

KATALIN TARDOS¹

DOI: 10.18030/socio.hu. 2013en.22

ABSTRACT

The paper investigates the phenomenon of multiple discrimination and the quality of jobs available on the labour market in the European Union. Numerous studies have demonstrated the negative impact of discrimination on employment prospects; however, only a very few have investigated how discrimination relates to overall job quality. The paper analyses the significance of discrimination on multiple grounds; the grounds of discrimination that are most likely to be combined, and finally, whether there is a significant difference in the employment rate and job quality among victims of single or multiple-grounds discrimination. The research tested the hypothesis that victims of multiple discrimination have both a lower employment rate and, when employed, a lower overall job quality compared to those affected by no or single-grounds discrimination at the same educational level. To measure the overall job quality of respondents, a complex index has been designed. The research evaluates data from the fifth round of the European Social Survey (ESS) conducted in 2010. The findings reinforced the view that victims of multiple discrimination had a lower job-quality level compared to those not discriminated against, or discriminated on a single ground, especially at the lower and higher ends of the educational continuum. Furthermore, the research revealed important methodological implications concerning the measurement of discrimination.

KEYWORDS

Multiple discrimination, job quality, social exclusion

¹ The author is a Senior Research Fellow at the Institute of Sociology, Centre for Social Sciences, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, and Professor at IBS International Business School. The research was supported by the Hungarian Scientific Research Fund (OTKA K 101468: Multiple Discrimination: Personal and Institutional Perceptions, Impacts, and Actions).

Discrimination in employment or in access to services such as education, health care, social protection, or others, is a widespread phenomenon in most countries, despite the presence of laws prohibiting discrimination and the legal requirement of equal treatment. Discrimination and exclusion are self-sustaining social mechanisms that in the longer run become a dimension of the social structure. The unequal treatment linked to both structural/institutional and personal/cognitive factors result in tensions and conflicts among the majority and minority society, and forms a major source of social disintegration. The majority of studies linked to the topic of discrimination focus on the so-called single-ground discrimination, namely considering the grounds and cases of discrimination separately and independently from each other. However, in the last few years, there has been a growing awareness of the importance of tackling the issue of multiple discrimination both in the European Union and elsewhere (European Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2011; Ontario Human Rights Commission, 2001).

This paper examines the phenomenon of multiple discrimination in relation to the quality of jobs available on the labour market across Europe. For this purpose, data arising from the fifth round of the European Social Survey have been used, representing the state of affairs in 2010. The research aims to identify the scope of multiple discrimination and the occurrences of various grounds of discrimination leading to multiple discrimination across European countries. Using additional data, methodological issues will also be raised about the difficulties of measuring multiple discrimination. Numerous studies have demonstrated the negative impact of discrimination on employment prospects (Helps & Skitmore, 1975; Conway & Roberts, 1994; Ravaud, Madiot & Ville, 1992); however, only a very few have investigated how discrimination affects overall job quality. This paper aims to identify whether there is a significant difference in terms of job quality among those who have not been subject to any form of discrimination, those who have been discriminated on a single ground, and those who were subject to discrimination on multiple grounds. The study also aims to analyse which elements of job quality are most likely to be at a lower level in cases of previous experience with multiple discrimination. For this purpose, eight dimensions of job quality have been identified: compensation; working hours; opportunities for participation; self-actualisation; satisfaction of social and self-esteem needs; work-life balance; and issues of workload.

The research aims to test the following hypotheses.

- Multiple discrimination is an important aspect of discriminatory processes across Europe.
- Discrimination on multiple grounds has an aggravated impact on employment prospects, compared to discrimination on a single ground or no discrimination.
- When employed, victims of multiple discrimination have a lower overall job quality compared to those previously affected by no discrimination or by discrimination on a single ground among equally qualified people.

LITERATURE REVIEW

A study published by the European Commission in 2007 entitled *Tackling Multiple Discrimination* (European Commission, 2007: 5) summarises the problem as follows.

Multiple Discrimination happens in all spheres of social life. The labour market, however, appears to be the sector where Multiple Discrimination occurs most often. In many Member States, the scope of anti-discrimination legislation outside employment and occupation is limited to only gender and race/ethnic origin. This could be the reason for the lack of visibility of Multiple Discrimination in sectors such as education, access to goods and services, social protection, etc. Lack of data again adds to an incomplete picture of which intersectional groups are vulnerable and in which sectors Multiple Discrimination occurs. Lack of data also means insufficient knowledge about the extent of Multiple Discrimination.”

