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Perceived Discrimination on Ethnic, Racial and Religious Grounds in Europe: Insights from the Eurobarometer Survey

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Key findings (Katarzyna Saczuk)

Who Is Perceived to Face Discrimination Most?

- The 2019 data indicates that Roma, racial and ethnic outgroups were identified as the most frequent targets of discrimination, with nearly 60% of respondents perceiving such discrimination as very or fairly widespread.
- Religious discrimination was perceived to be less prevalent, with less than half of respondents believing that discrimination based on religion or beliefs was very or fairly widespread.
- Perceptions of discrimination on the basis of ethnicity and skin colour showed very similar patterns and differed from those on the basis of being Roma.
- Discrimination against Roma was perceived to be more widespread and showed slightly different patterns across different population sub-groups. However, the factors associated with the perception of this discrimination remained broadly consistent.

Where Does Discrimination Happen?

- According to 2008 Flash Eurobarometer, discrimination on religious grounds was perceived to be most prevalent in the housing market, followed by education and services. Healthcare and insurance were seen as areas where religious discrimination occurred less frequently.
- The percentage of respondents reporting very or fairly widespread discrimination outside working life in 2012 Eurobarometer was consistently lower than for discrimination in general, with an average gap of 7.5 percentage points.
- While being Roma, skin colour and ethnic origin were generally perceived as the most common grounds for discrimination in general, a significantly lower percentage of respondents believed that these characteristics could disadvantage jobseekers. They were seen as less important than physical appearance, age and disability.

Geographical Diversity in Perception

- 2019 Eurobarometer data point to the existence of significant differences in the perception of discrimination across Europe.
- Country-level analysis revealed considerable differences between the old (EU15) and the new member states. In general, people living in the old member states perceived discrimination across all grounds as more widespread than those living in the new member states.
- In most cases, the estimates for the entire European Union closely resembled those for the EU15 countries, which is due to the population sizes of the member states.
- The difference between the old and the new member states was more pronounced for perceived discrimination on the grounds of ethnic origin, skin colour and religion or beliefs than for discrimination on the grounds of being Roma.

Factors Shaping Perceptions of Discrimination

- While the prevalence of perceived discrimination varied by ground, the factors associated with these perceptions were largely consistent.
- Women consistently reported higher levels of perceived discrimination. A multivariate approach shows that although the gender gap in the Eurobarometer survey was modest, women were more sensitive to discrimination issues, holding all other factors constant.
- People who had witnessed or heard about discrimination or harassment were also more likely to perceive discrimination as widespread. To a lesser extent, the same relationship held for those who reported contact with members of minority groups.
- There was a negative association between perceived discrimination and both age and right-wing political views, holding all other factors constant.
- In the new member states, life satisfaction showed a negative association with perceived discrimination. Years of education and experiencing financial difficulties were positively associated with perceived discrimination in this region.
- In the old member states, perceived discrimination tended to be related to political views rather than to personal circumstances, the opposite of the new member states.
- There was no clear link between country-level economic factors (GDP, unemployment, income inequality) or measures of population diversity and the perception of ethnic and religious discrimination.
- While there were some associations between perceived discrimination and GDP per capita (PPS), unemployment rates and certain measures of population diversity, these associations varied across model specifications and grounds of discrimination with no clear pattern.
- Income inequality does not appear to affect people's perceptions of unequal treatment on the basis of ethnicity, race or religion.

1. Introduction (Zuzanna Brunarska)

Existing research provides evidence for the existence of discrimination based on ethnic, religious and racial grounds in Europe – in the labour market (Zschirnt and Ruedin 2016; Quillian et al. 2019; Thijssen et al. 2022; Lippens, Vermeiren, and Baert 2023), housing (Flage 2018; Auspurg, Schneck, and Hinz 2019), education (e.g. Wenz 2020) and in other spheres of life (e.g. Aidenberger and Doehne 2021; Liebe and Beyer 2021; Zhang, Gereke, and Baldassarri 2022). Members of minority groups targeted by discrimination are more likely to be aware of its existence than majority members, since they are more likely to have been exposed to discrimination, including having personal experience of discrimination (Alanya et al. 2017; Brinbaum, Safi, and Simon 2018; Earle and Hodson 2020; but see Behtoui and Neergaard 2009; Poore et al. 2002). Majority members, in turn, are less likely to be discriminated against and may thus not be aware that discrimination based on ethnic, racial and religious grounds takes place in the society. They also may deny discrimination against minorities to avoid negative group characterizations (Crosby 2015)¹. The public perception of discrimination depends on various individual and contextual factors. While perceived discrimination against ethnic, racial and religious minorities among both the minority and majority population is admittedly driven by the actual levels of discrimination in the country or locality, it also depends on information on the situation of minority members, including discrimination incidents, that reach people through various channels. These channels include, among other things, direct observation (Uluğ and Tropp 2021), direct or indirect contact with groups and individuals being targets of discriminatory actions and practices (Dinh et al. 2008; Crosby 2015; Hayward et al. 2017; Mo and Conn 2018; Carter et al. 2019; Tropp, Uluğ, and Uysal 2021; Jordan, Lajevardi, and Waller 2022; Mijs 2023), minority members' political participation (Kende et al. 2023; see also Valentino and Brader 2011), political discourses more broadly and the media (Etchegaray and Correa 2015; Alanya et al. 2017; Müller et al. 2023; but see Sizemore and Milner 2004). Whether this information reaches the person and gets accepted or denied depends on a range of factors – related both to the characteristics of the context in which discrimination occurs and socio-demographic characteristics of individuals exposed to it. Consequently, discrimination is not perceived uniformly across the society.

Awareness of discrimination is important to counteract its negative effects for minority members and contribute to greater equality and social cohesion. Questions on public awareness of discrimination (often framed as privilege awareness or colour-blindness) have been widely discussed in the US context (Kluegel and Smith 1982; Swim and Miller 1999; Neville et al. 2000; Hays, Chang, and Decker 2007; Pinterits, Poteat, and Spanierman 2009; Bonilla-Silva 2010; Valentino and Brader 2011; Banfield and Dovidio 2013; Manning, Hartmann, and Gerteis 2015; Mazzocco 2017; Mo and Conn 2018; Carter et al. 2019; Earle and Hodson 2020; Jordan, Lajevardi, and Waller 2022)². The US-based studies have mostly focused on the white-black divide, which constitutes one of the most relevant social cleavages in the US context. Relatively little is known, meanwhile, about the public awareness of discrimination and its determinants outside the US context, in particular in the European setting (for exceptions, see

¹ Minority members may also deny discrimination but the underlying mechanism is different (see e.g. Fox, Moroşanu, and Szilassy 2015).

² The US studies often focused on the explanations for inequalities (discrimination being one of them) rather than beliefs in the presence of discrimination as such, assuming that inequalities exist and that people perceive them to be present in the American society (e.g. Kluegel 1990; Schuman and Krysan 1999; Hunt 2007; Hartmann, Gerteis, and Croll 2009; Croll 2013; Smith 2014; Shelton 2017; Douds, O'Connell, and Bratter 2019; Nelson and Joselus 2022). The perception that discrimination is a reason for the existing inequalities (or a barrier to equality or integration, see e.g. Kende et al. 2023) is, however, not the same as the perception that discrimination exists in the society.

Müller et al. 2023; Kende et al. 2023; Verkuyten and Martinovic 2015; see also Bagci, Çelebi, and Karaköse 2017; Schütze and Törngren 2022; Van Acker et al. 2014).

In this report, we aim to identify individual and contextual factors that determine the perception of the prevalence of discrimination based on ethnic, racial and religious grounds in Europe. The report is a product of the Horizon Europe-funded project entitled *Recognition and Acknowledgement of Injustice to Strengthen Equality* (RAISE). It draws on data from the EC-commissioned Eurobarometer survey (European Commission 2023), which despite their open character remain relatively under-examined (for exceptions, see Kende et al. 2023; Müller et al. 2023). This report is envisioned as an exploratory endeavour, planned as a preliminary step on the way to design our own survey instrument to measure the perception of and justifications for inequalities in Europe, including the beliefs about the presence of discrimination. With this report, we aim to show who believes discrimination of ethnic, racial and religious groups to be present in their country and whether the national and local context matters for the perception of discrimination across Europe.

Several editions of the Eurobarometer survey included questions on the perception of discrimination based on ethnic origin, skin colour, and religion or beliefs. Atop of that, the survey has separately measured discrimination due to being Roma, which theoretically could be considered as a special case of discrimination based on ethnic/racial grounds. While we will use perceived discrimination due to skin colour as a proxy for perceived discrimination based on racial grounds, it has to be borne in mind that the perceived phenotype may also be based on other observable physical characteristics that people attribute to race (e.g. hair, eyes or height) and hence the levels of perceived discrimination based on racial grounds if measured in a more comprehensive manner could be higher. Importantly also, ethnicity, race and religion are often confounded in people's minds (Adida, Laitin, and Valfort 2010; Heath and Martin 2013; see also Schütze and Törngren 2022 for the example of invisibility of race and its substitution by ethnicity in the Swedish discourse) and the Eurobarometer questions do not allow us to fully isolate their effects. The fact that respondents were asked about each ground for discrimination separately also means that it is hard to account for intersectionality (Stoljar 2017) when using Eurobarometer data. In practice, different factors can have a cumulative effect, e.g. ethnicity and religion can reinforce each other's negative effects. Yet another limitation of the Eurobarometer data is that, given the small number of minority members (especially representatives of ethnic and racial outgroups) in the national samples, they do not allow us to reliably compare the perspective of minority and majority members. While for the sake of national representativeness, we run our analyses for the whole national samples, in practice the results mostly represent the perspective of majority members on the prevalence of discrimination targeting minority members, which still constitutes a relatively understudied viewpoint (Van Acker et al. 2014; Verkuyten and Martinovic 2015; Bagci, Çelebi, and Karaköse 2017; Müller et al. 2023). Finally, the set of individual-level characteristics considered as potential predictors of perceived discrimination was restricted by the contents of the Eurobarometer questionnaire and is thus relatively narrow. In particular, it lacks data on individual-level socio-psychological factors, which are believed to play an important role in shaping perceptions.

The analyses in the report are mainly based on data coming from the (so far) most recent – 2019 (EB 91.4, ZA7575) – Eurobarometer survey containing the module QC 'Discrimination in the European Union' with questions on the perceived prevalence of discrimination. Where needed, we complemented them with data coming from older Eurobarometer studies: Eurobarometer 2006 (EB 65.4, ZA4508), 2008 (EB 69.1, ZA4743), 2009 (EB 71.2, ZA4972), 2012 (EB 77.4, ZA5613), 2015 (EB 83.4, ZA6595), which included questions on the perceived prevalence of discrimination on the basis of ethnic origin, religion or beliefs, skin colour and being Roma, and on the criteria that may put a candidate at a disadvantage during job search, and the 2008 Flash Eurobarometer (Flash EB 232, ZA4812), which

included additional questions on perceived discrimination based on religious grounds in various life domains, including, among other things, housing market, healthcare, education and services. It is worth noting that, while respondents in the earlier Eurobarometer editions (e.g. 2012 and 2015) were provided with a definition of discrimination ('Discrimination is understood to mean when a person or group is treated less favourably than others because of personal characteristics. '), respondents in the 2019 Eurobarometer survey, that we will be using most, were not.

The report aims to contribute to the existing state of knowledge on the perception of discrimination based on ethnic, racial and religious grounds in Europe by giving a broad overview of the patterns and correlates of perceived discrimination. Prior research by Müller et al. (2023) and Kende et al. (2023) has already largely taken advantage of the potential of the Eurobarometer data. The former study was focused on the role of national political elite discourses in driving majorities' beliefs about the prevalence of ethnic discrimination, but included also the discussion of differences in discrimination across time and between countries. The latter study focused on whether aggregate levels of minority experiences of discrimination and of minority political participation are related to majority members' perceptions of discrimination over and beyond relevant individual- and country-level factors. Importantly, while Müller et al. (2023) handled only perceived discrimination based on ethnic origin, Kende et al. (2023) considered perceived discrimination based on ethnic and religious grounds combined. Our report adds to these studies by looking separately at perceived discrimination based on ethnic, racial and religious grounds, and discrimination due to being Roma, and by offering a broader overview of the patterns emerging from the Eurobarometer data.

