: 182).

“Discrimination refers to any distinction, exclusion, restriction or preference which is based on any ground such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status, and which has the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing the recognition, enjoyment or exercise by all persons, on an equal footing, of all rights and freedoms” (Makkonen, 2002: 4).

Four key elements can be distinguished in any discriminatory fact. Discrimination is:

- a) An unfair and adverse social selection that differentiates between individuals.
- b) Based on their membership to a social category or group.
- c) Operating in the context of a status order that appraises categories and groups, and
- d) That deprives some people of both the recognition and rights they deserve.

In sum, we define *discrimination* as any *unfair and adverse social selection, brought about by actions, processes, barriers or filters based on the belonging to a social category or group, that deprives their members both of a right socially guaranteed and the recognition and respect they deserve as human beings.*

2.2. Types of discrimination

When thinking of discrimination, we need to take into account the different ways in which discriminatory facts emerge.

- *Direct discrimination*: “refers to a situation in which a person is treated adversely directly on the basis of a prohibited ground, e.g. when an employer categorically refuses to hire immigrants” (Makkonen, 2002: 4).

- *Indirect discrimination*: “refers to a situation in which an apparently neutral provision or practice is discriminatory in its effects” (Makkonen, 2002: 4).

- *Overt discrimination*: With laws that prohibit discrimination, “overt discrimination is less often apparent. However, discrimination may persist in more subtle forms” (Blank et al., 2004: 16).

- *Subtle discrimination*: “Compared with overt discrimination, it is often more difficult to find proof that subtle discrimination has occurred and to address it legally, even if in theory such subtle discrimination constitutes actionable disparate treatment discrimination” (Blank et al., 2004: 41).

- *Formal discrimination*: discriminatory facts experienced in formal social interaction, for example, in an interview or a job offer.

- *Interpersonal discrimination*: discriminatory facts experienced in encounters of social interaction through, for example, “eye contact, nodding, smiling, time spent talking with” (Bartels, 2016: 43).

- *Intentional discrimination*: acts stem from a conscious desire to discriminate the member of some social category or group (Moss-Rakusim et al., 2012: 16474).

- *Unintentional discrimination*: discriminatory actions “not motivated directly or immediately by a conscious intent to harm its victims” (Feagin and Eckberg, 1980: 10).

- *Individual discrimination*: refers to discriminatory actions committed by individuals.

- *Organisational or institutional discrimination*: “refers to the practices or procedures in a company or an institution, even society as a whole, which have been structured in such a way that they tend to produce discriminatory effects” (Makkonen, 2002: 5).

- *Structural discrimination*: “refers to a situation in which a person faces disadvantage or heightened vulnerability because of the functioning of the society and the specific communities the person is a member of” (Makkonen, 2002: 15).

“The majority of research on discrimination focuses on dynamics between individuals or small groups. And yet, it is important to recognise that each of these decisions takes place within a broader social context. The term structural discrimination has been used loosely in the literature, to refer to the range of policies and practices that contribute to the systematic disadvantage of members of certain groups”. This approach “draws attention to the broader, largely invisible contexts in which group-based inequalities may be structured and reproduced” (Pager and Shepherd, 2008: 197). “A focus on structural and institutional sources of discrimination encourages us to consider how opportunities may be allocated on the basis of race [or different grounds] in the absence of direct prejudice or wilful bias” (Pager and Shepherd, 2008: 200).

2.3. Concepts and types of multiple discrimination

Multiple discrimination occurs when people suffer discrimination on more than one ground (such as gender, race, age, disability, etc.), or on any combination of grounds.

This term “tends to describe two situations. First, there is the situation where an individual is faced with more than one form of grounds-based discrimination (i.e. sex plus disability discrimination). ...It is important to emphasise that from the perspective of the individual who experiences the discrimination, it is often impossible to separate out the various strands of so-called additive, cumulative or compound discrimination. Second, there is the situation where discrimination affects only those who are members of more than one group (i.e. only women with disabilities and not men with disabilities). The latter situation is often characterised as intersectional discrimination” (Sheppard, 2011: 4).

According to Makkonen (2002: 10-11), there are three types of multi-discrimination:

- *Multiple discrimination*: “one person suffers from discrimination on several grounds, but in a manner in which discrimination takes place on one ground at a time”. There are two or more

different situations. The equation would be: $D = [a] + [b] + [c]$, with “a”, “b” and “c” being three different grounds of discrimination.

- *Compound discrimination*: “a situation in which discrimination on the basis of two or more grounds add to each other”. In this case, several grounds apply to the same situation. Its equation would be: $D = [a+b+c]$ or $D = [a*b*c]$.

- *Intersectional discrimination*: “a situation involving discrimination which is based on several grounds operating and interacting with each other at the same time, and which produces very specific types of discrimination”.

At this moment, it is essential to clearly differentiate the additive or compound model and the intersectional model of discrimination.

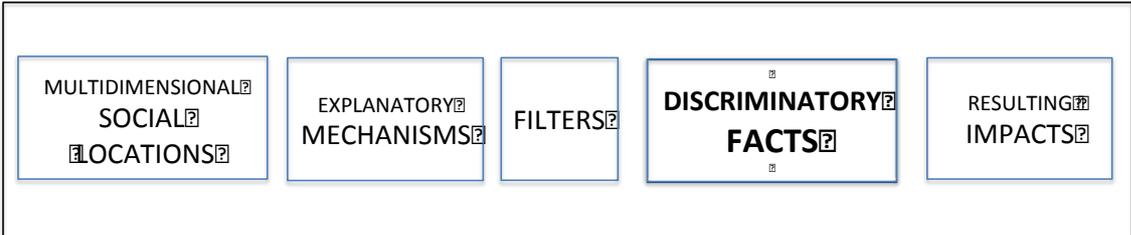
We need to understand “How one form of oppression is experienced, is influenced by and influences how another form is experienced. An additive analysis treats the oppression of a Black woman in a society that is racist, as well as sexist, as if it were a further burden when, in fact, it is a different burden... sexism and racism must be seen as interlocking, and not as piled upon each other” (Spelman 1988: 123). The point is to understand the different forms of subordination, oppression or discrimination “as articulating or intersecting together to produce specific effects” that “cannot be mechanistically understood. It is the intersection of subordinations that is important and they cannot be treated as different layers of oppression” (Anthias and Yuval-Davis 1993: 100). “Intersectionality, which is now one of the most prominent concepts used in feminist-inspired critical theorising of social divisions and inequality, including among others those of race, class, gender, age, sexuality, and disability, denotes the fact that “intersecting” social divisions (or categories, or “belongings”) mutually construct each other’s specific and complex, often contradictory societal meanings and functions” (Stoetzler, 2016: 218). ““Being a woman” can mean entirely different things depending on whether one is of this or that ethnicity, race, sexuality, ability, or age group. This important fact has been addressed as the “mutual constitution” of categories of social division, as opposed to merely “additive” accounts of multiple discrimination” (Stoetzler, 2016: 228).

Following Denis (2008), we can say that “intersectional analysis involves the concurrent analyses of multiple, intersecting (and interacting) sources of subordination/oppression [discrimination]”. We also state, with Shepherd (2011: 4), that “the term “multiple discrimination” is used in its broadest sense to encompass additive and intersectional discrimination”. However, we think that the term which best reflects our social science approach is *multi-discrimination*. The intersectional approach aims to joint analytic categorisations previously separated, as gender-woman and race-black. From its perspective, a black woman results from the intersection of two one-dimensional categories. From a multi-discrimination approach there are not analytic categories, which need to be united *a posteriori*, but *a priori* whole and multidimensional individuals who are treated equally or unequally, fairly and unfairly. The multi-discrimination approach starts from an individual whose social nature (location and identity) is multidimensional defined.

2.4. A social science framework of discriminatory facts

The following figure shows the key elements of a social science theoretical framework for studying tackling discrimination.

A Social Science Framework of Discriminatory Facts.



Discriminatory facts

In general, frameworks of discrimination have been taking behaviour as its central element. Discrimination means unequal treatment, and legal approaches take discriminatory actions of individuals or institutions as its endpoint. However, a social science approach, following the point of departure of Ludwig Wittgenstein’s *Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus*¹, states that discrimination in a society is the totality of discriminatory facts. Discriminatory facts are composed not only of actions, conducts, and behaviours, but also of many kinds of different events, incidents, practices, processes, rules, images, customs, deeds, ideas, institutions and so on. An objective barrier, for example, the lack of a wheelchair ramp in an educational building, unequally treats people with a disability without the intervention of any individual behaviour. In this case, the inability to enter the building and take an academic course is, properly speaking, the discriminatory fact. In sum, discriminatory facts are situations in which disparate and unfair treatment has been produced. A fact can be discriminatory beyond any intentionality, particular human behaviour, legal liability, and so on. A discriminatory fact results in a selection based on an unjustified, illegitimate and improper ground. Using the above example, taking or not taking the course.

Multidimensional social positions and identities

Unequal treatment generated by discriminatory facts can affect many different individuals in many different situations, contexts, and domains. However, when talking about discrimination as a social phenomenon we need to restrict its meanings. Discrimination refers to unfair unequal treatment based solely on the membership to a social category, collective or group. Therefore, the important point is not the singular cases of discrimination, but the likelihood that the members of different groups have of being discriminated against. In this context, it should be noted that we must consider

¹“1.1. The world is the totality of facts, not of things”; 1.2 “The world divides into facts”.

social positions as risk factors. Obviously, not everyone who is obese will be necessarily subjected to discriminatory facts. The two important things from a social perspective are, first, the likelihood to experience discriminatory facts being an obese person and, second, to experience discrimination solely on the ground of belonging to the social category of obese people. Furthermore, we need to take into account that “obesity” is an analytical category, an abstract and unidimensional concept. Because of this, no one sees himself or herself solely as “obese”, and nobody categorises people solely as “obese”. People are both personally and socially multidimensional. They occupy multidimensional social locations and enact multidimensional social identities. A social science approach primarily relates the different multidimensional social locations and identities of a social structure with their corresponding likelihood of experiencing discriminatory facts.

Filters and mechanisms

The idea of relating a specific multidimensional social location and identity, considered as a risk factor, with the totality of discriminatory facts affecting the lives of people who belong to that social category or group, entail to be aware and get a deep understanding of the personal and social nature of each multidimensional identity and location. A young person with mental problems is very different from an old person with mental problems; an immigrant man from an Islamic country is different from an immigrant woman from an Islamic country. At the same time, it entails knowing precisely the amount, kinds, contexts and domains of discriminatory facts that directly or indirectly affect their lives. However, if we want to tackle discrimination we also need to know the mechanisms and filters that connect social locations and identities with discriminatory facts.

Discrimination hinders the enjoyment of fundamental rights and freedoms of some categories or social groups. A discriminatory fact is essentially an unjust social selection operated by a society that treats the members of a social category or group unequally and adversely. This is why a discriminatory fact always entails the acting of a filter, that is, a social selection device through which discrimination finally operates. As we commented earlier, the mere presence or absence of a wheelchair ramp will prevent or not the entrance of peoples with disabilities, producing this way the final educational discriminatory act. Similarly, in labour discrimination, the names and photograph included in a Curriculum Vitae enable the filtering of candidates according to their sex and national origin. Sometimes filters are very simple devices for selecting people, but sometimes are very complex ones. In any case, the production of a discriminatory fact requires the operation of some filters, and hence anti-discrimination policies demand both to find out those filters and their subsequent removal.

Discriminatory filters are detailed and final devices by which discriminatory facts are produced. Filters explain how discrimination takes place, but not why. Mechanisms describe and explain the processes by which society discriminates people on the ground of their membership to a social category or group. We already know that social categorisation, prejudices, stigma, identity, emotions, interests, stereotyping, evaluation bias, attribution bias, ideologies, cultural norms and many others are basic mechanisms in any kind of social discrimination. However, grand theories are not very useful to tackle the myriad of discriminatory processes affecting discriminated social categories and groups. Every kind of discrimination activates a very complex and nuanced system by which people are discriminated against, and every system is composed of many different elements and is organised in many different ways. Discrimination of the elderly, women, youngsters, people

with disabilities, LGBTI, immigrants, people of different races or ethnic backgrounds, etc., activates in every epoch and society very different mechanisms. Discrimination of the elderly, women, youngsters, people with disabilities, LGBTI, immigrants, people of different races or ethnic backgrounds, etc., activates in each time and each society very different mechanisms. Generalisation is nearly impossible. Furthermore, a social science approach to discrimination takes the diversity of multidimensional social locations and identities as a starting point. In sum, knowing the mechanism and filters that explain the links between, on the one hand, a specific multidimensional social position and identity and, on the other hand, the general structure of the discriminatory facts present in their life situation is a necessary condition for tackling multi-discrimination.

Resulting Impacts

As we have previously mentioned, there are two essential concepts of discrimination: a) differential or unequal treatment and b) differential or disparate effects. On one side, authors inspired by a legal approach define discrimination in a very restrictive way. They usually consider unlawful discriminatory actions committed by the perpetrators and the direct negative effects experienced by the victims. On the other side, some authors inspired by a social approach, as Eckberg (1980) or Reskin (2003), try to link groups' ascribed characteristics to several variables outcomes, such as earnings. That is, they try to link the two poles of our framework, taking for granted that every disparate effect observed between race groups, for example between black and whites, can be attributed to discrimination. Accordingly, the social mechanisms that Reskin's article discusses are social arrangements that link ascriptive group membership (input) to opportunities and rewards (outputs).

We must be aware that adopting this last approach would amount to completely identifying "discrimination" and "inequality". But adopting explicitly or implicitly this confusing assumption (discrimination=inequality) as a key feature of our studies on discrimination, we would miss the opportunity to know how and to what extent discrimination contributes to social inequality in a society. In sum, social inequality is a broader concept and phenomenon than that of discrimination. In others words, as we will see later on, discrimination is only one of the mechanisms with which a society creates, reproduces and maintains inequality. Therefore, in our theoretical framework "resulting impacts" refer to any consequences derived from any discriminatory filters and facts that some individuals experienced as members of a social category or group. That is, our approach does not directly link "multidimensional social locations" and "disparate effects", thus bypassing mechanisms, filters and discriminatory facts, which would remain in a kind of black box. Our approach works in two phases connected in series: 1) analysing the links between social locations and identities, on the one hand, and discriminatory facts, on the other, and 2) analysing the disparate impacts generated by the social selections produced by filters and discriminatory facts. These would be, strictly speaking, the resulting impacts of discrimination.

3. Discrimination and social stratification: multidimensional positions and identities

From a social science perspective, discrimination is one of the fundamental instruments through which societies create, reproduce and maintain unjustifiable inequalities between social categories and groups. This is why it is intrinsically linked to processes of social stratification. If we must think of “exploitation” as the machinery to extract “economic value” from some groups, in the best interest of others, we could think of “discrimination” as the machinery to extract “social value”, that is, respect or social recognition, from some groups in the best interest of others. Similarly, “representational exclusion” detracts “political value” from some groups in the best interest of others. Complex social stratification systems elaborate their intricate structure of inequalities working through these three dimensions, class, status and political power, and assigning to different multidimensional social positions and identities, different amounts of economic resources, social recognition and respect, and political voice and decision power. Even though these three dimensions interact with each other, each one uses particular mechanisms. For that matter, we must keep in mind that discrimination, both negative and positive, is a social phenomenon pertaining to the “status order” of a society, and it is through this order that it plays a relevant role in social stratification nowadays. Modern society came up with social stratification as a result of the functioning of economic order, seeing inequality solely from a social class angle. We had even come to think that modern society, as an open, democratic and equalitarian society, had eroded the foundations of any status order and so, the inequalities derived from it. However, status orders, discrimination, unequal treatments, and inequalities of recognition and respect remain key factors of postmodern social stratification processes. This underscores the crucial relevance of social discrimination nowadays.

The following section includes ideas from three social researchers, Max Weber, Nancy Fraser and John Galtung, useful to understand the social nature of discrimination and to envision the role that discrimination can play in social stratification. The next section focuses on social diversity and the need to incorporate a multidimensional perspective to the study of discrimination. The multiple discrimination approach is the best way to attend social diversity and deal with unequal treatment.

3.1. The distribution of power within a community

Max Weber: class, status, party

“‘Classes’, ‘status groups’, and ‘parties’ are phenomena of the distribution of power within a community” (Weber, 1946)².

“The economic order is for us merely the way in which economics, goods and services are distributed and used”. We may call the “social order” as “the way in which social honour is distributed in a community between typical groups participating in this distribution”. “In contrast to the purely economically determined ‘class situation’ we wish to designate as ‘status situation’ every typical

² This and the following excerpts have been extracted from Weber (1946).

component of life fate of human beings that is determined by a specific, positive or negative, social estimation of *honour*".

"In contrast to classes, status groups are normally communities. They are, however, often of an amorphous kind". "In content, status honour is normally expressed by the fact that above all else a specific *style of life* can be expected from all those who wish to belong to the circle". "The market and its processes 'knows no personal distinctions': 'functional' interests dominate it. It knows nothing of 'honour'. The status order means precisely the reverse". "'Classes' are stratified according to their relations to the production and acquisition of goods; whereas 'status groups' are stratified according to the principles of their *consumption* of goods as represented by special 'styles of life'."

"For all practical purposes, stratification by status goes hand in hand with a monopolisation of ideal and material goods and opportunities". "The development of status is essentially a question of stratification resting upon usurpation³. But the road from this purely conventional situation to legal privilege, positive or negative, is easily travelled ...". "Where the consequences have been realised to their full extent, the status group evolves into a closed 'caste'. Status distinctions are then guaranteed not merely by conventions and laws, but also by rituals".

"Where the genuine place of 'classes' is within the economic order, the place of 'status groups' is within the social order, that is, within the distribution of 'honour'". "But 'parties' live in a house of 'power'". "Their actions are oriented towards the acquisition of social 'power', that is to say, toward influencing a communal action no matter what its content may be".

Nancy Fraser: redistribution, recognition and participation

"In today's world, claims for social justice seem increasingly to divide into two types. First, and most familiar, are redistributive claims, which seek a more just distribution of resources and goods. Examples include claims for redistribution from the North to the South, from the rich to the poor, and from owners to workers". "Egalitarian redistributive claims have supplied the paradigm case for most theorising about social justice for the past 150 years. Today, however, we increasingly encounter a second type of social-justice claim in the "politics of recognition". Here the goal, in its most plausible form, is a difference-friendly world, where assimilation to majority or dominant cultural norms is no longer the price of equal respect. Examples include claims for the recognition of the distinctive perspectives of ethnic, "racial", and sexual minorities, as well as of gender difference" (Fraser, 1996)⁴.

"In this new constellation, the two kinds of justice claims are typically dissociated from one another". In some cases, "we are effectively presented with what is constructed as an either/or choice: redistribution or recognition? class politics or identity politics? multiculturalism or social equality?"

³When Weber talks about the distribution of honour, and of monopolisation and usurpation of social value, recognition, prestige and respect, he is mainly thinking of positively privileged status groups, that is, groups with a high level of social prestige, self-esteem and sense of dignity. However, discrimination consists of an usurpation of respect experienced by the status groups negatively privileged.

⁴These and the following excerpts have been extracted from Fraser (1996).

These, I maintain, are false antitheses. It is my general thesis that justice today requires both redistribution and recognition, as neither alone is sufficient”⁵.

“Imagine a conceptual spectrum of different kinds of social collectivities. At one extreme are modes of collectivity that fit the politics of redistribution. At the other extreme are modes of collectivity that fit the politics of recognition. In between are cases that prove difficult because they fit both political paradigms simultaneously.”

“Consider an example that appears to approximate the ideal type: the exploited working class”. “The Marxian working class is the body of persons in a capitalist society who must sell their labour power under arrangements that authorise the capitalist class to appropriate surplus productivity for its private benefit. The injustice of these arrangements, moreover, is quintessentially a matter of distribution, as the proletariat’s share of the benefits is unjustly small and its share of the burdens is unjustly large”. “Far from being rooted directly in an independently unjust status order, these derive from the economic structure, as ideologies of class inferiority proliferate to justify exploitation. The remedy for the injustice, consequently, is redistribution, not recognition.”

“Now consider the other end of the conceptual spectrum. At this end let us posit an ideal-typical mode of collectivity that fits the politics of recognition. A collectivity of this type is rooted wholly in the status order, as opposed to the economic structure, of society. What differentiate it as a collectivity are institutionalised cultural patterns of interpretation and evaluation. Thus, any structural injustices its members suffer will be traceable ultimately to the status order. The core of the injustice, as well as its root, will be misrecognition, while any attendant economic injustices will derive ultimately from that root. The remedy required to redress the injustice will be cultural recognition, as opposed to economic redistribution”. “Consider an example that appears to approximate the ideal type: a despised sexuality, understood in terms of the Weberian conception of status”. The injustice gays and lesbians “suffer is quintessentially a matter of recognition. Gays and lesbians suffer from heterosexism: the authoritative construction of norms that naturalise heterosexuality and stigmatise homosexuality. These heterosexist norms do not operate only at the level of cultural attitudes, moreover. Rather, they are institutionalised, both formally and informally”. “As a result, gays and lesbians suffer sexually specific status injuries. Denied the full rights and protections of citizenship, they endure shaming and assault; exclusion from the rights and privileges of marriage and parenthood; curbs on their rights of expression and association; the absence of sexual autonomy; demeaning stereotypical depictions in the media; harassment and disparagement in everyday life; and exclusion or marginalisation in public spheres and deliberative bodies. These harms are injustices of recognition”. “The remedy for the injustice, consequently, is recognition, not redistribution”.

“Matters become murkier, however, once we move away from these extremes. When we posit a type of collectivity located in the middle of the conceptual spectrum, we encounter a hybrid form that combines features of the exploited class with features of the despised sexuality. I call such a collectivity “bivalent.” Bivalent collectivities, in sum, may suffer both socioeconomic maldistribution and cultural misrecognition *in forms where neither of these injustices is an indirect effect of the other, but where both are primary and co-original*. In their case, neither the politics of redistribution alone

⁵This “neither alone is sufficient” is key for our claim that economic equality and equal treatment, exploitation and discrimination, or class and status stratification, are not one and the same thing. If our objective is the study of discrimination, blending both concepts would be a risky choice.

nor the politics of recognition alone will suffice. Bivalent collectivities need both". "Gender, I contend, is a bivalent collectivity. It encompasses both political-economic dimensions and cultural-valuational dimensions". "In fact, gender is not only an economic differentiation, but a status differentiation as well". "Thus, a major feature of gender injustice is androcentrism". "These androcentric norms do not operate only at the level of cultural attitudes, moreover. Rather, they are institutionalised, both formally and informally. Androcentric norms skew entitlements and delimit understandings of personhood in, for example, marital, divorce, and custody law; the practice of medicine and psychotherapy; reproductive policy; legal constructions of rape, battery, and self-defence; immigration, naturalisation, and asylum policy; popular culture representations; and everyday social practices and patterns of interaction. As a result, women suffer gender-specific status injuries". That is, discriminatory facts ensued by many and diverse resulting effects.

How unusual is gender in this regard? Are we dealing here with a unique or rare case of bivalency in an otherwise largely univalent world? Or is bivalency, rather, the norm?

"Race," it is clear, is also a bivalent mode of collectivity, a compound of status and class". "For practical purposes, then, virtually all real-world oppressed collectivities are bivalent."

3.2. Diversity: multidimensional social positions and identities

Georg Simmel's Multiple Group-Affiliations Model

Simmel's work entitled "The Intersection of Social Circles" (1967) is an evident antecedent of the intersectional concept, as it was assumed and developed by feminist theory and critical race studies. Kimberle Crenshaw (1989, 1991), who first made use of the word, and Spelman (1988), Collins (1991) or Anthias and Yuval-Davis (1983), were among the pioneers of the intersectionality approach. However, "Intersectionality starts out from accounts of the invisibility of the societal experiences of members of some specific groups of society" (Stoezler, 2016: 228), and Simmel starts from the experience of any individual, which is always sociologically affected by his or her multiple group affiliations. "Intersectionality" takes two or more separated single social categories or group affiliations, as gender, age or race, that intersects in an individual, and study the interactions been produced among them. But Simmel's work point to the constitutional fact that in modern society the personality of any individual is demarcated by the multiplicity of his/her group-affiliation. So intersectionality is not something that happens solely to the most vulnerable or oppressed, but to any individual living in a modern society. In fact, for Simmel multiple group-affiliations favours freedom and it is a condition of individuality development. "The number of different social groups in which the individual participates, is one of the earmarks of culture" (Simmel, 1967: 137). "Opportunities for individualisations proliferate into infinity also because the same person can occupy positions of different rank in the various groups to which he belongs" (Simmel, 1967: 150).

In sum, the personality of any individual, according to his/her social position, is determined by the multiplicity of his/her group affiliations and social categorisations. In other words, the social nature of any individual is multidimensional fleshed out. The intersectionality approach tries to compound what has been previously separated, that is, several single social categories, whereas the multiple group-affiliation approach starts from the very complex and multidimensional nature of any individual and social location. Therefore, we think the latter approach is the best for studying

discrimination and multiple discrimination in a complex society. Finally, multiple group-affiliation perspective made evident the relevant fact that no one social category or group can be homogenous, given that all its members will differentially belong to many different social categories or groups.

Reihart Bendix commented in his translation of "Die Kreuzungsozialer Kreise", that "A literal translation of this phrase, 'intersection of social circles', is almost meaningless. What Simmel had in mind was that each individual is unique in the sense that his pattern of group-affiliations is never exactly the same as that of any other individual. He may belong to a different set of groups as compared with another person... And because the same individual belong to many groups, Simmel refers to him as "standing at the intersections of social circles" (Simmel, 1967: 195). That is why Bendix translated the titled of this work as "The web of group affiliations".

Simmel's work contrasts the Medieval (concentric) and the Modern (intersecting) patterns of group-affiliation and analyses many examples of multiple group-affiliation.

"The sociological determination of the individual will be greater when the groups which influence him are juxtaposed [intersecting] than if they are concentric [parallel]. That is to say, human aggregates such as nation, a common social position, an occupation, and specific niches within the later, do no allot any special position to the person who participates in them, because participation in the smallest of these groups already implies participation in the large groups" (pag. 145). "The modern patter differs sharply from the concentric patter of group affiliations as far as a person's achievements are concerned. Today someone may belong, aside from his occupational position, to a scientific association, he may sit on a board of directors of a corporation and occupy an honorific position in the city government. Such a person will be more clearly determined sociologically, the less his participation in one group by itself enjoins upon him participation in another. He is determined sociologically in the sense that the groups 'intersect' in his person by virtue of his affiliation with them" (pag. 150)

"The medieval group in the strict sense was one which did not permit the individual to become a member in other groups ..." (p. 139). These "patterns [of group-affiliations] had the peculiarity of treating the individual as a member of a group rather than as an individual" (pa. 138). "An association which is derived from the membership of other associations places the individual in a number of groups. But these groups do not overlap ..." (pag. 138)

"The modern type of group formation makes it possible for the isolated individual to become a member in whatever number of groups he chooses. Many consequences resulted from this" (pag. 139). "As the individual leaves his established position within one primary group, he comes to stand at a point at which many groups 'intersect'. The individual as a moral personality comes to be circumscribed in an entirely new way, but he also faces new problems. But it is also true that multiple group-affiliation can strengthen the individual and reinforce the integration of his personality" (pag. 141).

"The groups with which the individual is affiliated constitute a system of coordinates, as it were, such that each new group with which he becomes affiliated circumscribes him more exactly and more unambiguously". "To speak Platonically, each thing has a part in as many ideas as it has manifold attributes, and it achieves thereby its individual determination. There is an analogous relationship between the individual and the groups with which he is affiliated" (pag. 139).

Highly relevant for the analysis of multiple discrimination are Simmel's reflections on the significance of concepts in the formations of groups and social categories. Social categories and groups are concepts socially and historically constructed, concepts that once assumed as real have personal, juridical, political, cultural and social consequences. They can be broad (comprehensive) or specific (particular), and its social extension can change over time. Particularly interesting are his insightful comments on how the social category of labourers or "workers" was socially constructed and gaining abstraction and amplitude.

"The solidarity of wage labour exemplifies a group-formation based on a pervasive social awareness. This social consciousness is especially interesting because it presupposes a high degree of abstraction over and above the particularities of individuals and of groups. No matter what the job of the individual worker may be, whether he makes cannons or toys, the very fact that he is working for wages makes him join the group of those who are paid in the same way. The workers' identical relation to capital constitutes the decisive factor". "The collective concept 'labourer' evolved from such concepts as weavers, mechanics, miners, etc." (pag. 172). "After the various trades have developed out of the growing division of labour, more abstract considerations now cut across the differences between the trades and establish a new social group on the basis of what the trades have in common. Here, logical and socio-historical processes act and react on one another" (p. 173). "This new social stratum would be established ... if the association of a number of trades would emphasise those interests common to all workers and thereby paralyse the divisive effects of the differences existing between them" (pag. 173).

Likewise, many grounds of discrimination facts are based on very broad social categories/groups, as "women", "black", "elderly", "immigrant", etc., and these categories are very abstract and comprehensive. The multiple discrimination approach tries to reverse this process towards abstraction and regain differences and particularities inside these broad social categories and groups. Of course, this reversal is not without risks, political or others.

In sum, starting, as Simmel, from the very nature of individuals occupying multidimensional social positions and dealing with multiple identities, allows for the incorporation of both the complexity of discriminatory facts experienced by individuals in our societies and the complexity of the social categories and groups themselves. First, the social nature of any individual is configured by a status-set, not only by a singular social position. Second, due to the multiple-group affiliation of its members, no one social category or group is homogenous.

However, we should complement Simmel's individual perspective thinking of societies as complex systems of multidimensional status through which privileged groups exerts their domination over underprivileged groups. The Patricia Hill Collins' concept of "matrix of domination" (Collins, 1991), the notion of structural discrimination, or Johan Galtung's Centre-Periphery Theory embrace this kind of macro-sociological perspective.

Johan Galtung's Centre-Periphery Theory

Johan Galtung published in 1964 *Foreign Policy as a Function of Social Position*, an article in which he analysed public opinions and attitudes of Norwegian people towards foreign policies according to their social position. To that end, he conceived the contrasting ideas of centre and periphery: "We need a simple and forceful axis to classify social positions, and for our purposes we shall divide

society into three parts: a decision-making nucleus (DN), surrounded by the centre (C) of the social structure, which again is surrounded by the periphery (P). On occasions we shall make a distinction between 'periphery' and 'extreme periphery' (EP), but the understanding is always that there is a continuum from the extreme periphery via the periphery and intermediate positions to the centre of the social structure. ... At this point it is sufficient to say that the social centre occupies positions that are socially rewarded, and the social periphery positions that are less rewarded and even rejected. In the centre are the topdogs of the society, in the periphery the underdogs. Thus, our model [of social structure] is simply this (Figure 1). *Society belongs to the centre*, it is visible and conceivable in its entirety mainly from the centre" (Galtung, 1964: 207-8).

"To translate into the operational term the ideas of 'centre' and 'periphery'", Galtung applied a multidimensional approach to social position. "Since the idea is to include in the centre the parts of the society that are favoured or rewarded and in the periphery the parts that are less rewarded or even rejected, centre and periphery clearly have to do with social rank. But is it a question of the rich v. the poor, or the occupationally high v. the occupationally low, or the educated v. the uneducated, or the geographical centre v. the geographical periphery? We saw no reason to favour any one of these or other dimensions of rank in the social order and for that reason we made two decisions: 1) to make a reasonably complete list of the dimensions that are used to rank all members of a nation, 2) to make a composite measure so as to use all the information obtained about the individual. We have used eight rank-dimensions and combined them as follows in an additive index" (Galtung, 1964: 217). Every rank dimension has a topdog or central position, and an underdog of peripheral position, as in Table 9, and the social position of any individual results from a combination of the eight rank-dimensions. "Reading vertically the two columns gives us the two social extremes, the complete topdog to the left and the complete underdog to the right" (Galtun, 1964: 218).