Historically, the term “multiple discrimination” appeared in the United States in the late 1980s to describe the specific situation when a person belonged to more than one disadvantaged group and thus experienced forms of discrimination of a more complex and severe nature than those subject to discrimination on a single ground. (ENAR, 2007). People affected by discrimination on the basis of multiple grounds can be subject to three distinct types of discrimination: *multiple discrimination* (two or more grounds operating separately); *compound* or *additive discrimination* (a person discriminated on the basis of two or more grounds at the same time); and finally, *intersectional discrimination* (in this case, several grounds of discrimination operating simultaneously and interacting in an indivisible way) (Danish Institute for Human Rights, 2007).

According to the above-mentioned study from the European Commission (2007), most National Equality Bodies and organisations concerned with anti-discrimination *legislation* and policy are still focused on the single-ground approach to discrimination; thus, the concept and the reality of multiple discrimination remains unclear. Recent research carried out by the European Agency for Fundamental Rights (2011) published comparative European findings on the extent of multiple discrimination in European countries. In the fifth European Union Minorities and Discrimination (EU-MIDIS) survey carried out in 2008, 23,500 immigrant and ethnic minority people were surveyed from 27 EU countries. The survey revealed that every fourth (23%) ethnic minority or immigrant respondent interviewed in the EU-MIDIS indicated that they had felt discriminated against on at least one ground, and every seventh respondent (14%) on two or more grounds in the last 12 months. Interestingly, comparing EU-MIDIS and Special Eurobarometer 296 on Discrimination in the European Union, the results of the EU-MIDIS survey showed that the majority population in EU Member States felt discriminated against less often across a range of grounds than ethnic minority and immigrant persons surveyed in EU-MIDIS. According to the Eurobarometer 296, the occurrence of discrimination on a single ground affected 12% of the European population in 2008, whereas the incidence of multiple discrimination was not higher than 3% (European Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2011; European Commission, 2009). Therefore, the authors of the report concluded that ethnicity or immigrant origin consistently emerged as the most significant reason for experiencing discrimination on more than one ground. The EU-MIDIS survey (2011) also

proved that “visible” minorities – those who generally look different to the majority population – felt discriminated against more often and across a wider range of grounds than other minorities.

Concerning the link between discrimination and job quality, most of the literature deals with the impact of gender and race on wage differentials (Bodvarsson & Sessions, 2011; Carnoy, 2010; Petersen & Togstad, 2006; Eckstein & Wolpin, 1999). Pinkston (2003), for instance, assumes that observable wage differences among men and women are tied to the weaker performance signals of women during the selection process. Research more specifically on the impact of discrimination, especially that of multiple discrimination, on overall job quality, could not be found. Research was more developed on the issue of how experience with discrimination influences job satisfaction, and furthermore the subjective perception of job quality. Goldsmith *et al.* (2004) revealed that jobseekers who had previously been victims of discrimination either tended to target lower level jobs; or on the contrary, would be motivated to develop their competencies and level of qualifications, which was apparent from their CVs. Poggi (2010) claimed, based on research evidence, that job satisfaction was not an objective indicator of working conditions, because previously experienced good or bad instances of working conditions had influenced the level of personal aspirations for job quality. Using data from the 1997 *International Social Survey Program*, Llorente & Macias (2005) investigated whether job satisfaction was a fair indicator of job quality, and concluded that in most cases it was not. The above research results reinforce the methodological consideration that job quality needs to be studied through objective figures and not indirectly by using the indicator of job satisfaction. Moreover, one also needs to give due consideration to the statement that perceptions of job quality are influenced by subjective personal aspirations, as well as previous experience with discrimination.

MULTIPLE DISCRIMINATION ACROSS EUROPE

It is important to note that the European Social Survey (ESS) database does not make it possible to differentiate between the different types of multiple discrimination (*multiple discrimination* (two or more grounds operating separately); *compound* or *additive discrimination* (a person discriminated on the basis of two or more grounds at the same time); and *intersectional discrimination* (several grounds of discrimination operating simultaneously and interacting in an indivisible way), as discussed in the literature review. Therefore, we used the broadest term of *multiple discrimination*, keeping in mind that the ESS data might include all three types of multiple discrimination. The core ESS questionnaire included a question on whether the respondent would describe her/himself as a member of a group that was being discriminated against. In the case of a positive response, respondents were given nine grounds of discrimination to choose from: colour or race; nationality; religion; language; ethnic group; age; gender; sexuality; and disability.² Please note that the survey method assesses the respondents’ personal, subjective perception of discrimination.