In the sections that follow, we first present the EU28 perspective by showing the basic descriptive statistics of the perceived discrimination variables and their distribution across the main subgroups of the population for the EU as a whole. Then, we focus on inter-country differences, showing that majority members' beliefs about the prevalence of discrimination differ between European countries and pointing to the visible differences between the 'old' and the 'new' EU member states. Next, we look at country-level correlates. Finally, we run models allowing identification of determinants of perceived discrimination accounting for several factors at once.

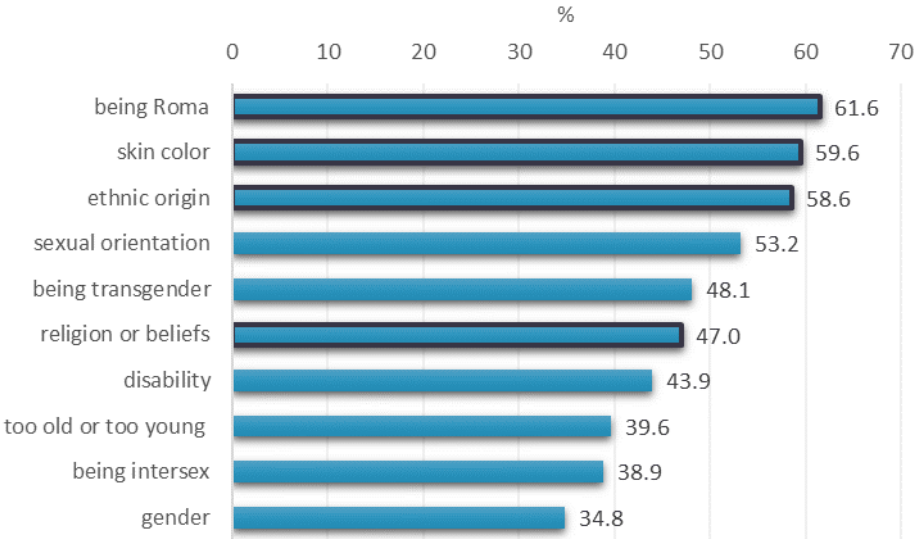
2. Perception of discrimination – the EU28 perspective (Katarzyna Saczuk, Zuzanna Brunarska)

2.1. Who is perceived to be discriminated against?

People can be discriminated against on many different grounds, but some groups are more likely than others to experience discrimination and consequently to be viewed by the public as targets of discrimination. The Eurobarometer survey covers several different grounds based on which people can be discriminated against. It is worthwhile situating discrimination based on ethnic, racial and religious grounds, which is the focus of our attention here, in the context of other popular grounds of discrimination. Figure 1 presents the relative salience of different grounds of discrimination according to the EU28 respondents in the 2019 Eurobarometer edition.³ It shows the percentage of people who perceived discrimination on each ground as very or fairly widespread.

Among all grounds of discrimination, being Roma, skin colour and ethnic origin were perceived as grounds of discrimination by the highest share of EU28 residents. Around 60% of respondents perceived discrimination based on these three grounds as very or fairly widespread. Discrimination based on religion or beliefs was considered less prevalent, with 47% of Eurobarometer 2019 respondents stating that it was very or fairly widespread. It ranked behind discrimination based on sexual orientation and being transgender, but was considered more prevalent than discrimination based on disability, age, being intersex and gender. Lower salience of discrimination based on religion or beliefs than on racial or ethnic grounds may be explained by the lower visibility of religion relative to race/ethnicity (Vang, Hou, and Elder 2019).

Figure 1. Percentage of people perceiving discrimination as very or fairly widespread by ground of discrimination, EU28 (2019)



N = 27,438

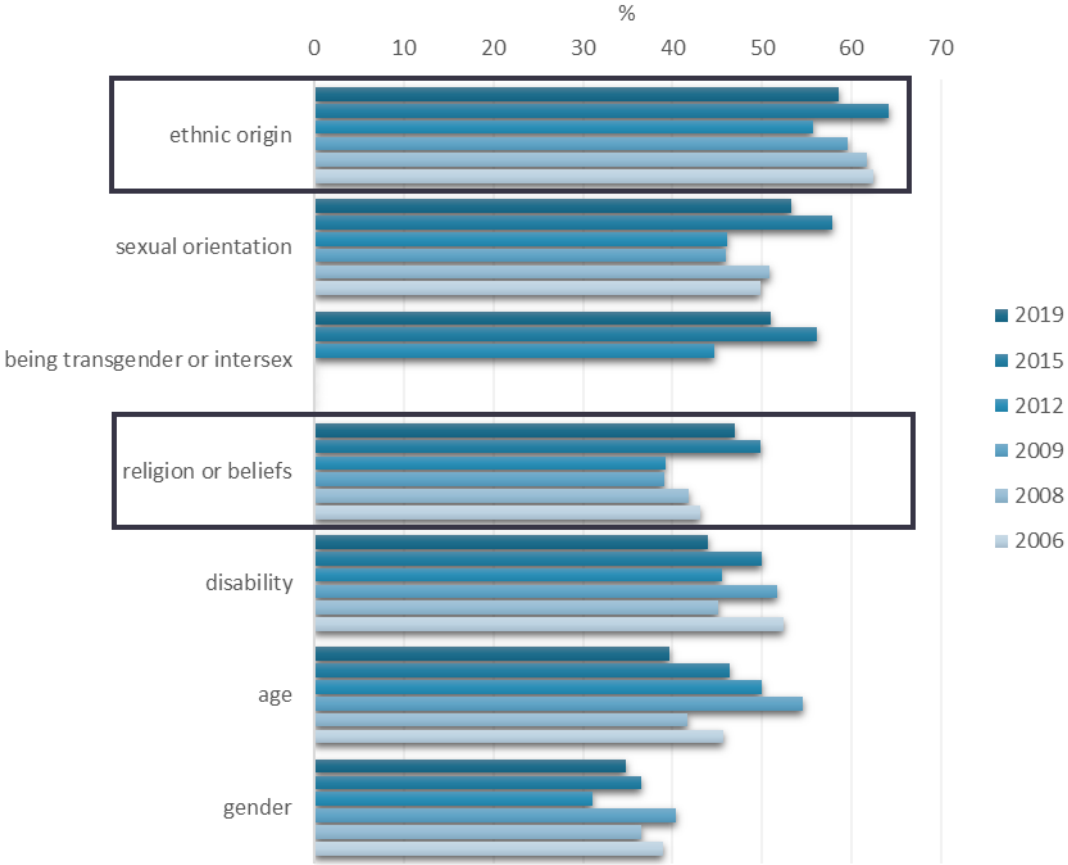
The figure shows the percentages of all respondents, including those who spontaneously responded that discrimination was 'not existent' (which was not included in the list of possible answers) and those who refused to answer the question or provided a 'don't know' reply. The full distribution of responses can be found in Appendix A. Statistical annex.

Source: Eurobarometer 2019

³ For detailed information on the survey measures, see Appendix B. Methodological issues.

The perception of discrimination may change over time in response to the changing social, economic, and political circumstances. The question on perceived discrimination based on different grounds was repeated in several editions of the Eurobarometer survey, which makes it possible to track changes in the perception of discrimination over time. Figure 2 shows the percentage of people who felt that discrimination was very or fairly widespread, by ground of discrimination, in six subsequent editions of the Eurobarometer survey.⁴ Perceived discrimination was measured by almost identical questions, allowing a relatively straightforward comparison of percentages across Eurobarometer editions.⁵ The grounds are ordered descending by the percentage of respondents who perceived discrimination based on a respective ground as very or fairly widespread in 2019.

Figure 2. Percentage of people perceiving discrimination as very or fairly widespread by ground of discrimination, EU28 (2006-2019)



The figure shows the percentages of all respondents, including those who spontaneously responded that discrimination was 'not existent' (which was not included in the list of possible answers) and those who refused to answer the question or provided a 'don't know' reply.

Source: Eurobarometer 2006, 2008, 2009, 2012, 2015, 2019.

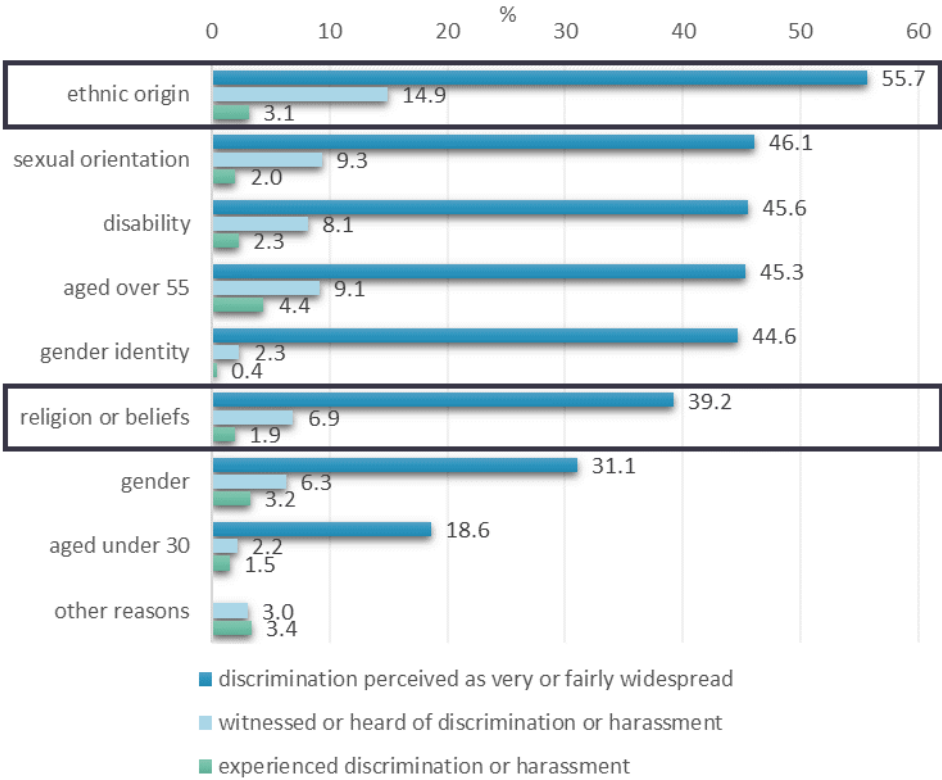
⁴ Data on perceived discrimination on the basis of skin colour and due to being Roma were only collected in 2019 and are therefore not included in this figure.
⁵ In some cases, it was necessary to combine the responses to two separate questions. For example, in 2019, perceptions of discrimination due to being transgender and due to being intersex were measured separately, while they were combined in 2012 and 2015. Discrimination based on age, in turn, was captured by two questions before 2019 – on perceived discrimination on the basis of being too old and on the basis of being too young. In the case of such aggregate categories, we considered that a respondent perceived discrimination as very or fairly widespread when she perceived it as such with regard to one of the components.

The proportion of people who felt that discrimination was very or fairly widespread fluctuated over the years and did not show a steady increasing or decreasing trend for most of the grounds. Discrimination based on ethnic origin was systematically perceived to be widespread by the larger share of respondents than discrimination based on religion or beliefs. In fact, of all the grounds, it has systematically been most frequently viewed as very or fairly widespread in all editions of the Eurobarometer survey since 2006. The percentage of people who believed that it was very or fairly widespread fluctuated within a range of 8 percentage points, with an average of 63%.

While 2015 noted an increase in the percentage of people who perceived discrimination based on ethnic and religious grounds as very or fairly widespread, which could be associated with the migration crisis, a similar pick for other grounds (e.g. sexual orientation and disability) renders such interpretation less plausible.

Perception of discrimination does not need to reflect the actual prevalence of discriminatory behaviour. It depends on a variety of factors, including individual experiences and observations, social norms, and the media. The 2012 edition of the Eurobarometer, atop of the question on perceived discrimination discussed above and a question on whether respondents had experienced discrimination or harassment, involved also the question on whether respondents had witnessed or heard of someone being discriminated against or harassed.

Figure 3. Percentage of people perceiving discrimination as very or fairly widespread, those who witnessed or heard of discrimination or harassment and those who experienced discrimination, by grounds of discrimination, EU28 (2012)



N = 26,622

For perceived discrimination, the figure shows the percentages of all respondents, including those who spontaneously responded that discrimination was 'not existent' (which was not included in the list of possible answers) and those who refused to answer the question or provided a 'don't know' reply. For witnessed or experienced discrimination, the figure presents the percentages of respondents who said they had experienced or witnessed discrimination or harassment on the grounds shown, where multiple answers were possible.