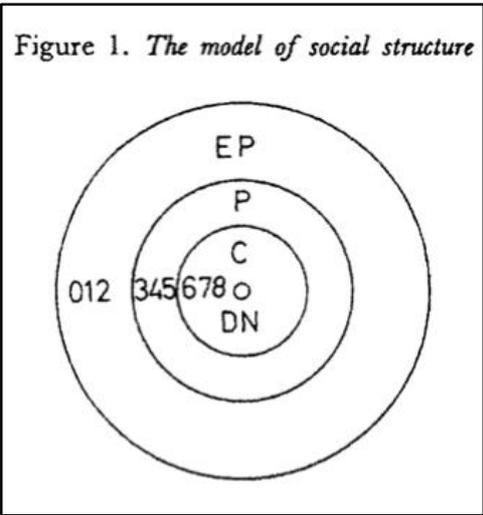


Table 9. *The composition of the index of social position*

	<i>Topdog or central (Score 1)</i>	<i>Underdog or peripheral (Score 0)</i>
1. Sex	male	female
2. Age	30-59	below 30, above 60
3. Education	more than primary	primary or less
4. Income	above median	below median
5. Location, ecologically	urban, suburban	rural
6. Location, geographically	central	peripheral
7. Occupation, position	white-collar, self-employed	blue-collar, foreman
8. Occupation, sector	secondary, tertiary	primary

Beyond the particular use given to this model in this article, the Centre-Periphery Theory contains two key ideas for discrimination studies. First, that social positions occupied by individuals are multidimensional in nature (Social Position Theory). And second, that inequalities are a relational phenomenon derived from the structural distribution of power (Rank Theory). Galtung synthesises his theory in his work entitled "Multidimensional social position" (2009).

"In a *simple structure* (a row in the table) the actors are related by only one relation; in a *multiple structure* by two or more. That allows for more holistic images of the total social position of the individual actor". Reductionist approaches are examples of bad social science. "All dimensions count, like the fault-lines generated by gender, generation, race, class, nation and territory as state, sub-state (district) or super-state (region)". "The holistic social position of an individual can be defined as the set of positions in all simple social structures". "Eminent sociologists like Robert K. Merton and Hans L. Zetterberg were working on the concept of social position under the heading of status-set, the set of statuses or social labels of any given individual, placing that individual in a multidimensional complex social structure" (Galtung, 2009: 43-46).

"For a better understanding of social position as a multidimensional concept, we need to add rank dimensions and modes of power. Besides we need to take into account contextual features". Galtung's Theory of Social Position "suggests to include 10 individual rank dimensions based on different power resources", that is, four ascriptive statuses: Gender, Generation, Race, and Nation/ethnicity; two semi-ascriptive statuses: Location (urban-rural) and Position in the socio-geographic network (Central-Peripheral); and four achieved statuses: Education, Income, Occupational Level, and the Economic sector. The 4 modes or types of power are the following: 1) Force (energy, physical power, violence, military power); 2) Bargaining (income, property, economic resources); 3) Persuasion (ideology, cultural advantages, symbolic power, voice), and 4) Decision (political power, authority, legitimacy, decision-making power). Finally, the position in these 10 rank dimensions and the holding of these 4 types of power "are embedded in two contextual features of power relations: 1) High or low division of labour, and 2) Central-peripheral in communication networking".

"The aim of our theoretical efforts to develop a non-reductionist holistic approach of structural inequalities was never restricted to descriptive empirical research of social relations within society and between societies. From the very beginning the dynamics of change to diminish or overcome structural inequalities constitute an important issue". "In general dynamism comes from the dialectics of disequilibrium and discordance, and the status quo from equilibrium and concordance". So there are four dialectical situations of people: powerless and equilibrated, powerless and dis-equilibrated; powerful and dis-equilibrated; and powerful and equilibrated. "The question is how do individuals with a social position ... use the resources on which they are strong?".

In sum, this multidimensional social position approach offers us a sound theoretical framework to study multiple discrimination integrating 'positional' and 'relational' approaches, "intracategorical" and "intercategorical" analyses (McCall, 2005), and "group-centred" and "process-centred" analysis (Choo and Ferré, 2010). The intracategorical analysis tends to focus on analysing the complexity and internal diversity within a given social category or group (McCall, 2005). However, the multidimensional social position approach starts from a specific but complex social location. Merton's concept of status-set refers to the same complexity, as does Simmel's concept of

multigroup-affiliations. “The intercategory (or categorical) approach, on the other hand, focuses on relations of inequality among already constituted social groups” or categories. “Unlike the other two approaches, this one is multi-group and comparative in its emphasis. It analyses the full gamut of dimensions of multiple categories, allowing a simultaneous and explicit examination of both advantage and disadvantage” (Denis, 2008: 686). “No single dimension of overall inequality can adequately describe the full structure of multiple, intersecting and conflicting dimensions of inequality” (McCall, 2005: 1791). However, the multidimensional social position approach adopts from the very beginning a structural and relational approach, towards inequality and discrimination, in which the distribution of power (centre and periphery, powerful and powerless, top-dogs and under-dogs) plays a fundamental role, as does in Max Weber’s theory of social stratification and in Nancy Fraser’s theory of justice.

Discriminators and discriminated

A legal and individualistic perspective tends to turn discriminatory actions into a mere question of *perpetrators* and *victims*, that is, into a situation in which only two individuals intervene. Furthermore, as we have noted before, this approach treats discriminatory facts as singular cases. This is a serious limitation, however important these famous cases may be. In this legal cases, the focus of attention is mainly centred on particular perpetrators, rendering nearly invisible the groups or social categories that collectively uphold discrimination.

A social science perspective of discrimination is structural and relational in essence. Consequently, we must take for granted that many different groups and social categories are involved in discriminatory facts. Perpetrators are singular individuals who commit unlawful behaviours. But we refer to discriminators as people with a high likelihood of performing discriminatory actions and people who participate in the production and maintenance of discriminatory facts. Discrimination is consistently seen from the perspective of social categories that are the regular basis or grounds of discrimination (women, blacks, people with disabilities, immigrants, elderly people, obese, etc.). However, men, healthy people, whites, middle aged, people at the social centre, with high-status positions, in sum, the *un-marked categories*, are seldom the focus of attention of discrimination studies. The research “will be too limited if it only leads to including the marginalised other as an object of study rather than reconceptualising the power relations of the centre and margins” (Choo and Ferree, 2010: 147). So, discrimination research and anti-discrimination policies must draw attention to perpetrators and discriminators. For example, “anti-stigma programs should target individual power groups whose discrimination is particularly problematic for persons with mental illness. The results of our analysis show that employers, landlords, and police officers may fall into this category and should be the focus of specific anti-stigma programs” (Corrigan et al., 2003).

Beyond the already mentioned discriminators, we must bear in mind two other important subjects, such as beneficiaries and gatekeepers. Discrimination, as exploitation, is a mechanism of stratification by which powerful social groups, through status ranking, obtain privileges, benefits, resources, etc., at the expense of others. Hence, from a structural and institutionalised view of discrimination, it is very important to keep in mind which are the social groups that take advantage of their position supporting, preserving and perpetuating the mechanisms and filters causing discrimination. As a matter of fact, beneficiaries and discriminators are not exactly the same, although they overlap in part. Likewise, *gatekeepers*, that is, people who directly operate the

discriminatory filters, must not be identified with beneficiaries or discriminators. As Moss-Racusin et al. have demonstrated, gender discrimination within academic science is not a men business only. "Faculty participants rated the male applicant as significantly more competent and hireable than the (identical) female applicant. These participants also selected a higher starting salary and offered more career mentoring to the male applicant. The gender of the faculty participants did not affect responses, such that female and male faculty were equally likely to exhibit bias against the female student" (Moss-Racusin et al., 2012: 16474). Similarly, labour discrimination against older people can be put into practice by older people themselves. "Both older and younger workers may be significantly affected by the ageist behaviour of both older and younger employer ... the boundaries between advantaged and disadvantaged groups become blurred", so "the status of 'discriminators' and 'discriminated' is not as clearly delineated as the extant literature on ageism would have us believe" (Oswick and Rosenthal, 2001: 165). This situation might look paradoxical but, when analysing discrimination, we must be aware that who concretely applies the discriminatory filter is not the most relevant sociological actor. Gatekeepers did not work for themselves, but for discriminators and, ultimately, for beneficiaries.

Just as we must consider *multi discriminated* people, we must also take into account whom we might call *multi discriminators*, that is, people with a high likelihood to discriminate that based their behaviour on more than one ground or who discriminate irrespective of particular grounds.

Finally, whereas *victims* are singular individuals who have been the object of a discriminatory action, *discriminated* people are those with a high likelihood of being affected by discrimination aimed at their social category or group, irrespective of having or having not personally suffered a discriminatory action. And just as it is important to envision the beneficiaries or winners of a discriminatory social system, we must also consider *the losers*, that is, all those who suffer the losses associated with an unjust and inefficacious society based on discrimination. To conclude, people suffer discrimination to a greater or lesser extent and to varying degrees, from mild to totally devastating consequences. An extreme case is *scapegoats*, that is, social groups discriminated against because society blames them for all the great sins and evils.

4. Theories and social mechanism of discrimination

Discrimination has been understood from two different metatheoretical approaches: *theories of group relations* (intergroup conflict theories) and *theories of status stratification* (social categorisation theories). Moreover, theories of discrimination can be classified according to two criteria, their *individualistic* or *structural* nature, and their *conscious* or *unconscious* character.

"The prominent sociological explanations for discrimination at the beginning of the new century are grounded in conflict theory (e.g., Blumer, 1958; Blalock, 1967, 1982; Reskin, 1988; Martin, 1992; Jackman, 1994; Tomaskovic H. Devey, 1993; Tilly, 1998). According to a conflict-theory perspective, the beneficiaries of systems of inequality protect their privileges by using the resources they control to exclude members of subordinate groups. Thus, these theories explain discrimination in terms of the strategic, self-interested actions by members of privileged groups who intentionally exclude and exploit subordinate-group members to protect or advance their own interests" (Reskin, 2000: 320).

Theories of status stratification would explain discrimination as unjustified results from regular social processes by which societies generate a status order marking certain social categories or groups as more valued than others. Traditional societies, for example, have structured themselves using gender and age dimensions and valuing some social positions well above others. These theories assume that social categorisation is a universal and normal process, and show that any categorisation divides the social world between “in-groups” and “out-groups”. Furthermore, this process implied that one category or group will be positively evaluated (appreciated, highly valued, admired, liked, honoured, praised), whereas the other will be negatively evaluated (disliked, abhorred, depreciated, detested, downgraded). Two important questions can be made about these theories of discrimination. First, does this process of categorisation and differential valuation play any social function? and if yes, which would be the functions that status orders might be accomplishing? Second, can social categorisation and differentiation legitimate unequal treatment and discrimination?

Following Reskin, we can state “that the standard sociological approaches to explaining workplace discrimination have not been very fruitful in producing knowledge that can be used to eradicate job discrimination. If sociological research is to contribute to the battle against injustice, we need to direct more attention to *how* inequality is produced”, “I argued that we would turn our attention to how as well as why discrimination occurs” (Reskin, 2000: 319-20). That is, to tackle discrimination we need to know *why* discrimination exists, but mainly *how* it is cultivated, which mechanisms intervene in the production of pervasive and recurrent discriminatory facts all over society. Without knowing these mechanisms we can neither design nor implement efficient anti-discriminatory policies.

So, all middle range theories of discrimination necessarily point to some specific mechanisms which keep discrimination alive. But we must bear in mind that any kind of discrimination can be simultaneously activated by many different types of discriminatory mechanisms, individualistic, structural, conscious or unconscious. Following, we present some *how-theories* and classificatory endeavours directed to understand the mechanisms operating in the creation and maintaining of discriminatory actions and facts.

4.1. Motive-based and mechanism-based explanations

In her analysis of ascriptive inequality, Reskin (2003) makes an important distinction, between “motive-based explanations” and the “mechanism-based model”, that can be fruitfully applied to discrimination. Moreover, she offers four types of mechanisms that must be considered in discrimination studies: intrapsychic, interpersonal, societal, and organisational.

Motive-based explanations

“Our reliance on motives to explain behaviour reflects a narrative mode in which people’s motives cause events. Thus, it is not surprising that many theories invoke motives to explain ascriptive inequality [discrimination] without addressing the mechanisms through which motives hypothetically operate”. Some examples are the following:

Gary Becker’s *taste theory of discrimination*: “any aversion toward members of a different group might make intergroup contact psychologically costly to prejudiced actors. This reasoning led Becker (1971) to formulate one of the first systematic theories of employment discrimination. He claimed

that the strength of employers' taste for race or sex discrimination is expressed in the above-market wages they pay whites or men to avoid having to employ minorities or women". The *neoclassical economic theory* makes two important assumptions. First, the desire for maximal profits hypothetically prompts firms to employ the most productive workers available at the lowest possible wage. Second, firms that discriminate suffer a competitive disadvantage that is a disincentive to discriminate. *Information costs theory*: "Economists also point to profit-motivated employers' desire to minimise the costs of labour-market transactions, including information costs. Theoretically, employers try to reduce the cost of information by using ascriptive group membership as a proxy for individuals' likely productivity or employment costs". *Kanter's explanation* for women's absence from managerial positions before the 1980s (1977: 48, 63): "managers' desire for informal communication motivated them to exclude members of some ascriptively-defined groups", that is, women. *Blalock' fear theory* (1956): "when minority groups become large enough to threaten whites, whites respond by relegating minorities to bad jobs". But neither him nor other researches "addressed the mechanisms through which whites' hypothesised fears lower blacks' relative earnings". In general, when we focus on motives (aversion, taste, fear, economic interests, desire, information costs, hate, homophobia, xenophobia, etc.), we do not pay attention to the mechanism through which actors' motives produce discriminatory facts. Furthermore, motive-based explanations lead to the balkanisation of motives, assuming that different motives cause different types of discriminations.

Mechanism-based explanation

"Motive-based models of ascriptive inequality consign the processes that convert actors' motives into more or less disparate outcomes to a black box (see Figure 1). Inside that black box are mechanisms—the intervening variables that link ascribed characteristics to outcomes of varying desirability. Mechanisms are the processes that convert inputs (or independent variables) into outputs (or dependent variables). Thus, a mechanism is "an account of what brings about change in some variable" (Sørensen 1998: 240). "The social mechanisms I discuss here are social arrangements that link ascriptive group membership to opportunities and rewards"⁶. There are four types of mechanisms: intrapsychic, interpersonal, societal, and organisational.

Intrapsychic mechanism: social cognition, social categorisation, stereotypes, prejudices, many internal motives, and mental processes can lead to discriminatory actions and facts. For example, "Status expectations research has also shown that intrapsychic mechanisms contribute to ascriptive inequality. Theoretically when persons from different status groups interact, members of both groups expect higher-status group members to outperform lower status-group members (Berger, Cohen, and Zelditch, 1972; Ridgeway, 1997). These expectations act as self-fulfilling prophecies, especially when the ascribed status that differentiates the groups is salient".

Interpersonal mechanism: "The extent to which allocators base personnel decisions on an allocates' age, sex, colour, accent, or perceived sexual orientation obviously contributes to ascriptive inequality in work settings". For example, "white experimental subjects who interviewed black job applicants

⁶ Contrary to Reskin, in our framework "discrimination" and "inequality" are two different phenomena, even though the former can cause the latter. Hence, our "mechanism" does not link social categories to outcomes, but to discriminatory facts. Other mechanisms, in turn, can link discriminatory facts to outcomes, which are the resulting impacts in our framework.

tended to sit farther from them, made more speech errors, and ended the interviews sooner than those interviewing whites". "Thus, white allocators' differential interaction with black and white interviewees precipitates poorer interview performance by blacks".

Societal mechanism: "Among others, these societal mechanisms include normative considerations within establishments' institutional communities, the expectations of their clientele, collective bargaining agreements, public transportation routes, and laws and regulations". For example: "The impact of Title 7 of the 1964 Civil Rights Act illustrates how societal mechanisms can indirectly affect ascriptive inequality [discrimination] within work settings by influencing what employers do".

Organisational mechanism: "At the organisational level, mechanisms that affect ascriptive inequality [discrimination] include the practices through which employers and their agents somehow link workers' ascriptive characteristics to work outcomes. Sometimes employers base opportunities and rewards on workers' ascriptive statuses as a matter of policy, favouring some groups and ignoring or harming others". For example, "The introduction of 'blind auditions' during the 1970s and 1980s brought female musicians into major symphony orchestras (Goldin and Rouse, 2000)"; "generally, the more bureaucratised personnel practices are, the less freedom managers have to act on their own stereotypes, biases, or impulses to favouring group members"; "One mechanism affecting allocators' discretion is the extent to which employers hold allocators accountable for their decisions (Salancik and Pfeffer, 1978; Tetlock, 1992)"; or "The existence of sanctions exerts an important effect on how firms' personnel practices influence ascriptive inequality".

Finally, Reskin suggests four ways to identify discriminatory mechanisms: a) exploring structure and context of discrimination, b) using theory and research as a heuristic tool for identifying mechanisms, c) carrying out case studies of organisations, institutions, and types of discrimination, and d) analysing discrimination lawsuits.

4.2. Social mechanisms and types of discrimination

In chapter 4 of their *Measuring Racial Discrimination*, entitled Theories of discrimination, Blank et al. (2004) meld theories with mechanism, offering at the same time four types of discrimination.

Intentional discrimination: conscious actions based on motives that are purposively activated. These actions include categorisation, stereotyping, prejudice, and behaviour against others. According to Gordon Allport (1954), individuals and organisations can behave negatively against the members of a social category or group in different ways: *verbal antagonism* (verbal hostility, disparaging comment, nonverbal expression of antagonism), *avoidance* (avoid to interact, contact, work, married, live, etc.), *segregation* (explicit exclusion from the allocation of resources and from access to institutions) *physical attack* (prejudice behaviours, hate crimes), and *extermination* (mass killing directed to the members of a social group or category).

Subtle, unconscious, and automatic discrimination: "The psychological literature on subtle prejudice describes this phenomenon as a set of often unconscious beliefs and associations that affect the attitudes and behaviours of members of the ingroup toward members of the outgroup". "Although prejudicial attitudes do not necessarily result in discriminatory behaviour with adverse effects, the persistence of such attitudes can result in unconscious and subtle forms of racial discrimination in place of more explicit, direct hostility". There are four kinds of subtle prejudice: *Indirect prejudice* (people blame the members of a social category or group for their disadvantage; *unconscious and*

automatic prejudice (unconscious categorisation of people and prejudice that unintentionally produce discriminatory facts); *ambiguous prejudice* (subtle prejudice that seems to favour the ingroup rather than to directly disadvantage the outgroup); *ambivalence prejudice* (members of certain social categories or groups may be “disrespected but liked in a condescending manner”).

Statistical discrimination and profiling: individuals or organisations “use overall beliefs about a group to make decisions about an individual from that group (Arrow, 1973; Coate and Loury, 1993; Lundberg and Startz, 1983; Phelps, 1972). The perceived group characteristics are assumed to apply to the individual”. “Statistical discrimination or profiling, properly defined, refers to situations of discrimination on the basis of beliefs that reflect the actual distributions of characteristics of different groups. Even though such discrimination could be viewed as economically rational, it is illegal in such situations as hiring because it uses group characteristics to make decisions about individuals”. “There are incentives to statistically discriminate in situations in which information is limited”. “For instance, a black cab driver who refuses to pick up blacks may be acting without racial animus but may be engaging in statistical discrimination by making probabilistic predictions about the risk of being victimised by crime, of receiving a lower tip, or of ending up in a distant neighbourhood from which the prospect of receiving a return fare is small”. “This type of statistical discrimination is considered intentional”. Contrary to statistical profiling, prejudice is based on a false or fictitious belief.

Organisational, institutional or structural discrimination: “The above three types of racial discrimination focus on individual behaviours that lead to adverse outcomes and perpetuate differences in outcomes”. “However, they do not constitute a fully adequate description of all forms of discrimination”. “Organisations tend to reflect many of the same biases as the people who operate within them”, but “Organisational rules sometime evolve out of past histories that are not easily reconstructed, and such rules may appear quite neutral on the surface”. “Such an embedded institutional process—which can occur formally and informally within society—is sometimes referred to as structural discrimination”. For instance, “real estate agents may engage in subtle forms of racial steering (i.e., housing seekers being shown units in certain neighbourhoods and not in others)”, or “Many firms hire more through word-of-mouth recommendations from their existing employees than through external advertising. By itself such a practice is racially neutral, but if existing (white) employees recommend their friends and neighbours, new hires will replicate the racial patterns in the firm, systematically excluding nonwhites”. In sum, “facially neutral organisational processes may function in ways that can be viewed as discriminatory”.

Finally, it is important to note that both individualistic and structural discrimination may be intentional or unintentional, conscious or unconscious. On one hand, organisations, institutions, and whole societies may operate processes that have been explicitly and consciously created to discriminate some social categories or groups. However, in a discriminatory society people may not be aware of such mechanisms because, embedded in their own culture, they will consider them as “natural” or “normal”. On the other hand, intentional and conscious discrimination are far from being the result of deliberate cognition and behaviour. Quite the opposite, most of the discriminatory acts come from automatic cognition and behaviour deeply ingrain in the personality and character of individuals, organisations, and societies. Affective structures play a fundamental role both in the way people feel about a social category or group (e.g. when interacting with one of its members), and in the way people react in some social situations (e.g. displaying verbal hostility or overt avoidance).

4.3. Prejudice, embeddedness and motivation

Feagin and Eckberg's article (1980) starts from the assertion that "the traditional emphasis on prejudice and its effects has left undefined the major types of discriminatory mechanisms and the range of motivations behind them". "Attitude-behaviour research, published primarily in a few social psychology journals, emphasises individualistic explanations; it seldom considers variables outside an experimental subject's personality or immediate reference group. Thus the relationship between prejudice (or related attitudes), on the one hand, and larger societal, structural, or organisational contexts on the other, remains unexamined". "Few studies of prejudice and discrimination, in looking at causal explanations, have focused on economic and political contexts. Instead, theories of frustration-aggression, scapegoating, the authoritarian personality, etc., have been examined". Furthermore, it is widely believed that the relation between prejudice and discriminatory behaviour is mechanical and deterministic. However, Robert K. Merton, as soon as 1970, tried to disentangle both concepts (*the prejudice-causes-discrimination model*) developing a four-category typology interrelating prejudice and discrimination: unprejudiced nondiscriminators, prejudiced discriminators, unprejudiced discriminators, and prejudiced nondiscriminators. In sum, "individualistic theories of prejudice cannot account for such massive patterns of discrimination as the centuries-long enslavement of the black Africans". And "because of their focus on prejudice and its relation to discrimination, social scientists have tended toward optimism about the eradication of discrimination". For example, Gary Becker (1971) suggests that "prejudice-generated discrimination, motivated by an irrational "taste" for discrimination (e.g. among employers) has greater social costs than benefits. If this is so, the growing rationality in the economic sphere should lead to the eradication of prejudice-generated discrimination and to benefits for employers and for society". But this has still not been proven to be true.

Feagin and Eckberg take two dimensions of institutionalised discrimination, that is, organisational embeddedness and motivation, to construct an analytic typology of discrimination. "*Embeddedness* refers to the organisational environment, the size and complexity of the relevant social unit. Size and complexity can vary from actions of a single individual to the routine practices of many individuals in a large organisation. Individual and small-group actions may not be embedded in larger-scale organisations, but rather in small-scale primary groups". *Motivation* is another important dimension of discrimination; we have noted how large it looms in the prejudice-causation assumptions of much of the traditional discrimination literature. In analysing discriminatory actions, we distinguish two basic types: intentional and unintentional.

Table 1 Embeddedness of discriminatory behavior^a

Intentional?	Embedded in large-scale organizations?		
	Not at all	Somewhat	Entirely
Entirely	Isolate discrimination (Type A)	Small group discrimination (Type B)	Direct institutional discrimination (Type C)
Somewhat	—	—	—
Not at all	Rare?	Rare?	Indirect institutional discrimination (Type D)

^aSource. Adapted from Feagin & Feagin 1978

Each kind of intentional motivation prompts a different mechanism: *prejudice-motivated discrimination* (stereotypes and prejudices), *conformity-motivated discrimination* (conformity to prejudices and stereotypes of relevant reference groups), and *gain-motivated discrimination* (tied to the protection of one's own political and economic interests).

- *Isolate discrimination*, “consists of intentionally a harmful action by a dominant-group individual against members of a subordinate group when that action is not embedded in a large-scale institutional or organisational setting”. For example, “a bigoted white prison guard would implement his prejudice by beating (only) black prisoners whenever he can, even though prison regulations specifically prohibit such beating”.

- *Small-group discrimination*, “comprises intentionally harmful actions taken by a small group of dominant-group individuals acting in concert against members of a subordinate group, without the immediate support of a large-scale organisational framework”. For example, “bombings by conspirators of a black church in a southern city and of a black's home in a northern city”.

- *Direct institutionalised discrimination*, “comprises organisationally or community prescribed actions that by intention have a differential and negative impact on members of a subordinate group. Both the actions and organisational policies directing the actions can be seen as examples of institutionalised discrimination. Typically, these actions are carried out routinely by individuals, indeed by large groups of individuals, who occupy roles and positions in organisations and institutions”. For example, “legally required practices resulting in the residential or school segregation of blacks and other nonwhites”.

- *Indirect institutionalised discrimination*, “consists of organisationally or community prescribed practices, motivated by neither prejudice nor intent to harm, that nevertheless have a negative and differential impact on members of a subordinate group. On their face, and in their intent, the norms and resulting practices are neutral, or “fair in form.” Examples of indirect institutionalised discrimination take two forms: past-in-present discrimination and side-effect discrimination.

There are two types of indirect institutionalised discrimination:

- *Past-in-present discrimination* “involves apparently neutral present practices whose negative effects derive from prior intentional discriminatory practices”. For example: “One variant involves penalising minorities now because they lack an ability or qualification they were prevented from acquiring in the past. The use of age restrictions and cumulative employment records in employment screening exemplifies past-in-present discrimination”. Another example: “The height and weight requirements for jobs in fire and police departments intended in the past for the evaluation of white males [or, in general, for males], now screen out disproportionate numbers of Mexican American and Asian American applicants [or female applicants]”.

- *Side-effect discrimination* “involves practices in one institutional or organisational area that have an adverse impact because they are linked to intentionally discriminatory practices in another. For example, reliance on educational credentials in the hiring process is widespread among employers. If the routine requirement of a credential has a differential and adverse effect on the employment of minority persons even though it is not used intentionally to differentiate by race, this practice can be seen as side-effect discrimination. Because of poor, segregated school systems and low family incomes, many minority persons are unlikely to have certain of the credentials required in the employment sector”.

4.4. The intersection of theories

The study of discrimination, and especially of multiple discrimination, requires applying for more than one theory. Any complex social situation of discrimination needs the support of several theories because discrimination is rarely achieved throughout a unique mechanism. Moreover, as multiple discrimination is based on several grounds, it will be likely to find several mechanisms operating simultaneously and interacting with each other to produce some complex but specific discriminatory facts.

Leticia M. Saucedo and Cristina Morales’ research on discrimination in the brown collar workplace, that is, in the Latino, low-wage, residential construction sector, is an excellent example of the need to apply several theories to a context in which discriminatory facts are routinely produced. The research analyses this discriminatory context from the perspective of Nancy, a composite character representing working women who work in the residential construction sector. “Nancy’s story exemplifies the interconnectedness of the theories of discrimination”.

Saucedo’s article (2009) focuses “on the works of legal scholars of three discrimination theories, as a way to explain some of the discriminatory dynamics in low-wage immigrant workplaces that prevent real integration. I draw on the work of legal scholars who have applied structuralist theories, performance identity theories, and masculinities theories to workplace environments. These three theories focus on distinct but interrelated aspects of discrimination: how the employer structures the workplace (structuralist approaches); how employees respond to workplace structures in order to fit in (performance identity); and how workers create narratives amongst themselves to maintain their place within the workplace hierarchy and at the same time preserve existing workplace structures (masculinities). Together these theories describe how discrimination manifests itself in the immigrant workplace. Immigrant workplaces operate at the intersection of these three theories, creating a form of discrimination not readily recognised by either the racial animus-based disparate treatment

theory, or the neutral policy based disparate impact theory". "The structuralist theory provides an overall framework, and the performance identity and masculinities theories provide the details and nuance for how discrimination operates in the low-wage immigrant workplace."

Saucedo continues on highlighting two basic goals of her work. First, to distinguish between discrimination by "formal barriers", which control jobs accessibility, and "structural discrimination", aimed to prevent full integration: "I focus on immigrant workplaces in part to show that discrimination has little to do with the legal "right" to a job, and everything to do with the dynamics that employers create when they develop and structure jobs". And second, to distinguish between "exploitation" and "discrimination": "The immigrant workplace, because of its segregated and highly contingent character, allows us to deconstruct the dynamics of the workplace, to re-examine the assumption that some workplace conditions are simply exploitative, and to explore discriminatory practices that result in exploitation."

- *Structuralist approach to discrimination*: "The theory attempts to link exogenous forces such as societal bias -conscious or unconscious- with employer structures in order to respond to the rhetoric that employers should not be held responsible for societal discrimination". "Susan Sturm argued that structural discrimination, a more subtle and complex form of workplace discrimination, is as destructive as first generation blatant discrimination because it continues to foster 'patterns of interaction among groups within the workplace that, over time, exclude nondominant groups'. These discriminatory structures have the same exclusionary effect as explicit barriers to entry or promotion". "New structuralist theorists argue that political, social, and economic factors that seem exogenous actually magnify differences". "According to these theorists, more attention must be paid to how seemingly exogenous forces operate within workplace organisations. Focusing on the interaction between the outside forces and the structures within the workplace may illuminate how discrimination operates in the workplace today". "So, as Sturm argues: 'behaviour that appears gender neutral, when considered in isolation, may actually produce gender bias when connected to broader exclusionary patterns'". "Tristin Green's work focuses on the dynamics that are created in the workplace through the establishment of employment structures". "How does the structuralist approach operate to identify possible discriminatory practices? Example 1: "Affective commitment requires strong workplace norms. Green argues that this type of organisational culture engenders discriminatory behaviour by allowing in-group bias to become the tool for cohesion and self-esteem. To the extent that an employer sets up structures through which a strong corporate culture is encouraged among employees, it is responsible for any resulting discrimination". Example 2: "With respect to the immigrant workplace, a similar type of characterisation may be operating. A structuralist theory reveals that employers who seek subservient workers may be establishing job structures that attract only those workers whose choices are constrained by outside societal forces. Undocumented workers are especially vulnerable to societal and legal constraints which limit their occupational and their advancement opportunities."

- *Performance Identity theory*: "the performance identity theory posits that race or ethnicity is something that is performed as much as, or more than, it is a static, fixed concept. The performance identity theory of intersectionality focuses not just on a person's status identity but also on the way that a person chooses to perform her differences. This theory says that race discrimination in the workplace "is a dialectical process within which race both shapes, and is shaped by, workplace culture". Garbado and Gulati, "take note of the 'race-producing practices reflected in the daily negotiations people of colour perform in an attempt to shape how (especially white) people

interpret their nonwhite identities'. 'In the context of everyday interactions, people construct (that is, they project and interpret particular images of) race' as well as class and gender". Example 1: In the low-wage setting, the "employer preferences for certain characteristics result in statistical discrimination and, in turn, in immigrant workplaces. To the extent employer preferences and statistical discrimination rely on stereotypes and biases based on race, ethnicity, gender, or another protected category, their preference-based behaviour is discriminatory". In this context, employees could act "in a way that signals a behaviour that employers seek". Example 2: "Jennifer Gordon and Robin Lenhardt have applied this performance identity conception of race in the immigrant worker context. They argue that low-wage workers have some agency in how they perform their identities, either downplaying negative stereotypes or exploiting positive stereotypes. They perform their identities as subservient workers, which arguably make them desirable to low-wage employers. As Gordon and Lenhardt note: "To the extent that new Latino immigrants can maintain employers' view of them as more hardworking, compliant, and reliable than native-born workers, especially African Americans, they advance their position on the path to be-longing". "Gordon and Lenhardt describe performance identity in the immigrant worker context as exhibiting agency, albeit ... "agency" is less an expression of choice as it is an expression of the dynamic that the employer produces when it requires subservience and complacency for the job".

- *Masculinities Theories*: they were developed "as a method for studying the narratives that maintain gender roles in society. Just as the performance identity theory explores the social construction of race and ethnicity, masculinities theories explore the construction of gender in the workplace and throughout society. Masculinity refers to both individuals and to collective or organisational practices". Sociologists Robin Ely and Deborah Meyerson have aptly described the interplay between individual and organisational levels as "the organisational structures and practices through which societal images of masculinity are routinely translated into scripts individual men use to negotiate a masculine identity at work". "These narratives serve a stabilising function within the workforce" and "they may also serve the employer's desire for the efficiency that comes from a homogeneous workforce, in this case, an immigrant male one". So, For example: "a hypermasculine environment in construction is supported by masculinities narratives that emphasise the masculine nature of the work, the amount of brute strength needed to carry it out, the humiliation of those who complain about its conditions, and the hypersexualised atmosphere among co-workers". Example 2: "How do masculinities narratives help accomplish the employer's goal of an efficient, profit-maximising, stable and reliable workforce? In much the same way as the performance identity theory reveals that the employer's search for homogeneity affects how employees behave to get the job and stay in it, masculinities theories catalogue the ways in which workers learn to conform to gender specific roles in the workplace". In the meanwhile, women experienced discrimination in these sectors.