According to the ESS 2010 data from 17 European Union countries, an average of 94.9% of the respondents were not subject to discrimination; 4% experienced discrimination on a single-ground basis;

² ESS round 5, core questionnaire, questions C24 and C25.

whereas 1.1% of the population were hit by discrimination on multiple grounds. Overall, the level of discrimination on multiple grounds varies across European countries. Hungary and Estonia represent the higher end of the scale with a 2.6% ratio of multiple discrimination in absolute terms, while respondents of Poland, Portugal and Slovenia reported the lowest ratio of discrimination on multiple grounds (0.1 and 0.2%). The data show a relatively high variance by countries in respect to what share of the victims of discrimination were due to a disadvantage on a single or on multiple grounds. According to the ESS 2010 data of 17 European Union countries, on average, approximately one-quarter (22%) of the victims of discrimination are subject to discrimination on multiple grounds. In this respect, too, Hungary and Estonia have the largest proportion of people hit by multiple discrimination among those discriminated (52 and 49% respectively); whereas in Poland, Portugal and Slovenia, multiple discrimination is least probable amongst victims of discrimination (Table 1).

To gain a better understanding of the nature of discrimination on multiple grounds, we investigated the occurrence of the different grounds of discrimination amongst those affected by multiple discrimination. The frequency of the various grounds of discrimination varies to a great extent among the European countries. One could say that each country has its own pattern for multiple discrimination. In Belgium, the most frequent grounds of multiple discrimination were related to colour and religion. In the Czech Republic, age and gender were the basis for typical combination of discrimination grounds. In Hungary, ethnic origin and colour were the most frequent grounds, while in Estonia it was nationality and language (Table 2).

To sum up the European trends of multiple discrimination, we can conclude that colour and race, nationality, ethnic origin, religion and language constitute the most frequent grounds of discrimination amongst those discriminated on multiple grounds, which are clearly closely linked to ethnicity. In this respect, the results of the ESS and those of EU-MIDIS (European Union Agency For Fundamental Rights, 2011) strongly converge. Conducting the principal component analysis for the entire sample of 17 EU countries led to two principal factors of discrimination: that of *Ethnicity-related* and *Non-ethnicity-related factors*. This result underlines the major role ethnicity plays in multiple discrimination (Table 3). To further study the linkages amongst grounds of discrimination, we conducted a principal component analysis among the victims of multiple discrimination and found three factors explaining 55% of the variance. The first factor, labelled *Demographic factors*, integrates grounds of discrimination based on age and gender. The second factor was entitled *Ethnicity factors*, as it comprised grounds of discrimination such as colour or race, nationality, language and ethnic group. Finally, the third factor was labelled *Physical and spiritual difference factors*, as it mostly integrated sexuality, disability and religion as grounds for discrimination (Table 4).

A few methodological notes need to be made at this point. First of all, being discriminated against leads to sensitive data. The extent to which respondents will reveal previous incidents of discrimination strongly depends on the phrasing of the question, the context in which the question is embedded, and how the questionnaire is administered. Comparing the incidence of discrimination on both single and multiple grounds of the European Social Survey (ESS, 2010), the Special Eurobarometer on Discrimination in Europe (European Commission, 2009) and the EU-MIDIS (European Union Agency For Fundamental Rights, 2011), one can detect

that the ESS had the lowest rate of discrimination reported by respondents. This is surely due to the fact that the question on discrimination was integrated into a set of questions that included a wide range of different topics, compared to the focused nature of both the Eurobarometer and the EU-MIDIS surveys. Another important aspect of the extent to which people reveal previous discrimination incidents is related to whether the questionnaire is a face-to-face interview or a self-completed one. In Hungary, the ESS 2010 survey had a supplement on discrimination administered in a self-completed manner (enquiring about 19 grounds of discrimination listed in the Hungarian law on Equal Treatment) in addition to the core face-to-face questionnaire. While the occurrence of discrimination was 5%, based on the nine grounds of discrimination in the core ESS questionnaire, 47% of exactly the same sample reported incidences of discrimination in the self-completed questionnaire. Similarly, the ratio of reported multiple discrimination was higher both in absolute and relative terms in the self-completed ESS questionnaire.³ The huge difference in reported discrimination rates among the same population may be the result of a combination of factors: the wording of the question; the context in which the question on discrimination is embedded; the overall focus of the questionnaire; the method of administering the questionnaire itself (face-to-face or self-completed). Also, one has to keep in mind that we are measuring the respondents' subjective perception of their previous discrimination experience. Some respondents might not be aware of the exact meaning of this discrimination, or did not recognise a disadvantageous incident as discrimination, or simply were not able to recall the experience on the spot. On the other hand, others might not want to admit to belonging to a group of discriminated people or having been discriminated against, and there might also be cases in which respondents classify their negative experiences as discrimination, while legally they would not be qualified as such. Levels of awareness and respondent strategies to hide or uncover discriminatory experiences might differ significantly from one country to the other, and different social groups within countries. In the special case of the ESS 2010 Hungary, the huge differences based on the core and the supplementary questionnaire in terms of discrimination rates (5 versus 47%), were most probably also due to a combination of the above-mentioned factors, accentuated by the fact that the questions on discrimination in the supplementary questionnaire appeared for the second time. Also, respondents had no time constraints during the self-completion of the questionnaire, could recall more experiences under less stressful circumstances, and might have decided to change their strategy from hiding to reporting personal discrimination incidents due to the non-verbal nature of the communication. Previous research conducted on discrimination (Tardos, 2005) revealed similar discrepancies between reported discrimination rates among the same population: in the first phase, respondents answered a non-discrimination-focused questionnaire, then in the second phase a smaller subsample participated in a discrimination-focused face-to face, indepth interview. Reported discrimination rates increased from 17% in the first phase to 80% in the second phase. Furthermore, only half of those who reported an incident in the