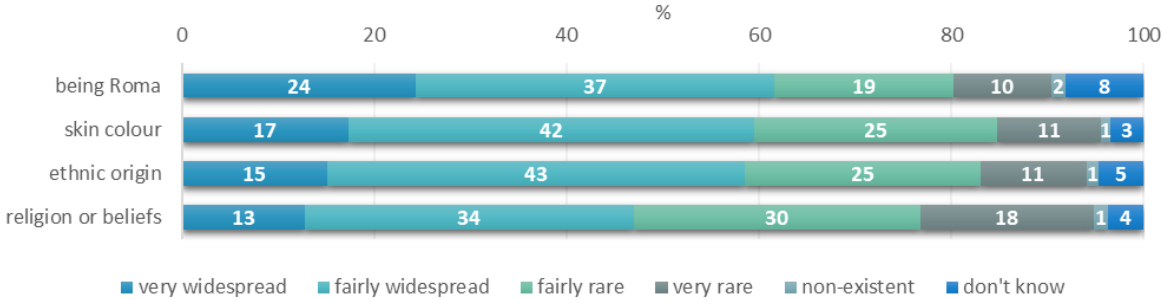
Source: Eurobarometer 2012

As depicted in Figure 3, only a fraction of those who believed that discrimination was very or fairly widespread had actually witnessed or heard about it. The percentage of people who thought that discrimination was very or fairly widespread was almost four or more times higher than the percentage of people who had witnessed or heard about discrimination. This suggests that the perception of discrimination is shaped also by the more general perception of attitudes and behaviour of other members of the society. This discrepancy between perception of discrimination and reported exposure to discrimination incidents was greater in the case of religion or beliefs (5.7 times) than ethnic origin (3.7 times). It is unclear, however, what respondents understood by ‘witnessing or hearing of’ discrimination – to what extent they included also indirect sources of information when answering this question. The even greater discrepancy between perceptions and experiences of discrimination likely follows from the fact that minorities make up only a small part of the survey sample, while they are the ones most likely to be targets of discrimination.

Figure 3 demonstrates that the highest percentage of Eurobarometer 2012 respondents had witnessed or heard of discrimination or harassment on the grounds of ethnic origin (almost 15%; 3% reported having experienced discrimination on this ground). Discrimination based on religion and beliefs was witnessed or heard of by a smaller share of respondents – 6.9%, significantly smaller than in the case of sexual orientation, disability, and old age.

We have so far based our analysis on the percentage of respondents who thought that discrimination based on ethnic, racial or religious grounds was very or fairly widespread (henceforth: widespread). The picture does not change much when we look at the overall distribution of responses (see Figure 4). The ranking of the four grounds based on the share of respondents who perceived discrimination as very widespread looks the same as when the two highest categories were combined. Interestingly, even though being Roma ranks first, with the highest level of perceived discrimination against this group, it also noted the highest percentage of ‘don’t know’ answers (8%).

Figure 4. Perception of discrimination by grounds of discrimination, EU28 (2019)



N = 27,438

Source: Eurobarometer 2019

The distribution of responses regarding discrimination on the basis of skin colour and ethnic origin followed a very similar pattern, even though one may expect discrimination based on racial grounds to be perceived as more widespread than discrimination based on ethnic origin. Theoretically, when responding to the question about discrimination based on ethnic origin, people could have also considered ethnic outgroups that do not fall under the category of – potentially more visible – racial outgroups and attempted to provide an average response that reflects both the situation of racial outgroups and racial ingroups. The pattern of results presented in Figure 4 suggests it is not the case. This observation is consistent with previous studies suggesting that people do not usually generalise their answers across different subcategories, for example representing different origins, but tend to

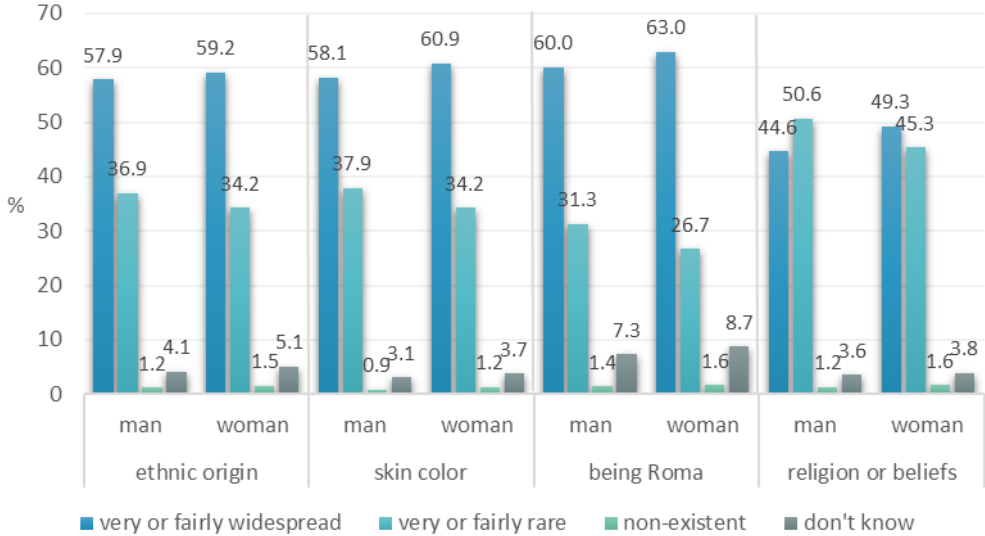
focus on specific subcategories (Blinder 2015; Brunarska and Soral 2022) and that they often have groups of lower status in mind (Kustov 2019).

2.2. Who perceives discrimination?

As we argued in the introduction, the perception of discrimination is expected not to be uniform across the society. As shown by previous research (e.g. Alanya et al. 2017; Brinbaum, Safi, and Simon 2018; Earle and Hodson 2020), members of minority groups are more likely to perceive discrimination than majority group members – potentially due to either their personal experience of being discriminated against or greater sensitivity to others being discriminated against. As we demonstrate below, considerable differences could also be visible across other subgroups of the society. Below we discuss the differences in the perception of discrimination based on ethnic, racial and religious grounds between different groups of respondents. The detailed distribution of responses by respondents’ characteristics and grounds of discrimination is provided in Appendix A. Statistical annex.

One potential dimension of heterogeneity in the perception of discrimination could be gender. As shown in Figure 5, in 2019, women were more likely to state that discrimination was widespread (and less likely to say that it was rare⁶) than men. These differences were, however, relatively small and were not significant in the case of discrimination due to ethnic origin and being Roma perceived as widespread.

Figure 5. Perception of discrimination by grounds of discrimination and gender, EU28 (2019)



N = 27,438

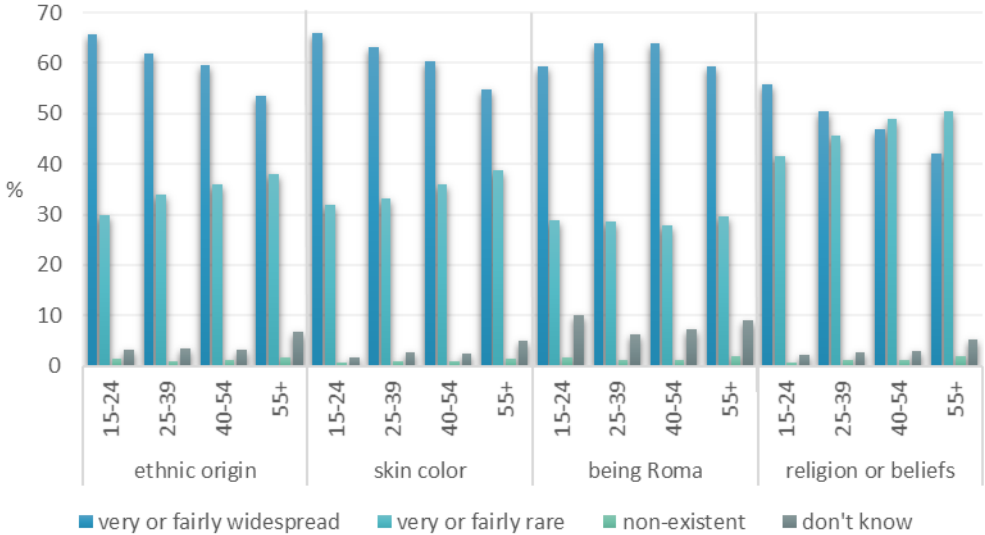
Source: Eurobarometer 2019

Greater differences between subgroups of respondents are visible when we consider the perception of discrimination by age (Figure 6). For ethnic origin, skin colour and religion or beliefs, the percentage of respondents who perceived discrimination as widespread tended to decrease with age. The difference between the youngest (15-24 years) and the oldest age group (55+) exceeded 11 percentage points for each of these grounds. The differences in the share of respondents who perceived discrimination as rare between these two extreme age groups ranged from 7 to 9 percentage points.

⁶ By rare we will mean very or fairly rare.

The perception of discrimination based on the ground of being Roma followed a different pattern. The highest levels of perceived discrimination against Roma were noted among middle-aged respondents (aged 25-39 and 40-54) – 64% of them considered it to be widespread, while the respective percentages were lower (and equal) for the youngest (15-24) and oldest (55+) respondents (59%). The perception that discrimination against Roma was rare, meanwhile, was relatively equal across all age groups (around 29%).

Figure 6. Perception of discrimination by ground of discrimination and age, EU28 (2019)

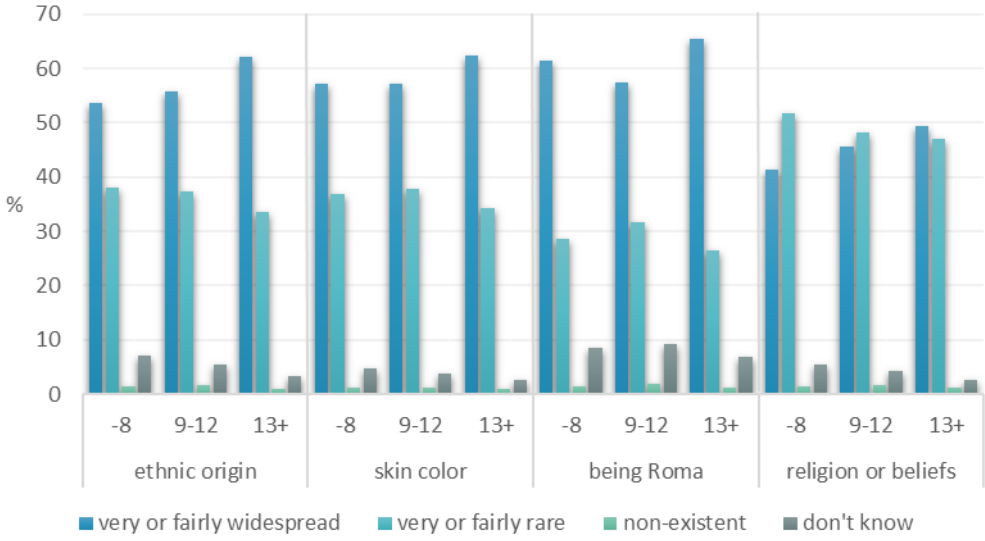


N = 27,438

Source: Eurobarometer 2019

Not surprisingly, educational attainment is associated with how people perceive discrimination (Figure 7). For all grounds except for being Roma, people with more education were more likely to consider discrimination as widespread in their country of residence. For discrimination due to being Roma, the pattern was different. While those with 13 or more years in education still reported the highest perceived discrimination levels, the lowest share of indications for the very and fairly widespread categories came from those with 9 to 12 years in education.