There are two kinds of masculinities narratives. "*Hegemonic masculinities* are those that provide the narratives for maintaining Anglo, male-dominated workplaces and hierarchies". "Managerial workplace structures are examples of those that engender the hegemonic masculinities. The gendering of leadership qualities as male is an example of a hegemonic masculinity narrative". "*Resistance masculinities* are best described as those responding to, and at the same time reproducing, hegemonic masculinities narratives. In the workplace, they are the methods by which subordinates find value or dignity in the nonremunerative aspects of their positions, by diminishing the masculine nature of managerial jobs and inflating the masculine qualities of blue-collar jobs". "For example sociologist Paul Willis's working class masculinities study" shows that "the narrative of

the tough, brave male helps workers who fit the mould develop self-esteem, as well as a sense of control over difficult, sometimes unbearable, working conditions". "Sociologist Kris Paap recently studied masculinities of Anglo blue collar construction workers" and "identified several masculinities operating to support gender and race/ethnicity hierarchies. These masculinities provided a status floor below which Anglo males cannot fall. The "pigness" masculinity gives rise to a "structure of no complaints" among the workers, who individually may fear ridicule or ostracism if they cannot tolerate the tough conditions on the job. "Pigness" in the construction context is the method by which working class men value themselves and their otherwise undervalued jobs".

The performance identity theory and masculinities theories show us that discriminated people confront the discriminatory situations as agents who activate pro-active or resistance coping strategies.

5. Direct and indirect impacts of multiple discrimination

Our approach starts from a clear distinction between discriminatory facts and their resulting impacts. Even though it is obvious that discrimination produces inequality, we should not assume that every inequality between groups derives from discrimination. Hence, it would be an error to equate disparate impacts and discrimination. We need to study, first, the causal chain that goes from the social categorisation established by a certain status order to the discriminatory facts and, second, the differential impacts produced by these same facts.

This section focuses on the unfair and adverse impacts resulting from the social selections settled down by a discriminatory system. There are two types of impacts resulting from discrimination: emotional and functional. Emotional impacts are those affecting the subjective well-being of discriminated people produced directly by the discriminatory facts themselves, and indirectly throughout the functional impacts. Functional or instrumental impacts are those effects that alter negatively the life situation and capabilities of discriminated people. Whereas direct emotional impacts have to do with the order of status, recognition and cultural schemes, functional impacts have to do with resources, capabilities, and power. The intensity, scope, and relevance of these impacts, both emotional and functional, varies greatly depending on the relevance of discriminatory facts themselves, but also on the vital domain in which such facts occur.

As multiple discrimination is experienced by people occupying multidimensional social positions defined by at least two discriminatory grounds, we should study their global effects. Different discriminatory factors, mechanisms, cultural categories, economic and power resources interact to shape the context, the identity and the life situation of multiple discriminated people. Finally, we should take into account that individuals are not mere passive objects who suffer the impacts of discrimination without any possibility of reacting to them. For this reason, it is essential to introduce human agency in the analysis of the impacts of discrimination. Human beings react to life situations both individually and collectively, and we should analyse the ways in which discriminated people try to cope and confront the discriminatory situations.

5.1. Emotional and functional impacts of discrimination

We propose a holistic approach to the study of impacts that discrimination has on people. This holistic perspective considers the total life situation of multiple discriminated individuals, and not one or another single discriminatory event. We should know and understand the global structure formed by all the discriminatory facts that play an important role in his or her life. Once we have a clear idea of which are the relevant discriminatory facts of his/her life situation, we will try to understand them as embedded into a broader social context, and only then will we be able to envision the vital impacts that their life experiences due to discrimination. It is important to note that these impacts do not depend on the analytic interaction or intersection of two or more discriminatory grounds, as can be thought from a statistical perspective based on variables. Social reality acts the other way around. We used to extract statistical variables isolating elements present into the social situation, but these elements conform to a unified social reality. People occupy multidimensional social positions, and we should start from this reality. It can be that all dimensions of a specific social position correspond to socially privileged categories or groups, that all dimensions correspond to disadvantaged groups or, which is the more frequent case, that a mix of advantaged and disadvantaged dimensions define social positions. In sum, we are not very interested in estimating the net effects of the interaction of several discriminatory grounds, but in comprehending which are the general effects of discriminatory facts on the typical life situation of a specific multidimensional social position. We need to know, from a holistic point of view, the total life situation and the structure of discriminatory facts that are characteristic of a multidimensional social position and identity.

Makkonen (2002: 5) refers to a similar idea when indicating that “Some researchers have suggested that instead of this events-oriented approach, we should see discrimination in its historical and social context, i.e. as a process (process-oriented approach), due to which disadvantaged groups may become excluded or subordinated. Seeing discrimination in its specific context is one of the main elements of an intersectional approach”. “Furthermore, in the experiences victims of discrimination, acts and situations of victimisation often form a continuum in which one act follows another, and in which the totality becomes worse than the sum of its constituent parts. Discrimination and other forms of intolerance manifest themselves in various situations. ... Disadvantages in one field of life often reinforce disadvantages in the other fields of life. Focusing on just one event is thus often insufficient in remedying the experiences of a particular person”.

Chun et al. (2013: 918), who have studied the Asian Immigrant Women Advocates (AIWA), an organisation that has been serving the interest and aspirations of low-wage immigrant women workers with limited English-language skills for thirty years, make a clear statement in favour of a holistic view of intersectionality. “AIWA does not embrace intersectionality simply because its members have been wounded by racism, sexism, imperialism, class exploitation, and language discrimination, but because each realm of these experiences has helped the organisation to see how power works and how new identities are needed to combat its intersectional reach and scope. This approach rejects the subordination of one oppression to another. It does not focus solely on gender, class, race, or language, nor does it organise along single-axis identities such as Chinese or Korean or Vietnamese immigrants, Asian Americans, women, or workers. Rather, it offers participants many different points of entry and engagement at the intersections of their diverse and plural identities. In doing so, AIWA promotes an approach to identities as tools to be used in complicated, flexible, and strategic ways. AIWA’s systematic approach to grassroots community organising is designed to

enable participants to recognise, analyse, and address the overlapping layers of marginality and discrimination in their lives”.

Emotional Impacts

We have defined discrimination as a social selection that deprives discriminated people of the recognition and respect they deserve as human beings. In doing that, discrimination always amounts to a strong devaluation and depreciation of the person being discriminated against. Accordingly, discriminated people feel several negative emotions, as shame, sadness, anxiety or depression.

“Scheff argues that shame and pride are the fundamental social emotions. Cooley’s theory of the looking-glass self conceives the human being as always adopting the role of the other, arguing that we always see and evaluate ourselves from an external perspective. This basic mechanism of sociability involves three steps. The first is imagining how we appear to the other; the second is imagining how the other judges this appearance; and the final step is a response based on what we think of this judgment in the form of a feeling such as pride or shame (Cooley, 1964 [1902]). Any encounter can become embarrassing for any participant (Goffman, 1956: 265), who can suffer a loss of face and feel ashamed. Scheff’s theory of shame is based on the assumption of the ‘maintenance of bonds as the most crucial human motive’ (Scheff, 1990: 4). There are secure and insecure bonds. Secure bonds produce solidarity, and insecure bonds, alienation. In each encounter our bond with the other can be ‘built, maintained, repaired or damaged’ (Scheff, 1994: 1). Shame and pride constitute a ‘gyroscope’ which informs the individual of the state of his or her social bonds. We feel legitimate pride when the bond is secure, and shame, a very painful emotion, when we are rejected by or lose worth in the eyes of the other” (Bericat, 2016: 502). Discrimination, as unequal treatment, amounts to a rejection or a lack of recognition by others. And this means that society, or at least some groups, systematically shame, embarrass, mortify and humiliate discriminated people.

“Despite the implicit meaning in many of the metaphors used in current language (Kövecses, 1990), emotions are not, according to Gregory Bateson, a specific substance, but rather, patterns of relationships which link the self with its environment, fundamentally with others – in other words, with the social world (Burkitt, 2002: 151). Kemper’s social relational theory (1978) argues that primary emotions are a product of the outcome of interactions in two basic social dimensions, power and status: Fear is the outcome of an interaction in which an actor is subject to a power greater than his/her own; anger appears when we believe someone else is responsible for denying us merited status or prestige; depression emerges when an actor loses status, but sees himself/herself as responsible for the loss; and finally, ‘satisfaction results from interactions in which the power outcome is nonthreatening’, and status outcomes are similar to what was expected or desired (Kemper, 1987: 275)” (Bericat, 2016: 496). Actors with a high level of status, or to whom others give deference, will feel positive emotions such as pride, while those that lack status, or lose it, will feel negative emotions such as shame.

According to Scheff and Kemper’s theories, we can affirm that discriminated people will continuously be at the verge of feeling shame and depression. People devalued and depreciated in the eyes of discriminators and society in general experience intense emotional injuries just for the sake of being discriminated against, that is, for lacking the respect and recognition they deserve. It has been clearly shown that lack of respect and recognition causes unhappiness. In advance of the functional impacts

of discrimination, stereotypes, prejudices, and stigmatisations engender strong emotions that seriously diminish subjective well-being.

Stereotypes, prejudices and negative attitudes are sufficient conditions for experiencing typical emotions of discrimination, as shame. Discriminated people will feel depression when they see themselves as responsible for their loss of status. This is why obese or overweight people feel depressed in many cases. "One of the factors that contribute to antifat attitudes is the idea that weight is controllable unlike other stigmatising conditions (e.g., race, gender) (Crandall, 1994). Overweight people are perceived as responsible for their weight condition (Crandall, 1994). It is believed that overweight people could choose to exert some self-control to lose weight. Although the ease of sustained weight loss has been questioned (Mann et al., 2007), for some people, the belief that weight is controllable justifies their discriminatory attitudes (Crandall and Martinez, 1996). Overweight people are blamed for their weight" (Bartels, 2016: 39).

"The work-related characteristics associated with weight stereotypes are summarised by Roehling (1999) and include: lacking self-discipline or control, lazy, less conscientious, less competent, sloppy, more likely to have an emotional or personal problem, more likely to have negative personality traits, less healthy, less likely to get along with others, and more likely to be absent. It's quite a list and none of the characteristics are likely to be valued by an employer. Similarly, Brochu and Morrison (2007) found that negative traits (e.g., inactive, lazy, sloppy) were more likely to be ascribed to overweight individuals". "Even if the stereotypes are inaccurate, they are widely held and may colour employer perceptions of overweight applicants/employees" (Bartels, 2016: 39).

The more intense the discriminatory attitudes, the more strong the negative emotions felt by discriminated people. "Cultural norms regarding weight can contribute to antifat attitudes. Beauty standards vary for men and women. For men, being larger than average is ideal. For women, being thinner than average is ideal" (Chrisler, 2012). "A woman's value is tied to her appearance, much more than a man's" (Roehling, 2012: 596). Objectification and sexualisation of women contributes to antifat prejudice against women and can lead to wide-spread body dissatisfaction (McHugh and Kasardo 2012). "Female students from the U.S. reported higher levels of fear of fat than male students and higher levels of fear of fat than Mexican females (Crandall and Martinez, 1996)" (Bartels, 2016: 39). And weight, gender and subcultures also interact. "For example, Blacks may be more accepting of larger body size. In their study of weight stigma of black and white females of varying sizes, Hebl and Heatherton (1998) found that white women raters rated obese white women from photos as lower on attractiveness, intelligence, popularity, happiness, relationship success and job success than thin or average weight women. White female raters also rated obese women from photos as less likely to hold a prestigious job. Black women raters did not show the same obesity stigma" (Bartels, 2016: 35).

Discrimination has direct emotional impacts on discriminated people, but also indirect emotional effects through its functional impact on their life chances and capabilities. Discrimination in any domain of life, like employment, health or housing, decrease the subjective well-being of people discriminated against. For instance, "The continued prevalence of workplace discrimination is of concern due to its adverse effect on individual stress and aspects of wellbeing" (Ryff et al. 2003). "Studies have found that high levels of discrimination or prejudice can negatively impact the psychological and physical wellbeing of its targets" (Clark et al., 1999; Ganster and Rosen, 2013; Gee et al., 2007). "The high occurrence of discrimination coupled with the covert, subtle and aversive

nature of “modern racism” or “current day” discrimination may contribute to more psychological and emotional trauma associated with discriminatory acts”. Furthermore, “the cumulative effect of repeated occurrences of racism and sexism may be particularly critical in marginalising and reducing workplace wellbeing of minority women” (Bell and Nkomo, 2001). “To battle disrespect and racism they encounter on a daily bases, many of the women we talked to choose to disengage from their work to protect their wellbeing: they did not want to “sacrifice [their] health or happiness”. Disengagement occurs because discrimination depletes psychological and physical resources and minority women must compensate and find ways to rejuvenate” (Coms and Milosevic, 2016).

Functional impacts

Lack of recognition, immanent to discrimination, causes very serious and negative emotional consequences. However, discriminatory social selections affect not only the social valuation, and hence the social status of discriminated people, but also their power resources. Discrimination reduces both life chances and capabilities.

According to Max Weber, life chances refer to the opportunities each individual has to improve his level and quality of life. Among the resources available by a person we can list education, salary, property, health, social services, social networks, political power, culture, etc. “Positive freedom or – in the words of Dahrendorf– ‘life chances’ guarantee each individual with fair opportunities to realise their talents, wishes, and hopes. Life chances occur by the interaction between ‘options’ and ‘ligatures’. Options are choices and alternatives of action for each individual, provided within social bonds. Ligatures, on the other hand, are the social bonds and allegiances that constrain the individual given realities”. Dahrendorf assumes that there is a certain optimal balance between options and ligatures, where an individual has the greatest possible number of life chances. This balance is of great importance, as options without ligatures result in a social vacuum, in which values or standards no longer exist: choice becomes impossible without assigning value to the choices considered. Whereas ligatures without options cause oppression of the individual by the community, state or family. Life chances are guaranteed by providing each citizen with certain social and political rights, which create both options and the social network that make them possible, such as free education, minimum wages, housing and freedom of speech. To describe a society in which everybody has fair life chances, Dahrendorf uses the metaphor of a house: “If all men are to have equal opportunities to develop their talents, interests, even eccentricities and idiosyncrasies, there has to be a common floor on which they stand. That floor is provided by citizenship rights, and the higher it is the better. But apart from this positive approach one has to make sure also that nobody is in a position to restrict the life chances of others, or indeed their citizenship rights, arbitrarily. [...]” (Beaufort, 2010: 124).

The capabilities approach introduced by Amartya Sen, and developed by Martha C. Nussbaum, can be used to explore, describe, analyse, measure and evaluate the functional impacts that the whole structure of discriminatory facts has on an individual. “The capability approach to a person’s advantage is concerned with evaluating it in terms of his or her actual ability to achieve various valuable functionings as a part of living. The corresponding approach to social advantage ... takes the sets of individual capabilities as constituting an indispensable and central part of the relevant informational base of such evaluation”. “Perhaps the most primitive notion in this approach concerns ‘functioning’. Functioning represents parts of the state of a person –in particular the various things

that he or she manages to do or be in leading life. The capability of a person reflects the alternative combinations of functionings the person can achieve, and from which he or she can choose one collection". "Individuals may, however, differ a good deal from each other in the weights they attach to these different functionings –valuable though they may all be- and the assessment of individual and social advantages must be alive to these variations". "There is no escape from the problem of evaluation in selecting a class of functioning in the description and appraisal of capabilities. The focus has to be related to the underlying concerns and values, in terms of which some definable functionings may be important and others quite trivial and negligible" (Sen, 1993: 30-31).

Nancy Fraser (1996: 13-14) points to the lack of life chances and capabilities of individuals discriminated on the ground of their sexual orientation, as LGBT people. "These heterosexist norms do not operate only at the level of cultural attitudes, moreover. Rather, they are institutionalised, both formally and informally. Heterosexist norms skew entitlements and delimit understandings of personhood in, for example, marital, divorce, and custody law; the practice of medicine and psychotherapy; legal constructions of privacy, autonomy, and equal opportunity; immigration, naturalisation, and asylum policy; popular culture representations; and everyday social practices and patterns of interaction. As a result, gays and lesbians suffer sexually specific status injuries. Denied the full rights and protections of citizenship, they endure shaming and assault; exclusion from the rights and privileges of marriage and parenthood; curbs on their rights of expression and association; the absence of sexual autonomy; demeaning stereotypical depictions in the media; harassment and disparagement in everyday life; and exclusion or marginalisation in public spheres and deliberative bodies. These harms are injustices of recognition".

As another example, we can think of obesity. Fat or overweight individuals are stigmatised and suffer different forms of denigration, scorn, ridicule, degradation, disdain and deprecation. But it is evident that they also suffer discrimination directly affecting their life chances and capabilities. The existence of weight discrimination in employment is well documented. "Despite equal qualifications, overweight or obese candidates are almost always rated as less qualified and given lower starting salary recommendations". "Rudolph et al. (2009) conducted a meta-analysis of 25 weight bias studies and concluded that overweight applicants are evaluated more negatively in workplace decision-making such as hiring, promotions, predicted success, suitability, or performance evaluation" (Bartels, 2016: 34). "In his review of weight discrimination, Roehling (1999) concluded that there is inconsistent evidence of a weight by sex interaction, but when it does occur, it disadvantages women. Similarly, in their meta-analysis, Roehling et al. (2013a) did not find evidence that sex was a moderator of the relationship between weight and hiring outcomes" (Bartels, 2016: 34).

However, when we study perceived employment discrimination, that is, "the extent to which people feel they have been mistreated due to their weight", Puhl et al. (2008) found "very different patterns of height/weight discrimination between men and women. Women were twice as likely as men to report height/weight discrimination". "For women, perceived discrimination occurs at lower weight levels. Men are at risk for discrimination with BMIs (35 or greater which is classified as obese) and for women perceived discrimination is likely with much lower BMIs (27 which is classified as overweight)". "Thus, both obese males and females perceived weight discrimination, but for women perceived discrimination was experienced at lower weight levels than men" (Bartels, 2016: 35-36). We can also find interaction between weight and gender in wages. "Several studies have examined gender differences in pay based on weight". "Judge and Cable (2011) found an inverted U pattern for men such that there was a positive relationship between weight and pay up to the point of obesity

where obese men face a wage penalty". "On the other hand, women are punished for any weight gain above a very thin weight. Very thin women had the highest wages with steep declines following even small weight gains". In sum, "across employment and salary studies using experimental and correlational methods to study weight discrimination, overweight women were found to be disadvantaged compared to overweight men in the workplace. According to Maranto and Stenoien (2000), 'for women, thinner is always better, no matter how thin you already are'" (Bartels, 2016: 36).

5.2. Multiple Interactions of life domains and discriminatory grounds

Cumulative effects of discrimination across time and life domains

The effects of multiple discrimination cumulate across time and domains. As we have already seen, past-in-present and side-effect discrimination unveil mechanisms through which discriminatory facts may cause remote effects. Hence, if we want to know how much life chances and capabilities of multiple discriminated people deteriorate, we need to take into account the cumulative effect of all discriminatory facts that form part, directly or indirectly, of their social situation.

Effects of discrimination accumulate across time, as in past-in-present discrimination (Feagin and Eckberg, 1980), in historical discrimination (Pager and Shepherd, 2008), or in cumulative discrimination (Blank et al., 2004). "These historical sources of discrimination may become further relevant, not only in their perpetuation of present-day inequalities, but also through their reinforcement of contemporary forms of stereotypes and discrimination. As in Myrdal's (1944) "principle of cumulation," structural disadvantages (e.g., poverty, joblessness, crime) come to be seen as cause, rather than consequence, of persistent racial inequality, justifying and reinforcing negative racial stereotypes (pp. 75–78)" (Pager and Shepherd, 2008: 198).

Blank et al. devoted chapter 11 of their book to cumulative disadvantage and racial discrimination, arriving to the following conclusion: "Measures of discrimination from one point in time and in one domain may be insufficient to identify the overall impact of discrimination on individuals. Further research is needed to model and analyse longitudinal and other data and to study how effects of discrimination may accumulate across domains and over time in ways that perpetuate racial inequality [discrimination]" (Blank et al., 2004: 12).

"We briefly elaborate on the concept of cumulative discrimination and how it relates to other concepts and measures, making four main points. First, by *cumulative discrimination we mean a dynamic concept that captures systematic processes occurring over time and across domains*". "Second, measures of discrimination that focus on episodic discrimination at a particular place and point in time may provide very limited information on the effect of dynamic, cumulative discrimination". "Third, current legal standards do not adequately address issues of cumulative discrimination". And "Fourth, the effects of cumulative discrimination can be transmitted through the organisational and social structures of a society" (Blank et al., 2004: 225-26).

There are three main avenues through which cumulative discrimination may occur: "First, the effects of discrimination may cumulate across generations and through history. For instance, impoverishment in previous generations can prevent the accumulation of wealth in future

generations". "Second, effects of discrimination may cumulate over time through the course of an individual's life across different domains. Outcomes in labour markets, education, housing, criminal justice, and health care all interact with each other; discrimination in any one domain can limit opportunities and cumulatively worsen life chances in another. For instance, children who are less healthy and more impoverished may do worse in school, and in turn, poor education may affect labour market opportunities". "Third, effects of discrimination may cumulate over time through the course of an individual's life sequentially within any one domain. Again, small levels of discrimination at multiple points in a process may result in a large cumulative disadvantage. For instance, children who do not learn basic educational skills in elementary school because of discrimination may face future discrimination in the way they are tracked or the way their test scores are interpreted in secondary school" (Blank et al., 2004: 68-69).

Effects of discrimination accumulate across domains intensifying the reduction of life chances and capabilities of multiple discriminated people. "Although traditional measures of discrimination focus on individual decision points (e.g., the decision to hire, to rent, to offer a loan), the effects of these decisions may extend into other relevant domains". For instance, "discrimination in housing markets contributes to residential segregation, which is associated with concentrated disadvantage (Massey and Denton, 1993), poor health outcomes (Williams, 2004), and limited educational and employment opportunities (Massey and Fischer, 2006; Fernandez and Su, 2004)". Single point estimates of discrimination within a particular domain may substantially underestimate the cumulative effects of discrimination over time and the ways in which discrimination in one domain can trigger disadvantage in many others". "Finally, anticipated or experienced discrimination can lead to adaptations that intensify initial effects. Research points to diminished effort or valuation of schooling (Ogbu, 1991), lower investments in skill-building (Farmer and Terrell, 1996), and reduced labour force participation (Castillo, 1998) as possible responses to perceived discrimination against oneself or members of one's group". "For an understanding of the full range of effects associated with discrimination, these indirect pathways and self-fulfilling prophecies should likewise be examined" (Pager and Shepherd, 2008: 199-2000).

The study of discrimination impacts in multidimensional social positions should consider two essential facts. First, that discriminated people, even those discriminated just on one unique ground, are usually discriminated in many different life domains. It is highly unlikely that one individual is discriminated in just one domain, like housing, employment, law enforcement, health services or education. Second, that multi-discriminated people combine, in a really complex structure, both effects of discrimination in different domains and discrimination based on several grounds.

For instance, a survey research on perceived discrimination among persons with serious mental illness (Corrigan et al., 2003) "suggest that just because people are stigmatised because of their mental illness does not mean that they escape these other two [race and sexual orientation] types of prejudice". Results show that 73.3% of mentally ill people report perceived discrimination based on psychiatric disability, but also based on economic circumstance (51.5%), physical disability (36.4%), age (30.2%), gender (27.4%), race (27.0%), homeless status (21.5%), religion (20.4%), sexual orientation (14.7%), arrest with jail time (14.7%), and country of origin (9.8%). The frequencies for different subgroups of being discriminated because of membership in that subgroup are the following: African American (65.6%), Asian (60.0%), Latino (52.5%); female (33.9%); homosexual (82.9%), bisexual (41.4); physically disable (49.3%). However, "these results do not support the notion that being a member of an additional stigmatised group will increase the likelihood of a

person's viewing his or her mental illness as the source of discrimination". At the same time, those mentally ill who have experienced discrimination report having been discriminated in a different domain: employment (51.0%), housing (29.9%), law enforcement (25.7%), traditional mental health service (22.8%), education (22.1%), public accommodation, such as in a hotel or restaurant (13.8%), and in consumer-operator service (8.9%).

Intersectionality and multidimensional social positions and identities

Since the publication in 1989 of Crenshaw's article, entitled "Demarginalising the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics", intersectional approaches have been linked to the study of discrimination. Cho and Ferree (2010) have summarised the three ways of understanding intersectionality put in practice during the last three decades. They distinguish between group-centred, process-centred, and system-centred analysis. Each one of these approaches focused around one of the three defining aspects of intersectionality: inclusion, analytical interactions, and institutional primacy. Of course, these three approaches are very useful and have been applied in discrimination studies.

- *Group-centred* approach. It "emphasises placing multiply-marginalised groups and their perspectives at the centre of the research" and it is "defined in practice as a focus on inclusion of the experiences of multiply-marginalised persons and groups". "This methodological emphasis on what Hancock calls "multiple intersections" and McCall defines as an "intracategorical" approach focuses especially on differences of experience for subgroups within a category, and often generates lists of groups to be included as well as debates over the priority to be given to one or another intersectional location (Andersen, 2008). However, if one theorises intersectionality as a characteristic of the social world in general, intersectional analysis should offer a method applying to all social phenomena, not just the inclusion of a specifically subordinated group (McCall, 2005; Yuval-Davis, 2006)". Furthermore, "a methodological emphasis on inclusion sometimes fetishises the study of "difference" without necessarily giving sufficient attention to its relation to unmarked categories, especially to how the more powerful are defined as normative standards" (Cho and Ferree, 2010: 131-133)

- *Process-centred* approach. "Intersectionality as a process highlights power as relational, seeing the interactions among variables as multiplying oppressions at various points of intersection, and drawing attention to unmarked groups". This approach is "defined in practice as an analytic interaction: a non-additive process, a transformative interactivity of effects". "This captures methodologically what intersectionality theorists mean by moving beyond the enumeration and addition of race, class, gender, and other types of social subordination as separate factors". "In distinction to studying the multiple "main effects" of inequalities, theories of intersectionality are by definition alert to the need for analysis of interactions". "As McCall (2005) argues, a core element of this approach is comparative analysis, since seeing how the interplay among different structures of domination varies will demand a methodology that insists on comparisons above the level of the individual". "McCall calls this "intercategorical" because it seeks dimensions of variation in the intersections across categories, however defined, while Glenn (1999) stresses this as "relational" because it highlights the material and cultural relations of power that structure societies". "The methodological demands of a process model are greater than those of an inclusion model, since

explicit comparison, attention to dynamic processes, and variation by context are all understood as inherent in intersectionality.”

System-centred approach. “Seeing intersectionality as shaping the entire social system pushes analysis away from associating specific inequalities with unique institutions, instead of looking for processes that are fully interactive, historically co-determining, and complex”. “What Weldon (2008) calls an “intersection-only” model reflects a view of intersectional transformations in which no process is given hierarchical primacy in an institution”. “Walby (2009) calls such a fully intersectional model of the societal institutions that produce inequalities “complex” and contrasts this system-spanning model with what she calls “segmented inclusion,” in which the economy is seen as so “saturated” with class, the family with gender, and the nation with ethnicity that within each institutional area all other forms of inequality can only be seen as “additional””. “In sum, this view of intersectionality as a complex system assumes a methodology that sees everything as interactions, not “main effects.” The challenge is to identify the local and historically particular configurations of inequalities, since every system is contingent and path dependent”.

Intersectionality studies focus on categorical interactions, but we may adopt one of three possible options: the first one assumes that only “main effects” are relevant when analysing multiple discrimination; the second one states that we need to consider both main and “interaction effects”; and the third one asserts that discriminatory facts and resulting effects, characteristic of a social position and identity, naturally multidimensional, are indivisible and could not be comprehended as the analytic intersection of different social categories. Only from a holistic, integrated and multidimensional understanding of social positions and identities, as embedded in a social system, we will be able to understand their distinctive configurations of discriminatory facts and resulting effects.

In fact, as stated by Verloo (2013: 893), inequalities, like discrimination grounds, may interact strengthening one another, specifying one another, or cancelling one another. “Which of these they do is a matter of empirical evidence”. But research on the effects of belonging to more than one social discriminated category or group is almost lacking.

“What might be possible consequences for discrimination for people belonging to two stigmatised groups? On the one hand, it could be argued that each stigmatised group membership accumulates and makes an increased contribution to the experience of discrimination (Beale, 1970). Thus, the more stigmatised groups an individual belongs to, the more discrimination he/she will experience. This prediction has been discussed in the literature as the phenomenon of “double-jeopardy” (or “multiple jeopardy”) of multiply-stigmatised people (Beale, 1970). Although this hypothesis sounds compelling and seems to be consistent with many narrative accounts of multiply-stigmatised individuals, there is inconsistent empirical evidence concerning this proposition (e.g., Best, Edelman, Krieger, and Eliason, 2011; Greenman and Xie, 2008; Levin, Sinclair, Veniegas, and Taylor, 2002; Rosette and Livingston, 2012; Steffens, Bergert, and Heinecke, 2010). On the other hand, there is compelling initial empirical evidence that multiple stigmas could interact in a complex way, whereby belonging to more than one stigmatised group might result in less discrimination (e.g., Pedulla, 2014; Remedios, Chasteen, Rule, and Plaks, 2011). People typically ascribe a set of positive and negative stereotypes to a social group. The intersection of two stigmatised group memberships might lead to the blending of stereotypes associated with both groups. If stereotypical elements are perceived as

conflicting or incompatible, individuals might be seen as non-prototypical representatives of either of the two stigmatised groups” (Mazziotta et al., 2015: 326).

“For instance, Turks in Germany are often perceived as threatening and are stereotyped as rigid in their thinking, fanatical, prone to violence, conservative, attached to traditional gender roles, and intolerant toward people of different faiths – thus, as emotionally cold and incompetent (Asbrock, 2010; Kahraman and Knoblich, 2000; Mazziotta and Rohmann, 2014). Being a Turkish and gay male might reduce these perceptions of threat and the stereotype of being emotionally cold, since gay men are often stereotyped as effeminate, sensitive, liberal, open-minded, friendly, and fashion-conscious – thus, as emotionally warm and incompetent (Asbrock, 2010; Kite and Deaux, 1987; Madon, 1997). Consequently, gay male Turks might be evaluated more positively because they are perceived as less threatening. However, the intersection of the two stigmatised identities might also lead to the conclusion that these individuals are not “real” Turks (because they are gay men) and not “real” gay men (because they are Turks). The failure to fully recognise people as members of their broader social categories has been described as intersectional invisibility (Purdie-Vaughns and Eibach, 2008)” (Mazziotta et al., 2015: 326).

Mazziotta, Zer and Rohmann investigated, in two online field-experiments, “the effects of belonging to an ethnic minority, a sexual minority, or to both minority groups simultaneously on rental discrimination in Germany”. “A German heterosexual couple, a German gay male couple, a Turkish heterosexual couple, or a Turkish gay male couple inquired about a rental offering”. “In line with our predictions, we found evidence in both studies for discrimination based on ethnicity in Germany”. “In the US not all ethnic minorities are discriminated against to the same extent. While Blacks received fewer positive responses than Whites, Asian Americans received more positive responses than either Whites or Blacks. Crucial for the occurrence of discrimination seems to be which social stereotypes are associated with a specific ethnic minority”. “Contrary to our hypothesis, we did not find evidence for discrimination on the German rental market based on sexual orientation”. Others studies have provided mixed results. For instance, Ahmed and colleagues provided evidence of discrimination in Sweden based on sexual orientation for gay men (Ahmed and Hammarstedt, 2009), but not for lesbians (Ahmed et al., 2008)”. “Attitudes toward gays and lesbians are typically more favourable in larger cities compared to rural areas (Küpperand Zick, 2012). Future research should investigate more systematically the proposed moderation by context and homophobic attitudes. The proposed explanation is also in line with previous research that has revealed the importance of contextual factors when analysing discrimination of sexual minorities” (Mazziotta et al., 2015: 326).

In sum, “We proposed that intersecting the two stigmatised identities should therefore result in less discrimination since gay male Turks might be perceived as less threatening compared to heterosexual Turks”. “In both field-experiments, we did not find any support for our prediction that the intersection of two stigmatised identities would result in less discrimination”. “Thus, given the importance of ethnicity within this specific context and in contemporary German society in general, ethnicity might have been the most prominent and only social indicator property owners used in deciding which inquiry received a response. In support of this argument, previous research on the effects of crossed categorisation provided evidence of category dominance, that is that, depending on the real-life context, one particular category dimension (e.g., ethnicity, religion, or gender) is more powerful than others in shaping attitudes toward a target (e.g., Hewstone, Islam, and Judd, 1993)” (Mazziotta et al., 2015: 330-332).