³ The wording of the question in the core and the self-completed supplementary ESS questionnaire was somewhat different. In the ESS core questionnaire, it was first asked: "Would you describe yourself as being a member of a group that is discriminated against in this country?" If the response was positive, a second question was raised: "On what grounds is your group discriminated against?" In the Hungarian self-completed questionnaire, the grounds for discrimination were asked about separately, one after the other: "Have you ever been discriminated on the ground of" Obviously, in the core questionnaire, there was much less time for the respondent to reflect on any previous experience linked to discrimination. Furthermore, if the first response was negative, no further questions followed.

interview had previously reported discrimination in the questionnaire. In this particular research, the face-to-face indepth interview was a more effective method for revealing exposure to discrimination than the non-focused questionnaire. Related to the sensitive and hidden nature of discrimination data, researchers have to be very careful in designing the methodology for discrimination-related data-collection circumstances and methodology, as reported discrimination will particularly be influenced by these factors.

DISCRIMINATION AND LABOUR MARKET STATUS

In 11 of the 17 European Union countries, the ratio of those in paid employment, but previously discriminated against,⁴ was lower than those who were not discriminated against. Within the group of those subject to discrimination, the lowest employments rates were reported from Bulgaria (22%), Hungary (35%), the Czech Republic (40%) and Portugal (40%). To investigate the relative chances of finding employment, we compared the employment rates of those discriminated against to those not discriminated against, and to the general employment rates in the respective countries. The ratios of the employment rate of the two groups were also the lowest in Bulgaria (0.53), Hungary (0.71) and the Czech Republic (0.72). Similarly, the ratio of country-level employment rates of the discriminated group and that of the whole population put Bulgaria (0.55), Hungary (0.71) and the Czech Republic (0.74) to the lower end of the scale (Table 5). Hence, according to the results, we can state that people discriminated against in Eastern-Central Europe are more likely to be in a disadvantageous position for finding employment than in other parts of Europe. The statement is especially true for discriminated people with a secondary or higher education, as employment opportunities for people with primary education are limited for both groups in these countries.

It is also important to find out whether discrimination on multiple grounds has an aggravated impact on employment prospects, compared to single-ground discrimination. However, because of the low case numbers for multiple discrimination, we eliminated the country-level analysis. Taking a glance at the average employment rate in Europe of those not being discriminated against (51.7%), those who were discriminated against on a single ground (50.6%), and those discriminated against on multiple grounds (50.0%), we could not identify, as assumed, a significant reverse linear relationship between the number of grounds of discrimination and the employment rate. In fact, there seems to be a more important demarcation line in terms of the employment rate among those not discriminated against at all, and those discriminated against on single grounds. One might assume that, bearing in mind employers' hiring decisions, the dominant factor considered is whether the jobseeker has any characteristics considered to be risky for the employer or not, while the actual number of risky characteristics might be of secondary importance. Nevertheless, this issue needs further investigation with a larger sample size.

⁴ People having paid work in the seven days prior to the completion of the questionnaire were considered "employed" in our analysis.

JOB QUALITY AND MULTIPLE DISCRIMINATION

In the framework of the research, a Job Quality Index has been created, composed of 23 variables. Eight dimensions of job quality have been identified: compensation; working hours; opportunities for participation; self-actualisation; satisfaction of social and self-esteem needs; work-life balance; and issues of workload. These eight dimensions have been weighted with a point value of 10 or 15. A higher weighting has been assigned to factors of job security, workload, social and self-esteem needs, and compensation based on expert decision. Correspondingly, variables have been weighted, too. As a result, the point values of the Job Quality Index can range from 0 to 100.

The Job Quality Index has been calculated for all 17 European Union countries, restricting the sample to those who were employed (i.e. had a paid job in the last seven days). The average score of the Job Quality Index across Europe was 59.18 out of 100 points. The highest levels of job quality were measured in Norway, Sweden, and France (64.2, 63.6 and 62.3 respectively). East and South European countries mostly scored the lowest on job quality (Hungary: 57.5; Czech Republic: 55.6; Poland: 55.4; Spain: 56.6; Portugal: 55.5) (Table 6).