Figure 7. Perception of discrimination by grounds of discrimination and years in education, EU28

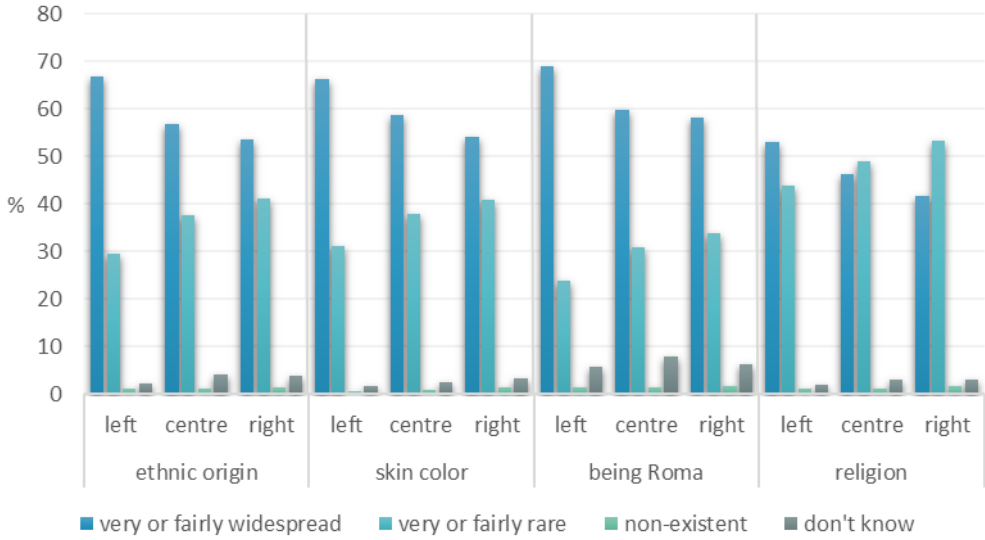


N = 27,051

Source: Eurobarometer 2019

Another important factor differentiating people’s perception of discrimination based on ethnic, racial and religious grounds worth exploring is political orientation. Unsurprisingly, Eurobarometer respondents with left-wing political orientation proved to be most sensitive to the issue of discrimination, while those who showed right-wing political orientation proved to be the least likely to perceive discrimination as widespread (Figure 8). This pattern was uniform across all grounds of discrimination considered.

Figure 8. Perception of discrimination by grounds of discrimination and political orientation, EU28 (2019)⁷



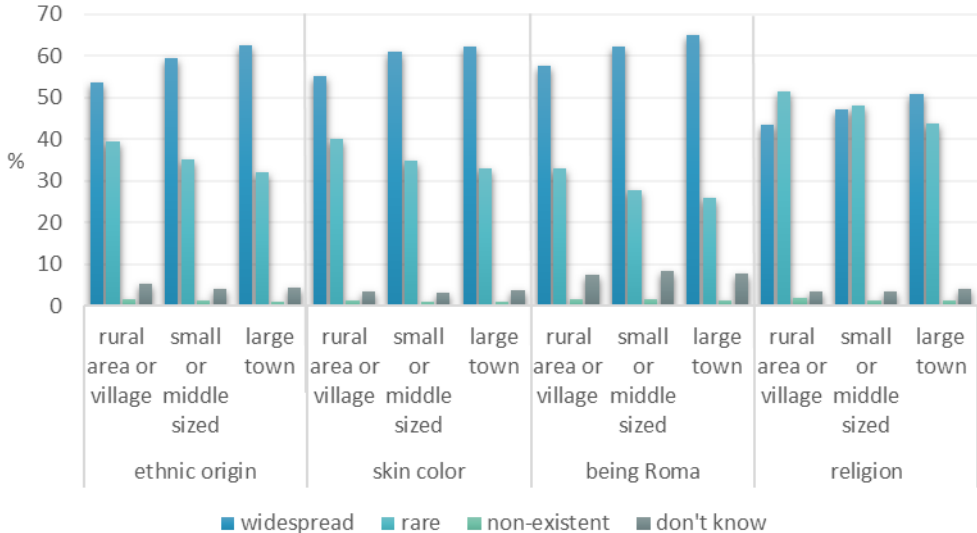
N = 22,749

Political orientation was measured on a 10-point scale where 1 = left and 10 = right. In the figure 1-4 = “left”, 5-6 = “centre”, and 7-10 = “right”. Source: Eurobarometer 2019

⁷ It should be noted that Figure 8 is based on a smaller number of observations than the preceding three figures. This is due to a high level of non-response to the question on political orientation – almost 17% of respondents refused to answer this question or provided a ‘don’t know’ answer (non-response ranged from 2% in Sweden to 48% in Cyprus).

Next, we look at the perception of discrimination across different types of locality. In general, for all the grounds, the larger the locality, the higher the percentage of people who perceived discrimination as widespread (Figure 9). This is likely related to both greater social diversity of people in towns than in villages and rural areas (and hence greater probability of occurrence of discrimination), and to the structure of the population in terms of the characteristics discussed above (e.g. the populations of large towns tend to be better educated and more politically left-leaning).

Figure 9. Perception of discrimination by ground of discrimination and type of locality, EU28 (2019)

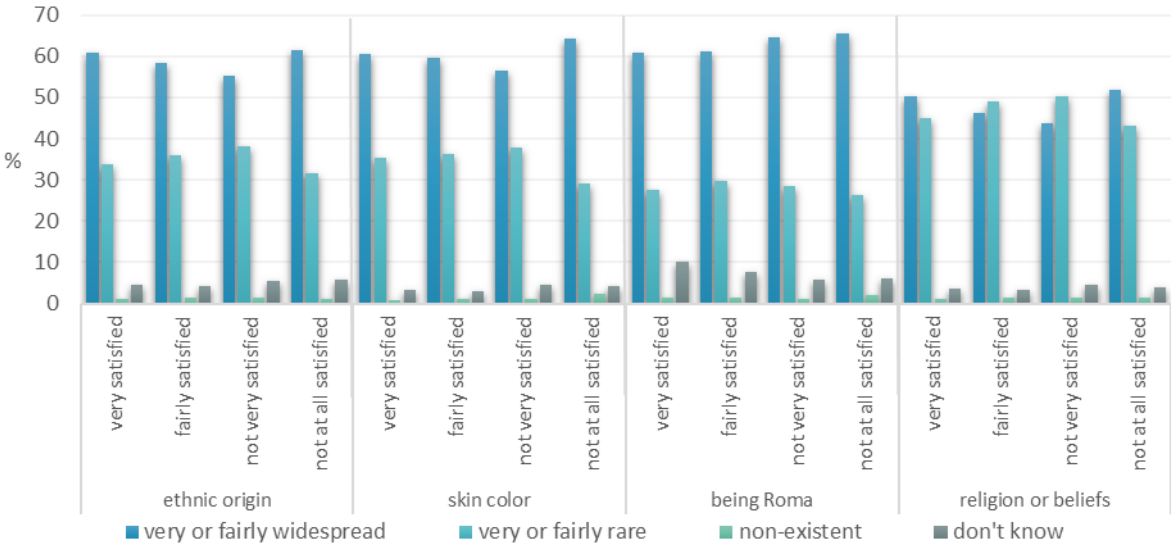


N = 27,438

Source: Eurobarometer 2019

The Eurobarometer data suggest that discrimination on the basis of ethnicity, skin colour or religion or beliefs is more often perceived as widespread by people who are either very satisfied or not at all satisfied with their lives than those who are fairly or not very satisfied (see Figure 10). The difference between the groups was statistically significant but relatively small (around 5 percentage points). This pattern of results was not visible for perceived discrimination due to being Roma. For this ground of discrimination, the least satisfied a person with life, the more perceptive of Roma being discriminated against.

Figure 10. Perception of discrimination by ground of discrimination and life satisfaction, EU28 (2019)

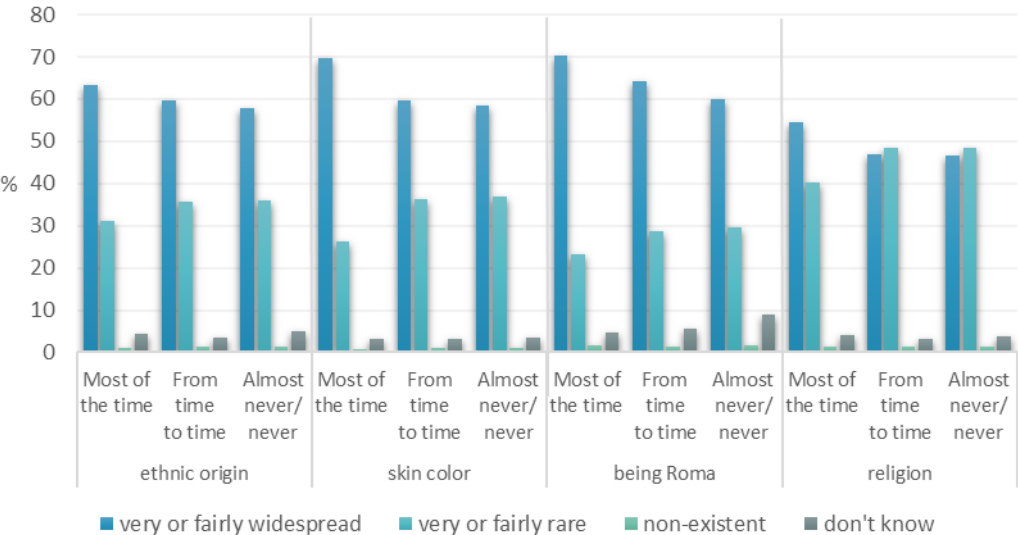


N = 27,336

Source: Eurobarometer 2019

Figure 11 suggests the existence of a positive relationship between financial difficulties and perceived discrimination based on ethnic, racial and religious grounds in Europe. Across all grounds (including being Roma), the perception of discrimination as widespread was higher among those experiencing financial difficulties most of the time than among those experiencing occasional difficulties (from time to time) and those who felt financially secure. The difference between the latter two groups was statistically significant only for discrimination against Roma (with the financially secure respondents less perceptive of discrimination than those experiencing financial difficulties from time to time).

Figure 11. Perception of discrimination by ground of discrimination and experiencing financial difficulties, EU28 (2019)



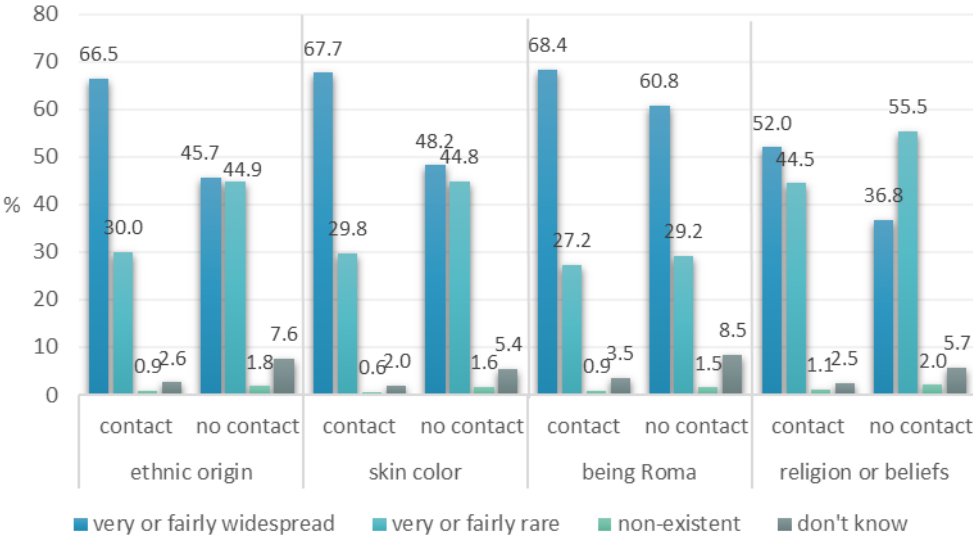
N = 27,059

Source: Eurobarometer 2019

The final individual-level factor that we will consider as a potential determinant of the perception of the prevalence of discrimination is personal contact with the respective outgroup members. As shown

in Figure 12, across all discrimination grounds, individuals who had friends or acquaintances who were members of the respective outgroup were more likely to believe that discrimination was widespread, with an average difference exceeding 15 percentage points compared to those who had no such contacts. They were also less likely to provide a 'don't know' answer.