Multiple social categorisation and identity may determine very different likelihoods of being discriminated against. In general, gender matters in this respect, so we must differentiate male and female individuals when studying any multidimensional social position.

Arai et al. (2008) made an experimental design to measure employment discrimination in Sweden testing “employer priors against job-applicants with Arabic names compared to job-applicants with Swedish names”. “Employer priors are tested separately for female and male applicant pairs to allow for differences in priors attributable to job characteristics in a market characterised by considerable occupational gender segregation”. “In the first stage of the correspondence test ... applicants with Arabic sounding names are found to have significantly lower call-back rates regardless of gender”. “Results for the second stage correspondence test show that significant differences in call-backs between female applicants are eliminated. No changes in call-back rates are however observed for men, despite enhanced CVs for the disfavoured group (applicants with Arabic names)”. “These results contradict the widely held belief that women with foreign backgrounds suffer from both ethnic and gender discrimination in the labour market. Rather, the results reported here suggest that it is Arabic men that suffer most from discrimination as higher qualifications do not overcome the negative priors of employers concerning this group”.

“In conclusion, the results in this study suggest that male and female members of an ethnic minority do not always face the same type of employer priors on unobserved characteristics. Employers in Sweden appear to have stronger negative priors concerning the unobservable characteristics of Arabic men or inflexible tastes for discrimination against Arabic men”. “Studies within social psychology show that stereotypes about a group are often closely correlated to the stereotypes about the men belonging to that group, while the stereotypes about women from the same group may differ greatly from the group stereotype. Eagly and Kite (1987) empirically examined this hypothesis for 28 nationalities finding that national stereotypes are largely in line with the male stereotypes of that nation while the stereotype about women from the same nation may differ greatly from the male national stereotype. This is especially true when large gender differences in equality are included in the national stereotype. In such cases women are stereotyped according to general female stereotypes rather than specific national stereotypes” (Arai et al., 2008: 9, 18).

Canan and Foroutan (2016) carried out a “study to examine the German population’s perception of Muslims when multiple categorisation is applied”. “Multiple social categorisation is one option for influencing people’s perception such that negative social opinions based on ethnicity, race, or religion decrease or disappear entirely”. “We tested the effect of multiple social categorisation using the hypothetical situation of a Muslim marrying into the own family”. “In the case of the Muslim woman, diverse categorisation leads to an additive pattern that contributes to an improvement in the respondents’ perception. But the perception bias of the Muslim woman does not disappear when compared with the Christian woman. Multiple categorisation has no influence on the respondents’ perception in the case of the Muslim man. Thus, the Muslim man is negatively perceived despite diverse categorisation”. “Multiple categorisation works only when the Muslim in question is a woman. But perception differences between the Muslim woman and the Christian woman do not totally disappear. When the Muslim person in the same scenario is a man, multiple social categorisation has no effect on the perception of respondents”. “Our work shows that the impact of multiple social categorisation on the German population’s perception of Muslims seems to be mainly depending on the gender of the person in question. This has consequences for the use of the Muslim category as a one-dimensional category”. “Although a plurality of perceptions exists in

modern and diverse societies, certain simple perception patterns built on the 'we'/'them' divide along ethnic/race or religious boundaries are highly dominant. These patterns can be traced to structural (Wimmer, 2008) or cognitive (Stangor et al., 1992)" (Canan and Foroutan, 2016).

As the actual structure of discriminatory facts potentially experienced by an individual occupying a multidimensional social position and identity cannot be determined theoretically given certain intersecting categories, as we must know what category assumes the dominant role or is more salient, and as it depends on the life domain, the context of interaction, the social situation and the general social order in which the categories operate and make sense, we support the methodological idea of rejecting "analytical intersectionality" as the best paradigm to approach multiple discrimination.

The interaction effects between different grounds of discrimination, life domains, time, categories, stereotypes, and prejudices are very complex and context-dependent. Approaching multiple discrimination from an intersectional perspective, though it looks initially and theoretically as a very promising endeavour, ends up being a very frustrating exercise at last. Discriminatory effects are the by-product of such complex interactions that we must also take into account the status-classes feedback. The economic consequences of being discriminated not only reinforce discrimination, but also legitimise the cultural schemata created and used by a society to discriminate. Discrimination interacts with exploitation in social processes of status-classes feedback that can only be understood structurally. Multidimensional social positions and identities are not demountable components of societies, but one of its most essential ingredients.

In sum, we need to advance from an individualistic and analytical intersectionality towards a holistic and structuralist intersectionality. Sewel's theory of structure, intended to restore human agency to social actors, to build the possibility of change into the concept of structure, and to overcome the division between semiotic and material visions of structure, may help us achieve this end. "Structures are constituted by mutually sustaining cultural schemas and sets of resources that empower and constrain social action and tend to be reproduced by that action". "Placing the relationship between resources and cultural schemas at the centre of a concept of structure makes it possible to show how social change, no less than social stasis, can be generated by the enactment of structures in social life". "One reason arrays of resources can be interpreted in more than one way is that structures or structural complexes intersect and overlap. The structures of capitalist society include both a mode of production based on private property and profit and a mode of labour organisation based on workplace solidarity. The factory figures as a crucial resource in both of these structures, and its meaning and consequences for both workers and managers is therefore open and contested. The intersection of structures, in fact, takes place in both the schema and the resource dimension". "Occupancy of different social positions -as defined, for example, by gender, wealth, social prestige, class, ethnicity, occupation, generation, sexual preference, or education- gives people knowledge of different schemas and access to different kinds and amounts of resources and hence different possibilities for transformative action". "Agency is formed by a specific range of cultural schemas and resources available in a person's particular social milieu" (Sewel, 1992: 19-20)

5.3. Agency and coping: adaptation, resistance, transformation

In the traditional approach to discrimination, people who discriminate directly, explicitly and intentionally are the only ones considered as real agents. Neither subtle or unconscious discriminators, nor discriminated people are viewed as human beings endowed with agency. Discriminated people are viewed solely as victims, that is, mere passive individuals devoid of any control over the situation.

However, for achieving a full understanding of social discrimination, we need to assume that all participants of discriminatory situations, discriminators and discriminated people, intentional and unintentional actors, use their material and symbolic resources to institute, maintain, fight against, alleviate, destroy, resist, intensify, reproduce or transform the order of status that sustains a discriminatory pattern. Just like discriminators in a context in which discrimination has been declared to be an unlawful subtle act to sustain unequal treatments and their excluding effects, discriminated people use all the resources and mechanisms available to them to endure, adapt, resist or transform the discriminatory situation in which they are living. This micro-interactional game shows the deep intentionality that keeps any discriminatory matrix alive. Ultimately, no discriminatory system can last without intentionality, no matter how concealed or disguised it is under some alleged neutral or objective mechanisms. In sum, to reveal how discrimination and its effects function, it is essential to analyse the interactional agency of all the actors who take part in any discriminatory situation.

Even though agency is a universal attribute of human beings, some discriminated individuals or groups act like passive agents who merely endure discrimination as a natural phenomenon, without even noticing it or thinking whether they deserve unequal or exclusionary treatment. However, even in these cases, discriminated people are never totally passive agents. Everyone copes with the life situations in some way or another. In this regard, we can distinguish three levels of agency or three basic coping strategies before discriminatory situations: a) adaptation, b) resistance, and c) transformation. It should be also clear that any coping strategy or level of agency may be adopted by isolated individuals or by groups performing collective actions.

Some authors draw attention to the relevance of agency and show us many different aspects and mechanisms linked with coping before discriminatory situations.

According to Sewel (1992: 200-22), "to be an agent means to be capable of exerting some degree of control over the social relations in which one is enmeshed, which in turn implies the ability to transform those social relations to some degree. As I see it, agents are empowered to act with and against others by structures: they have knowledge of the schemas that inform social life and have access to some measure of human and nonhuman resources. Agency arises from the actor's knowledge of schemas, which means the ability to apply them to new contexts. Or, to put the same thing the other way around, agency arises from the actor's control of resources, which means the capacity to reinterpret or mobilise an array of resources in terms of schemas other than those that constituted the array. Agency is implied by the existence of structures". "Agency differs enormously in both kind and extent. What kinds of desires people can have, what intentions they can form, and what sorts of creative transpositions they can carry out vary dramatically from one social world to another depending on the nature of the particular structures that inform those social worlds". "Agency also differs in extent, both between and within societies". "Occupancy of different social positions ... gives people knowledge of different schemas and access to different kinds and amounts of resources and hence different possibilities for transformative action". "Finally, I would insist that agency is collective as well as individual". "I do see agency as profoundly social or collective".

“Agency entails an ability to coordinate one's actions with others and against others, to form collective projects, to persuade, to coerce, and to monitor the simultaneous effects of one's own and others' activities”.

- *Adaptation* is the first level of agency and may adopt many different forms, as *avoidance* or the *performance* of identity. It is a coping strategy that eludes to confront or change discrimination itself. The individual only tries to avoid or withdraw from situations in which the likelihood of being discriminated, and hence of experiencing its emotional impacts, is quite high or painful. It is a way to adapt, accommodate or resign to discrimination self-moving to segregated spaces, positions, occupations, relationships, etc. Beyond avoidance, discriminated people may remain in the situation, but performing their identities in such a way as to prevent at least some discriminatory impacts. Avoidance is a partly misleading strategy, because the individual does not completely avoid the functional impacts of discrimination, maybe just the emotional ones.

“One typical behavioural response is to engage in a so-called strategy of avoidance, by which the person concerned seeks to – knowingly or not – avoid situations in which the likelihood of ending up discriminated against is particularly high. For example, a person engaging in avoidance strategies may seek only jobs for which there is less competition – typically the less well-paid jobs – where it is thus less likely that an employer can ‘afford’ to discriminate. These self-imposed restrictions may be ‘effective’ in decreasing the likelihood of being discriminated against, but they also severely limit the opportunities of the persons concerned and are dysfunctional from the point of view of the society. In addition, also people who have not themselves experienced discrimination, but who are aware of the existence of widespread discrimination against members of their group, may also engage in avoidance strategies” (Makkonen, 2007: 20).

The last idea of the previous paragraph is very important because it reveals the difference between discrimination acts and discriminatory facts or social discrimination. The most part of social discrimination is invisible and only needs to create suitable expectations to produce their intended outcomes. In this regard, Blank et al. observe: “An implication of statistical discrimination is that members of a disadvantaged racial group for whom group averages regarding qualifications are lower than white averages may need to become better qualified than non-Hispanic whites in order to succeed (Biernat and Kobrynowicz, 1997). Thus, the practice of statistical discrimination can impose costs on members of the targeted group even when those individuals are not themselves the victims of explicitly discriminatory treatment” (Blank et al., 2004: 63). The same arguments apply to “*associational choices* made by members of different racial groups, such as whom one lives with and marries, whom one’s friends might be, and even whom one sits next to at lunch”. For Blank et al. (2004: 43), “although they may have large and adverse effects on differential racial outcomes”, “issues of associational choice do not fall into our definition of discrimination”, “as long as those choices are based entirely on individual preferences and not on group-imposed exclusionary policies or practices. It is not always clear when an associational decision is freely chosen and when it is subject to such tight constraints that it might be considered discriminatory”. However, from a social science perspective avoidance does fall in our definition. For instance, a discriminatory system, through terror or acquiescence, may be very efficient and need only very few discriminatory acts.

Combs and Milosevic (2016: 24) talk about disengagement, which is one form of avoidance. “The cumulative effect of repeated occurrences of racism and sexism may be particularly critical in marginalising and reducing workplace wellbeing of minority women (Bell and Nkomo, 2001). To

battle disrespect and racism they encounter on a daily bases, many of the women we talked to choose to disengage from their work to protect their wellbeing: they did not want to “sacrifice [their] health or happiness”. Disengagement occurs because discrimination depletes psychological and physical resources and minority women must compensate and find ways to rejuvenate”. “In addition, women also disengage from their work through decisions to find employment elsewhere”. “For example, faced with continued daily doses of racism, one woman ... saw this particular experience of subtle discrimination as a culminating event that triggered her decision to leave her job”.

Another kind of adaptation and coping strategy is performance identity or status performance. “Performance identity adds to the structuralist discussion by introducing the interplay among workplace actors as part of the larger equation. As Carbado and Gulati explain: “In the context of everyday interactions, people construct -that is, they project and interpret particular images of-race”, as well as class and gender. Carbado and Gulati give an example of a black woman who can choose to signal that she is not a prototypical or stereotypical black through identity performances that brand her as “unconventionally” black. In their example, how a black woman chooses to style her hair signals to an employer her willingness to assimilate or fit in. Performance identity approaches to workplace discrimination open avenues for thinking about discriminatory practices” (Saucedo, 2009: 358). In the same vein, “faced with the possibility of statistical discrimination, members of disadvantaged racial groups may adopt behaviours to signal their differences from group averages. For example, non white business people who want to signal their trustworthiness and belonging to the world of business may dress impeccably in expensive business suits. Non white parents who want their children to get into a first-rate college may signal their middle-class background by sending their children to an expensive private school” (Blank et al., 2004: 62-63). Masculinity narratives, being hegemonic or resistance, are also discourses that lead to certain performances as coping strategies to construct social positions in the workplace. These performances tried to support certain hierarchies and differential valuation of status and categories” (Saucedo, 2009: 363-364). This is why members of social categories/groups with both high and low status construct and perform their identities in the most advantageous possible way. However, people from the social centre are more able to define a much more favourable image than people from the periphery.

Resistance. “What is resistance? In general, resistance refers to opposition to a harmful force or influence. There are two senses in which resistance or opposition are commonly used: *challenging*, confronting, or fighting a harmful force or influence, and *deflecting*, impeding, or refusing to yield to the penetration of a harmful force or influence. These are intentional, agentic responses to possible harm; the first involves pushing back with a force of one’s own, while the second involves deliberately blocking an outside force so that it glances away or falls back—one guards or hardens the self rather than engaging in conflict. To distinguish between the two, I refer to them as challenging and deflecting types of resistance. I propose that both forms of resistance serve to protect the self against devaluation, but challenging opens possibilities for victory in changing others’ negative views or actions, while deflecting does not. Even when efforts are unsuccessful, the courage and initiative required for confrontation may reinforce an individual’s sense of personal control or empowerment. Thus, confrontational resistance may raise self-esteem, while blocking may simply maintain a person’s self-esteem at its current level” (Thoits, 2011: 11).

Resistance, like adaptation, are two coping strategies. “Devaluation and discrimination are stressors with which persons must cope (Major and Eccleston, 2005; Miller and Kaiser, 2001; Phelan, Link, and

Dovidio, 2008); they are situational demands that harm or threaten the self and prompt cognitive or behavioural efforts to readjust (Lazarus and Folkman, 1984). Perceived prejudice is a persistent or recurrent strain, and discriminatory acts are acute negative events with identifiable onsets and offsets. Stress theory holds that people draw from their personal and social resources in order to cope with negative events and chronic strains (Pearlin, 1999)". In this respect, a very fundamental concept is that of resilience. For some scholars resilience refers to the ability to withstand harm. But Peggy Thoits sees "resilience –maintaining a stable equilibrium in functioning in the face of adversity– as an outcome of the use of resistance strategies" (Thoits, 2011: 18).

In which conditions people resist, challenging or deflecting discrimination? In the case of mental illness, Thoits find five factors that "may increase the likelihood of using deflecting and challenging resistance strategies in stigmatising interpersonal encounters": "past experience with stigma resistance; past familiarity with mental illness in family or friends; characteristics of the illness, illness career, and treatment setting; high levels of psychosocial coping resources; and multiple role-identities". Regarding the last factor, "It is important to note that deliberately decreasing the salience/importance of a problematic role-identity is frequently described in the literature as a self-protective or self-restorative strategy". "One disengages from a devalued, stressful identity and invests instead in other more rewarding identities. However, changing one's identity hierarchy is not a form of resistance as conceived here (as opposition). In reorganising one's priorities, one repairs damage already done to the self rather than parries or blocks potential damage to the self at the outset". "The distinction is subtle". But "Despite the intricacies of disentangling these two strategies, the distinction seems important: a person who resists is relatively invulnerable to stigmatisation while one who repairs has taken a "hit" to self-regard and struggles to recover" (Thoits, 2011: 16-20).

"By conceptualising resistance as opposition to the invasion of devaluation and discrimination, I have attempted to cast a boundary around the range of coping responses that might be characterised as resistant". "My goal was to add to the coping strategies that individuals use to ward off the consequences of perceived or experienced stigma". "Including resistance tactics helps to advance a key contribution of modified labelling theory: bringing personal agency "back in". In the classic labelling theory, the individual is a passive victim, compelled by other people's stereotypes and constraining behaviours to accept a mental patient identity". Finally, for Thoits resistance can be individual and collective. "Up to this point, challenging strategies employed by individuals have been the focus. But challenging can also occur collectively, in the form of advocacy and activism by consumer groups aimed at changing societal beliefs and system-level discriminatory practices. Corrigan and Lundin (2001) discuss three strategies of collective action: contact, education, and protest". "Righteous anger is generated when one both rejects cultural stereotypes as unjust and identifies with other patients/consumers, a combination that leads to collective action. However, I have proposed that challenging is not limited to actions by groups but includes confrontational tactics that individuals employ on their own" (Thoits, 2011: 22-23).

- *Transformation*. Challenging resistance strategies "open possibilities for victory in changing other's negative views or actions". Resistance strategies combat discriminators and their discriminatory actions. However, discrimination itself is not challenged. We need to transform the status order that feeds discrimination, that is, its categories, stereotypes, prejudices, associated interest, etc., to radically confront discrimination. In Hegel's dialectics terms, Thesis-Antithesis-Synthesis, actual discrimination corresponds to the thesis moment; resistance, to the negative moment or antithesis; and transformation, to the third moment or synthesis, the moment that cancels or preserves, or

unifies and combines, the thesis and the antithesis. The synthesis leads to the introduction of a new status order with new concepts and categories that transcend the discriminatory facts of the past and resistance to them. A new order emerges in which neither discrimination nor resistance make sense. With transformation agency reaches the top.

“The concept of ‘political intersectionality’ reflects a dual concern for resisting the systemic forces that significantly shape the differential life chances of intersectionality’s subjects and for reshaping modes of resistance beyond allegedly universal, single-axis approaches. Political intersectionality provides an applied dimension to the insights of structural intersectionality by offering a framework for contesting power and thereby linking theory to existent and emergent social and political struggles” (Cho et al., 2013: 800). To the extent that political intersectionality goes beyond resistance and offers new frameworks for transcending discriminatory order, it will have transformative power. This transformative power is evident in Asian Immigrant Women Advocates (AIWA). “AIWA members recognise that the identities that disadvantage and disempower them in many different ways also position them to be at the centre of meaningful social change”. “Through AIWA, they redefine their status from members of devalued social groups into grassroots leaders with the experiences, skills, and knowledge to change policy and spearhead innovations in the workplace, industry, and broader society”. “AIWA has embraced intersectionality as a vital part of the everyday work of social movement mobilisations. Intersectionality is deployed in three key ways: as a framework for analysing the interlocking arenas of gender, family, work, and nation; as a reflexive approach for linking social movement theory and practice; and as a guiding structure for promoting new identities and new forms of democratic activity among immigrant women workers”. “Their problems cannot be addressed by single-axis struggles for national liberation, peace, feminism, class justice, or multilinguality, yet every disempowerment they face reveals a different dimension of how inequalities are created and maintained”. “Race, gender, class, and other situated identities do not become parts of a vague composite in AIWA’s activism”. “All politics are identity politics. All struggles over power concern the social meanings applied to constructed identities”. “Politicised social identities are intentional creations” (Chun et al., 2013).

As Judith Butler explains, “The terms by which we are hailed are rarely the ones we choose (and even when we try to impose protocols on how we are to be named, they usually fail); but these terms we never really choose are the occasion for something we might still call agency, the repetition of an imaginary subordination for another purpose, one whose future is partly open” (1997: 38) (Chun et al., 2013: 936).

6. Conclusions

Discrimination is becoming the hegemonic discourse on inequality in Europe and hence is progressively broadening its meaning. Therefore, we need a valid and accurate concept of discrimination.

We define discrimination as any unfair and adverse social selection, brought about by actions, processes, barriers or filters based on the belonging to a social category or group, that deprives their members both of a right socially guaranteed and the recognition and respect they deserve as human beings.

Discrimination is a social phenomenon and can only be completely understood from a social science perspective.

Justice, law, and rights are essential components of discrimination. However, despite its undeniable relevance, traditional legal approaches focus on a limited part of the discrimination realm. We must be aware that unlawful behaviours, that is, unequal treatment, are just the tip of a vast iceberg.

Psychological theories have made essential contributions to the scientific knowledge of discriminating behaviour, be intentional or unintentional, conscious or unconscious. However, an individualistic perspective is unable to explain why certain individuals internally adopt social categorisations, stereotypes, prejudices, and perform discriminatory behaviours. It is really hard to find into the individual mind the ultimate and actual causes of discriminatory facts. Discrimination is highly dependent on contextual factors, such as the society and the historical moment in which discriminators and discriminated people are living together.

We propose a multidisciplinary approach to discrimination in which legal, psychological, sociological, political, economic and cultural dimensions are essential both for a full understanding and for an efficient designing of anti-discrimination measures to tackle social discrimination.

Our social science framework for understanding discrimination starts from specific multidimensional social positions and tries to reveal the whole configuration of discriminatory facts present in the life situation of the people occupying such locations in the status order. Then, follows pursuing the explanation of two fundamental links. First, between social positions and discriminatory facts, aiming to reveal the main mechanisms and filters producer of discrimination. And second, between discriminatory facts and their resulting impacts on the life quality of discriminated people.

The effects or impacts of discrimination, be emotional or functional, are of a twofold and exceptional nature. On the one hand, they should not be confused with discriminatory facts. They are not discrimination, *strictu sensu*. That is why impacts have not been included in the definition. On the other hand, effects are precisely that what discrimination essentially wants and seeks to achieve. In this sense, disparate effects produced by discriminatory facts, although only those exclusively produced by them, should be considered to be an immanent part of discrimination. This is why resulting impacts have been included in the discrimination framework. The social relevance of discriminatory facts is tantamount to the social relevance of their emotional and functional effects. Discrimination is a social exclusionary mechanism devised by status orders to produce adverse and aversive effects on some social categories or groups.

From a sociological perspective, there are two fundamental metatheories that help us to understand the structure of discrimination of a given society in a given moment of time: a) theories of group relations (intergroup conflict theories), and b) theories of status stratification (social categorisation theories). Conflict theory unveils how powerful groups discriminate powerless ones to improve, keep or not lose their privileged positions. Status stratification theories unveil how societies use valuations and devaluations of social categories to achieve its aims through the creation of a status order. In this sense, discrimination would be an illegitimate by-product of such status order.

Whereas exploitation is the key concept in class stratification, discrimination is the key concept in status stratification. Both, along with the distribution of political power, can explain societal inequalities. However, exploitation and discrimination are each a very different mechanism, and should not be confused.

To know about discrimination in a country we need to study its general social structure, and particularly, its status order. From an intergroup conflict approach, this means having detailed information of all the concentric rings of its structure, from the nucleus to the extreme periphery, through the centre and the periphery. From a status stratification approach, this entails to know which social aims the status order pursues, to reveal the formation of status groups both highly valued and deeply devalued, and to explain how they behave to each other.

The status order should be conceived as an extremely complex structure composed of countless different multidimensional social positions and identities. One-dimensional social categories and groups are unable to properly describe and explain the actual nature and dynamic of discrimination. One by one, one-dimensional categories, like age, gender, race, ethnic origin or physical appearance, are too broad, abstract and generic to fully explain by themselves the discrimination that is in fact experienced by real people and groups.

Furthermore, interactions between different discriminatory grounds are so complex that it is hardly possible to theoretically envision the discriminatory facts and impacts that specific intersections can produce. Discriminatory grounds interact, life domains interact, mechanisms interact, times interact, social contexts interact, individual and collective agencies interact. The prediction of discrimination and its impacts on people from the analytical intersection of categories reveals itself as an illusory and fruitless endeavour.

Given the complexity of ground intersectionality, we propose to study any discrimination as multiple discrimination. We should not begin with two or three one-dimensional grounds of discrimination, and then to check if people experience multiple, compound or intersectional discrimination but, the other way around, we should start from multidimensional social positions and identities especially vulnerable to discrimination, and investigate the whole configuration of discriminatory facts and resulting impacts that form part of their life situation.

The important thing in studying discrimination is not to discover analytical interactions between generic social categories, but researching how and why people occupying multidimensional social positions experience the discrimination in their lives. Hence, we face a double research task. First, the need to locate the most vulnerable and relevant multidimensional social positions of the status order of a society and, second, to deeply comprehend the whole life situation of people occupying these positions and the role that discrimination plays on it.

The first task would consist of elaborating a detailed social map of discriminated people in a given society. Quantitative methods, as the general surveys and collections of secondary data, can help in locating the multidimensional positions of the social structure at risk of being discriminated, and in knowing the attitudes of the population towards them. The second task would consist of making case studies for some of the most relevant multidimensional social positions and identities of a society.

Qualitative methodologies and techniques, like interviews and focus groups, would be the most appropriate for understanding from a holistic point of view the life situation of discriminated people with a multidimensional identity. These qualitative research techniques need to be also applied to the study of the general population's attitudes and, especially, to the study of the specific potential discriminators of each one of the multidimensional positions and identities at risk of being discriminated.

A multidimensional approach to discrimination, understood as the study of the discriminatory configurations characteristic of the multidimensional social positions/identities, is essential to tackle discrimination. The discriminatory facts experienced by each multidimensional social position in a status order can only be fully explained with the assistance of diverse theories, by the contextual overlapping of various social structures, and by the actions of different mechanisms and filters that create unfair and adverse social selections. Therefore, anti-discrimination policies should address and focus on particular multidimensional social positions and identities, and be oriented by the theoretical knowledge reached on how discrimination works in each case. In sum, anti-discrimination policies must focus on specific filters and mechanisms.

Last, but not least, the study of discrimination and the design of anti-discrimination policies should bring personal and collective agency of discriminated people back in. We can no longer think of discriminated people as passive agents who are simply victims to be taken care of. First, this attitude amounts to a new and even more painful devaluation than that of the original discrimination. Second, it entails that resources, decisions, and actions are taken by others, not by discriminated people themselves. Empowering discriminated people, acknowledging their personal and collective agency, is the first and fundamental step to give them the recognition and respect they deserve as human beings. In sum, every anti-discriminatory policy must take into account the material and cultural resources of discriminated people, and try to develop their agency from adaptation to resistance, and from resistance to transformation.

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Part II

DISCRIMINATION: SOCIAL CONTEXT, EXPERIENCES, AND EFFECTS. CASE STUDIES OF MULTIPLE DISCRIMINATED GROUPS

Mercedes Camarero

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1. Introduction: multiple discrimination in Europe

Multiple discrimination in Europe

Around a fifth of Europeans (20,5%) reports that they have personally experienced discrimination or harassment in the previous 12 months: 16% have experienced discrimination on the basis of one of the grounds analysed in the Eurobarometer, and 4,5% on multiple grounds (European Commission, 2015: 8). Discrimination on various grounds is seen as more widespread than in 2012.

Table 1. Europeans who have experienced discrimination or harassment in the previous 12 months

Experienced discrimination	European Union		Greece	
	2012	2015	2012	2015
No	83.8	79.4	90.3	88.7
Single ground	12.7	16.1	7.9	9.3
Multiple grounds	3.6	4.5	1.8	2.0
% multiple/total	22.1	21.8	18.5	17.7
Average: number of grounds	2.49	2.46	2.30	2.40

Source: Special Eurobarometer 393 (2012) and Special Eurobarometer 437 (2015).

“Respondents who said that they have felt discriminated against or harassed in the past 12 months are more likely to feel that the various groups are being excluded, and this applies in particular to respondents who say they have experienced multiple forms of discrimination. For example, 37% of respondents who have not experienced any discrimination in the previous 12 months say that people from ethnic minority groups are being excluded, and this rises to 45% among those who have experienced discrimination on a single ground and 55% among those who have experienced it on multiple grounds” (European Commission, 2015: 95).

Table 2. Multiple identities and multi-discrimination experience

Experienced multi-discrimination (Two or more grounds)		Frequency (≥ 0,4 % of Europeans)
AGED over 55	DISABILITY	0.63
AGED over 55	GENDER	0.57
ETHNIC ORIGIN	RELIGION BELIEFS	0.54
ETHNIC ORIGIN	GENDER	0.45
AGED under 30	GENDER	0.45
GENDER	RELIGION BELIEFS	0.43
AGED over 55	RELIGION BELIEFS	0.43

Source: Special Eurobarometer 437 (2015). European Commission

Main data sources

“Three previous Eurobarometer surveys examining discrimination have been conducted in the past: in 2006, 2009 and 2012. The 2015 survey repeats several questions asked in previous years in order to provide insight into the evolution of perceptions, attitudes, knowledge and awareness of discrimination in the European Union” (European Commission, 2015: 5).

Main data sources

Surveys:

Special Eurobarometer 83.4. "Climate change, Biodiversity and Discrimination of Minority Groups".

Special Eurobarometer 77.4. "European Parliament, Development Aid, Social Climate and Discrimination".

Data online analysis web GESIS-ZACAT of Leibniz Institute for the Social Sciences:
<http://zacat.gesis.org/webview/index.jsp?mode=documentation&submode=catalog&catalog=http://zacat.gesis.org/obj/fCatalog/Catalog6>

Reports:

European Commission (2015): Special Eurobarometer 437. Discrimination in The EU in 2015.

European Commission (2012): Special Eurobarometer 393. Discrimination in The EU in 2012.

<https://ec.europa.eu/COMMFrontOffice/publicopinion>

FRA (2010b): Data in focus report. Multiple discrimination, Wien, FRA.

The extent of intersectional disadvantage in the EU is difficult to gauge because of the lack of comprehensive data. While data disaggregated by gender and by age are readily available, there is little systematic collection of data on the other grounds, let alone data reflecting intersectional experiences. Indeed, the categories for data disaggregation are themselves still unsettled (Fredman, 2016: 39).

Attitudes towards different social groups

There is a relation between prejudice and discrimination: prejudice is seen as the crucial factor causing discriminatory treatment of the singled-out group (Feaking, 1980: 3). Majority populations' attitudes towards minorities, such as ethnic minorities, immigrants, and asylum seekers are key indicators of levels of intolerance in society (EUMC, 2005). Table 3 shows Europeans attitudes towards different social groups. It specifically shows two questions about "how comfortable you would feel" ... if one of your colleagues at work belonged to each of the following groups? and. ...if one of your children was in a love relationship with a person from each of the following groups?

Table 3. Majorities' attitudes towards minorities and social groups

How comfortable you would feel...	EU-28	Max.	Min.	Greece
if one of your colleagues at work belonged to each of the following groups? (Average 1 to 10)				
A person under 25 years	9.51	10 (DK)	9 (BE)	9.5
A person over 60 years	9.37	9.9 (SE,DK)	8.7 (CZ)	9.3
A person with a disability	9.18	10 (DK)	8.1 (CZ)	9.2
A Black person	8.62	9.9 (DK)	6.9 (DK)	8.1
A Gay, Lesbian or Bisexual person	7.96	9.7 (E, LU)	5.6 (LI)	6.6
A Muslim person	7.95	9,5 (LU)	4.6 (CZ)	7.4
A Transgender or Transsexual person	7.58	9.3 (SE)	5.2 (LI)	6.1
A Roma person	7.53	9.2 (LU)	4.8 (CZ)	6.3
if one of your children was in a love relationship with a person from				

each of the following groups? (Aver. 1 to 10)				
A person with a disability	8.04	9.4 (DK)	6.6 (LI)	6.7
A Black person	7.21	9.2 (SE)	4.6 (CZ)	5.9
A Muslim person	6.29	8.3 (LU)	4.0 (CY)	5.3
A Roma person	5.97	8.2 (SE)	3.0 (CZ)	4.2
A person of the same sex	5.94	8.6 (SE)	2.6 (LI)	3.4
A Transgender or Transsexual person	5.26	7.8 (SE)	2.4 (LI)	3.1

Source: Special Eurobarometer 437 (2015). European Commission

Source: Eurobarometer 83.4. '1' means that you would feel, "not at all comfortable" and '10' that you would feel "totally comfortable".

Models of multiple discriminated groups

Stricto sensu we have not used the “Case study” methodology. But as Gerring defines it, we can say that we have analysed in depth a single unit to elucidate features of a larger class of similar phenomena (Gerring, 2004: 341). In other words, we have used the soft version of the case study, which understands the case study as an ideal type rather than a method with hard-and-fast rules (Gerring, 2004: 346).