According to the ESS 2010 data, on an aggregated level, there was a significant reverse relationship between the number of grounds of discrimination and the average score of the Job Quality Index. The score amongst those who were not victims of discrimination was the highest (59.30); among people discriminated against on a single ground, the score was somewhat lower (57.31); while the score was the lowest amongst those hit by discrimination on multiple grounds (55.32). The two variables are therefore inversely proportional. Overall, the relationship was rather weak between the number of grounds of discrimination and the average score of the index. Moreover, not all dimensions of the Job Quality Index have a significant relationship with the fact of discrimination, especially discrimination on multiple grounds. There was no significant correlation between the fact of being a victim of discrimination and the quality of working hours, the extent of workload, or the opportunities for self-actualisation. On the contrary, multiple discrimination had a significant correlation with the level of wages and job security (Table 7).

To look at the influence of education levels, we differentiated between people with primary, secondary and higher level education. The aim was to examine whether multiple discrimination could be associated with lower levels of job quality than single ground or no discrimination on any educational level, or not. To measure the level of education, the years spent in full-time education were used.⁵ According to our findings, multiple discrimination at all educational levels could be linked with lower job quality, but to different degrees. The largest differences of job quality could be observed among people with primary education (maximum eight years of full-time education). In their case, employed people who had previously experienced multiple discrimination had a job quality index of approximately 10 points lower, compared to those people with primary education who had never been subject to discrimination (54.5 and 45.08 points). Interestingly, the

⁵ We coded 0–8 years of full-time education as “primary education”, 9–14 years of full-time education as “secondary education” level, and 15 years or more of full-time education as “higher education”.

relationship of multiple discrimination and job quality was the weakest in the case of people with a secondary-level education. In this category of people, the Job Quality Index of those with experience of discrimination based on multiple grounds was only three points lower than those without any experience of discrimination (58.33 and 55.65 points respectively). Employees with higher education (at least 15 years in full-time education) have a medium position in this respect: the gap between the non-discriminated and those discriminated against on multiple grounds was half as large as in the case of people with primary education (61.31 and 56.78 points respectively) (Table 8). Additionally, the relationship between job quality and discrimination has been controlled for gender, age, and ethnic minority membership. Gender does not influence job quality levels, whereas age does. In general, younger and older age groups have a lower level of job quality on average. However, in all age groups, the number of discrimination grounds shows an inversely proportional relationship to job quality levels. Similarly, these levels vary according to the presence or absence of ethnic minority membership but in both groups, the average level of job quality shows an inversely proportional trend related to the number of discrimination grounds.

As stated above, multiple discrimination and a lower level of job quality will most probably be linked, in the case of jobs at the lower and higher ends of the job market. One could rephrase the relationship between labour-market competition and discrimination as “those who are at the bottom of the hierarchy and subject to discrimination will probably get the worst jobs among the bad ones, while those who do not have to fear discrimination will get the best jobs among the better ones”. However, multiple discrimination does not equally affect all components of job quality at each educational level. In the case of people with a primary or lower level of education, being subject to multiple discrimination will most probably be connected to lower levels of participation opportunities (2.51 vs. 4.84 points), work-life balance (4.19 vs. 6.03 points) and job security (7.55 vs. 10.13 points) compared to others with the same level of education. For people with a secondary education, multiple discrimination might be linked to lower levels of compensation (7.27 vs. 8.93 points) and job security (9.68 vs. 10.67 points) in their job compared to others with similar qualifications. Whereas, for people with a higher education diploma, discrimination on multiple grounds will most typically be associated with lower levels of job security (9.38 vs. 10.97 points) and work-life balance (5.50 vs. 6.09 points) (Table 9). To sum up, the number of discrimination grounds and various components of the job quality indicator are in most cases inversely proportionate at different educational levels. Nevertheless, one dimension of job quality (namely, the job security level) is more likely to be endangered in the case of multiple discrimination, no matter what the level of education is.

CONCLUSIONS

In the first section of this paper, we elaborated on the significance of discrimination on multiple grounds across Europe, and revealed that only 1.1% of the population actually reported any previous experience of multiple discrimination. It has also been stated that the level of multiple discrimination varies across European countries, based on the ESS 2010 data. In relative terms, approximately one quarter (22%) of the victims of discrimination were subject to discrimination on multiple grounds; this ratio could be considered important,

but in absolute terms, the observed occurrence of 1.1% of the population certainly cannot be evaluated as a significant level postulated in the first hypothesis. Hence, the first hypothesis was only partially true, if we only consider ESS data. However, comparing the results of the ESS 2010 survey data with other European surveys (Special Eurobarometer 296, EU-MIDIS), which were more focused on the topic of discrimination, it can be revealed that the methodology used was probably responsible for a high latency rate in surfacing incidents of discrimination by the European Social Survey core questionnaire.