Figure 12. Perception of discrimination by ground of discrimination and contact with outgroup members, EU28 (2019)



N = 27,137

Source: Eurobarometer 2019

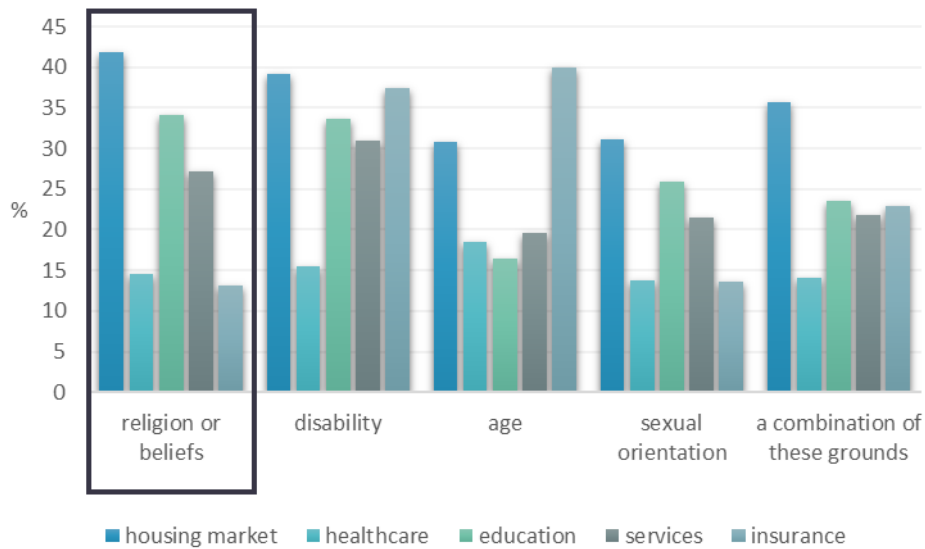
It is worth noting that, again, ethnic and racial discrimination had a very similar distribution of responses. Moreover, the difference in the share of respondents who considered discrimination to be widespread between those with and without members of the respective outgroup among their friends or acquaintances was substantially smaller for discrimination against Roma (less than 8 percentage points) compared to other grounds of discrimination (each with over 15 percentage points difference).

2.3. In which spheres does discrimination take place?

Discrimination can occur in different situations, and in different spheres of life, including, but not limited to, education, employment, healthcare, housing, or political participation. 2008 Flash Eurobarometer (Flash EB 232, ZA4812) contained a series of questions on the perception of the prevalence of discrimination in different spheres.⁸ Unfortunately, Eurobarometer does not offer any newer data of that kind. Moreover, out of the grounds that are in the focus of our attention here, only religion or beliefs was covered in the 2008 Flash edition. Figure 13 shows the distribution of responses to the question on perceived discrimination based on different grounds by sphere in 2008.

⁸ For exact survey questions, see Appendix B. Methodological issues.

Figure 13. Percentage of people perceiving discrimination as very or fairly widespread by the ground of discrimination and sphere, EU27 (2008)



N = 27,147

Note: The figure shows the percentages of all respondents, including those who refused to answer the question or provided a 'don't know' reply.

Source: Flash Eurobarometer 2008

According to 2008 Flash Eurobarometer, out of the five spheres considered, discrimination on the basis of religion and beliefs was found most common in the housing market, followed by education and services. It was perceived as widespread by 42%, 34% and 27% of respondents, respectively. Healthcare and insurance were considered as spheres in which discrimination based on religious grounds occurred much less frequently – it was perceived as widespread by less than 15% of EU27 respondents.

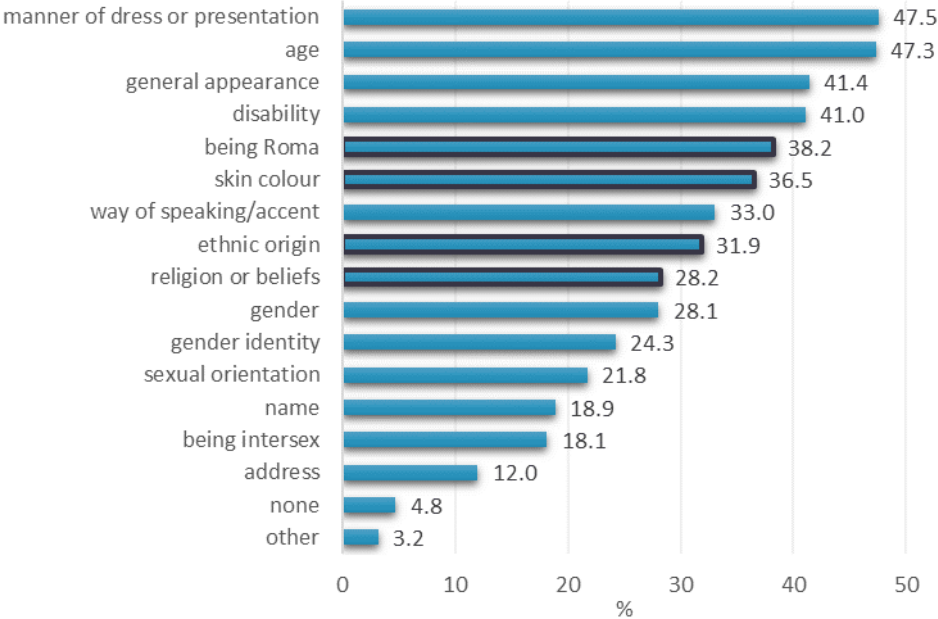
Importantly, out of the five grounds of discrimination covered by 2008 Flash Eurobarometer, religion or beliefs were considered as the most prevalent ground for discrimination in the housing market, as well as in education (in the latter case, on a par with disability). It ranked second (after disability) in the case of services, while it was considered less likely to be a ground for discrimination in insurance (relative to disability and age). The percentage of respondents who thought discrimination based on religious grounds was widespread in healthcare was similar as in the case of other grounds.

The distribution of responses for religion or beliefs resembled the one for sexual orientation (in terms of relative differences between spheres, by the nevertheless lower percentage of respondents perceiving discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation to be very or fairly widespread than in case of religion or beliefs).

An important area in which discrimination may occur is working life. Discrimination in employment can manifest itself in hiring practices, promotions, pay and benefits, and job assignments. People from marginalised groups may face unfair hiring practices (Zschirnt and Ruedin 2016; Quillian et al. 2019; Thijssen et al. 2022; Lippens, Vermeiren, and Baert 2023), be passed over for promotions, receive lower salaries and be assigned to less desirable or less challenging work (see Oppen 1998). This can hinder their career progression and economic as well as psychological well-being. Although the Eurobarometer survey has not explicitly asked about perceived prevalence of discrimination in employment (it was not distinguished among the spheres covered by the 2008 Flash Eurobarometer

discussed above), some insights can be drawn from another question – about the criteria that can put a job candidate at a disadvantage compared to other candidates with the same skills and qualifications. The question was framed differently than the general discrimination question, where respondents were required to evaluate each potential ground for discrimination. In the question on job candidate characteristics that may be of a disadvantage, respondents had to choose all characteristics they considered a potential criterion for discrimination from an enclosed list.

Figure 14. The percentage of respondents who indicated various attributes as criteria that may put a candidate at a disadvantage during job search, EU28 (2019)



N = 27,438

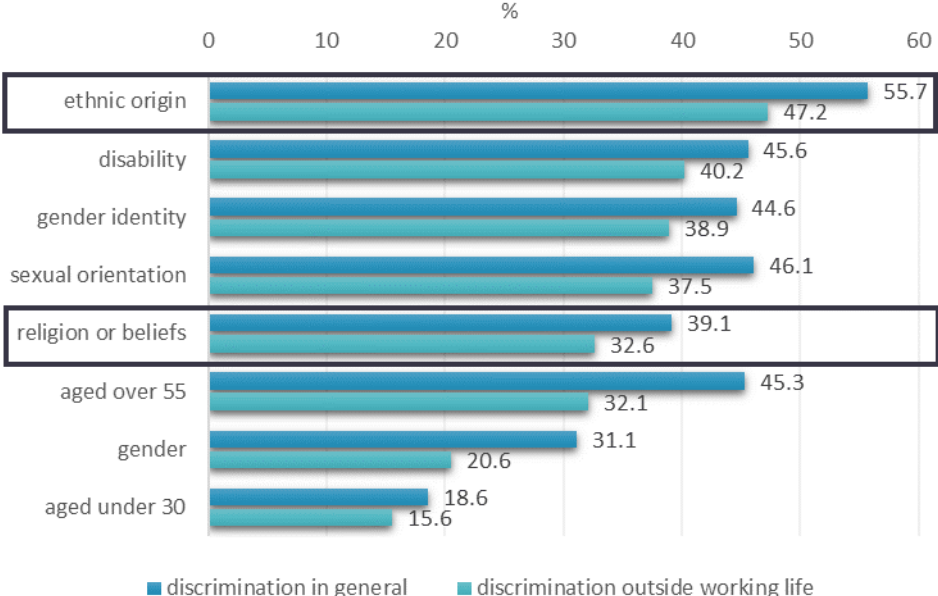
Source: Eurobarometer 2019

Figure 14 shows the percentage of people who mentioned a particular characteristic of candidates as potential criteria that may put them at a disadvantage during job search according to the 2019 Eurobarometer edition (respondents could select as many characteristics as they wished from the list provided). It demonstrates that the ranking of grounds for discrimination by job search looks different than the one for the general discrimination question discussed previously. Being Roma, skin colour and ethnic origin no longer top the ranking, with physical appearance, age and disability ahead of them. While ethnic origin, being Roma, and skin colour were perceived as the most common grounds for discrimination (with around 60% of respondents considering discrimination based on them as widespread) in the general discrimination question discussed in the previous sections, the percentage of respondents who perceived these characteristics as ones that can put a candidate at a disadvantage by job search is significantly lower – ranging from 32% in case of ethnic origin to 37% and 38% in case of skin colour and being Roma, respectively. These numbers should not be compared directly, however, due to the completely different framing of the question. In fact, not mentioning a certain feature as a characteristic that may put a candidate at a disadvantage during job search may be deemed equivalent to perceiving discrimination as non-existent (which was a spontaneous answer, not included in the list of possible answers to the general discrimination question).

The 2012 edition of the survey additionally included a question on the perception of discrimination outside working life. The question explicitly named education, shopping, visit to restaurants and bars,

renting an accommodation, buying a property, and medical appointments as examples, and was measured in a similar way as the general discrimination question discussed above.⁹ Figure 15 juxtaposes the percentage of people who perceived discrimination in general and discrimination outside work to be very or fairly widespread by ground of discrimination. The percentage of respondents who felt that discrimination outside work was very or fairly widespread was systematically lower than for discrimination in general, by an average of 7.5 percentage points (8.5 and 6.5 percentage points for ethnic origin, and for religion or beliefs, respectively¹⁰).

Figure 15. Percentage of people perceiving discrimination in general and discrimination outside working life as very or fairly widespread by the grounds of discrimination, EU27 (2012)



Note: The figure shows the percentages of all respondents, including those who spontaneously responded that discrimination was 'non-existent' (which was not included in the list of possible answers) and those who refused to answer the question or provided a 'don't know' reply.

Source: Eurobarometer 2012

This means that about 16% of respondents (on average for the two grounds, and 15% and 17% respectively for ethnic origin and religion or beliefs) who felt that discrimination on these grounds was widespread in general did not find it widespread outside work. This suggests that they found discrimination to be present mainly in working life. This may be because discrimination in employment can be easier to observe and measure objectively (unequal pay, fewer promotions or opportunities, proportion of people with certain characteristics in the total workforce, etc.) than in other spheres, which also makes it more likely to be covered by the political discourse and the media.

⁹ Except that the general discrimination question included answers: fairly and very rare, whereas the here analysed question: fairly and very uncommon.