We have selected four representative case studies that represent different experiences of multiple discrimination: a) Roma Women, because Roma traditions and practices can severely discriminate against women in the community, while Roma people are discriminated against; b) Young Muslim Minority -i.e. adult discrimination against youth groups-; c) LGBTI persons, male and female, that experience the highest levels of discrimination; and d) Disabled Older People, an example of the overlapping of two similar and related grounds of discrimination. Each case represents the basic features of four kinds of multi-discrimination.

These four case-types can be used to understand the discrimination experienced by other groups characterised also by multiple identities.

Multiple discrimination experiences are related with multi-discrimination effects. They compose a model. In each of the four cases-models, we have studied: 1) how a particular combination of grounds produces specific experiences of discrimination, and 2) what kinds of effects are associated with such experiences.

A situation in which several forms of discrimination interact with each other has been conceptualised in several different ways, and there is currently considerable terminological ambiguity. Among the concepts that have been used to describe this situation are: “multiple disadvantages”, “multiple discrimination”, “double marginalisation” and “triple marginalisation”, “intersectional discrimination”, “intersectional subordination”, “intersectional vulnerability”, “compound discrimination”, “cumulative discrimination”, “multidimensional discrimination”, “interactive discrimination”, “double discrimination” and “triple discrimination”. The concept of “Intersectional discrimination” is the term most used in academic circles, while “multiple discrimination” is the term most used in the field of human rights (Makkonen, 2002).

Experiences of multi-discrimination are specific and people may experience very complex forms of discrimination. Intersectional analysis first arose out of the experience of African American feminists in the USA. The traditional understanding of racial discrimination did not include experiences that

peculiar to African American women. From then, the understanding of intersectional analysis has evolved into an understanding that all grounds of discrimination interact with each other and produce specific experiences of discrimination (Makkonen, 2002).

We may distinguish three kinds of interactions. First, a situation in which one person suffers from discrimination on several grounds, but in a manner in which discrimination takes place on one ground at a time. This is basically a recognition of the accumulation of distinct discrimination experiences. It is suggested here that the first type of discrimination should be termed multiple discrimination. Second, a situation in which discrimination on the basis of two or more grounds add to each other to create a situation of compound discrimination. Third, a situation involving discrimination which is based on several grounds operating and interacting with each other at the same time, and which produces very specific types of discrimination. This is called intersectional discrimination (Makkonen, 2002: 10).

We may distinguish three kinds of effects in multiple discrimination situations. There are different ways in which distinct forms of discrimination could be combined to influence outcomes: additive, prominence and exacerbation models. The theory of additive forms of discrimination implies that each form of discrimination influences a personal situation independently of other forms and thus, when modelled together, each form of discrimination is associated above and beyond all other forms. Another possible way in which distinct forms of discrimination could be combined to influence outcomes is prominence. The idea of prominence is an extension of Raver and Nishii’s (2010) inurement hypothesis: although one form of discrimination is independently damaging with regard to various outcomes, the combination of two or more forms is not significantly worse than the effects of just one of these. Multiple forms of discrimination could also interact such that each successive form exacerbates or multiplies the effects of previous forms (Thoma and Huebner, 2013).

From a conceptual standpoint, models of additivity and prominence are mutually exclusive and can be tested against each other in a single multivariate statistical model: if two forms of discrimination are entered together into a multivariate model, and only one is predictive of outcomes, this provides support for prominence. So although prominence is a relatively new idea, some previous research examining additive models of multiple forms of discrimination has tested the model indirectly (i.e., without any a priori discussion of what failure to find additivity would imply). Outcomes such as depression, psychological distress, job satisfaction, and health behaviours have been predicted by one prominent form of discrimination among multiple forms of discrimination. Exacerbation of multiple forms of discrimination would be identified within multivariate models by a significant interaction of two forms of discrimination (Thoma and Huebner, 2013:46).

Scheme 1. Concepts used to describe “multi-discrimination experience/concurrent experience” and “influence outcomes”

<p style="text-align: center;">Multi-discrimination experience Makkonen, 2002</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Influence outcomes Thoma and Huebner, 2013</p>
<p><i>Multiple discrimination:</i> accumulation of distinct discrimination experiences.</p>	<p><i>Additive:</i> influences a personal situation independently of other forms, adding or subtracting.</p>

<i>Compound discrimination:</i> discrimination on the basis of two or more grounds add to each other to create a situation.	<i>Prominence:</i> the combination of two or more forms is not significantly worse than the effects of just one of these.
<i>Intersectional discrimination:</i> based on several grounds operating and interacting with each other at the same time, and which produces very specific types of discrimination.	<i>Exacerbation:</i> multiplies the effects of previous forms.

The following four sections focus in each one of the four cases selected: Roma women, Young Muslim minority, LGBT persons by gender identity and Disabled older people as representatives of intersectional "multi-discrimination experience", prominence influence outcomes, the stigma relevance, and the forms of tackling discrimination, respectively. At the end of each section -Other relevant groups-, other groups are identified whose discrimination mechanisms are similar and can be analysed with the scheme described and summarised in the section.

2. Case study: Roma women

We have selected the case of Roma women (belonging of a disadvantaged ethnic minority) as representatives of the position that Fredman refers to as "a key site of intersectional experience" (Fredman, 2016: 39). Several reports show that Roma women constitute one of the most disadvantaged categories of the European population due to the discrimination and social exclusion they experience as a result of the intersection of race, gender and class (Surdu and Surdu, 2006).

Makkonen's definition of intersectional discrimination as "A situation of discrimination that is based on several motives that operate and interact with each other at the same time and that produces very specific types of discrimination" could be applied to the case of discrimination of Roma women.

The fact that a group is in a socially subordinated position, and that the members of that group are often discriminated against, does not mean that the group itself would be free from discriminatory practices. Roma traditions and practices can severely discriminate against women (Makkonen, 2002: 23). Hence, we must to study in-group discrimination against women and out-group discrimination against Roma people.

2.1. Main features of the model

a) In-group discrimination: Discrimination by one's primary reference group. Such cultural and traditional practices negatively affect women. Instances of such practices include forced marriages, gender and domestic violence or "honour" crimes.

b) Roma women suffer from different types of discrimination throughout all the stages of their life cycle. "Over time, small effects could cumulate into substantial differences. Blank et alia. identified three primary ways through which discrimination might cumulate: across generations, across processes within a domain and across domains" (Blank et alia, 2004: 223-224). A vicious circle.

c) Out-group discrimination: Roma women belong to a visible ethnic minority, against which there are many prejudices. Therefore, they are highly stigmatised.

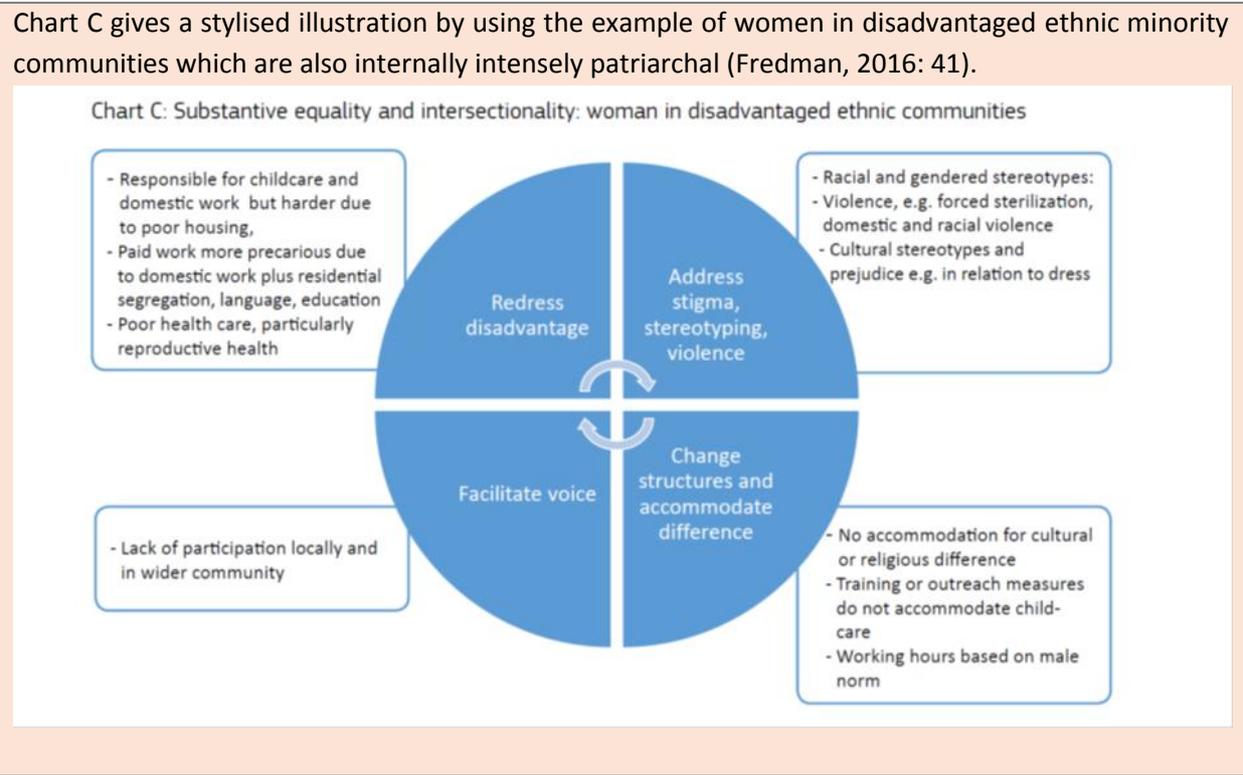
At the Intersection of Ethnic or “Racial” Origin and Gender:

Out-Group Discrimination. Globally speaking, being a woman or being a member of an ethnic minority is associated with a certain amount of vulnerability. Evidence of this vulnerability tends to be of a structural nature, including statistics on illiteracy, poverty, socio-economic situation, and so on. Poverty and illiteracy could actually be characterised as the supreme structural risk factors (Makkonen, 2002: 23).

In-group discrimination. The fact that a group is in a subordinated position socially, and that the members of that group are often discriminated against, does not mean that the group itself would be free from discriminatory practices.

The equality conditions of “Gender in disadvantaged ethnic minorities” may be viewed from a four-dimensional approach, like in Fredman (2016).

Chart C gives a stylised illustration by using the example of women in disadvantaged ethnic minority communities which are also internally intensely patriarchal (Fredman, 2016: 41).



First dimension: “Women in disadvantaged ethnic minorities might experience disadvantage which is both shared with the majority women and intensified through racism and discrimination on grounds of ethnic origin. Like ethnic majority women, ethnic minority women experience labour market disadvantage and inequality, largely due to the fact that they remain primarily responsible for childcare and housework. This is intensified for those ethnic minority women for whom religious and cultural factors within their own communities accentuate a gendered division of labour and consign women to a primary child-caring role. Women from disadvantaged ethnic minorities tend to have

higher inactivity and unemployment rates than either ethnic majority women or minority men. A major cause of this is their traditional domestic role in the family, an issue directly related to their gender. But it is also due to their lack of qualifications and the prejudice they often face from employers.

The result is that they are more likely to work in part-time precarious jobs, especially in cleaning and personal care services, where wages are low and their work is regarded as self-employment, precluding them from eligibility for unemployment benefit or other contributory benefits. They are therefore more likely to be dependent on means-tested benefits where these are available. Their lack of regular, secure employment also means that they are likely to have limited access to financial services, exacerbated by the fact that they do not have property to function as security for loans. This might make it difficult, not just to obtain funds for entrepreneurship or property purchase, but even to open a bank account. These difficulties are in turn exacerbated by language difficulties, a lack of information, and straightforward discrimination and prejudice against them, both on grounds of gender and ethnicity, on the part of lending institutions. Women who are victims of domestic violence are particularly vulnerable because of their greater dependence on their partners, and their lack of independence both financially and culturally.

Second dimension: So far as the second dimension is concerned, stereotyping within the community of women as primarily child-bearers and home-makers is overlaid by stigma and prejudice experienced as ethnic minority women in the wider society. Cultural stereotypes and prejudice, for example in relation to dress, might be specific to women in these communities. A particular manifestation occurs in relation to healthcare.

A FRA study from 2013 revealed the ways in which stereotypes based on culture, sex, age, ethnicity, migrant background, religion or a combination of these characteristics can lead to unequal treatment in healthcare. Roma health users and Muslim women reported that healthcare professionals at times regarded them to be too poorly educated to understand and therefore did not fully communicate their health problems. In addition, when domestic violence occurs, women in these communities might find it difficult to report it to the police, through fear of a combination of racism and sexism by the police, or because they are concerned that reporting violence will reinforce negative stereotypes and expose their own communities to racist treatment, including deportation or injury. Thus both disadvantage and stigma are experienced in ways specific to women in such communities (Fredman, 2016: 40-41).

2.2. Main data sources

In addition to the Eurobarometers on discrimination, three minority surveys have been carried out including Roma people - EU-MIDIS (2008), Roma Pilot Survey (2011), EU-MIDIS II (2016) -, discussion groups, case study interviews, and summary reports. The FRA has published a brief report Analysis of FRA Roma survey results by gender. In the available statistical surveys we can find data about out-group discrimination (e.g. prejudice and discriminatory practices against Roma people), but none of one contains information about in-group discrimination (e.g. in-group discriminatory practices against Roma women).

Main data sources

Surveys: EU-MIDIS I (2008) and EU-MIDIS II (2016): European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey. EU-MIDIS collected information from over 25,500 respondents from different ethnic minority and immigrant backgrounds in all 28 EU Member States. Conducted by FRA: European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights. Two samples for Greece: Roma people and Albanians.

Reports:

FRA (2016): Second European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey. Roma-Selected Findings (EU-MIDIS II), Wien, FRA.

FRA (2013b): Analysis of FRA Roma survey results by gender, Wien, FRA.

FRA (2009a): European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey. Main results report, Wien, FRA.

FRA (2009c): Data in focus report. The Roma, Wien, FRA.

FRA (2009d): Housing conditions of Roma and Travellers in the European Union. Comparative report. Wien, FRA.

Chapter: 4.9. Multiple discrimination and housing.

Survey: The FRA Roma Pilot Survey (2011) covered Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, France, Greece, Italy, Hungary, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia, and Spain. Across the 11 EU Member States, the two surveys interviewed 22,203 Roma and non-Roma providing information on 84,287 household members. The general population living in the same area as or in the closest neighbourhood to the Roma interviewed. In the report, this group is referred to as non-Roma.

- The results are representative for Roma living in areas in a higher than national average density. The results for the non-Roma are not representative for the majority population, but serve as a benchmark for the Roma since the non-Roma interviewed share the same environment, labour market and social infrastructure.

Reports: European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (2012): The situation of Roma in 11 EU Member States. Survey Results at a glance, Luxembourg, Publications Office of the European Union.

FRA (2013b): Analysis of FRA Roma survey results by gender, Wien, FRA.

Report: Surdu, L. and Surdu, M. (2006): Broadening the Agenda: The Status of Romani Women in Romania, New York, Open society Institute.

This report argues that the situation of Romani women can only be accurately addressed by focusing on the simultaneous forms of gender, racial, and ethnic based discrimination that are particular to Romani women and are often compounded by poverty and social exclusion.

Survey and Discussion groups

Report: Corsi, M., Crepaldi, Ch., Lodovici, M.S., Boccagni, P. and Vasilescu, C. (2008): Ethnic minority and Roma women in Europe: A case for gender equality? Final Report, European Commission.

This final report is based on the 28 National Reports promoted by EGGSI Group of Experts in gender equality, social inclusion, health care and long term care. External report commissioned by and presented to the European Commission Directorate General for Employment, Social Affairs and Equal Opportunities Unit G1 'Equality between women and men'.

- Chapter: 6.2. The multiple discrimination of Roma Women

Report: European Roma Rights Centre (2009): Multiple discrimination (Special Issue), Journal of the European Roma Rights Centre, 2.

Report: Fredman, S. (2016): Intersectional discrimination in EU gender equality and non-discrimination law, Brussels, European Commission, Directorate General for Justice and Consumers.

Chapter: 3. Intersectionality in context /3.2. Intersectionality in Roma, Sinti and Traveller Communities

Data source: The report is elaborated following an analysis based on: case studies, interviews with persons involved in early marriages and the representation of this cultural practice in the media, whose role of initiating the debate on the subject is acknowledged.

Report: Bitu, N. and Morteau, C. (2010): Are the Rights of the Child Negotiable? The Case of Early Marriages within Roma Communities in Romania, Bucharest, Unicef.

Data source: Qualitative Eurobarometer about The rights of the child. The study consisted of 170 focus groups and looked at the topic of children's rights. The respondents, all aged between 15 and 17, from different socio-economical and ethnic backgrounds - including Roma, Sinti, Traveller children, and children with special needs- discussed the issues they see as most important in terms of their rights and the rights of children in general and the various obstacles children face in exercising these rights. Separate groups of Roma children were interviewed in four representative Member States (Hungary, Romania, Spain, UK) and they were asked to talk about their perceptions of the problems and to give suggestions on what could be done to improve the situation.

Report: European Commission (2010): Qualitative Eurobarometer. The rights of the child, Brussels, European Commission.

2.3. Social context and living conditions

“Being a minority, with a culture and living habits very different from the majority of the population in EU Member States, the Roma population are subject to negative perceptions and prejudice on the part of the non-Roma population” (Corsi, 2008: 161). Roma are one of the groups against which there are more prejudices (see table 3). “Roma women must, in addition, cope with the usual difficulties for social inclusion borne by the female population; difficulties which are aggravated by the specific Roma culture, based on “traditional” strictly separated gender roles within their communities which may hamper the personal development of Roma girls and women” (Corsi, 2008: 161).

On average across the 11 EU Member States surveyed –Roma Pilot Survey–, the situation of Roma women in core areas of social life, such as education, employment and health is worse in comparison to that of Roma men.

As Fredman wrote: Corsi et alia's report on ethnic minority and Roma women “shows that, overall, women from disadvantaged ethnic minorities are at greater risk of social exclusion and poverty, both when compared to the men of their communities and that of ethnic majority women. This is especially true in accessing employment, health, education and social services. This is partly due to the interaction between the unequal power relations within their communities, and the unequal power relations in relation to the dominant community” (Fredman, 2016: 39).

One in four Europeans would “not feel at all” comfortable if a son or daughter had a love relationship with a Roma person (not at all: 1 on a scale of 1 to 10) –Greece: 38,3%, Czech Republic: 55,5% (Max), Sweden: 6,4% (min)-. Eleven percent of Europeans would “not feel at all” comfortable if they had a

Roma person as a colleague at work (not at all: 1 on a scale of 1 to 10) (Greece: 16,6%) (Eurobarometer, 2015).

“While European antidiscrimination policy has made significant gains in recent decades, particularly as it concerns multiple discrimination, several studies find that racism and xenophobia have intensified over the past decade, and that perceptions of discrimination remain high, particularly among Roma populations and immigrants from outside of the EU” (Harnois, 2015: 977).

Roma women living conditions

- Low school attendance, high illiteracy rates and school segregation. More Roma men (85%) than women (77%) said that they could read or write and more Roma women (19%) than men (14%) said that they had never been to school. In Greece, literacy rates are the lowest among the EU Member States surveyed even for young Roma men and women aged 16–24 years. The education level is related with early marriage that across all Member States surveyed around 16% of Roma (men and women) aged 16–17 years were reported as legally or traditionally married or cohabiting. Only 6% of Roma women aged 16–17 years who were married or cohabiting were in education compared with an average of 36% for all Roma women of this age group (FRA, 2013b).

- Low activity and employment rates. Stock indicators: Roma women report much lower employment rates than Roma men –16% compared with 34% (20%-67% in Greece) (FRA, 2016: 10). Flow indicators: The situation of young people is substantially worse: on average, 63% of Roma aged 16-24 were not employed, in education or training at the time of the survey, compared with the 12% EU average on the NEET rate for the same age group. For this age group, the results also show a considerable gender gap, with 72% of young Roma women not employed, in education or training, compared with 55% of young Roma men (FRA, 2016: 10). Young people neither in employment nor in education or training. The results also show a substantial gender gap. On average, in the nine countries surveyed, 72% of Roma women aged 16 to 24 years are neither in work nor in education, compared with 55% of young Roma men. The gender gap is highest in Greece, Portugal and Hungary. In Greece, 81% of Roma women aged 16-24 are neither in work nor in education or training, compared with 38% of young Roma men (FRA, 2016: 21).

- Residential segregation, severe housing deprivation and Roma households are at-risk-of-poverty. Sometimes they are living in isolated camps. EU-MIDIS survey results show that 42% of the Roma surveyed live in conditions of severe housing deprivation, e.g. have no piped water and/or sewage and/or electricity in comparison to 12% of non-Roma living nearby (FRA, 2013b).

- Bad health and greater health risks. About health status, there were overall relatively few differences between Roma women and men health status. On the other hand when comparing Roma women to non-Roma women aged 16+ we find that more Roma women said that their health is ‘bad’ or ‘very bad’ and the difference is even more pronounced for women older than 50. In Italy, the health of Roma women aged 50+ living in encampments is much worse compared with non-Roma women surveyed nearby. Roma women experience greater health risks than non-Roma women because of early and multiple pregnancies and abortions, the heavy workload at home, poor housing, malnutrition, etc. (Corsi et alia, 2008: 148).

2.4. Experiences of discrimination

2.4.1. Cultural and discriminatory practices of the in-group that act as barriers to social inclusion

- Early marriage and forced marriage: “We need to underline that the traditions and culture of the respective group are not always the reasons for early marriage, there being situations in which the social-economic status and the competition between families -the “fame”- represent the main factors in initiating marriage between minors. In the competition between families, girls' “fame”, image and status, as well as their virginity, play a central part in gaining respectability within the community” (Bitu and Morteau, 2010: 33-34). “Marriage affects activity patterns, in particular education: Only 6% of Roma women aged 16-17 who were married or cohabiting were in education compared to 36% of all Roma women in this age group” (FRA, 2013b: 31). “In some more male-dominated communities forced marriages may occur and cases of honour killings have been registered” (Corsi et alia, 2008: 86).

- Early motherhood: The role of mothers in the education of their children is very important. Nevertheless, the educational level of Roma women themselves is negatively influenced by their very early motherhood. A relatively strict gender role in Roma community influences the position of females in a Roma family, which confines the female role entirely within the framework of the woman's own family or, possibly, extended family. In a Roma community the onset of partnered relationships at an early age, often synchronous with sexual maturity, also brings about recognition of the social maturity of young males and young females alike. Such an approach leads to omitting a period dedicated to acquiring vocational training, notably in the case of young women who become mothers very early (EGGSI: Slovakia report).

The 12-month prevalence rate of “perceived discrimination” is the highest among the Roma: on average, 47% of all Roma respondents who were interviewed were discriminated against in at least one domain of the nine (at a shop, at a bank, at a cafe, restaurant, bar or nightclub, by social services personnel, by school personnel, by housing agency/landlord, by health care personnel, when looking for work, at work) tested during the course of the 12 months preceding the survey. The second highest average rate of discrimination was for Sub-Saharan African respondents, at 41% (See table 4) (FRA, 2009a: 36).

- Forced to leave school: “The traditional care-giver role of Roma girls and women is also an obstacle to their education, as they are often forced to leave school at an extremely young age to help care for younger siblings or carry out other household responsibilities” (Corsi et alia, 2008: 17).

- Domestic violence: A study found that Macedonian Romani women were particularly vulnerable to domestic violence, with more than two-thirds of them reporting that they had endured domestic violence, most often at the hands of their husbands.

2.4.2. Victimisation: Harassment, Violence and Hate Crimes

“Intersectional discrimination on the grounds of sex, ethnicity and disability emerged in relation to the violation of informed consent and more specifically of involuntary treatment of different groups

of women, often linked to the parallel violation of sexual and reproductive rights. Examples include sterilisation of Roma Women” (FRA, 2013: 8).

Some of the most violent forms of intersectional violence against Romani women, rape and sexual torture in the context of armed conflicts are often not treated as intersectional forms of violence, but rather as manifestations of racism. The European Roma Rights Centre, for instance, documented cases of rape of Romani women during the conflict in Kosovo in the late 1990s. Throughout the conflict, rape was not only an attack against women’s human rights, but also a calculated effort to annihilate the Roma community (ERRC, 1999; see also HRW, 2000).

This study examines Travellers, a subset of the Roma minority; exposure to (hate) crime; and worry about criminal victimisation in Sweden. Previous research has shown that the Roma in many respects constitute a marginalised group that is vulnerable to both discrimination and other criminal acts. This is problematic since there is a risk that minorities who are victims of crimes may be further stigmatised and may also lose cultural expression. The data are collected from a sample of Travellers living in the Gothenburg region of Sweden (N ¼ 121). Approximately one fifth of the respondents stated that they had experienced anti-Roma motivated victimisation during the previous 12 months and as many as 84% stated that they had been the victims of such a crime at some point during their lifetime. The respondents also reported a high level of worry about criminal victimisation, and 3 out of 10 respondents stated that their quality of life was highly affected by worry about crime. Further, a tendency was noted toward a higher degree of victimisation, but a lower degree of worry, among those respondents who were open about their ethnicity by comparison with those who were not (Wallengren and Melgren, 2015: 303).

2.4.3. Perceived discrimination and violence reported

Table 4. Perceived discrimination and violence reported

EU-MIDIS 2008	ROMA		ROMA AND NON-ROMA DISCRIMINATED GROUPS
	WOMEN	MEN	
Discriminated in the past 12 months	47%	48%	30% Roma CZ: 64 African MT: 63 Roma HU: 62 Roma PL: 59 Roma EL: 55
Victimisation (including property crimes, and “racially” motivated crimes)	31%	33%	24% Roma EL: 54% (Max)
Stopped by the police (at least once in the past 12 months)	19%	43%	24% Roma EL: 56%

Source: European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey. EU-MIDIS I (2008)

“There are no differences by gender. Income and education: other characteristics that produce no differences in discrimination rates among the Roma are income and education, one of the possible reasons for the lack of difference is the overall low level of differentiation among the Roma according

to income and education -in sum, the majority of Roma are both on low incomes and under-educated” (FRA, 2009a: 165).

There are no differences between the rates of victimisation of men and women. “Respondents reports show that the Roma are stopped by the police fairly frequently, and that men are stopped at a much higher rate than women -only 44% of male respondents report not having been stopped in the past 5 years by the police-. In the past 12 months, men are, on average, stopped more than twice as often as women” (FRA, 2009a: 174).

Cases of discrimination have been reported in many EGGSI Network national reports in the following terms (Corsi, 2008: 161-163):

- Access to health services.
- Access to the labour market and job opportunities due to employers’ and co-workers’ prejudices and to prejudiced behaviour.
- Access to education due to the expectation of their own families, according to the gender roles in Roma society.
- Access to the political arena.
- One specific feature of discrimination against Roma women reported, for example, in Bulgaria, concerns young and well-educated Roma women who are at the same time discriminated by the majority of the population (being Roma) and by the ethnic minority for not respecting the traditions and the customs of the Roma community.
- In shop, restaurants and school.
- In Spain, a study published by the non-governmental organisation Barañí Project analyses the discriminatory practices in the criminal justice system and points out that discriminatory attitudes towards Roma have a serious impact on prosecution and conviction of Romani women. The Project also documents a disproportionate overrepresentation of Romani women in Spanish prisons.

2.5. The effects of discrimination

2.5.1. Personal effects

Discrimination in school: “The Romani women who said that girls are treated worse than boys felt strongly that Romani girls faced double discrimination, with 93 per cent of the respondents agreeing that their daughters were exposed to discrimination because of both their gender and ethnicity” (FRA, 2009d: 51).

Discrimination in the health care system. According to the Romani women surveyed, discrimination against Roma in the health care system is widespread. Seventy per cent asserted that medical personnel discriminate against Roma. A smaller percentage perceived gender discrimination as also present in the health care system. Twenty-three per cent of the Romani women thought that health care workers treat women worse than men. An overwhelming majority (95 per cent) of those who perceived gender discrimination also believed that health care workers discriminate against Roma. Survey results indicate that 22 percent of the Romani women perceived ethnic and gender discrimination in the treatment they receive from health care workers. Two thirds of the women who perceived this double discrimination came from rural areas and had no formal education (30 per cent) or had low levels of education (52 per cent have eighth grade educations).

Discrimination in the labour market and pay gap. Effects of the location of Roma settlements: “Women can be particularly affected by the location of Roma settlements that may pose safety risks. Their dependence on men can also be reinforced by gender pay gaps and lower employment rates. Furthermore, as the main family caregivers, women are affected by health problems in their families” (FRA, 2009d: 89-90).

Satisfaction with life: Seventy-four per cent of Romani women from our sample stated they were, generally speaking, “unsatisfied” or “not so satisfied” with life (Surdu and Surdu, 2006).

2.5.2. The vicious circle of discrimination: Roma women suffer from different types of discrimination throughout all stages of their life cycle

“Our concern here is with effects that operate over time. For instance, studies might measure small effects of discrimination at each stage in a domain (e.g., hiring, evaluation, promotion, and wage setting in the labour market), thus leading one to conclude that discrimination is relatively unimportant because the effects at any point in time are small. Over time, however, small effects could cumulate into substantial differences. We identify three primary ways through which discrimination might cumulate:

Across generations: Discrimination in one generation that negatively affects health, economic opportunity, or wealth accumulation for a particular group may diminish opportunities for later generations. For instance, parents’ poor health or employment status may limit their ability to monitor or support their child’s education, which in turn may lower the child’s educational success and, subsequently, his or her socioeconomic success as an adult.

Across processes within a domain: Within a domain (e.g., housing, the labour market, health care, criminal justice, education), discrimination at an earlier stage may affect later outcomes. For instance, discrimination in elementary school may negatively affect outcomes in secondary school and diminish opportunities to attend college. Even single instances of discrimination at a key decision point can have long-term cumulative effects. For example, discriminatory behaviour in teacher evaluations of racially disadvantaged students in early elementary school may increase the probability of future discrimination in class assignments or tracking in middle school. Similarly, in the labour market, discrimination in hiring or performance evaluations may affect outcomes (and even reinforce discrimination) in promotions and wage growth.

Across domains. Discrimination in one domain may diminish opportunities in other domains. For example, families that live in segregated neighbourhoods may have limited access to adequate employment and health care” (Blank et alia., 2004: 223-224).

2.6. Other relevant groups

This scheme can be used to analyse other groups whose mechanisms of discrimination can be similar. We suggest that the main features of this case can be used to study, for example, the discriminatory situation of migrant domestic workers and LGBT persons belonging to a traditional community.

Migrant domestic workers

There is also a growing body of work on domestic workers. Domestic work is a particularly complex site of intersectionality. As the ILO demonstrates, the growth in demand for domestic workers in the North has been the main reason for the mass migration of women from developing to developed countries.

This is in turn a response to lack of attention to proper work–life policies in the recipient states. Demand for domestic workers is growing with the decline of the extended family. Ageing populations mean that help is needed to care for the elderly, and working parents need childcare and help with housework. This is exacerbated in a recession with the privatisation of public services, which has led to a growing demand for domestic workers, while at the same time increasing the downward pressure on wages, and terms and conditions of work (Fredman, 2016: 46). Domestic workers can be subject to significant stigma and stereotyping, due to a synergy of gender and race.

The term ‘global care chain’ was first used by Arlie Hochschild to refer to “a series of personal links between people across the globe based on the paid or unpaid work of caring”. This concept rephrases an earlier idea introduced by Rhacel Salazar Parreñas, which she called the international division of reproductive labour or the international transfer of caretaking. Parreñas (2015) studies migrant Filipino domestic workers who leave their own families behind to do the caretaking work of the global economy.

LGBT persons belonging to a traditional community

The double minority status of LGBT persons expresses itself in different ways and generates complex challenges. The ‘coming out’ process can be particularly difficult for an ethnic minority LGBT person within her/his own community as confirmed during an interview by an NGO representative in Romania, who stated that ‘Coming out in the Roma community’ is extremely difficult.

Another problem arising from the double minority status is an increased risk of hate crime motivated both by racism and the victim’s sexual orientation. Some LGBT persons with ethnic minority backgrounds experience racism and sexualisation in the wider LGBT community on grounds of their perceived ethnicity, as well as homophobia in ethnic minority communities.

“According to the United Kingdom Safra Project -run by and for Muslim LBT women- many of these women are socially isolated because although they identify themselves as lesbian, bisexual or transgender, they do not participate in the mainstream gay scene, because it is predominantly white and its social activities are often alcohol related. Moreover, racism, Islamophobia and cultural insensitivity within the gay scene itself can be alienating factors. Subsequently, many Muslim LBT women feel that they do not belong either to LGBT or Muslim communities” (FRA, 2009d: 102-103).