Concerning the European trends of multiple discrimination, we concluded that colour and race, nationality, ethnic origin, religion and language constituted the most frequent grounds of discrimination amongst those discriminated on multiple grounds, and these were all clearly closely linked to *ethnicity*. The principal component analysis carried out for the entire European population of 17 countries also identified two major factors among the grounds for discrimination: these were linked to *ethnicity* and integrated all the other *non-ethnicity* factors such as gender, age, sexuality and disability. The primordial role of ethnicity in multiple discrimination was identified by the EU-MIDIS (2011) survey as well. At this point, in relation to the results of the factor analysis, we could ask about the extent to which we are measuring cases of genuine multiple discrimination. We have to acknowledge that separate grounds of discrimination might overlap in certain cases. A person living somewhere other than their country of origin might be recorded as being discriminated against on multiple grounds (linked to nationality, language, and colour) though the major reason for unequal treatment has the same root cause: being born in another country. This differs from the classical case of multiple discrimination, where colour and gender, or age and gender are associated in an inseparable way and called intersectionality. Nevertheless, seemingly overlapping grounds of discrimination can also come into action separately, thus aggravating the outcomes for the victim of unequal treatment. In most large-scale surveys, as in the ESS, the method of data collection does not make it possible to clearly identify the exact type of multiple discrimination, but using the legally defined grounds of discrimination, it is still the best way forward.

The second hypothesis of the paper assumed that discrimination on multiple grounds had an aggravated impact on employment prospects, compared to discrimination on a single ground. Based on the ESS 2010 data, we had to reject this hypothesis, as we could not identify a significant reverse linear relationship between the number of grounds of discrimination and the employment rate at the European level. As a matter of fact, there seems to be a more important demarcation line in terms of the employment rate among those not discriminated against at all, and those discriminated against on single grounds in a higher number of European countries. An explanation offered for this trend was that employers' hiring decisions were influenced by whether the jobseeker displayed any characteristics considered to be risky by the employer or not, while the number of risky characteristics might have been of secondary importance in hiring decisions.

In the literature review section, it was shown that the quality of jobs could not be assessed indirectly through the indicator of job satisfaction (Poggi, 2010; Llorente & Macias, 2005). These research results reinforced our adopted methodological approach to measure job quality by a complex indicator composed of

23 variables. Our third hypothesis stated that victims of multiple discrimination, when employed, have a lower overall job quality compared to those previously affected by no discrimination, or by discrimination on a single ground among people of equal qualification. The hypothetical relationship between multiple discrimination and lower-level job quality among people with equal educational levels was accepted. Statistical data from ESS 2010 reinforced the assumption that experiences of multiple discrimination could more likely be associated with lower-level job quality, be it at the primary, secondary or higher education level. These research results were in line with the findings of Goldsmith et al. (2004), who identified accepting a lower-quality job as one of the possible jobseeker strategies in view of employers' discriminatory practices. The analysis of the ESS 2010 data also revealed that at each educational level, different dimensions of job quality were at stake in the case of multiple discrimination. The most "sensitive" dimensions of job quality to multiple discrimination were participation opportunities, work-life balance, job security, and lower levels of compensation. However, there was one single job quality dimension that was significantly lower for all levels of education: job security.

Finally, it is crucial to insist on the necessity of further investigating the multiple-discrimination phenomenon. It would be of the utmost importance to develop research into the more specific types of multiple discrimination (namely, compound and intersectional discrimination), in order to be able to better understand the forms of discrimination of a more complex and severe nature, and the combination of various grounds of discrimination inseparable from each other. Also, the research has important policy implications with respect to raising awareness about the more complex nature of discrimination, especially multiple ground discrimination, and how it is connected to job-quality dimensions and social well-being in general.

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APPENDIXES

Table 1: Distribution of the population by the number of grounds of discrimination and the rate of multiple discrimination among the discriminated in the European Union in 2010 (%)

	No discrimination	Discrimination on one ground	Discrimination on two or more grounds	Total	Rate of multiple discrimination among the discriminated
Hungary	95.0	2.4	2.6	100.0	52
Estonia	94.7	2.7	2.6	100.0	49
Bulgaria	91.1	6.9	2.0	100.0	31
United Kingdom	90.1	8.3	1.6	100.0	29
Netherlands	93.4	5.0	1.5	100.0	24
France	94.1	4.5	1.4	100.0	24
Sweden	94.7	4.1	1.3	100.0	24
Czech Republic	94.6	4.1	1.3	100.0	24
Germany	96.8	2.2	1.1	100.0	22
Denmark	96.5	2.5	1.0	100.0	20
Belgium	96.5	2.8	.8	100.0	16
Spain	96.3	3.1	.6	100.0	16
Finland	95.2	4.2	.6	100.0	14
Norway	96.5	3.0	.5	100.0	12
Slovenia	97.9	1.9	.2	100.0	10
Portugal	97.6	2.2	.2	100.0	8
Poland	97.4	2.5	.1	100.0	4
EU average (17 countries)	94.9	4.0	1.1	100.0	22