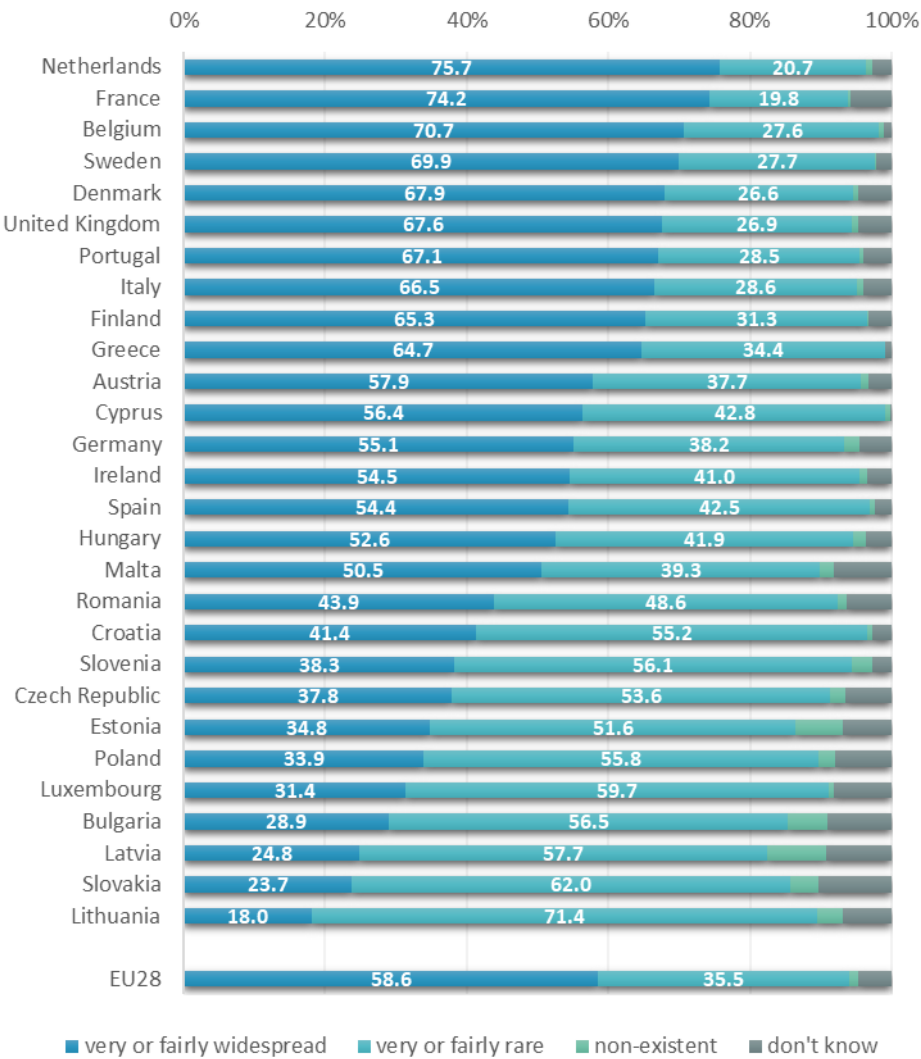
¹⁰ The remaining two grounds were not covered by this question.

3. Perception of discrimination – the member states’ perspective (Katarzyna Saczuk, Zuzanna Brunarska)

3.1. Inter-country differences

We have so far analysed the perception of discrimination from the pan-European, EU28 perspective. This approach, however, masks potential differences in perceptions between individual member states. Adoption of a country level perspective provides additional insights into the perceived prevalence of discrimination in Europe, exposing significant inter-country differences.

Figure 16. The perception of discrimination due to ethnic origin by country (2019)



N = 27,438

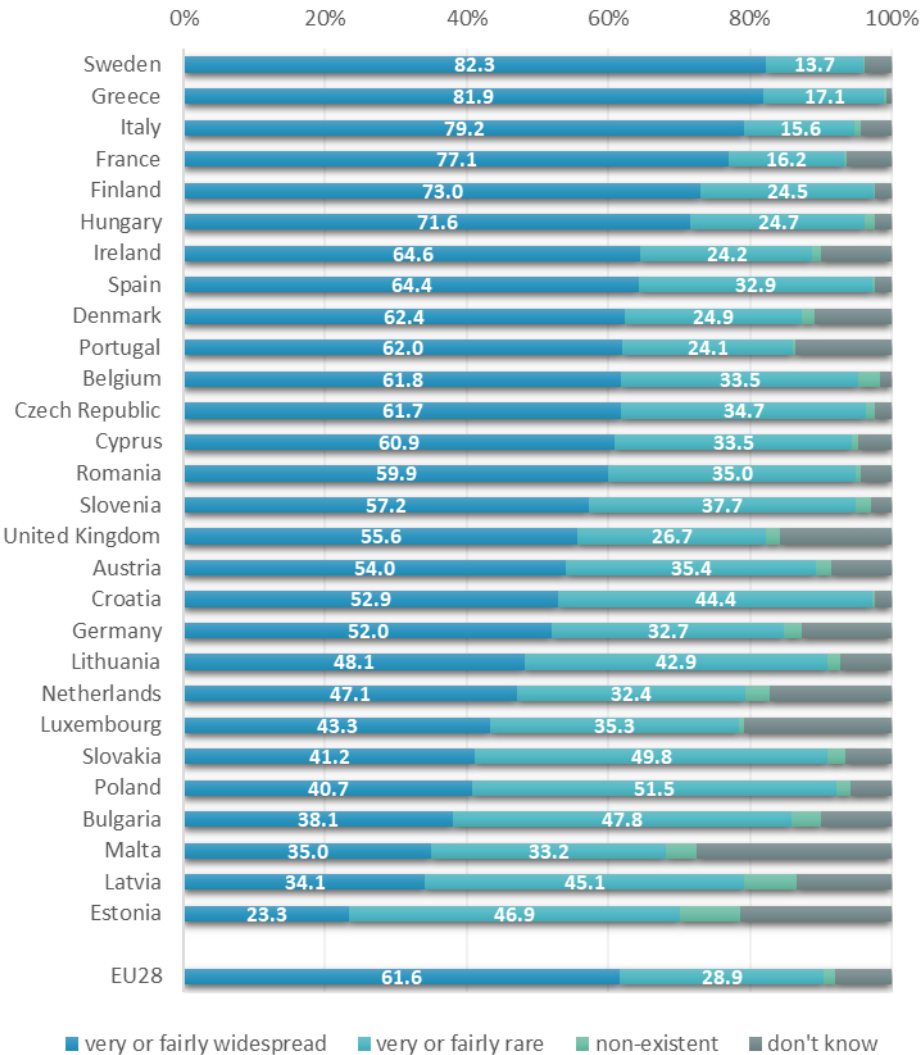
Note: 'Non-existent' indicates a spontaneous response that was not included in the list of possible answers.
Source: Eurobarometer 2019

Figure 16 shows the distribution of responses to the Eurobarometer perceived discrimination question with regard to ethnic origin across the 28 EU member states in 2019. The data shows that the percentage of individuals who perceived discrimination based on ethnic grounds as very or fairly widespread ranged from 18% in Lithuania to almost 76% in the Netherlands. Generally, with some

exceptions (Luxembourg), the 'old' member states (EU15)¹¹ show considerably higher levels of perceived discrimination based on ethnic origin, with the Netherlands, France, Belgium and Sweden topping the ranking, while the 'new' member states (NMS)¹² rank lower, with Lithuania, Slovakia, Latvia and Bulgaria at the bottom of the list. The latter four countries, along with Malta, Poland and Estonia, also noted the highest proportion of respondents who did not express an opinion or who thought discrimination did not exist.

It is noteworthy that the ranking of countries looks different when perceived discrimination due to being Roma is considered (see Figure 17). Although discrimination on the grounds of ethnic origin can affect any ethnic group, including Roma, discrimination against Roma was perceived very differently from discrimination on the grounds of ethnic origin broadly considered. This was already apparent in the previous section and is even more evident when the data are analysed by country.

Figure 17. The perception of discrimination due to being Roma by country (2019)



N = 27,438

Note: 'Non-existent' indicates a spontaneous response that was not included in the list of possible answers.
Source: Eurobarometer 2019

¹¹ This group includes: Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, Sweden and the UK.

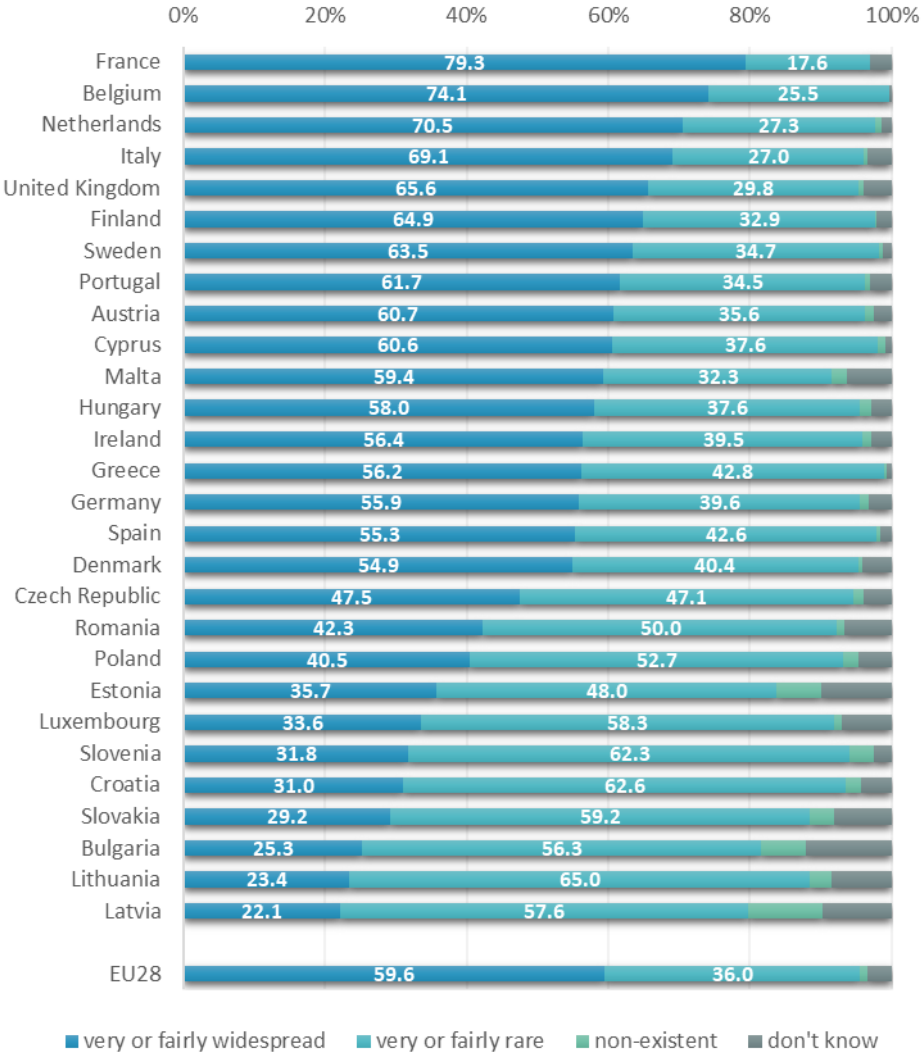
¹² The group includes: Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Romania, Slovakia and Slovenia.

The inter-country differences were again substantial, with the percentage of respondents who believed that discrimination due to being Roma was widespread ranging from just over 23% in Estonia to over 82% in Sweden. It is also worth noting that the ranking of countries based on the ascending percentages of the 'rare' category would differ considerably from the ranking for the descending 'widespread' category, unlike in the case of discrimination based on ethnic origin. As far as perceived discrimination based on ethnic origin was concerned, the 'widespread' and 'rare' categories of responses were fairly complementary. For discrimination on the grounds of being Roma this was less the case, as the proportion of respondents with no opinion was much higher (reaching over a quarter of all respondents in Malta and over 10% in 10 out of the 28 EU member states). In the 'widespread ranking', Sweden (82.3%), Greece (81.9%) and Italy (79.2%) topped the list, with the highest percentage of respondents perceiving discrimination due to being Roma as fairly or very widespread. Estonia (23.3%), Latvia (34.1%) and Malta (35%) were at the bottom of the list. Within the 'rare ranking' Poland (51.5%), Slovakia (49.8%) and Bulgaria (47.8%) topped the list, with highest levels of respondents perceiving discrimination against Roma as fairly or very rare, while Sweden (13.7%), Italy (15.6%) and France (16.2%) ranked at the very bottom.

For certain countries, their position in the 'widespread ranking' differs significantly when comparing the rankings for discrimination due to ethnic origin and due to being Roma. For instance, the Netherlands, which ranked first for perceived discrimination on the grounds of ethnicity (with 76% of respondents considering it as widespread), ranked twenty-first for perceived discrimination on the grounds of being Roma (with 47% of respondents believing it was widespread). In Lithuania, in turn, 18% of respondents perceived discrimination based on ethnic origin as widespread, while 48% believed it was widespread with regard to the Roma target group. Importantly, the division into old and new member states is not as clear in the 'widespread ranking' for being Roma as it was for the generic ethnic outgroup category.

Interestingly, in 19 out of 28 countries, discrimination against Roma is believed to be more widespread than discrimination based on ethnicity in general. This suggests that, when responding to the question on ethnic outgroups, people in these countries either averaged their answers across different ethnic groups not focusing on a specific (most marginalised) group, such as the Roma, or that some respondents had the Roma in mind, while others thought of other less marginalised ethnic groups.