2.7. Summary

ROMA WOMEN	
Grounds	- Ethnic origin, gender and class
Ideologism	- Racism, sexism (patriarchalism) and classism
Identity/identities	- Roma women
The experience of discrimination	- Intersectional - Multiple
Main dimensions or types of discrimination	- In-group - Out-group
Domains	- At a shop - At a bank - At a cafe - By housing agency/landlord - When looking for work, at work - By school personnel - By social services personnel - By health care personnel
Contributing factors	- Poor living conditions
Barriers	- Illiteracy - Mobility - Social exclusion - Social distance
Effects over time	- Across generations - Across domains: care responsibilities, school, labour market
Type and intensity of effects	- Discrimination throughout all stages of their life cycle multiplies the effects of previous forms - Perceived discrimination in everyday: there are no differences by gender - Microaggressions in everyday life
Key point	Vicious circle
Related groups	- Migrant domestics workers - LGBT persons belonging to a traditional community

3. Case study: Young Muslim minority

This section focuses on the discrimination experienced by “young Muslims” not only as Muslims but as “young people who are Muslims”. When there are gender differences, we will specify what happens to “girls who are Muslim” and to “boys who are Muslims”. Many young Muslims, belonging to a minority, can experience discrimination on more than one ground -covering ethnic origin, religion, age and gender-. “Young people from ethnically diverse backgrounds experience discrimination on a wide range of grounds, of which religious affiliation is only one” (FRA, 2010: 9).

“The literature on discrimination and marginalisation evidences a range of discrimination indices which show that many Muslims across Europe, regardless of age, are experiencing social marginalisation and alienation on a daily basis” (FRA, 2010: 35). Eurobarometer 2015: 0,2% of the European population (reasons of discrimination religious beliefs and < 30 years).

3.1. Climate of opinion

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 (FRA, 2010: 16).

“This has been exacerbated by various wars in which Muslims are demonised (such the war with Afghanistan and the Iraq war), localised civil discontent (notably the Paris youth riots), as well as large scale terrorist attacks (including 9/11 in New York, the Madrid train bombings and attacks in the United Kingdom in both London and Glasgow), which have all contributed to rising feelings of distrust towards Muslim communities” (FRA, 2010: 35). “Hostility and suspicion is further fuelled and supported by the rise of established right-wing racist groups” (FRA, 2010: 35).

One of several dissertations sought to document the experiences of Muslim American Youth in a post 9/11 era using a qualitative methodology. Semi structured interviews were used as the tool in initiating dialogue with the youth. The common themes that emerged from the interviews included: Perceived/Experienced discrimination; Isolation, Fear (for personal safety as Muslims after 9/11 and other terrorist attacks involving Muslims); Perceptions of Media Coverage and representations of Muslims and Islam; and Isolation/ Alienation from the dominant society and peers (Gaffari, 2009).

3.2. Main data sources

The overarching aim of the research Experience of discrimination, social marginalisation and violence, was to explore the relationship between young people’s experiences of discrimination and social marginalisation and their attitudes towards using violence and engagement in using actual violence towards others (FRA, 2010: 16).

One of the Data in Focus Reports from the Agency’s EU-MIDIS survey on minorities’ experiences of discrimination and criminal victimisation, in which 23,500 people from ethnic minority and immigrant groups throughout the EU27 were interviewed, published comparable results based on interviews conducted with Muslims respondents from the survey – totalling 9,500 Muslim Interviewees.

Main data sources
<p><u>Surveys:</u> EU-MIDIS I (2008) and EU-MIDIS II (2016): European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey. EU-MIDIS collected information from over 25,500 respondents from different ethnic minority and immigrant backgrounds in all 28 EU Member States. Conducted by FRA: European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights. Two samples for Greece: Roma people and Albanians.</p>
<p><u>Reports:</u> FRA (2009a): European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey. Main results report, Wien, FRA.</p>

FRA (2009b): Data in focus report. Muslims, Wien, FRA.

Survey: Experience of discrimination, social marginalisation and violence: A comparative study of Muslim and non-Muslim youth in three EU Member States conducted by the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights during 2008/09. The research design involved a survey of 1,000 young people within each Member State, sampling approximately equal numbers of males and females between the ages of 12 and 18 from Muslim and non-Muslim backgrounds – 3,000 interviewees in total. The survey set out to explore possible relationships between young people's experiences of discrimination and social marginalisation, including experiences of racism, and their attitudes towards and actual engagement in violent behaviours.

Report: FRA (2010) Experience of discrimination, social marginalisation and violence: A comparative study of Muslim and non-Muslim youth in three EU Member States: Spain, France and United Kingdom. Wien, FRA. www.fra.europa.eu.

Survey: Exploratory Survey on Multiple discrimination and Young People in Europe conducted by the European Youth Forum between March and June 2014. The study collected data from across Europe (across the countries of the Council of Europe) on how multiple discrimination occurs in young people's lives (495 young people between 18 and 35), on which grounds as well as on young people's awareness of the existing anti-discrimination law on this topic.

Report: Masson, A. and Zecca, G. (2014): Multiple discrimination and Young People in Europe, The European Youth Foundation of the Council of Europe. This report presents the findings of the online exploratory survey. <http://www.youthforum.org/assets>

3.3. Social context and living conditions

Attitudes toward Muslims

Twenty-two per cent of the Europeans would “not feel at all” comfortable if a son or daughter had a love relationship with a Muslim person (not at all: 1 on a scale of 1 to 10) –Greece: 27,4%, Cyprus: 48,8% (M), Sweden: 7,5% (min.). Nine per cent of the Europeans would “not feel at all” comfortable if they had a Muslim person as a colleague at work (not at all: 1 on a scale of 1 to 10) (Greece: 10,3%) (Eurobarometer, 2015).

Living conditions

Main features of living conditions: They live in highly urbanised areas, in segregated neighbourhoods and are enrolled in segregated schools. The sampling strategies of study, which involved a survey of 3,000 young people from Muslim and non Muslim backgrounds, outline the main features of the living conditions of young Muslims in three countries: Spain, France and United Kingdom. The sampling unit was schools in selected neighbourhoods (FRA, 2010: 18).

Residential segregation and Social Problems. There is a strong tendency for Muslim households to live in close geographical clusters. “Across Europe, Muslims tend to be concentrated in urban areas which results in clustering within particular cities and neighbourhoods. This can be associated with the failure of integration policies, as well as a complex range of socio-economic structural barriers to greater social inclusion. Moreover, migrants across Europe –including Muslims– tend to live in poorer quality and overcrowded housing conditions, in poorer neighbourhoods, and have difficulty accessing housing” (CRS Report, 2005).

The French Muslim population, for example, overwhelmingly resides in poorer city suburbs where access to housing is cheaper. For instance, in the three countries of comparative study: In the Paris metropolitan region of Île de France Muslims comprise up to 35% of the population. Spanish Muslim communities are concentrated in the districts of Madrid and Barcelona, as well as other cities and towns, especially in southern Spain. There are also Muslim communities in the cities of Ceuta and Melilla in northern Africa, which are under Spanish control. Muslims in the United Kingdom tend to be similarly concentrated in particular geographical areas, notably large cities across England (in particular in the south, the Midlands and the north of England) and the west of Scotland” (FRA, 2010: 18).

Some selected areas in France: A socially deprived neighbourhood with high concentration of ethnic minorities; A satellite city with a vocational school where there were known to have been problems with racism during the previous academic year; The suburbs of Paris were chosen partly because of the high level of interest in the high profile clashes between minority ethnic groups and the police in recent years; however, the authorities have also become concerned there by the growing recruitment of young people into traditional fundamentalist Muslim groups.

Because the Spanish government limits the intake of minority ethnic youths in Spanish schools to 20%, school segregation occurs in the socioeconomic ground.

Due to issues of parental choice, in many areas of the United Kingdom, pupils do not attend their closest school, but travel to other neighbouring areas for their education. In the selected location in London, this had led to significant problems of school segregation, making it very difficult to find schools with an ‘even’ balance of Muslim and non-Muslim youths. (FRA, 2010).

3.4. Experiences of discrimination

“The evidence described in previous Data in Focus reports shows that certain minority groups, such as a self-identified Muslim background, 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” (FRA, 2010b). Among Muslims, “Young people aged 16 to 24 experience more discrimination compared with other age groups, with discrimination rates generally decreasing with age” (FRA, 2009).

This paragraph is based on EU-MIDIS I Survey. The results for discrimination experiences of North African interviewees showed that Young people may run a higher discrimination risk. North Africans between 16 and 39 years of age were the most likely to have encountered discrimination (41-43%), followed by 40-54 year olds (30%). In comparison, only 11% of the 55 year-olds and older were discriminated against in the past 12 months (FRA, 2009a: 142-143).

Contributing factors to discrimination

Income status, neighbourhood status and intensity of the contacts with the majority population (related with language proficiency) are three relevant contributing factors.

- Income: Discrimination experiences are most prevalent among those belonging to the lowest income quartile.
- Neighbourhood status: 26% of the North African immigrants living in poor neighbourhoods were discriminated against. In comparison, discrimination rates in areas with status characteristics similar to other areas in the city and to areas with a 'mixed' status were markedly higher (both 40%) – a possible explanation being that respondents living in more mixed neighbourhoods or those having a similar status to other areas in a city are more likely to be exposed to discrimination in their daily encounters.
- Language proficiency: Respondents who spoke the national language with a foreign accent were slightly more likely to report an experience of discrimination than were those who spoke the language without an accent (40% vs. 36%). Respondents who were not fluent in the national language were, nevertheless, the least likely to have encountered discrimination (28%) – one possible explanation of this finding is that a better knowledge of the national language intensifies the contacts of immigrants with the majority population, which in turn increases the likelihood of being discriminated against and/or increases the ability to perceive more subtle forms of discriminatory behaviour (FRA, 2009a: 143). The ghetto protects against discrimination.

Crime victimisation

Victim surveys generally indicate that younger people are more often victims of crime than older people, which is partly a reflection of their life style. This was also observed for North African immigrants: the highest victimisation rates (in the past 12 months) were recorded among immigrants in the youngest age groups (up to 24 years – 34%; between 25 and 39 – 30%), while the oldest age group had the lowest victimisation rate (55 and older – 12%).

The more years of education, the more likely respondents were to have been victimised – while 15% of the least educated respondents became victims of a crime in the past 12 months, this rate increased to 29% among those in the highest educational category. The result might be an effect of age rather than education – as older respondents in general were less highly educated.

Police stops: North Africans between 16 and 39 years of age were most likely to be stopped by the police: half of them having been stopped in the past five years. In comparison, only about 22% of those aged 55 years or older were stopped by the police at all in the five years preceding the interview. Men were significantly more likely than women to have been stopped by the police.

The reasons of perceived discrimination

This paragraph is based on the Experience of discrimination, social marginalisation and violence Survey (2010). The first aim of the research was to explore the relationship between young people's experiences of discrimination and social marginalisation.

"Discriminatory practices against Muslim respondents were centred mainly on issues relating to skin colour, religion, cultural background and language. A high proportion of non-Muslim respondents also reported being discriminated against on the basis of skin colour, cultural background and, as could be expected, to a lesser extent, language; which reflects the fact that many non-Muslim respondents in the sample were not from a majority population background too. The main difference

between the groups was that religion rarely featured as a reason for discrimination against non-Muslims, but was one of the most commonly cited reasons for discrimination among Muslims, particularly in Spain” (FRA, 2010: 36).

Disability, gender and age did not feature as common reasons for discrimination. However, many respondents gave other reasons for being discriminated against, particularly those from non-Muslim backgrounds. There was a wide variety of ‘other’ reasons; however, these mainly indicated that young people were picked on because they were ‘different’ to other young people in some way. For example, respondents stated that they were picked on because of their physical appearance, clothing, lifestyle, behaviour or sexuality. Some respondents also noted that they were picked on by individuals who lived in a different part of the city or who were affiliated with a rival group or what they perceived as a ‘gang’ (FRA, 2010: 37).

Experience of discrimination was significantly related to feelings of happiness and alienation among young people. Respondents who had experienced discrimination were less likely to feel ‘very happy’ than those who had not. Similarly, mean scores on a scale of social alienation were significantly higher for those who had experienced discrimination (FRA, 2010: 43).

Discrimination by adults

There is very little literature about the extent to which young people feel discriminated against by adults. Therefore, this survey included three questions about whether the young people had ever been treated unfairly, picked on or treated differently to others by adults. Two of these questions were about being unfairly treated or picked on by adults when they were out with their friends (i.e. adult discrimination against youth groups, rather than individual young people). The first involved them walking past adults in the street with their group of friends, while the second involved being unfairly treated by adult staff when they were inside shops with their friends. The third question asked whether the respondents felt they were treated better, the same or worse by adults in their school (or college, for those who had left school) compared to other students.

Discrimination against by adults in the street while out with friends. The key point to highlight is that most young people, both Muslims and non-Muslims, said they never experienced such discrimination; and only a very small proportion of young people said they were discriminated against in this way ‘much of the time’. When considering the proportion of Muslim and non-Muslim respondents who were discriminated against by adult shop attendants, again, the majority of young people said they had never experienced this type of discrimination, and only a small proportion reported that this happened to them ‘much of the time’. Turning to the question about being treated differently by adults at school or college, the overwhelming majority of respondents reported that they were treated the same as other students (FRA, 2010: 37-38). It is convenient to remember that there are no differences in segregated schools.

3.5. Attitudes towards and experience of violence

This paragraph is based on the Experience of discrimination, social marginalisation and violence Survey (2010). The second aim was to explore their attitudes towards using violence and engagement in using actual violence towards others.

This epigraph addresses a key concern in current policy discussions and developments in consideration of young people and, in particular, young Muslims in European societies – namely, attitudes towards and experience of violence (as both perpetrators and victims).

Attitudes towards violence

“Justifying the use of violence. Young people’s acceptance of violence varied depending on what reason someone might have for using violence. For example, the vast majority of young people in this study did not think it was acceptable to use violence ‘just for fun’. On the other hand, around four out of five young people felt it was acceptable to use violence either all or some of the time in circumstances where they themselves might be physically hurt or to stop someone else being physically hurt. Around one in five young people thought it was always justified for someone to use violence in circumstances where they had been insulted or when someone had insulted their religion; whereas one in four said it was alright for someone to use violence to protect their country” (FRA, 2010: 45).

Experience of violence as a victim

Emotional violence. The most commonly reported type of emotional violence reported by respondents in each of the three Member States was being called names, made fun of or teased by someone. This was reported to have happened at least once in the last year among half or more of all young people in France and the United Kingdom, although only around a third of those in Spain. Being threatened and left out or excluded by a group of friends was less common, although a significant minority of young people had experienced these forms of emotional violence. (FRA, 2010: 48).

Physical violence. Overall, a quarter (25%) of respondents said they were hurt on purpose by someone hitting, kicking or punching them (FRA, 2010: 50).

Perpetrators of violence

Emotional violence. The responses to the questions on perpetrating emotional violence against others produced very similar results to those about being a victim of emotional violence, which suggests a close connection between victimisation and offending (FRA, 2010: 50).

Physical violence. Overall, 27% of respondents said they had hurt someone on purpose by someone hitting, kicking or punching them (FRA, 2010: 52).

Violence consequences: Other research has shown a strong relationship between victimisation and offending (see Smith and Ecob, 2007), and there is evidence from this study that those who had been perpetrators of emotional or physical violence were also likely to report that they had been victims. No causal assumptions can be made about this relationship. The two forms of behaviour were strongly related among both the Muslim and non-Muslim respondents in each of the three Member States. There is a clear pattern in the data, which suggests that it was more common for perpetrators of emotional violence to be also victims than it was for victims to be also perpetrators. Interestingly, however, the pattern was not quite so clear cut for physical violence.

3.6. Personal and collective effects

Discrimination in school

The article titled Perceived Racial Discrimination as a Barrier to College enrolment for African Americans concluded “The current study demonstrated that early experience with discrimination negatively predicted college enrolment for African American adolescents at age 18 or 19. This effect occurred through two pathways, both of which led to a decrease in academic orientation: an erosion of their expectations to attend college and an increase in their overall level of deviance tolerance” (O’Hara et alia, 2012: 86).

“In all Member States, young people ... who had been a victim of violence because of their cultural or religious background, skin colour or language were more likely to use emotional violence (such as teasing or bullying) towards others. In France and the United Kingdom, young people who had experienced general discrimination were also likely to be emotionally violent towards others” (FRA, 2010: 11). There is no evidence from this study that the religious background of the respondents is an indicator for engagement in physical violence once other aspects of discrimination and marginalisation and other features of the young people’s lives had been accounted for (FRA, 2010: 12)

Feelings of happiness

Grollman’s research Black Youth Culture Survey suggests “that disadvantaged groups, especially multiply disadvantaged youth, face greater exposure to multiple forms of discrimination than their more privileged counterparts. The experience of multiple forms of discrimination is associated with worse mental and physical health above the effect of only one form and contributes to the relationship between multiple disadvantaged statuses and health” (Grollman, 2012: 199).

“For depressive symptoms, respondents reporting only one form of discrimination and, for self-rated health, those reporting one or two forms of discrimination do not significantly differ from those reporting no discrimination. Overall, while multiple forms of perceived discrimination are associated with worse mental and physical health, the relationship does not appear to be linear” (Grollman, 2012: 208).

Alienation

Overall, the mean scores for this alienation scale were fairly close to 0, which indicates that most of the young people in these samples did not feel highly alienated. Looking at the mean scores for each sample, there was no significant difference between the United Kingdom and France (both 0.21), although the average for the Spanish sample was significantly lower (0.15). There was no significant difference in average alienation scores between the Muslim and non-Muslim youths in any of the three Member States (FRA, 2010: 39). (Remember that the social context is the same/analysis unit is school in selected neighbourhoods).

Stigmatisation

Fighting: verses against discrimination 'Every day I'm Muslim': "Médine appears in Keira Maameri's 2011 documentary, *Don't Panik*, discussing, along with five other rappers, what it means to be a Muslim in hip-hop. In the film, Médine states that the song 'Don't Panik' was intended to bring together France's diverse underprivileged communities and to denounce discrimination against them. But, he complains, all anyone seems to remember is that the track is about Muslims. Perhaps he should not be surprised, and not simply because he ends the song by repeating, 'Every day I'm Muslim'. For while all young residents of the banlieues, no matter what ethnic or national background, face similar problems, makers of public meaning in France tend to single out Muslim North Africans as the 'problem' and as the representatives of the banlieues, a synecdochic process that besmirches, taints and in a sense, 'Islamises', all youth of the cités (De Koning, 2006). The residential 'apartheid' dividing the banlieues from the zones of privilege reinforces that 'spatial stigmatisation' (Dikeç 2004: 203)" (Swedenburg, 2015: 117-118).

FRA Report

Experience of discrimination, social marginalisation and violence: A comparative study of Muslim and non-Muslim youth in three EU Member States: Spain, France and United Kingdom. Main conclusions:

- Both violent attitudes and behaviours were strongly predicted by being male and being part of a delinquent peer group that was disposed to engaging in illegal activities.
- Young people who had experienced social marginalisation and discrimination were highly likely to support the use of violence and, more especially, to engage in emotional and physical violence themselves. Involvement in emotional violence (such as being teased or made fun of, or threatened in some way) was increased among those who had said that they had experienced violence because of their cultural or religious backgrounds; however, this was not restricted to Muslim youths.
- There was no indication that Muslim youths in any Member State were more likely than non-Muslims to be emotionally or physically violent towards others, once other aspects of discrimination and social marginalisation had been taken into account.
- Some young people indicated that they would support the use of violence in the case of self-defence or to protect someone else, but most young people showed no support for engaging in violence 'just for fun' (mindless violence).
- Some Muslim respondents were more likely to indicate their support for violence than non-Muslims (particularly if their religion was insulted); however, there is no indication that these respondents would translate their thoughts into action.
- Discrimination and marginalisation are not restricted to Muslim youths and religious affiliation is less important in determining young people's involvement in violent behaviour than their peer group characteristics and their broader attitudes and experiences (FRA, 2010: 75).
"Scholars who study ethnic group relations have repeatedly shown the dependence of ethnic relations on the societal context" (Trickett, Watts, and Birman, 1994) (in Zick et alia, 2008: 233).
- The social context is very important.
- Young people living in a poor and violent social context.
- There is no significant difference between Young Muslims and no Muslims.

3.7. Other relevant groups

This scheme can be used to analyse other groups whose mechanisms of discrimination can be similar. We suggest that the main features of this case can be used to study, for example, the discriminatory situation of young Muslim women, the situation of refugee women and, in particular, the discriminatory situation of the second generation of immigrants in Greece and Albanian women in Greece.

Young Muslim women

“Discrimination based on religion by teachers and peers was mentioned by Muslim respondents (e.g. Muslim girls wearing a headscarf), but also by Christians and atheists, which overlaps and intersects with the fact of being from some particular countries” (Masson and Zecca, 2014: 31). “Religion is often perceived and simultaneously constructed in opposition to the emancipation and equal rights of women” (Van Den Brandt 2015: 493). The active choice to retain the hijab is reminiscent of the “conscious Muslims” described by Ewing (2000) in Turkish women. It is usually interpreted as an indicator of religious domination (Hallak and Quina, 2004).

“Multiple discrimination also continues to be deeply affected by the political and social volatility of a war-torn post 9/11 world. Ongoing tensions around national security, religious diversity, race and gender have led to growing controversies around racial profiling (predominantly affecting racialised Muslim men) and religious dress codes in the workplace (affecting predominantly racialised Muslim women). In these contexts, it is impossible to separate the overlapping strands of exclusion linked to national and ethnic origin, race, religion, and gender” (Sheppard, 2011: 2).

This active choice to retain the hijab is reminiscent of the “conscious Muslims” described by Ewing (2000) in Turkish women. It is usually interpreted as an indicator of religious domination (Hallak and Quina, 2004). Stereotypes: Passive and uneducated (Hallak et alia, 2004).

Refugee women

“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” (FRA, 2010b).

“An Austrian social worker who regularly accompanies Muslim refugee women to public health services mentioned another case which concerned a refugee (woman) with intellectual disabilities who was verbally denied her right to asylum and refused specialist medical treatment by a neurologist because she did not speaking German. Learning German was challenging due to her disability and depression. The neurologist claimed that it would be better if she went back to Afghanistan, where she might recover more quickly” (FRA, 2013:68).

Second generation of Immigrants in Greece

They are at risk of exclusion due to low activity rates

Table 5. Activity rate by migration status in Greece. Year 2014.

Activity rates (15-64 years)			
Total	Native-born	Native-born with foreign background (second generation of immigrants)	Foreign-born (first generation of immigrants)
67,5	66,5	44,9	77,3

Source: Labour Force Survey. Eurostat.

Albanian women in Greece

Avoiding discrimination: praying secretly. In a research about Albanian women migrants in Patras, a woman expresses: "If you tell someone that you are Albanian, they don't like you so much, but if you are Albanian and Muslim, then they are capable of hating you forever. We say our prayers secretly, we don't admit that we are Muslims, it's like in Albania, the same old situation". And all the Albanian women who took part in the interviews had baptised their children as Orthodox Christians or intended to do so, so that their children would not experience any kind of discrimination. (Charalampopoulou, 2004: 97).

3.8. Summary

YOUNG MUSLIM MINORITY	
Grounds	Age, ethnic origin, religion and class
Ideologism	Ageism, racism, Islamophobia and classism
Identity/identities	Young Muslim living in urban areas
The experience of discrimination	- Compound - Multiple
Main dimensions or types of discrimination	- Form of prejudice: the belief that a group generally has a negative characteristic when, in fact, there is no reason to believe that this is the case. - Discrimination by adults - Institutional discrimination
Domains	- At a shop, cafe, bar or nightclub - When looking for work - At school
Contributing factors	- Poor living conditions
Barriers	- Social exclusion - Social distance
Effects over time	- Across generations: "Bridge generation" - Within a domain: At work
Type and intensity of effects	- Prominence: Discrimination against young Muslims (3 grounds) is not significantly worse than discrimination against non-Muslims (2 grounds) (living in the same social context)
Key point	Social context: Living in deprived and violent neighbourhoods
Related groups	- Young Muslim women - Refugee women - Second generation of Immigrants in Greece - Albanian women in Greece

4. Case study: Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender people (LGBT)

Lesbians, gays, bisexual and transgender persons are in the multidimensional social positions or have a double minority status (FRA, 2009d). For instance, a lesbian woman is in a social position defined by two grounds: sexual orientation and gender identity.

Definitions
Sexual orientation refers to “each person’s capacity for profound emotional, affectional and sexual attraction to, and intimate and sexual relations with, individuals of a different gender or the same gender or more than one gender”.
Gender identity refers to “each person’s deeply felt internal and individual experience of gender, which may or may not correspond with the sex assigned at birth, including the personal sense of the body (which may involve, if freely chosen, modification of bodily appearance or function by medical, surgical or other means) and other expressions of gender, including dress, speech and mannerisms”.
Gender expression refers, then, to the persons’ manifestation of their gender identity, for example through ‘masculine’, ‘feminine’ or ‘gender-variant’ behaviour, clothing, haircut, voice or body characteristics (FRA, 2013c: 8).

As EU-LGBT shows “the overall rate of discrimination on any ground is significantly higher among lesbian women respondents than among gay men respondents. In the 12 months preceding the survey, lesbian women were slightly more likely to have felt personally discriminated against or harassed on the basis of their sexual orientation, and much more likely to have felt personally discriminated against or harassed on the basis of their gender than gay men. This may suggest that lesbian respondents face discrimination both because of being a lesbian and because of being a woman” (FRA, 2013d: 104).

4.1. Main data sources

The main source of data that we can use to describe the experience of Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual and Transgender people was based on the EU-LGBT survey data. The Online methodology generated by far the largest collection of empirical information about LGBT people available in Europe and worldwide. The main advantage of the online methodology is the complete anonymity of respondents, allowing the survey to reach the less open LGBT population, as well as to obtain data about negative experiences that people do not normally talk about in an interview. The main limitation of this online methodology is that its sample is not statistically representative of the total LGBT population, which, as a ‘hard to reach population’, cannot be identified in population registers. Nevertheless, the results can be considered robust because the number of survey respondents is very large and because it managed to reach out to heterogeneous populations within the target groups in each country. This was supported by the country-level awareness-raising campaign, as well as by the social media activities of the survey organisers.

Main data sources

Survey: The European Union lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender survey was conducted online in the 28 EU Member States between April and July 2012. This survey is the largest of its kind to date and represents the most wide-ranging and comprehensive picture available of the lived experience of LGBT people residing in the EU. The data are not representative of all LGBT people living in the 28 countries covered by the survey; the results presented in the reports reflect the collective experiences of the very large number of individuals who completed the questionnaire. Looking across the survey as a whole, the majority of respondents were men, gay, young and highly educated.

The bulk of the questionnaire was composed of closed questions, with respondents given a range of possible responses among which they were asked to select the one or several answers which most applied to them. Where relevant, to accommodate respondents who felt unable to answer the question or that it did not apply to them, one option was 'don't know'. At the end of the questionnaire was an open section where respondents provided additional information.

The survey collected information from 93,079 persons aged 18 years or over who identified as lesbian, gay, bisexual or transgender, and who lived in the EU, about their experiences of discrimination, violence and harassment and other key issues.

Reports: FRA (2014): Being Trans in The European Union. Comparative analysis of EU LGBT survey data, Wien, FRA.

FRA (2013c): EU LGBT survey. European Union lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender survey. Results at a glance, Wien, FRA.

FRA (2013d): EU LGBT survey – European Union lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender survey – Main results, Luxembourg, Publications Office, available at: <http://fra.europa.eu/en/publication/2013/eu-lgbt-survey-main-results>.

Database: <http://fra.europa.eu/DVS/DVT/lgbt.php>

Survey: Electronic stakeholder survey NGOs, National Equality Bodies and public authorities were surveyed through an electronic questionnaire with the purpose of collecting a 'stakeholder assessment' of the social situation. A total of 343 questionnaires were sent out. Of those 84 were fully answered, 132 partly answered (total of 216) and 127 were not answered. The responses provide a valuable insight into the main areas of concern of key stakeholders across the EU.

Report: FRA (2009d): Homophobia and Discrimination on Grounds of Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity in the EU Member States: Part II – The Social Situation, which includes a chapter on multiple discrimination. See: fra.europa.eu/fraWebsite/attachments/FRA_hdgso_report_part2_en.pdf

Survey: Aging with Pride: National Health, Aging, and Sexuality/Gender Study (NHAS), is the largest Great Britain survey to date focused on the health and well-being of lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) older adults.

Report: Supplemental issue of The Gerontologist (2017) 57 (suppl_1) dedicated to reporting on the 2014 data from Aging with Pride: National Health, Aging, and Sexuality/Gender Study (NHAS). The articles in this issue explore a breadth of topics critical to understanding the challenges, strengths, and needs of a growing and underserved segment of the older adult population. This introduction to the supplement provides foundational information to frame the papers that follow.

4.2. Social context and living conditions

Attitudes towards LGBT persons in society

Most Europeans say they would be at ease if one of their work colleagues belonged to a group at risk of discrimination; although the proportions are lower for other groups as transgender or transsexual persons (67%). Respondents are generally less at ease with the possibility of one of their sons or

daughters having a relationship with someone from a group at risk of discrimination. Less than half of the respondents would be comfortable or indifferent if their son or daughter had a relationship with a person of the same sex (44%) or a transgender or transsexual person (38%).

Attitudes towards same-sex marriages and child adoption provide an indication of the acceptance of LGBT persons in society. “The majority of respondents express tolerant or supportive views in relation to gay, lesbian and bisexual people having the same rights as heterosexual people (71% agree) and with regards to same sex marriages being allowed throughout Europe (61% agree). This latter opinion has increased steeply since 2006, when just 44% agreed that ‘homosexual marriages should be allowed throughout Europe’. Most respondents also believe that transgender or transsexual persons should be able to change their civil documents to match their inner gender identity (63%)” (European Commission, 2015: 7-8). “On the question of child adoption the 2006 Eurobarometer found that across the EU only an average of 31 per cent of respondents agreed that adoption by same-sex couples should be permitted: The proposition that homosexual couples should be authorised to adopt children receives extremely different levels of agreement from one country to another: it ranges from 7% in Poland and Malta (11% in Greece) to 69% in the Netherlands. Sweden is the only other country where (just) more than half supports the view that ‘the adoption of children should be authorised for homosexual couples throughout Europe’” (FRA, 2009d: 32).

Living conditions

Depends on Country patterns: A diverse picture of Respondents’ experiences and perceptions vary considerably according to their national context. There are clear country-level differences, indicating that the enjoyment of fundamental rights for LGBT persons in the EU varies markedly depending on where in the EU LGBT persons live. For instance: Respondents who have never been open about being LGBT at work in the last five years, by country (%): EU-LGBT average: 32%; Romania and Latvia: 58%; Cyprus: 55%; Greece: 52%....; United Kingdom: 18%; Denmark: 17% and Netherlands: 13% (FRA, 2013d: 99-100).

Visibility and invisibility of LGBT persons: The data also indicates that the extent to which LGBT people express their identity in public is influenced by fear of becoming victims of violence and harassment because of being LGBT. Irrespective of how open respondents are about being LGBT, they tend not to adopt behaviours that they considered risky because of being LGBT. For example, two thirds of all respondents said they avoid holding hands with their same-sex partner in public for fear of being assaulted, threatened or harassed. In all but two of the 28 countries covered by the survey, more than half of all respondents avoid holding hands with their same-sex partner in public for this reason (FRA, 2009d: 101-102).

Age: younger LGBT persons experience a less favourable social environment: “There is a link between respondents’ age and their experiences and perceptions of living as an LGBT person in the EU. Generally, there is an inverse relationship between age and the inclusiveness of respondents’ environment towards LGBT people: the younger the respondent, the more likely they are to perceive their environment as intolerant towards LGBT people. This may reflect a social context in which younger people are less able to select those with whom they interact on a daily basis; for example, younger people are more likely to live at home or to be in education, where they do not have the opportunity to choose their classmates or teachers” (FRA, 2013d: 102).

They were schooled in a homophobic school climate: “During their schooling before the age of 18, more than eight in 10 of all respondents in each LGBT subgroup (91%: LGBT average) and every country covered by the survey (EU-28) had heard or seen negative comments or conduct because a schoolmate was perceived to be LGBT. Two thirds (68%) of all respondents who answered the question said these comments or conduct had occurred often or always during their schooling before the age of 18” (FRA, 2013c: 19).

“Two thirds (67%) of all respondents said they often or always hid or disguised that they were LGBT during their schooling before the age of 18. Gay and bisexual men respondents were much more likely than lesbian and bisexual women respondents to have hidden or disguised that they were LGBT while at school before the age of 18” (FRA, 2013c: 20).