Source: ESS 2010

Table 2:

Frequency of different grounds of discrimination among those affected by multiple discrimination (two or more grounds) in the European Union countries, in 2010 (%)

	Colour or race	Nationality	Religion	Language	Ethnic group	Age	Gender	Sexuality	Disability	Total
Belgium	84.6	38.5	61.5	15.4	15.4	15.4	7.7	0.0	7.7	100.0 N=13
Bulgaria	56.0	8.0	34.0	26.0	76.0	20.0	8.0	0.0	6.0	100.0 N=50
Czech Republic	42.4	21.2	15.2	9.1	36.4	63.6	45.5	12.1	27.3	100.0 N=33
Denmark	50.0	50.0	43.8	37.5	43.8	12.5	12.5	0.0	12.5	100.0 N=16
United Kingdom	59.0	31.6	34.2	10.5	18.4	36.8	31.6	5.1	10.3	100.0 N=38
Estonia	0.0	82.6	2.2	91.3	19.6	15.2	10.9	2.2	10.9	100.0 N=46
Finland	27.3	27.3	18.2	18.2	45.5	36.4	9.1	18.2	9.1	100.0 N=11
France	73.9	56.5	34.8	21.7	39.1	17.4	30.4	26.1	21.7	100.0 N=23
Netherlands	48.1	55.6	48.1	11.1	48.1	18.5	18.5	7.4	3.7	100.0 N=27
Poland	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	50.0	0.0	50.0	0.0	0.0	100.0 N=2
Hungary	75.0	47.2	8.1	5.6	66.7	13.9	8.3	0.0	8.1	100.0 N=36
Germany	25.6	74.4	35.9	51.3	25.6	5.3	7.7	10.3	10.3	100.0 N=39
Norway	42.9	28.6	42.9	14.3	28.6	14.3	28.6	14.3	0.0	100.0 N=7

Portugal	100.0	75.0	50.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0 N=4
Spain	46.2	38.5	23.1	30.8	15.4	25.0	33.3	25.0	0.0	100.0 N=13
Sweden	10.5	26.3	15.8	26.3	42.1	36.8	57.9	5.3	31.6	100.0 N=19
Slovenia	33.3	100.0	100.0	33.3	33.3	66.7	33.1	33.3	33.3	100.0 N=3
EU average (17 countries)	50.3	48.9	32.9	25.6	32.7	21.1	23.2	11.6	12.1	100.0 N=380

Table 3: Principal components of grounds of discrimination across Europe (17 countries)

	Component	
	1 Ethnicity related factors	2 Non-ethnicity related factors
Discrimination of respondent's group: colour or race	.613	-4.174E-02
Discrimination of respondent's group: nationality	.726	-.135
Discrimination of respondent's group: religion	.654	-.137
Discrimination of respondent's group: language	.748	-.137
Discrimination of respondent's group: ethnic group	.666	-7.522E-02
Discrimination of respondent's group: age	.152	.628
Discrimination of respondent's group: gender	.178	.626
Discrimination of respondent's group: sexuality	.175	.461
Discrimination of respondent's group: disability	.167	.469

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

KMO=0.770, BartlettSig=0.00

a 2 components extracted.

Table 4: Principal grounds among those discriminated against on multiple grounds in the EU (17 countries)

	Component		
	1 Demographic factors (age & gender)	2 Ethnicity factors	3 Physical and spiritual difference factors (Disability, sexuality, and religion)
Discrimination of respondent's group: colour or race	-.370	-.662	.100
Discrimination of respondent's group: nationality	-.426	.636	.152
Discrimination of respondent's group: religion	-.274	-6.088E-02	.425
Discrimination of respondent's group: language	-.309	.711	8.062E-02
Discrimination of respondent's group: ethnic group	-.333	-.499	.250
Discrimination of respondent's group: age	.809	-4.887E-03	-.147
Discrimination of respondent's group: gender	.768	2.145E-02	-9.920E-02
Discrimination of respondent's group: sexuality	.374	-1.778E-02	.730
Discrimination of respondent's group: disability	.430	.133	.578

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

KMO=0.613, BartlettSig=0.00

a 3 components extracted.