Figure 18. The perception of discrimination due to skin colour by country (2019)

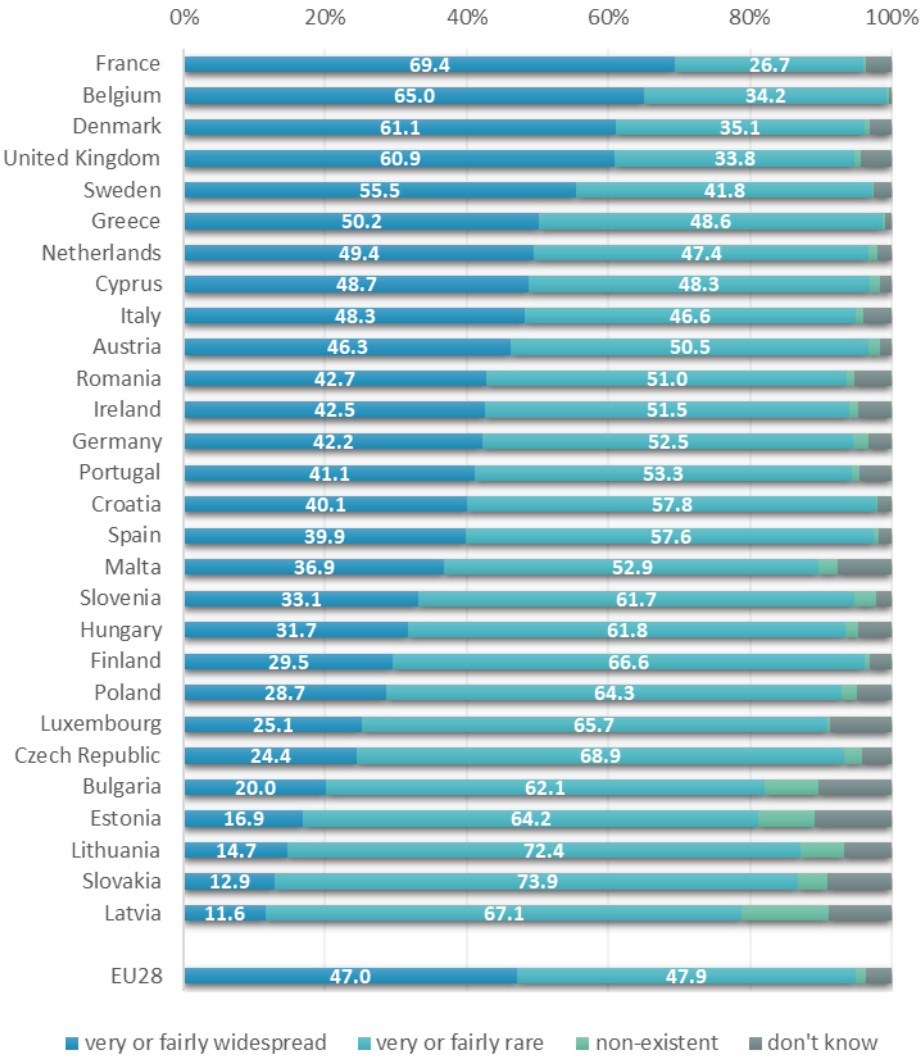


N = 27,438

Note: 'Non-existent' indicates a spontaneous response that was not included in the list of possible answers.
 Source: Eurobarometer 2019

Since, as discussed in the introduction, skin colour and ethnic origin are often associated in people’s minds, the ranking of countries in terms of perceived prevalence of discrimination based on skin colour (see Figure 18) is similar to the ranking based on ethnicity. The percentage of people who thought that discrimination based on race was fairly or very widespread ranged from slightly over 22% in Latvia to over 79% in France. Most countries’ position in the ‘widespread ranking’ based on skin colour did not differ by more than three places from the ranking based on ethnicity. A notable exception was, for example, Denmark, which ranked 5th in the former (with 68% of respondents believing discrimination on ethnic grounds is widespread) and 17th in the latter ranking (with 55% believing discrimination on racial grounds is widespread).

Figure 19. The perception of discrimination due to religion or beliefs by country (2019)



N = 27,438

Note: 'Non-existent' indicates a spontaneous response that was not included in the list of possible answers.
 Source: Eurobarometer 2019

Finally, Figure 19 shows the distribution of responses to the question on perceived discrimination with regard to religion or beliefs as grounds for discrimination, again demonstrating considerable differences between countries. The 'widespread ranking' was topped by France, Belgium, Denmark and the UK, with over 60% of respondents considering discrimination based on religion or beliefs to be widespread, and was closed by Latvia, Slovakia and Lithuania, with no more than 15% of respondents considering it to be widespread. While this share was substantially lower for religion and beliefs than for other grounds when viewed from the EU28 perspective (a difference of more than 10 percentage points), suggesting the relatively lower salience of this ground for discrimination in the eyes of the European public, this was not the case in all countries. For some of them this difference was much greater: over 35 percentage points in Finland and over 20 percentage points in the Netherlands, Portugal and Hungary for the ethnic ground; over 20 percentage points in Finland, Hungary, the Czech Republic, Malta, the Netherlands, Italy and Portugal for the racial ground; and over 30 percentage points in Finland, Hungary, the Czech Republic, Lithuania, Greece and Italy for discrimination due to being Roma. In other countries, this difference was not statistically significant (Romania, Croatia and Lithuania for the ethnic ground; Slovenia and Romania for the racial ground; and Belgium, the

Netherlands, Malta, Denmark, and the UK for discrimination due to being Roma). In Croatia and Denmark, in turn, more people perceived discrimination based on religious grounds to be widespread in their country than on racial grounds.

Next, we present the country rankings based on the percentage of respondents who perceived either of the grounds as a disadvantage during job search (see Figure 20). We see that, again, there were considerable differences between countries. In Lithuania, Romania and Latvia, less than 15% of respondents believed that a job candidate's ethnic origin may be of disadvantage during job search (with Lithuania at the bottom of the ranking with only 10%), whereas in the Netherlands, Finland and Sweden over 50% of respondents thought this could be the case (with the Netherlands at the top of the ranking with 64%). Similarly, the perception that being Roma may be a disadvantage varied widely, with only 23% of respondents in Estonia believing this to be the case and over 50% of respondents in Finland, Greece, Sweden, Slovenia and Hungary believing it to be true (with Finland topping the ranking with 74%). The perception that religion or beliefs may disadvantage a candidate ranged from less than 10% in Hungary, Slovakia and Latvia (with Hungary at the bottom with 8%) to over 50% in the Netherlands and Sweden (with the Netherlands at the top with 58%). Finally, in Romania, Bulgaria, Latvia and Lithuania, less than 20% of respondents thought that skin colour may be disadvantageous when looking for a job (with Romania at the bottom with 15%), while in Finland, the Netherlands, France and Belgium over 50% of people thought so (with Finland at the top with 57%).

Figure 20. Ethnic origin, being Roma, religion or beliefs, and skin colour perceived as a disadvantage for a job candidate by country (2019)

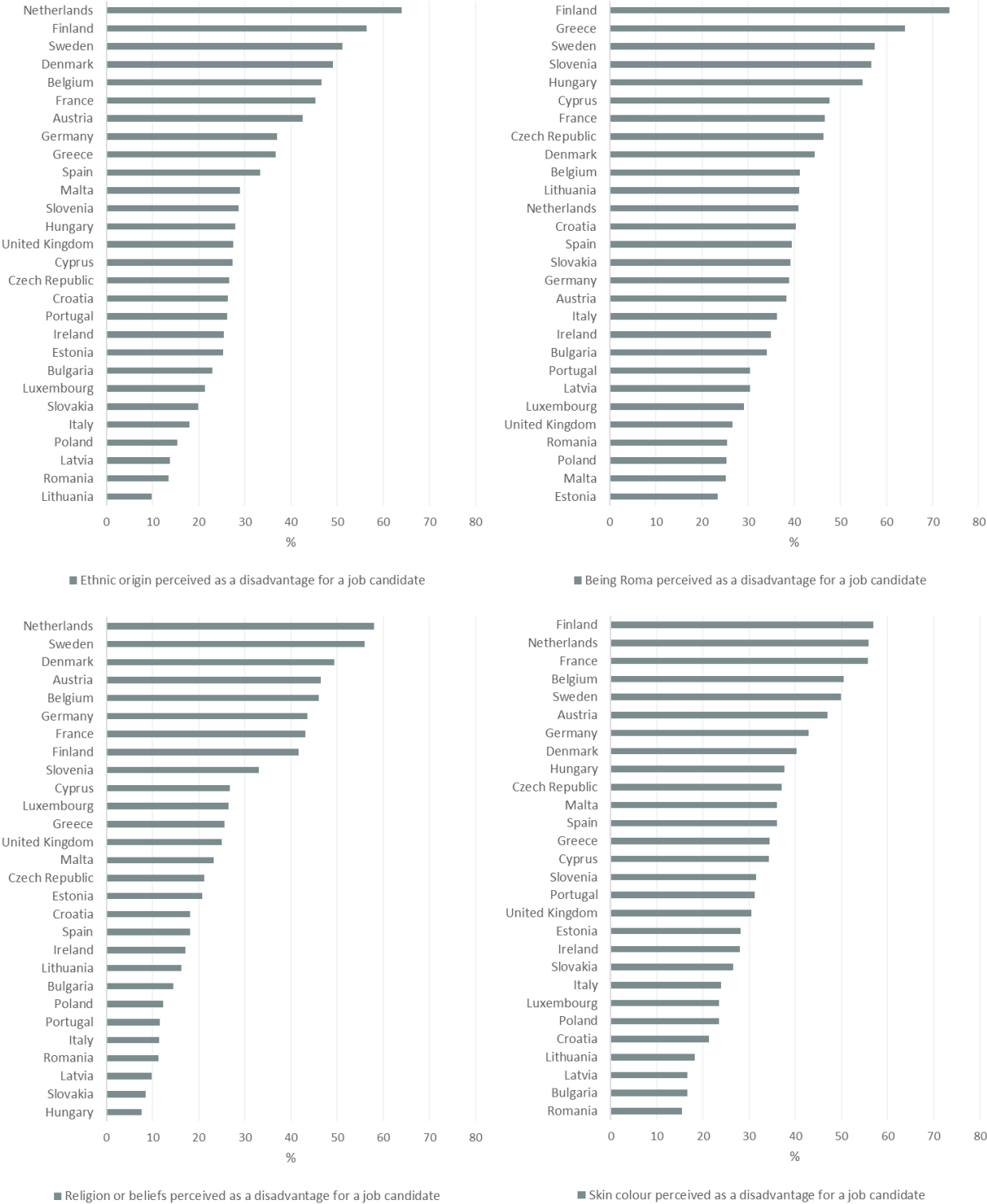


Figure 20 suggests that the distinction between the old and new members states, which was so evident in the general discrimination question (at least in terms of ethnic, racial and religious discrimination), was less apparent in the assessment of discrimination against a job candidate. In the next section, we take a closer look at the old vs. new member states division by demonstrating that this distinction

largely coincided with the statistically emerging clusters of countries and by looking at the averages at the cluster level.

3.2. Old vs. new member states

Although there was some variation in the rankings of member states across the different grounds of discrimination, the general trend was that residents of the old (EU15) member states were more perceptive of discrimination than residents of the new member states (NMS). This was particularly visible in the levels of perceived general discrimination. Of the 10 countries with the highest proportions of respondents perceiving discrimination based on ethnic, racial, and religious grounds¹³ as widespread, at least nine were from the EU15 countries. France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Sweden, Italy, and the United Kingdom topped most of the rankings. In turn, the new member states accounted for at least eight out of the ten countries with the lowest proportion of the population perceiving discrimination as widespread, with Latvia, Slovakia, Lithuania, Bulgaria, Estonia and Poland consistently at the bottom of the ‘widespread rankings’. This general rule did not apply to Luxembourg, which stands out as a notable exception – it was systematically in the group of countries with the lowest proportion of respondents who perceived discrimination as widespread. Given the differences in the perception of discrimination between the old and new member states, it may be informative to look at the respective distributions from this perspective.