Daily life in the social environment: “Almost half (48%) of all survey respondents were open about being LGBT to none or a few of their family members and three in 10 (28%) were open to none or a few of their friends. Just one in five (21%) of all respondents were open to all of their work colleagues or schoolmates. Bisexual respondents, and particularly bisexual men respondents, were consistently less likely to say they were open to all or most of their family members, friends or colleagues/schoolmates. This is also reflected in LGBT respondents’ answers when estimating the spread of holding hands of couples in public: only 3% of all LGBT respondents said that holding hands in public of same sex couples is “very widespread” in their country, compared with 75% of different-sex couples” (FRA, 2013c: 25).

4.3. Experiences of discrimination

4.3.1. *Perceived discrimination*

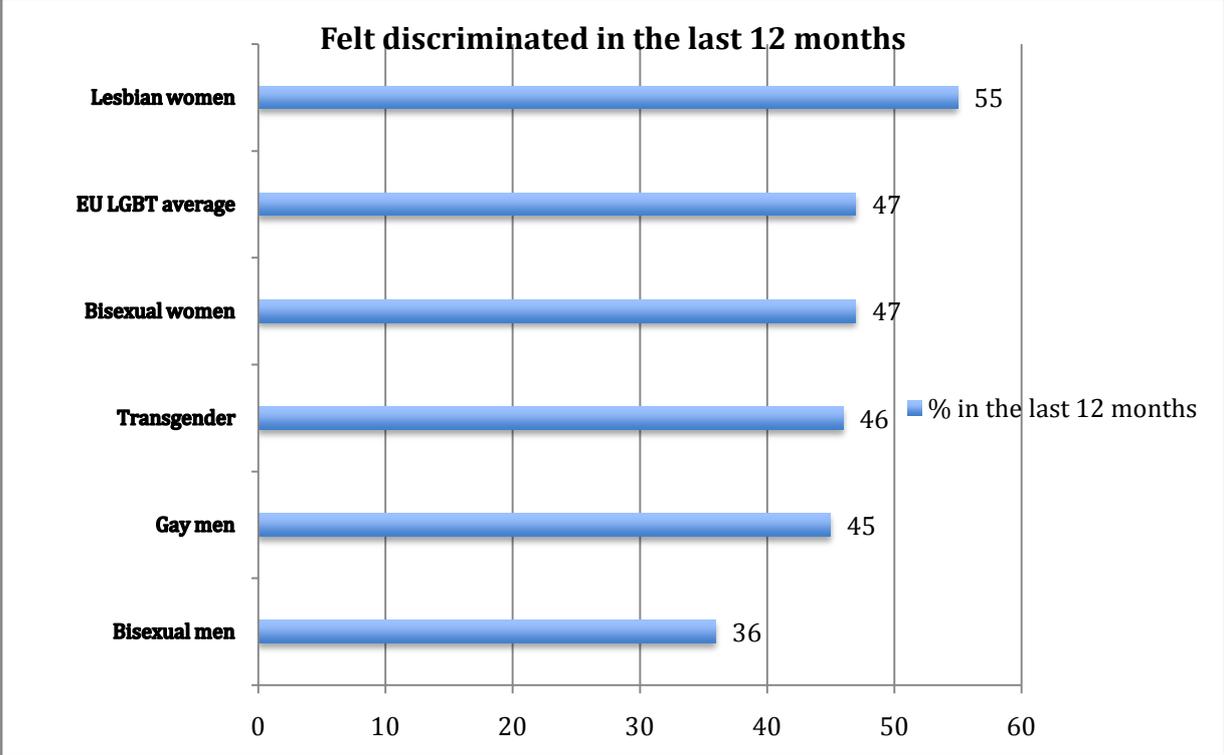
Felt discriminated on the ground of sexual orientation

Half of all respondents (47%) say that they have felt personally discriminated against or harassed because of their sexual orientation in the year preceding the survey. Lesbian women and respondents in the youngest age group (18–24 years old) are most likely to say they have felt discriminated against or harassed on the grounds of sexual orientation in the last 12 months.

A breakdown of the data by LGBT group indicates that respondents’ experience of discrimination or harassment on the grounds of sexual orientation varies according to their gender. A majority of all lesbian women respondents (55%) say that they have felt personally discriminated against or harassed on the grounds of sexual orientation in the 12 months before the survey, compared with 45% of all gay men. Similarly, more bisexual women (47%) than bisexual men (36%) have felt discriminated against or harassed on the basis of sexual orientation in the past year (FRA, 2013d: 26).

The additive experience of discrimination suffered by LGBT people on the grounds of sexual orientation and gender identity will also be an additive effect: negative for female and positive for men.

Graph 2: LGBT people who felt discriminated against or harassed in the last 12 months

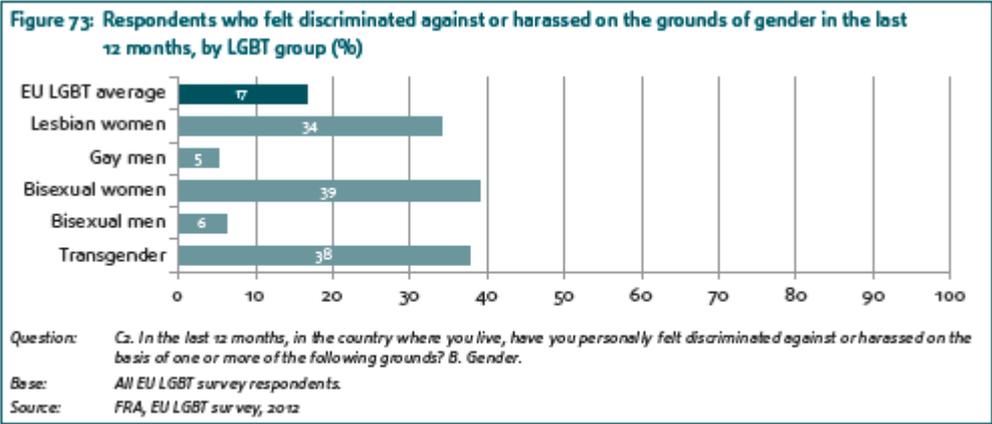


Source: EU-LGBT Survey, 2012.

Felt discriminated on the ground of gender

Furthermore, lesbian and bisexual women, as well as transgender respondents, are much more likely than men to have been discriminated against on the basis of their gender in the 12 months preceding the survey. This contributed to the overall higher one-year discrimination rates in these groups compared with gay and bisexual men respondents (FRA, 2013d: 105-106).

Graph 3. Respondents who felt discriminated against or harassed on the grounds of gender in the last 12 months, by LGBT group (%)

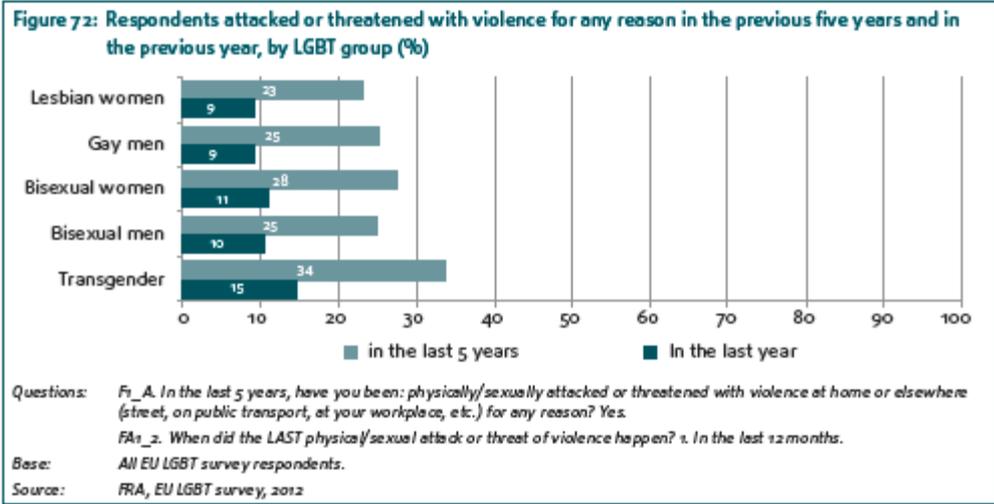


Lesbian women respondents: Lesbian women respondents are the most open of all groups about being LGBT and are also less likely than gay men respondents to avoid locations for fear of being assaulted, threatened or harassed. However, the overall rate of discrimination on any ground is significantly higher among lesbian women respondents than among gay men respondents. In the 12 months preceding the survey, lesbian women were slightly more likely to have felt personally discriminated against or harassed on the basis of their sexual orientation, and much more likely to have felt personally discriminated against or harassed on the basis of their gender than gay men. This may suggest that lesbian respondents face discrimination both because of being a lesbian and because of being a woman.

Gay men respondents: Responses from gay men indicate that they are more likely than lesbian and bisexual respondents to feel that their social environment does not accept them. Gay men respondents are, for example, much more likely than either lesbian women or bisexual respondents to consider that, in their country of residence, discrimination because a person is LGBT is widespread. In addition, they are more likely than lesbian women to think that the last incident of discrimination against them happened partly or entirely because they were perceived to be gay. Furthermore, gay men respondents are the most likely of all the LGBT groups to avoid certain locations or places for fear of being assaulted, threatened or harassed because of being gay (FRA, 2013d: 104)

4.3.2. Prevalence of violence and hate-motivated violence

Graph 4: Respondents attacked or threatened with violence for any reason in the previous five years and in the previous year, by LGBT group (FRA, 2013d: 105)



In the EU-LGBT Survey, the term ‘violence’ is used to describe both physical or sexual attacks, and threats of violence. In addition, ‘hate-motivated violence’ and ‘hate-motivated harassment’ are used

to describe incidents which respondents think happened partly or entirely because they were perceived to be LGBT.

A quarter (26%) of all respondents indicate that they were physically or sexually attacked or threatened with violence for any reason at home or elsewhere in the previous five years. In addition, one in 10 (10%) of all respondents say that they were attacked or threatened with violence for any reason in the 12 months before the survey.

Looking at the data by the LGBT group, transgender respondents are the most likely to say they were attacked or threatened with violence in both the five year and one-year time periods. A third (34%) of all transgender respondents say they were physically or sexually attacked or threatened with violence in the five years preceding the survey, compared with, for example, around a quarter of all lesbian, gay and bisexual respondents (FRA, 2013d: 56).

Differences by the LGBT group: transgender persons consistently report worse experiences. Transgender respondents with few exceptions, transgender participants' responses indicate the highest levels of discrimination, harassment and violence experienced by the different LGBT groups. Transgender respondents are the most likely of all respondent groups to have experienced violence and harassment in both the five years and the one year preceding the survey. In addition, they are more likely to say that they have felt personally discriminated against in the past year because of being LGBT, particularly in the areas of employment and healthcare. Furthermore, there is great variation between countries concerning the percentage of all lesbian, gay and bisexual respondents that feel discrimination because a person is lesbian, gay or bisexual is widespread in their country of residence, but this variation is not found in the responses of transgender participants. In 19 out of the 28 countries surveyed, a majority of all the transgender respondents indicate that discrimination because a person is transgender is very widespread (FRA, 2013d: 104-105).

Violence among transgender people is higher than among LGBT people because of their greater visibility:

"I have nearly always been attacked because I am perceived as being a gay man, and because I was seen as transgender only on one occasion. I 'pass' quite easily, but I am seen as being a gay man in most people's eyes. I have often witnessed transphobic violence and attacks, but not so much against me. However, homophobic attacks have been perpetrated against me and others on a regular basis" (United Kingdom, transgender, 36) (FRA, 2013d: 57).

However, bisexual men and women experience violence, harassment and discrimination in different ways, indicating that gender plays a role in respondents' experiences. Of those bisexual respondents who were victims of violence or a threat of violence in the year preceding the survey, bisexual women (31%), for example, are less likely than bisexual men (48%) to say that the last violent incident they experienced in the past year had happened partly or entirely because they were perceived to be bisexual. Conversely, bisexual women (47% of all bisexual women respondents) are more likely than bisexual men (36% of all bisexual men respondents) to say that they had felt personally discriminated against or harassed on the grounds of sexual orientation in the 12 months preceding the survey (FRA, 2013d: 104).

Gender expression

When taking into account the respondents' gender and gender expression, the results show particular trends. Respondents whose responses indicate that their gender expression and sex assigned at birth do not align according to societal expectations, for example respondents assigned a male sex at birth who express themselves as female, also indicate a less inclusive social environment. For example, those whose gender expression does not 'match' their sex assigned at birth (10%) are twice as likely as those with 'matching' sex assigned at birth and gender expression (5%) to have experienced violence or the threat of violence in the last 12 months because of being LGBT. In addition, two thirds of all gay men respondents (61%) say they had received negative reactions because of behaving in a 'too feminine' way, whereas seven in 10 of all lesbian (69%) and bisexual women (68%) respondents experienced negative reactions for behaviour considered 'too masculine'" (FRA, 2013d: 105).

4.4. Effects of discrimination

4.4.1. Lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender persons

Emotional consequences of bullying: In a research based on the data from the 2006 Boston Youth Survey where students were asked whether they had experienced discrimination based on four attributes: race/ethnicity, immigration status, perceived sexual orientation and weight. "More than half of the students in this sample reported at least one discriminatory experience in the past year and approximately 11% of the sample indicated that they had been bullied or physically assaulted in the past year. Self-reported experiences of bullying were comparable across most socio-demographic subgroups, except sexual orientation, with sexual minority students reporting greater experiences of bullying and assault compared to their heterosexual peers (17.2 vs. 10.6 %, p value 0.04)". Sexual minority youth still had four times the odds of suicidal ideation compared to their heterosexual peers (OR4.1, p value\0.01) (Garnett et alia., 2014: 1231).

Distant or cumulative effects: "A study converging evidence from large community-based samples, Internet studies, and Veterans Health Administration data suggest that transgender adults have high rates of U.S. military service. However, little is known about the role of prior military service in their mental health later in life, particularly in relation to identity stigma. In this article, we examine relationships between prior military service, identity stigma, and mental health among transgender older adults. The study evaluated the relationships between psychological health-related quality of life (HRQOL), depressive symptomatology (Center for Epidemiological Studies Depression Scale [CES-D] scores), identity stigma, and prior military service, controlling for background characteristics. Identity stigma was significantly related with higher depressive symptomatology and lower psychological HRQOL. Having a history of prior military service significantly predicted lower depressive symptomatology and higher psychological HRQOL. The relationships between psychological HRQOL, identity stigma, and prior military service were largely explained by depressive symptomatology. Prior military service significantly attenuated the relationship between identity stigma and depressive symptomatology. By identifying the role of military service in the mental health of transgender older adults, this study provides insights into how prior military service may contribute to resilience and positive mental health outcomes" (Hoy-Ellis et alia, 2017).

4.4.2. Transgender persons

PERSONAL CONSEQUENCES FOR TRANSGENDER PERSONS
<p>The recognition of their gender identity is of critical importance for trans people, affecting their level of openness. The results show notable differences in the daily life experiences among trans respondents in the EU.</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">Psychological and medical help</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">- Two in five trans respondents (39%), especially those from lower income classes and those without a job, have sought medical or psychological help related to their gender identity needs.- Experiences when seeking help are very diverse: seven out of 10 (71%) report positive experiences with psychologists, psychiatrists or other specialist or care providers. The satisfaction rate drops to below half (45%) however, where general practitioners are concerned. One in five (20%) indicate that their general practitioner did not seem to want to help, and one in 10 (11%) say that he or she simply refused to help.- Half of those (52%) who have not sought psychological or medical help simply do not want or need help. The groups of male and female cross dressers, gender variant, and queer/other respondents in particular are the most likely to not want/need care. A third of trans men (33%) and trans women (37%) also indicate that they do not want psychological or medical help for being trans.- Those respondents who do want or need psychological or medical care, but who have not sought it so far, report many reasons for not seeking help, such as not daring, not knowing where to go or being afraid of care providers' prejudice.- Almost four in five (79%) trans respondents state that more medical treatment options would help them to live a more comfortable life as a trans person. <p>Legal gender recognition:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">- One in three trans respondents (30%) felt discriminated against in the 12 months preceding the survey where they had to show their identification or any official document that identifies their sex. The prevalence of this type of discrimination is twice as high among trans respondents under 40 years of age, respondents who are not in paid work and those who are less educated.- Almost nine in 10 (87%) say that easier legal procedures for gender recognition in the preferred gender would help them live a more comfortable life as a trans person.
<p style="text-align: center;">Openness</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">- Most of the time trans respondents do not openly indicate that they are trans.- Among all trans respondents, trans women and trans men are the most open about their identity, whereas gender variant respondents are the most closed.- Openness increases with age and with income.- Trans respondents with a higher educational level are in general less open than those with lower educational levels, regardless of their age.- The openness in different spheres of life also differs significantly across Member States. The more widespread the existence of positive measures promoting respect for the human rights of trans people (such as equality plans, public campaigns and specialised services) are in a country, the more respondents tend to be generally open and the less they are generally closed about their trans identity (FRA, 2014: 77-78)

4.5. Other relevant groups

This scheme can be used to analyse other groups whose mechanisms of discrimination can be similar. We suggest that the main features of this case can be used to study, for example, the discriminatory situation of LGBT older adults, and LGBT older adults with a disability. “People with multiple identities may suffer from social isolation, which may generate additional challenges, but may also eventually give rise to the creation of ‘multiple ground’ communities and NGOs. Discrimination and exclusion are experienced in different ways by disabled, elderly and ethnic/religious minority LGBT persons. Ethnic minorities risk discrimination on grounds of sexual orientation or gender identity within their ethnic community and discrimination on grounds of race or ethnic background in the LGBT community. Disabled LGBT persons experience ‘asexualisation’ by, among others, caretakers and members of the LGBT community itself. Furthermore, inaccessible LGBT venues, bars and meeting places make it difficult for disabled LGBT persons to participate in the life of the LGBT community. Some LGBT persons in care facilities face social isolation and stereotyping from personnel and other residents” (FRA, 2009d: 106-107).

LGBT older adults

The combination of age and sexual orientation can increase the vulnerability of LGBT persons: ‘I don't deny [being gay] if anyone asks directly, and Panbladet [a gay magazine] is always lying on the table. But otherwise it is not a place where you can be open about your sexuality. The rumours would spread. Of course it would be more secure and friendly living together with other homosexuals’. (Male 73, Denmark). According to the LGBT NGO GLEN, in Ireland, same-sex relationships are often unrecognised at elderly persons’ homes, and elderly LGBT persons are often silent and isolated due to fear of discrimination and social isolation. A resident grieving the death of a partner, for example, may not have an institutional or support network to draw upon. A German study showed that LGBT persons in nursing homes are confronted with negative stereotypes expressed by staff and other residents (FRA, 2009d: 105).

Barriers for adequate healthcare. “LGBT older adults report fearing discrimination by health providers, but no studies have measured these perceptions or their relation to health outcomes. Participants in our ongoing survey of LGBT adults over 60 with a chronic illness > 1 year (N = 39, M = 66 years, SD = 4.93) completed the BRFSS depression/anxiety module, the Perceived Stress Scale, the Pain Numeric Rating Scale and the Discrimination in Medical Settings Scale (DIMS). Addressing perceptions of discrimination is critical to reducing barriers to adequate care for LGBT elders” (Cloyes and Rivera, 2015).

Being LGBT with a disability

“Being gay and having a disability is another intersection requiring particular attention. Lack of accessibility can be a serious obstacle for the lives and needs of LGBT persons, often affecting their ability to make friends or meet partners. According to a German study, the sexuality of disabled people is not only often ignored (or it is assumed that they have none), but mobility issues and

discrimination within the LGBT community itself makes contacting potential partners difficult” (FRA, 2009d: 105).

4.6. Summary

LGBT PERSONS BY GENDER IDENTITY	
Grounds	Sexual orientation and gender identity
Ideology	Heterosexism (Homophobia) and sexism
Identity/identities	- Lesbians, gays and bisexual persons - Transgender persons
The experience of discrimination	- Accumulative: case of LGB and Transgender persons - Compound: Lesbians, gays and bisexuals - Discrimination: Transgender persons (multidimensional?)
Main dimensions or types of discrimination	- Violence and harassment, Hate crime - Institutional - Microaggressions in everyday life
Domains	- At a cafe, bar, restaurants or nightclub - By housing agency/landlord - When looking for work, at work - By school personnel and classmates - By health care personnel
Contributing factors	- Visibility and opening
Barriers	- For those whose gender expression does not "match" their sex assigned at birth
Effects over time	- Discrimination throughout all stages of their life cycle: at school, at work
Type and intensity of effects	- Discrimination throughout all stages of their life cycle multiplies the effects of previous forms (LGBT) - Cumulative effects (LGBT) - Perceived discrimination against LGB persons: additive (add or subtracts): (worse for female and better for men) - Violence and harassment against LGB persons: additive (worse for men and better for women) - Prominence: Transgender person
Key point	- Stigma and microaggressions
Related groups	- LGBT older adults - Being LGBT with a disability

5. Case study: Disabled older people

“People who are old and who also have disabilities –a growing proportion of the population– find themselves in ‘double jeopardy’ of experienced prejudice and discrimination, which often lead to difficulty gaining access to needed healthcare and social services” (Sheets, 2005: 37).

“All people who are in groups against whom others are prejudiced share the negative experiences that come with being the target of unjustified attitudes and beliefs. Prejudice generally takes one of two forms. The first form is the belief that a group generally has a negative characteristic when, in fact, there is no reason to believe that this is the case. Racial profiling reflects this form of prejudice. The second form is the belief that a particular individual has a negative characteristic because those in his or her group generally do. Treating a particular older woman as if she were incompetent simply because dementia is more common with age is an example of this second form” (Sheets, 2005: 38).

5.1. Key features of the study case

Two different multiple identities: Different experiences with disability

People with an early onset disability are said to age with disability, while those with later-life onset are said to have disability with ageing. These groups will likely have different experiences with disability related to the length of time spent living with a disability. They will have different expectations, coping mechanisms and adaptation strategies for dealing with disability. An analysis of the life-course will reveal many influences and experiences that serve to separate rather than unite the two groups.

Health care and Social Services Systems use two different perspectives: Aging Theories and Disability Models

Biomedical vs. social model: A biomedical model of age is one that ties ill-health and impairment to old age in a way that defines ageing as an inevitable and thereby untreatable process of physical and mental decline. This model is by no means confined to the health service. It also affects how older people are judged and perceived by society as a whole.

Conversely, “social models of disability are premised on the notion that disability is not inherently a part of the person, but rather a function of the interaction between the person and the environment” (Brandt and Pope, 1997; Hahn, 1994; Lawton and Nahemow, 1973; Nagi, 1965; Pope and Tarlov, 1991; Verbrugge and Jette, 1994; World Health Organisation, 2001) (references in Putnam, 2002: 802). That is, disability is a dependent variable and results from a gap between the capabilities of the individual and the demands of the environment, both independent variables. As such, the individual may have a physical impairment, but this on its own does not constitute disability (Putnam, 2002: 802). The Social Model of disability identifies societal barriers, such as people’s attitudes and the environment as the main contributing factor in disabling people in society. Purpose of Independent living and multiple discrimination – the history of the Independent Living Movement, the Independent Living philosophy, what this means to the participants lives now and in the future and how independent living can be affected by multiple discrimination (ENIL, 2014).

The issues of needs assessment and person-centred care are central to both groups. So too, are the issues of social rights and citizenship for all people with a disability. Yet in contemporary debates about social care for older people, ageing and disability tend to remain separate in discussions of both policy and practice. In social services, disability programs and ageing programs have been distinct for many decades (Murphy et alia, 2007: 25-26).

Efficiency vs. equity model: One of them is based on efficiency concerns; and the other on equity concerns. Equity versus efficiency is a dilemma for the NHS.

Consumer direction vs. care management approach: “...the service models of disability and aging programs are typically distinct. Disability service programs are more likely to incorporate consumer direction, modelled on the philosophies of self-determination and independent living that come out of the disability rights movement. Aging service programs generally follow the medical model more closely, use a care management approach to service delivery” (Putnam, 2002: 799).

Differences in terms of rejection: Mental illness; Physical and sensory disabilities; and intellectual disabilities: “Sander’s research indicated that discrimination caused by mental disability was associated with level of psychiatric symptoms and perceived social rejection as a result of mental

illness, whereas discrimination for other reasons was associated with broader quality of life and social interaction indicators” (Sanders Thompson et alia, 2004: 529).

In-group discrimination: Older people with disability face young people with long-term disability: “In the UK, for example, the general perception is one of considerable age discrimination: local authorities spend less on the provision of services for older people with a disability than for younger people with a disability (Priestly and Rabiee, 2002). Older people with a disability complain about the inadequate, less empowered services they receive when they transfer from Disabled Services to Services for Older People” (Oldman, 2002). (Text and references in Murphy et alia, 2007: 54).

Age is an invisible ground for research on multiple discrimination: For example, in a FRA Report about Multiple discrimination in access to and quality of healthcare: “Interviews were conducted with three different groups of healthcare users with migrant/ethnic background: women with reproductive health issues between the ages of 18 and 50 years, older people (over 50 years), and young adults between 18 and 25 years with intellectual disabilities. Furthermore, a number of young adults with intellectual disabilities and many of the older people also had various health problems and physical and sensory disabilities. These three groups were identified as especially vulnerable to multiple discrimination in healthcare” (FRA, 2013a: 15).

Only one category of analysis: People who are old and also have disabilities: “Much can be learned about (old) age-identity and age-related oppression by noting their similarities to, respectively, impairment and ableism. Drawing upon the work of Tremain, shows that old age, like impairment, is not a biological given, but is socially constructed, both conceptually and materially. Also describes the striking similarities and connections between ableism and ageism as systems of oppression. That disability and aging both rest upon a biological given is an action that functions to excuse and perpetuate the very social mechanisms that perpetuate ableist and ageist oppression” (Overall, 2006).

5.2. Main data sources

Main data sources
<p><u>Survey:</u> EHSIS (2012) European Health and Social Integration Survey. Collected data in 2012/2013 on the barriers to participation in different life areas for people having a health problem or a basic activity difficulty. Conducted by Eurostat. Sample: 26 European countries (except Ireland and Croatia).</p> <p>The survey was conducted among a total of persons aged 15 and over years living in private households.</p> <p><u>Report:</u> Eurostat (2015): European Health and Social Integration Survey. EU comparative quality report. Methodological report.</p> <p><u>Database:</u> Eurostat/Population and Social Conditions/Health/Disability</p>
<p><u>Survey:</u> Survey of Health, Ageing and Retirement in Europe. 6 Waves between 2004 and 2015. SHARE is promoted by ERIC (The first European Research Infrastructure Consortium).</p> <p><u>Data Access:</u> http://www.share-project.org/index.php?id=832</p>

Interviews: The methodology applied in this research does not aim to provide statistical data on the prevalence of multiple discrimination and its distribution in the population.

Instead, the in-depth interviews and case studies provide a better insight and deeper understanding of the experiences of multiple and intersectional forms of discrimination by members of multiply disadvantaged groups when accessing healthcare, including information on the contexts, the reactions, and the impact of this specific form of discrimination.

Report: FRA (2013a): Inequalities and multiple discrimination in access to and quality of healthcare, Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union

Interviews: The purpose of the study was to understand older people's experiences of living with a disability. The method of data collection was semi-structured interviews. The study sample comprised 143 older people (from 51 to 91 years) drawn from six Irish counties.

Report: Murphy, K., O'Shea, E., Cooney, A. and Casey, D. (2007): The Quality of Life of Older People With a Disability in Ireland, National University of Ireland, Galway National Council on Ageing and Older People, Report No. 99.

Diaries and interviews to diarists: Participative research gives participants the opportunity to influence and shape the research project by helping to define the problem or issue, posing questions, choosing methods of data collection, analysing findings and determining actions. Older people played active roles in both the project team and the project advisory group.

They also contributed by: sending accounts of and opinions about age discrimination via older people's forums and other groups ('the mailing list'); commenting on the outcomes of the data analysis ('the panel'); keeping diaries ('the diarists'); supporting the diarists and carrying out interviews ('the fieldworkers'); and discussing and commenting on the research findings as members of focus groups or participants in 'sub-projects'.

Report: Bytheway, B., Ward, R., Holland, C., and Peace, S. (2007): Too Old. Older people's accounts of discrimination, exclusion and rejection, Faculty of Health and Social Care, the Open University.

5.3. Social context and living conditions

Prejudices

Against a person with disability: "The majority of respondents (69%) say that they would be comfortable (score of 7-10 out of 10) if a person with a disability held the highest elected position in their country, with a further 11% indifferent. Eight per cent say they would be uncomfortable with this scenario. The proportion of respondents at ease if a person with a disability held the highest elected position in their country (80%) is higher than was recorded in the previous survey in June 2012 (70%)" (European Commission, 2015: 38).

Is higher with respect elderly: "Many people across Europe would not be comfortable about having a person aged over 75 in the highest elected political position in their country. Less than half (46%) say they would be comfortable (giving a score of 7-10 out of 10), with a further 7% spontaneously saying that they are indifferent, while 29% would be uncomfortable (score of less than 5)" (European Commission, 2015: 25).

Living conditions

“The likelihood of disabilities and chronic conditions increases with age. If one translates this into age ranges there is a clear pattern suggesting that the older a person becomes the more likely it is that a person will have a long-term health problem or be disabled (Table 2). This is true of all countries in the EU”. (People reporting disability 20-24 years: 6,1%; 40-44: 12,1%; 50-54: 21,1%; 60-64: 31,7%) (Sargeant, 2005: 23).

In 2012, one in three Europeans (34,2%) who are 65 years and over, have some form of disability. The most frequent is to have reduced mobility (See table 6).

Poverty: Twenty four percent of older Europeans who suffer from a disability, say their main obstacle is to paying for the essential things in life. This ratio indicates situations of extreme hardship in Bulgaria (76,8%), Romania (61,2%), Greece (53,1%), Latvia (51,0%) and Estonia (50,5%).

Older with disabilities are a heterogeneous group, while disabled who are aging are a homogenous group. Yet, these two groups are also likely to share many attributes.

Common sources of prejudice and discrimination

Some of the common sources of prejudice and discrimination against older adults and people with disabilities are (Sheets, 2005: 39):

- “First, both old age and disability are accompanied by physical changes -wrinkles, gray hair, deformity, disfigurement- that are often considered ugly in a society that emphasises on beauty.
- Second, age and disability may feed fears that many people have related to becoming vulnerable and dependent as they grow older. An elder or a person with a disability represents a circumstance that can be very difficult and that many individuals prefer to deny or ignore.
- Third, age- or disability-related impairments may cause discomfort and tension in others that makes them want to avoid contact because it feels unpleasant.
- Fourth, age and disability are ambiguous states that may cause others to feel incompetent and to focus on the negative aspects or ascribe greater limitations than actually exist to elders or to people with disabilities.
- Fifth, older adults or those with disabilities are often perceived as “burdens” or drains on the resources of a community. Some people resent being inconvenienced when they are asked to help someone who is old or who has a disability. People might feel existential angst in relation to old age or disability because both are statuses thought to be associated with death” (Sheets, 2005: 39).

Disability with ageing

Long-term disabilities experience produces (Sheets, 2005:38):

Health problems: “Unanticipated health problems (e.g., fatigue, pain) and functional declines (e.g., muscle weakness, mobility limitations) as they reach midlife” (Campbell, Sheets, and Strong, 1999).

Discrimination contributing factors: A related problem is that people aging with disabilities may face early and forced retirement as they become physically unable to continue working. In such cases,

they often have not had time to plan for how they will address typical retirement issues such as housing, health insurance, transportation, income, and caregiving (Torres-Gil and Putnam, 2004).

Experiences of discrimination: Yet they remain too young to qualify for the age-based service system as they shift out of the disability service system, with its strong vocational focus. The resulting gap in services poses a threat to independence and quality of life for people aging with disability.

Effects: These secondary health conditions are related to the effects of aging superimposed on the primary disability. The conditions have been described as “premature aging” because they occur about fifteen to twenty years earlier than would be the case with normal aging (Kemp and Mosqueda, 2004). (Sheets, 2005:38).

5.4. Experiences of discrimination

Usually, older people are less likely to say that various forms of discrimination are widespread (European Commission, 2015: 17). Respondents are more likely to say that discrimination is widespread if they are members of the group at risk of discrimination in question. The difference is greatest in relation to disability: 70% of those who have disabilities themselves say that disability discrimination is widespread, compared with 50% of respondents overall (European Commission, 2015: 17).

However, according to EHSIS data (see table below), in countries where disability is more widespread among older people, perceived discrimination is lower (correlation coefficient: -0.43), (discrimination awareness index).

It seems that the term discrimination is identified, above all, with structural discrimination, for example, with labour discrimination (correlation coefficient is positive).