Table 5: The ratio of those in paid work among those affected by discrimination and those not affected by discrimination (%)

	Rate of those in paid work across the total population	Rate of those in paid work among persons not affected by discrimination (%)	Rate of those in paid work among persons affected by discrimination (%)	Ratio of the employment rate of the discriminated and non-discriminated	Ratio of the employment rate of those discriminated against, and the total population
Bulgaria	40	42	22	0.53	0.55
Hungary	49	49	35	0.71	0.71
Czech Republic	54	55	40	0.72	0.74
Portugal	40	40	40	0.101	1.00
Poland	50	51	41	0.81	0.82
Denmark	56	56	42	0.75	0.75
Netherlands	59	60	44	0.73	0.75
Belgium	51	51	45	0.88	0.88
Sweden	57	58	46	0.81	0.81
Estonia	49	49	46	0.94	0.94
Finland	48	49	48	0.99	1.00
Slovenia	47	47	48	0.103	1.02
Germany	53	53	50	0.93	0.94
United Kingdom	53	52	54	0.104	1.02
France	52	52	55	0.106	1.06
Spain	49	49	61	0.126	1.24
Norway	62	62	66	0.106	1.06
EU average (17 countries)	52	52	50	0.96	0,96

Source: ESS 2010

Table 6: Average value of the Job Quality Index among the employed population (job-quality dimensions and countries of the European Union)

	compensation (15 points)	working hours (10 points)	participation (10 points)	social and self-esteem needs (15 points)	job security (15 points)	work-life balance (10 points)	workload (15 points)	self-actualisation (10 points)	job quality index (100 points)
Norway	9.9	5.5	7.2	10.3	11.6	6.2	6.5	7.0	64.2
Sweden	9.6	5.7	7.0	10.0	11.7	6.2	6.6	6.7	63.6
France	9.4	5.8	6.2	9.4	11.5	6.3	6.8	6.9	62.3
Denmark	9.4	5.8	6.8	10.0	11.1	6.8	5.9	6.4	62.2
Belgium	10.2	5.5	6.0	10.1	11.3	6.4	6.3	6.4	62.2
Finland	8.7	5.8	6.8	9.9	11.4	6.7	6.3	6.4	61.9
United Kingdom	9.4	5.3	6.1	9.9	10.1	6.2	6.9	6.5	60.4
Slovenia	8.7	5.5	5.4	9.4	11.4	6.1	6.7	6.9	60.2
Estonia	7.8	5.8	5.7	10.4	10.3	6.0	6.8	6.8	59.5
Germany	8.9	5.3	5.6	9.5	11.0	5.8	6.3	6.3	58.7
Bulgaria	8.8	5.8	4.8	9.3	10.7	6.2	7.0	5.7	58.1
Netherlands	9.1	5.3	6.1	9.4	10.0	6.2	5.9	6.0	58.0
Hungary	8.5	5.7	4.9	9.3	10.5	5.9	6.7	6.0	57.5
Spain	8.1	5.2	5.8	9.2	10.2	6.2	6.4	5.5	56.6
Czech Republic	8.6	5.4	4.5	8.5	10.0	5.5	6.8	6.0	55.6
Portugal	9.0	5.4	4.8	8.3	10.3	5.9	6.7	5.1	55.5
Poland	8.1	5.2	5.0	8.8	10.1	5.7	6.4	6.1	55.4
European Union average (17 countries)	8.9	5.4	5.8	9.4	10.7	6.0	6.5	6.3	59.18

Source: ESS 2010

Table 7: Average value of the Job Quality Index dimensions among the employed population by number of discrimination grounds across 17 Europe Union countries

	non-discriminated	discriminated on a single ground	discriminated on multiple grounds	total
compensation (15 points)	8.98	8.42	7.81	8.94
working hours (10 points)	5.42	5.24	5.46	5.41
participation (10 points)	5.81	5.61	5.43	5.80
social and self-esteem needs (15 points)	9.43	9.36	8.90	9.43
job security (15 points)	10.76	9.65	9.41	10.70
work-life balance (10 points)	6.08	5.83	5.47	6.07
workload (15 points)	6.51	6.90	6.73	6.53
self-actualisation (10 points)	6.30	6.29	6.11	6.30
average Job Quality Index (EU 17) (max. 100 points)	59.30 N=15960	57.31 N=670	55.32 N=184	59.18 N=16814

Source: ESS 2010

Table 8. Average Job Quality Index value by the number of discrimination grounds and level of education among working people in the 17 European Union countries

years of full-time education completed	number of grounds of discrimination	Job Quality Index average value	N	std. deviation
primary/lower level education (0-8 years)	0	54.50	898	19.036
	1	55.38	34	15.622
	2	45.08	13	16.811
	subtotal	54.40	946	18.914
secondary/vocational education/ (9-14 years)	0	58.33	8717	18.284
	1	55.31	284	16.657
	2	55.65	101	14.790
	subtotal	58.33	8717	18.284
higher education (at least 15 years full-time)	0	61.31	6345	18.046
	1	59.11	352	18.652
	2	56.78	70	15.879
	subtotal	61.15	6767	18.067
total	0	59.30	15960	18.326
	1	57.31	670	17.763
	2	55.32	184	15.546
	total	59.18	16814	18.283

Source: ESS 2010, International