Awareness of discrimination is lower in countries where the proportion of people who indicate that they have difficulty meeting their basic needs is greater (Maslow’s Hierarchy of Needs).

It seems that the lack of accessibility to buildings is naturalised as a condition of the disability status. The coefficient of correlation, between perceiving discrimination and Barriers to access buildings is equal to 0.

Table 6: Percentages of Europeans (65 years and older) reporting disability and barriers

Countries	% disabled people	% of disabled people that reporting				
		Barriers of perceived discrimination	Barriers to mobility	Barriers to paying for the essential things in life	Barriers to accessing buildings	Barriers to employment
EU-26	34.2	10.2	63.5	24.2	48.2	21.2
Belgium	22.8	13.5	51.0	8.0	38.9	32.8
Bulgaria	49.8	5.4	55.9	76.8	45.4	14.5
Czech Republic	42.5	13.4	72.0	37.2	53.2	21.0
Denmark	27.4	13.4	61.4	7.6	45.4	31.7
Germany	34.3	13.5	57.3	9.0	45.3	25.5
Estonia	42.2	5.9	66.5	50.5	38.2	
Greece	47.2	5.1	71.9	53.1	52.6	12.8
Spain	37.2	9.4	68.1	8.7	47.9	17.6

France	21.2	9.6	55.3	9.5	45.1	
Italy	40.8	7.6	75.7	32.8	51.9	13.8
Cyprus	40.5		68.2	33.8	53.9	20.4
Latvia	55.0	4.2	61.3	51.0	37.2	32.2
Lithuania	51.3	7.0	63.2	36.2	49.5	24.6
Luxembourg	25.4	17.7	43.5		42.5	23.1
Hungary	55.5	9.5	75.1	47.8	59.5	29.1
Malta	28.3		51.5	47.9	40.2	0.0
Netherlands	20.7	9.9	39.9	10.5	37.1	19.1
Austria	34.0	8.2	48.8	7.5	35.3	35.6
Poland	49.0	8.7	62.6	36.4	51.5	25.4
Portugal	31.3	2.6	60.3	35.4	47.8	22.7
Romania	53.9	13.1	76.9	61.2	63.9	23.5
Slovenia	42.9	7.2	68.3	19.7	53.8	5.0
Slovakia	37.3		57.0	31.2	35.2	
Finland	26.2	7.4	55.7		37.5	20.2
Sweden	20.8	11.6	26.8		18.7	34.6
United Kingdom	26.7	14.2	57.7	7.2	45.0	37.4

Source: European Health and Social Integration Survey (EHSIS), 2012. European Commission, Eurostat.

Fields and mechanisms of discrimination: Undignified treatment was described most commonly by four groups of respondents: Muslim women, persons with disabilities, older people and women from migrant or ethnic minorities seeking reproductive care. These cases indicate that treatment perceived as lacking dignity occurred at the intersection of discrimination on different grounds. Stereotypes, whether based on culture, sex, age, ethnicity, migrant background, religion or any other characteristic, can lead to unequal treatment of different groups of healthcare users. While health professionals' perceptions of particular groups change according to country-specific stereotypes, there are some recurrent stereotypes that this research found across all the EU Member States reviewed. These include those related to: appearance, particularly of Muslim women; disability; feigning illness, specifically among older people and persons with disabilities; cultural stereotypes and the association of migrant or ethnic minorities with HIV/AIDS (FRA, 2013: 70).

Structural discrimination and barriers: The concept of Structural discrimination, its use arises out of the observation that disadvantage is often not intentionally produced, in the sense that somebody wanted it, nor need it necessarily thus be unintentional, in the sense of having been completely randomly produced. Structural discrimination is more about the failure to recognise the effects of a certain policy or practice with respect to a particular group, especially if that group is already in a vulnerable position socially (Makkonnen, 2002: 14).

The barriers influence discrimination

Interpersonal barriers (Personal living conditions)

1. Cultural and psychological barriers
2. Communication and language barriers
3. Lack of information

Structural barriers (Health care and Social Services System)

4. Organisational barriers and accessibility
5. Financial barriers
6. Living conditions and care responsibilities (FRA, 2013a)

Examples of barriers

Several health practitioners highlighted particular communication barriers deriving from the intersection of different characteristics, notably age, disability, socio-economic status and the amount of time spent in the host country. This reinforces the results of this research in Austria, the Czech Republic and the United Kingdom, which indicate that while language barriers are particularly relevant for migrants who have recently arrived, they also apply to older migrants. Older migrants who have learned and spoken a second language for decades can lose this ability when they develop dementia or suffer a stroke. A local policy officer in Sweden said: “even those who have learned Swedish might forget the language as they get older”. Similarly, an interviewee in the United Kingdom stressed the vulnerability arising from the interplay between age and disability. The interviewee said that even non-migrant people with learning disabilities and older people, particularly those with memory or speech difficulties, may be unable to communicate that they are unwell or describe their symptoms to a practitioner: “[...] when people don’t have verbal communication, they may attempt to express they are not feeling well and this is interpreted as behaviour that challenges and they could go for years before someone thinks they are not very well” (Policy maker, male, United Kingdom) (FRA, 2013a: 48).

The greatest problem for health professionals was how to adapt a standardised approach for providing information, and how to support and enable the patients to understand the information provided and comply with the treatment. Healthcare providers in Austria and Sweden and representatives of United Kingdom advocacy groups working with older people and those with intellectual disabilities also mentioned the communication challenges linked to older persons who become disabled. In such cases, it can be difficult, they said, to ensure that the patients receive all the information they need, as they might forget, or need information repeated on numerous occasions. Doctors often fail to communicate effectively with older persons with hearing impairments who do not have professional sign language, one Austrian doctor said:

“This is particularly obvious with another group, the hearing impaired. [...]. The communication in the ‘non-hearing way’, where the hearing impaired person writes down[a few] words, say: ‘Fever since yesterday’, and the doctor prescribes a medicine. That’s really bad, because here it would be particularly important to ask [some] very basic questions. Sometimes that’s not possible, because older deaf persons simply do not have professional sign language, they only have rudimentary signs, and then misunderstandings happen that never get resolved. Quite to the contrary, you hear things like: ‘It’s easy to work with the hearing impaired. They don’t need so much time. They write it down anyway [...]’” (Family doctor, male, Austria) (FRA, 2013a: 48-49).

In Italy and the United Kingdom, health professionals reported mistrust among certain ethnic communities, and especially older community members, in Western medicine and reliance on traditional medicine. A health provider in the United Kingdom reported that the use of traditional remedies is most common among older people from African and South Asian communities.

According to an Italian family doctor, because of this mistrust certain migrants, notably older Chinese, postpone seeking healthcare until they return to their country of origin:

“There are many situations where as a doctor you give up, because the patient is not compliant, he does not follow the doctor’s indications. In the relationship with the migrant patient this can also be due to a cultural problem. [...] You realise this is the case in front of patients that you see very rarely, especially older migrants who show up very seldom, who do not seek healthcare. In these cases I really think it is an issue of lack of trust, lack of trust in our medicine and in the role of [Western] doctors specially. These patients are often Chinese, they sometimes commute between here [Italy] and there [China] and seek healthcare when they are there” (Family doctor, male, Italy) (FRA, 2013a: 60).

“This is a good example of the kind of discrimination faced by disabled people of all ages. In recognising that she was denied access to the bus either because of her arthritis or because of her age, this participant acknowledged the impact of multiple discrimination”. As further evidence of the poor relationship between older people and the bus industry, a member of an older people’s forum wrote:

“When a petition with 6,000 signatures on it was presented to a bus company, complaining about drivers being rude, the company spokesperson said, ‘Old people moan about everything’”.

Other RoAD (Research on Age Discrimination Project) participants spoke about the effects of cuts to bus services. Some felt that this was not an age discrimination issue because cuts affected all non-drivers, regardless of age. However, the effect on older people is greater because they are less likely to own or use a car. The timing, frequency, and type of transport can combine to make travelling difficult, with the result that older people feel like ‘prisoners’.

Older people’s forums in Shropshire, Lincolnshire and west Wales have all pointed out to RoAD that transport is a particularly difficult issue for older people living in rural areas. One member submitted an AEAD in which she described how she had decided to move into sheltered housing in a nearby town because the local bus service no longer came to her village (Bytheway et alia, 2007: 17).

5.5. Effects of discrimination

Older people and people with a disability continue to suffer discrimination. Older people with a disability are in danger of being doubly discriminated against on the basis of both age and disability. Older people are subject to ageism within health and social services in Ireland (McGlone and Fitzgerald, 2005) and society generally (NCAOP, 2005). Older people are treated as ‘the other’ and this gives rise to inequality (Oldman, 2002). In the UK, for example, the general perception is one of considerable age discrimination: local authorities spend less on the provision of services for older people with a disability than for younger people with a disability (Priestly and Rabiee, 2002). Older people with a disability complain about the inadequate, less empowered services they receive when they transfer from Disabled Services to Services for Older People (Oldman, 2002). In the USA, Liebig and Sheets (1998) found that the lingering effects of ageism and structural lag in ageing and disability policies and programs limit the access of older adults with a disability to environmental interventions. They studied the provision of assistive technologies and home modifications, and found that policies did not adequately meet the environmental intervention needs of older disabled adults (Murphy, 2007: 54).

While disability is addressed with positive discrimination, ageing is tackled with utilitarian and economic criteria (Sargeant, 2005).

5.6. Other relevant groups

This scheme can be used to analyse other groups whose mechanisms of discrimination can be similar. We suggest that the main features of this case can be used to study, for example, the discriminatory situation of very religious elders who profess the majority religion, the situation of older people with a mental longstanding health problem, the situation of elderly with Alzheimer's disease and dementia and, older people with learning disabilities.

Very religious elders who profess the majority religion

People who are multi-discriminated because they are older and very religious represent 0.43% of the European population. 78% of those discriminated against do not belong to a minority religion.

Older people with a mental longstanding health problem

Elderly with Alzheimer's disease and dementia

Table 7: People (65 years or over) reporting a mental longstanding health problem

Countries	Chronic anxiety	Chronic depression	Learning difficulties	Other mental, nervous or emotional problems	Total
EU-26	6.8	5.2	4.6	5.7	22.3
Belgium	7.9	4.7	7.0	13.2	32.9
Bulgaria	7.8	5.1	4.1	2.1	19.2
Czech Republic		1.8			1.8
Denmark	2.5	3.1	3.2	3.5	12.3
Germany	4.8	4.3	2.4	5.0	16.4
Estonia	10.7	8.1	4.0	8.4	31.2
Greece	6.1	3.9		2.7	12.6
Spain	10.4	12.3	13.7	12.0	48.4
France	14.7	5.0	4.5	7.3	31.5
Italy	3.4	3.3	1.7	2.2	10.6
Cyprus	14.6	6.1	5.2	2.7	28.5
Latvia	6.6	3.8	5.7	4.6	20.8
Lithuania	23.3	12.8	9.9	8.2	54.2
Luxembourg	5.7	4.9		4.9	15.6
Hungary	9.7	7.1	4.9	6.8	28.6
Malta	7.7	6.1	7.9	3.9	25.6
Netherlands	3.1	2.4	3.0	4.8	13.3
Austria	3.8	4.7	4.3	4.2	17.0
Poland	8.7	8.0	9.8	12.2	38.7
Portugal	10.2	9.8	7.5	9.1	36.6
Romania	1.9	1.5	5.6	4.2	13.2
Slovenia	5.2	4.9	4.1	5.4	19.6

Slovakia	12.1	8.8	6.6	6.2	33.7
Finland	3.4	4.1	3.0	2.7	13.2
Sweden	2.0	2.3	2.6	2.8	9.6
United Kingdom	5.5	4.9	3.9	2.9	17.2

Source: European Health and Social Integration Survey (EHSIS), 2012. European Commission, Eurostat.

“Discrimination resulting from mental illness is associated with reported symptoms; however, the inclusion of other bases for discrimination seems to result in increased symptom report. This finding, in conjunction with the relationship between discrimination and other quality of life indexes, supports the conclusion that discrimination may interfere with the recovery process. These data indicate the need to not only address the stigma of mental illness but also how other stereotypes and prejudices combine to affect recovery and quality of life for individuals with multiple stigmatised identities” (Sanders Thompson, 2004: 542).

Older people with learning disabilities

Improvements in health and social care mean that people with learning disabilities can now expect to live longer. While people with complex needs and people with Down’s syndrome still have a reduced life expectancy, people with milder learning disabilities now have a higher expectancy of life.

British Institute of Learning Disabilities (2012):

- They are more likely to be living on low incomes and in poor housing than the rest of the older population as they have had less opportunity to work and save money through their lives.
- They are more likely to have been dependent on welfare benefits.
- They are at greater risk of losing their homes and being moved into residential or nursing care when their needs change or when their family care is no longer able to support them. This may lead to loss of contact with friends, staff and family.
- Older people with learning disabilities are less likely to access a range of community facilities and leisure facilities and engage in the communities where they live or to have the opportunity to make and sustain friendships. Together with restricted mobility, this can lead to them living increasingly isolated lives.

5.7. Summary

DISABLED OLDER PEOPLE	
Grounds	- Age and disability
Ideologism	- Ageism and Ableism
Identity/identities	- Older people with disabilities - Disabled people who are ageing
The experience of discrimination	- Compound: against older people with disabilities - Multiple and intersectional: against disabled people who ageing
Main dimensions or types of discrimination	- Form of prejudice: The belief that a particular individual has a negative characteristic because those in his or her group generally do. Treating a particular older man or woman as if he/she were incompetent simply because dementia is more common with age. - Structural discrimination
Domains	- Social services - Healthcare services
Contributing factors	- Risk of poverty, living alone
Barriers	- Barriers to mobility - Learning difficulties - Barriers related to healthcare: cultural and psychological barriers, communication and language barriers (digital gap), lack of information, organisational barriers and accessibility, financial barriers, living conditions and care responsibilities
Effects over time	- Accumulative effects for disabled people who are ageing
Type and intensity of effects	- Additive effects: Older people with disabilities - Exacerbation –multiply the effects of disability and ageing–: Disabled people who are ageing
Key point	Structural discrimination: While disability is addressed with positive discrimination, aging is tackled with utilitarian and economic criteria
Related groups	- Very religious elders who profess the majority religion - Older people with a mental longstanding health problem - Elderly with Alzheimer's disease and dementia - Older people with learning disabilities

6. Conclusion: case study methodology for multiple discriminated groups.

Having explored the social contexts, experiences and effects of discriminatory facts in four different multidimensional social groups, we offer a scheme of the main dimensions we should take into account when applying the case study methodology to multiple discriminated groups. Given the numerous multidimensional social categories or groups that are discriminated against in our societies, we consider that the methodology of the case study is particularly suitable for understanding and tackling the peculiar discriminatory situation experienced by multiple discriminated people. As Gerring (2004), we understand the case study method as a particular way of defining cases.

SCHEME FOR CASE STUDIES	
Dimensions	Contents
<i>Multidimensional social positions and grounds</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Gender, sexual orientation, age, race and ethnic origin, religion and belief and disability. - Gender identity, gender expression, sex assigned at birth, class, migrant and refugee status, majority or minority religious beliefs status...
<i>Culture, Ideologies</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Sexism, Heterosexism and Homophobia, Ageism, Racism, Islamophobia and Anti-semitism, Ableism. - Patriarchalism, Misogyny, Transphobia, Classism.
<i>Social identity</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - One or more identities.
<i>Experiences of discrimination</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Intersectional, Multiple or Compound.
<i>Types of discrimination</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - In-group, Out-group, Structural, Institutional, Positive action.
<i>Domains</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Interpersonal relationships. - Public spaces: Shop, cafe, bar or nightclub, bank. - Areas of activity: housing agency/landlord, When looking for work, at work - Public services: At school (personnel or classmates), Social services, Health-care services.
<i>Severity of discriminatory facts</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Microaggressions. - Disrespect, disesteem, insults, ridicule, humiliation. - Harassment. - Hate motivated violence and crime.
<i>Contributing factors that increase the risk or worsen the situation.</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Societal context: Attitudes towards groups, Prejudices, Climate of opinion. - Stigmatisation. - Social context: Living conditions, vulnerability. - Type of community they belong to.
<i>Filters and Barriers to participation and social integration</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Physical (mobility, sensory disabilities, other personal impairments). - Psychological (learning difficulties, mental illness –dementia, Alzheimer, chronic anxiety, chronic depression). - Cultural (social distance, illiteracy, communication and language barriers) - Social (segregation, social exclusion, living conditions, care responsibilities). - Economics (barriers to employment, financial). - Organisational barriers and accessibility.
<i>Effects over time</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Across generations. - Across processes within a domain. - Across domains.
<i>Types and intensity of effects</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Additive, prominence, exacerbation.

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Part III

EKKE

MULTIPLE DISCRIMINATION: LITERATURE REVIEW

The structure of this chapter is as follows: initially, existing definition(s) of multiple discrimination are given with reference to the relevant Greek legislation, followed by the presentation of studies concerning groups deemed vulnerable to multiple discrimination and finally, a connection with the relevant theory is made.

Respect for human rights, including the rights of persons belonging to minorities, is a fundamental value that governs the foundations and treaties of the European Union itself. Pursuant to Article 21 of the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union

Any discrimination based on any ground 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.

(FRA, n.d.)

In the same spirit, UN Goal 10 on Sustainable Development (UN) addresses the reduction of inequalities within and between countries, and in particular, prioritizing, by 2030, the strengthening and promotion of social, economic and political integration regardless of age, gender, disability, race, ethnicity, origin, religion, economic or other status (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, n.d.).

One understands that the limitation or elimination of discrimination is directly related to the achievement of this objective and, consequently, the in-depth study of the phenomenon is urgent and of the utmost importance. An important milestone is the recent adoption in Greece of the law 4443/2016 on multiple discrimination.

Definitions

Article 1 of the above law states that: «1. All forms of discrimination shall be prohibited for one of the reasons referred to in Article 1.»

The reasons set out in Article 1 are:

'... (a) by reason of race, color, ethnic or ethnic origin, birth ...' and '... (b) on grounds of religion or belief, disability or long term illness, age, marital or social status, sexual orientation, identity or gender characteristics in the sector of employment and occupation in accordance with the Directive 2000/78 / EC of 27 November 2000, including among others (c) the exercise of workers' rights in the context of the free

movement of workers under Directive 2000 / 014/54 / EU of the European Parliament and of the Council of 16 April 2004.

Government Gazette 232, (2016).

Article 2 of the Law clarifies the concept of discrimination by incorporating Articles 2 of Directive 2000/43 / EC and 2 of Directive 2000/78 / EC:

"For the purposes of the provisions of Part A: (a) "direct discrimination" means a person who, for reasons of race, color, national or ethnic origin, birth, religion or other belief, disability or chronic illness, marital or social status, sexual orientation, identity or gender characteristics is less favorably treated than that to which another person is, has been or would be treated in a comparable situation; (b) "indirect discrimination" means when an apparently neutral provision, criterion or practice may place persons with specific characteristics of race, color, ethnic or ethnic origin, birth, religion or other belief, disability or long term illness, age, marital or social status, sexual orientation, identity or gender at a disadvantage compared to other persons. 'Indirect discrimination' does not exist if the provision, criterion or practice is objectively justified by a legitimate aim and the means of achieving it are appropriate and necessary if the measures taken are necessary for the maintenance of public security, safeguarding public order, preventing criminal offenses, protecting the health, rights and freedoms of others, or with regard to persons with disabilities or chronic diseases and measures taken in favor of them, in accordance with paragraph 6 of Article 21 of the Constitution and article 5; (c) "harassment" means discrimination within the meaning of paragraph 1, if there is an unwanted conduct linked to one of the grounds referred to in Article 1 with the purpose or effect of infringing the dignity of a person and of creating an intimidating, hostile, degrading, humiliating or aggressive environment; (d) "discrimination" means any instruction to discriminate against a person on any of the grounds referred to in Article 1; (e) "relationship-based discrimination" refers to the less favorable treatment of a person due to his or her close relationship with a person or persons with specific characteristics of race, color, national or ethnic origin, birth, religious or other beliefs, disability or chronic illness, age, marital or social status, sexual orientation, identity or gender characteristics; (f) "discriminatory treatment due to assumed characteristics" refers to the less favorable treatment of a person who is presumed to have specific characteristics of race, color, national or ethnic origin, birth, religious or other beliefs, disability or chronic illness, age, marital or social status, sexual orientation, identity or gender characteristics; (g) 'multiple discrimination' refers to any discrimination, exclusion or restriction on more than one of the grounds mentioned above; (h) "refusal of reasonable adjustment" refers to any discriminating behaviour towards persons with a disability or long term illness; (i) "reasonable adjustment" refers to the necessary and appropriate adjustments, arrangements and appropriate measures required in a specific case to ensure that persons with disabilities or chronic illnesses experience the principle of equal treatment which does not impose a disproportionate or unjustified burden on the employer.

(Government Gazette 232, 2016.)

According to the Fundamental Rights Agency (FRA, 2010), which has carried out a number of studies with groups such as Roma, gay people, etc., the following is a functional definition for multiple discrimination:

The term "multiple discrimination" can be interpreted as discrimination for more than one ground. The concept recognizes the fact that a person can be discriminated against for more than one reason in a given situation or time. In other words, a person does not belong to only one minority but also has a certain age and gender that can make him / her vulnerable to discrimination. For example, a woman of a national minority may be affected by discrimination in a different way than a man of the same national minority. Other personal characteristics or situations, such as disability or educational level, also have an impact on individual exposure and the experience of discrimination. It is the addition and / or combination of the different grounds of discrimination that form the substance of what is commonly understood as "multiple discrimination"

(FRA, 2010, p. 6).

Multiple discrimination describes a situation in which someone is discriminated against on the basis of more than one ground. It can be of the following types:

With the term "additive discrimination", one refers to discrimination due to different reasons or grounds that act cumulatively. This is the case, for example, when an elderly woman is being discriminated in the workplace because of her gender and whilst accessing health care because of her age. In this case multiple discrimination is based on gender and age. (Roseberry, 2010).

With the term "compound discrimination" one refers to discrimination based on the combination of two or more characteristics or grounds at a given time and each characteristic or ground contributes to discrimination due to some additional feature (European Commission, 2007). An example is the case of a man in the UK who responded to an advert for work where the employer had set criteria such as age, work experience in the UK, a level of understanding of the country's language and ethnicity. This man was not recruited because not meeting one criterion made his recruitment less likely but the fact that he did not meet two criteria or more criteria reduced his chances even further (Moon, 2006, as reported by European Commission, 2007).

With the term "intersectional discrimination" one refers to discrimination based on more than two characteristics or grounds which operate and interact in such a way that they cannot be separated (Roseberry, 2010). For example, a Roma woman can be discriminated against when giving birth to a hospital not only because she is a woman (since not all women have such discrimination), not just because they are Roma (since all Roma, for example men, do not face this problem), but because she is both Roma and a woman (FRA, 2012).

It should be noted that sometimes the above terms appear to be used alternatively in the literature (European Commission, 2007) and it would therefore be useful for the reader to review the definition given each time to make clear what multiple discrimination refers to.

At this point we should refer to the two prevailing approaches to multiple discrimination. On the one hand, there is the single ground approach and on the other hand, the intersectional approach (European Commission, 2007). According to Makkonen (2002), gender, disability and race issues have historically been addressed by individual movements. This has helped to approach discrimination based on a characteristic or a specific ground one at a time (Dasvarma&Loh, 2002 as reported by European Commission, 2007). Academic scholars, however, appear skeptical about this approach by putting forward the adoption of the intersectional approach. The intersectional approach can provide a fuller understanding of people experiencing multiple discrimination and their impact (European Commission, 2007). Similarly, Viruell-Fuentes, Miranda &Abdulrahim (2012) argued that an analysis based on the single ground approach which assumes gender, class and race as distinct social categories is not adequate. The reason given by the above academic scholars is that the inequalities arising from these social positions are experienced simultaneously.

Groups vulnerable to multiple discrimination.

Multiple discrimination (like any form of discrimination) is contrary to the implementation of human rights. The European Union Fundamental Rights Agency (FRA), which assists the EU institutions and its Member States in understanding and addressing the challenges of safeguarding the fundamental rights of all people in the EU, has carried out research studies about multiple discrimination, some of which are summarized below (<http://fra.europa.eu/en/research/projects>).

Sexual orientation and gender identity are recognized as discrimination grounds both at European and national level (FRA, 2013). FRA conducted an online survey in 2012 for LGBT (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender (or Transsexual) individuals) in the EU, to which 93,079 people responded. The theme under study was "The LGBT experiences with regard to discrimination and hate crimes in the EU and Croatia".

In this survey, LGBT participants state that they have been discriminated against in areas of life such as education and employment. They also report having been the victims of violence and harassment in entertainment, coffee shops and restaurants. Very often, their families are not aware of their sexual orientation or gender identity and that they avoid having to hold hands with their partner of the same sex because of their potential being targeted or becoming victims of violence (FRA, 2014).

(For the full text of the two FRA reports see: EU LGBT survey: Results at a glance and EU LGBT survey: main results EU: the most important results - <http://fra.europa.eu/en/publications-and-resources>).

FRA (2007) conducted a survey on minorities and discrimination in the European Union involving 23,500 immigrants and ethnic and national minorities persons - to explore their self-reported experiences of discrimination and victimization (EU-MIDIS) [<http://fra.europa.eu/en/project/2011/eu-midis-european-union-minorities-and-discrimination-survey>].

As far as multiple discrimination is concerned, the results of the above survey can be summarized as follows:

- Those belonging to ethnic minorities are on average almost five times more likely to suffer multiple discrimination than the majority of the population.
- "Visible minorities" - people who look different from the majority of the population - say they are discriminated against more often and due to more grounds as compared to other minorities. For example, Roma and people of African descent are more likely to suffer more discrimination than people from former Yugoslavia, Russia, and Central and Eastern Europe.
- Gender and age can have an impact on how likely a person is to be discriminated against: for example, young men of ethnic minorities / immigrants tend to report high levels of discrimination.
- 46% of respondents who are discriminated against for various reasons are ranked in the lowest quadrant of income recorded for each EU Member State.
- Twice the number of women (migrant or ethnic minority) than men (immigrants or ethnic minority) reported discrimination on grounds of sex.

This finding highlights that minority women are vulnerable to multiple discrimination because of their ethnic or national origin and gender.

The Roma with a population of around 10-12 million across Europe and six million of them living in EU countries are the EU's largest ethnic minority (<http://fra.europa.eu/en/theme/roma>).

In the FRA survey (2012) in which 11 countries participated, including Greece, the results confirm that Roma are experiencing social exclusion and discrimination while living under difficult socio-economic conditions, affecting their life areas such as education, work, housing and health. The findings indicate, among others, that: a) on average, one in two Roma children does not go to kindergarten; b) one in three participants declare unemployed; c) on average 20% of respondents do not have health care or do not know whether they have, and (d) about 45% live in households that do not have at least one of the following: indoor kitchen, bathroom, bath or shower and electricity. Regarding the level of poverty, about 40% of respondents say that in the past month at least one member of their family slept without having something to eat because they did not have money to buy food, while about half of them said they were discriminated against (during the 12 months preceding the survey).

With regards to Roma women, in particular, they appear to be suffering from extreme poverty, restriction and discrimination even more than women in Europe in general do (FRA, 2014).

In the second EU-MIDIS survey of FRA (2016), the results highlight once again the discrimination and inequalities faced by the Roma. According to these, 80% of Roma live below the poverty line, one out of three live in homes without running water, one in three children lives in a household where in the previous month a family member slept without having a meal and 50% of Roma aged 6 to 24 years old do not go to school.

The FRA (2013) survey on inequalities and multiple discrimination in the field of healthcare considered the context and consequences of unequal treatment of people due to the combination of ethnic /national origin with one or more characteristics (age, sex, and disability) in 5 Member States (Austria, Czech Republic, Italy, Sweden and the United Kingdom). The analysis of the data on the existing inequalities for access to healthcare in the above countries shows that vulnerable groups in multiple discrimination are elderly people from ethnic minorities and women and children with disabilities.

An indicative result of the survey is that Muslim women and migrant women report more often than other participants that they have undergone multiple discrimination due to ethnic origin, religious beliefs and gender.

The research below is about the discrimination suffered by people living with HIV, not only because of their chronic illness but also because of the negative attitudes towards them because they have multiple identities e.g. they may be users of substances, gay, black people and / or women. That is they experience discrimination because they have other characteristics that categorize them in an additional minority group (Lekas, Siegel, & Leider, 2011).

Marsicano et al. (2014) analyzed data from the ANRS-Vespa2 study conducted in France in 2011. Participants (random sample) were 3022 seropositive men and women who were asked to report any discrimination in the two years prior to the study in the areas of health services and public services, work and job search, family and entertainment (such as bars, restaurants, hotels). In this study, the participants were grouped into 7 subgroups as follows: 1. Men whose sexual orientation is of the same sex, 2. Male substance users, 3. Female substance users, 4. Men from Sub-Saharan

Africa, 5 Women from Sub-Saharan Africa, 6. Non-human heterosexual users not from Sub-Saharan Africa and 7. Female non-substance users and non-Sub-Saharan Africans.

26% of participants reported having experienced discrimination in at least one of the above areas. Higher rates of discrimination in almost all sectors were reported by women, particularly women from Sub-Saharan Africa. The socio-economic position (disadvantaged socio-economic position was considered to be unemployment) was found to be related to discrimination in all sub-groups. For young adults, higher levels of discrimination were reported in health services and entertainment, while in the field of job search discrimination seemed to be higher for people over the age of 55.

The following is a summary of King's theory (see Hanois, 2015), as it is expected to be useful in interpreting the results of the present research as well as the research findings mentioned above.

This theory draws from the lives of African American women and argues that "attempts to isolate the contribution of racism, classism, and sexism to the lives of African-American women misinterpret how inequality systems work and are experienced." King replies that "these systems should be treated as systems that are in a dynamic interaction with one another" (p. 972). She introduced the term "multiple jeopardy", to refer to interpersonal mistreatment and structural disadvantage as a result of the multiple minority positions of African-American women (p. 973). She also referred to "multiple consciousness" which she presumes people with multiple marginal statuses and those whose lives are characterized by "multiple jeopardies" have. This awareness helps to understand how inequalities act together and construct positions / states of power and privileges (p 973).

In the most recent literature, these terms have been used to study the inequalities faced by various marginalized groups, and according to "intersectionality", individuals with multiple minority characteristics often face discriminatory treatment as a result of existing multiple, intersecting inequality systems (Hanois, 2015).

It should be noted at this point that Hanois (2015) also states that King does not assume that any combination of minority positions will always and everywhere result in multiple risk and the development of multiple awareness. The core of her position is that the possibility of existing intersecting inequality systems should be taken into account, and this should be evaluated at all times.

In the Eurobarometer survey 2008, involving 9012 people from ten countries (Greece is not included in them), Hanois made the following assumptions (based on King's theory and the theory of "intersectionality"):

- First hypothesis: People with multiple minority characteristics are more likely than people with one or no minority to interpret their personal experiences of unequal treatment in the light of multiple inequality systems.
- Second hypothesis: Individuals who feel that they have multiple discrimination are more likely to have developed multiple awareness. To have multiple minority features and to be exposed to "multiple risk" will be positively (and statistically significant) related to the awareness of multiple discrimination.

The results of the analysis showed that:

Women and men who have no other minority characteristics are less likely to realize that they have experienced multiple discrimination. Women of religious minorities, women of ethnic minorities and

women with disabilities are more likely to realize that they have undergone multiple discrimination as opposed to no discrimination (in the last 12 months preceding the survey).

Women with a higher level of education are more likely to perceive multiple discrimination compared to women of low and medium level of education.

As far as the second hypothesis is concerned, the findings showed that:

Compared to those who believe they belong to a majority, those who identify themselves as a minority because of religion, sexual orientation or disability are more likely to regard multiple discrimination as widespread.

Compared to men, women are more than 40% likely to perceive multiple discrimination as widespread, and those who identify themselves as members of a religious minority are almost twice as likely as those who do not identify themselves as members of a religious minority to regard multiple discrimination as widespread.

As previously pointed out, Grollman (2012) also argued that marginalized groups are more discriminated against than privileged groups and that individuals belonging to multiple stigmatized groups are more concerned with the burden of these experiences.

Concluding, it could be argued that discrimination is a complex phenomenon the study of which is about understanding the interaction of the multiple social characteristics that people have in different contexts (Ruwanpura, 2008).

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This report has been produced within the framework of the project “Tackling multiple discrimination in Greece: Delivering equality by active exploration and enabling policy interventions”, which is co-funded by the Rights, Equality and Citizenship (REC) Programme of the European Union. Its contents are the sole responsibility of its authors and can in no way be taken to reflect the views of the European Commission.