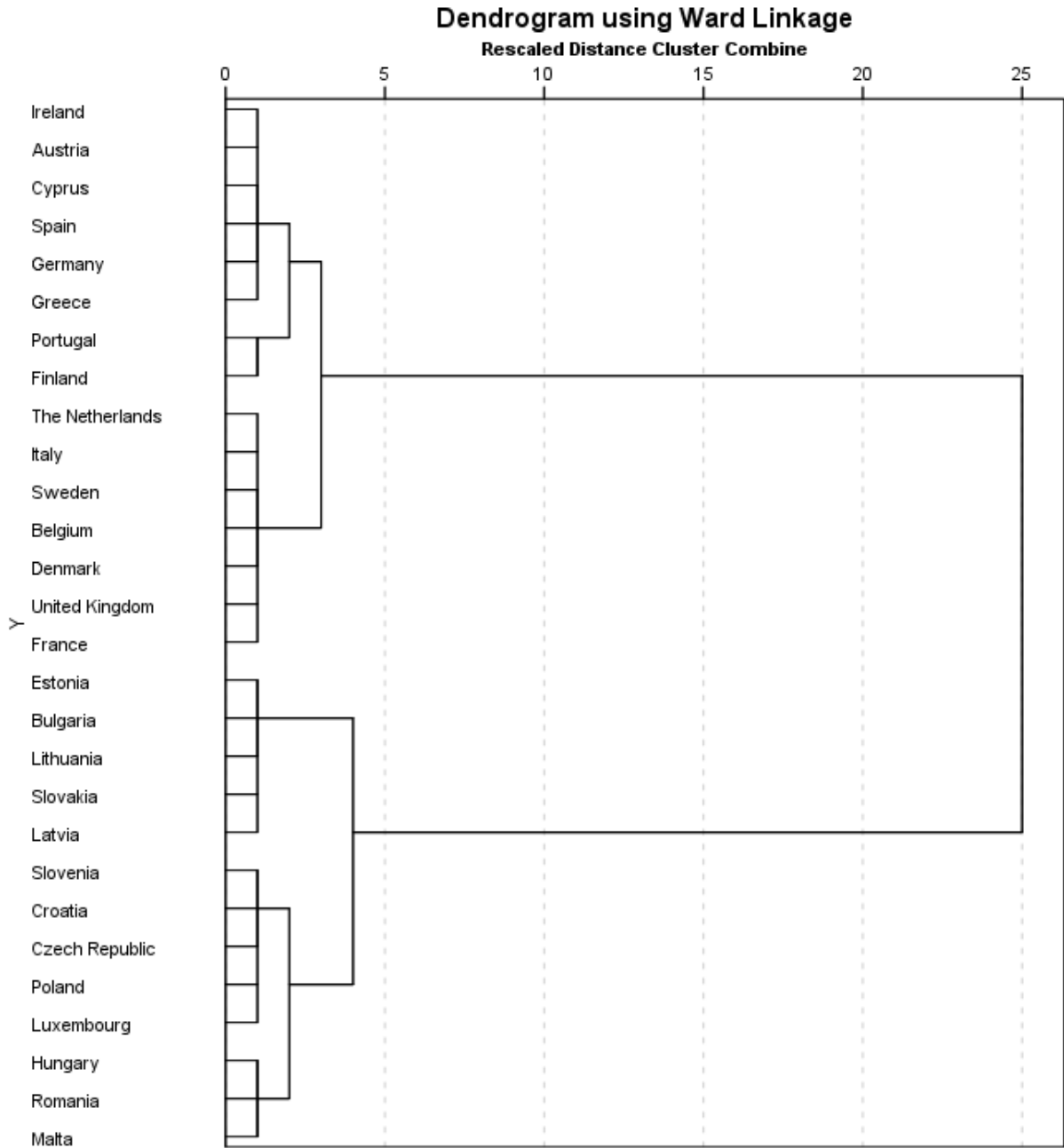
While the categorisation of countries into old and new member states may be considered as ‘political’, it aligns with the clusters emerging from the cluster analysis (Everitt et al. 2011)¹⁴ based on percentages of respective responses (very widespread, fairly widespread, fairly rare, very rare, non-existent and don’t know) for ethnic, racial and religious grounds¹⁵ (see Figure 21). The two clusters that emerged from a hierarchical cluster analysis correspond to the old-new member states division, with the exception of Luxembourg, which belonged to the ‘new member states cluster’, and Cyprus, which ended up in a cluster with the remaining 14 EU15 countries. However, should we look at these statistical clusters instead of the old-new member states groupings, the cluster-level estimates will be similar, given the relatively small population size of these two countries.

¹³ The perception of discrimination due to being Roma did not so clearly follow this pattern.

¹⁴ We used the hierarchical agglomerative clustering using Ward’s procedure with squared Euclidean distance as a measure of dissimilarity and performed the analysis in SPSS.

¹⁵ Please note that we did not include discrimination due to being Roma in our cluster analysis (based on what we observed in Figure 17).

Figure 21. Dendrogram visualising clustering hierarchy of EU28 countries based on the responses to the general discrimination question on discrimination based on ethnic, racial and religious grounds (2019)



Source: produced in SPSS based on 2019 Eurobarometer

Table 1 presents the distribution of responses on the perceived prevalence of discrimination by ground. It also shows the share of respondents who considered each ground as a criterion that may put a job candidate at a disadvantage during job search. The table includes data for the whole EU28 as well as separately for the two country groups: EU15 and NMS.

Table 1. The perception of discrimination by ground and group of countries (2019)

	Perception of discrimination				Disadvantage for a job candidate
	very or fairly widespread	very or fairly rare	non-existent	don't know	
ethnic origin					
EU28	58.6	35.5	1.3	4.6	31.9
EU15	64.3	30.7	1.0	4.0	35.4
NMS	37.1	53.5	2.5	6.9	18.9
being Roma					
EU28	61.6	28.9	1.5	8.0	38.2
EU15	64.7	25.2	1.4	8.8	39.5
NMS	50.0	42.7	1.9	5.4	33.5
skin colour					
EU28	59.6	36.0	1.1	3.4	36.5
EU15	64.7	31.8	0.7	2.8	39.8
NMS	40.4	51.6	2.5	5.6	24.3
religion of beliefs					
EU28	47.0	47.9	1.4	3.7	28.2
EU15	51.7	44.0	1.1	3.2	32.2
NMS	29.6	62.2	2.8	5.4	13.5

Note: 'Non-existent' indicates a spontaneous response that was not included in the list of possible answers.

Source: Eurobarometer 2019

Table 1 confirms that residents of the old member states were more perceptive of general discrimination than residents of the new member states, regardless of the ground. The data also indicates that the gap between the two groups of countries was greater for perceived discrimination based on ethnic origin, skin colour, and religion or beliefs than discrimination due to being Roma. In these three cases, there was a difference of over 27, 24 and 22 percentage point respectively in the share of population that considered discrimination based on these grounds to be widespread. In contrast, the difference did not exceed 15 percentage points in the case of perceived discrimination due to being Roma. The gap for the share of respondents who identified ethnicity, skin colour and religion or beliefs as criteria that could put a job candidate at a disadvantage amounted to almost 17, 16, 19 percentage points respectively, while for being Roma, it was less than 7 percentage points.

Given the considerable differences between the old and new member states in terms of the levels of perceived discrimination, there may also be substantial differences in the underlying processes between the two groups. Therefore, in the next sections, we will highlight the differences between the two groups, while presenting the results of our analyses.

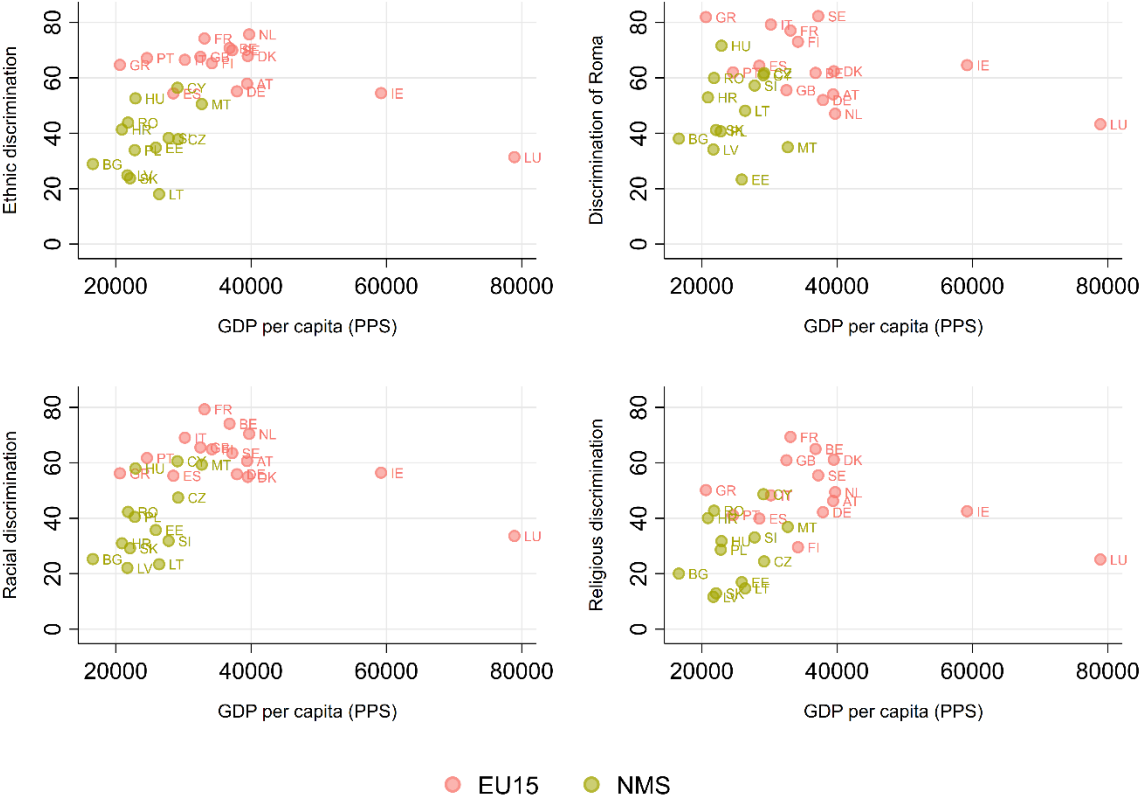
4. The role of socio-economic context (Katarzyna Saczuk, Zuzanna Brunarska)

The preceding section demonstrated considerable inter-country differences in the perception of prevalence of discrimination based on ethnic, racial and religious grounds in the European Union. The upcoming sections shed light on the potential underlying factors behind those differences in perceptions between EU member states. To this end, we first look at the bivariate associations between the selected country-level variables and aggregate levels of perceived discrimination. Next, we use multivariate models, which adjust for a number of socio-demographic and economic variables simultaneously, to account for potential confounding. As we demonstrated in the previous sections that there were significant differences in the perception of discrimination between the old and the new member states, we highlight the country's membership to either old or new members states' cluster in the scatter plots (this section) and estimated separate models for the two groups of countries atop of the EU28 models (next section). Most of the comparisons and models were based on 2019 Eurobarometer data. To be able to include witnessing discrimination among the potential predictors, in some cases we reached for 2012 data. Since Croatia was not yet surveyed in 2012, the estimates based on 2012 data refer to the EU27.

We start investigating the country-level associations between selected contextual factors and the perception of the prevalence of discrimination by exploring the link between the perception of discrimination and country's economic prosperity. Figure 22 plots 2019 GDP per capita (PPS¹⁶) against the proportion of respondents in the 2019 Eurobarometer survey who believed discrimination on the analysed ground was widespread. It demonstrates a moderate positive relationship between the two variables as regards discrimination based on ethnic ($r=0.66$, $p<0.001$), racial ($r=0.68$, $p<0.001$) and religious ($r=0.59$, $p=0.001$) grounds. The old member states exhibited higher levels of perceived discrimination regardless of the ground and, on average, higher levels of GDP per capita than the new member states (Ireland and Luxembourg stood out as outliers with the highest levels of GDP per capita but relatively low levels of perceived discrimination). While this might suggest that populations of wealthier countries may be more sensitive to the issue of discrimination, this effect may be due to other contextual factors which are related both to economic prosperity and the perception of discrimination in the surveyed group of countries. The correlation between GDP per capita and the perception of discrimination against Roma was not statistically significant, suggesting that GDP per capita did not predict perceived discrimination against this group, which likely depends on other factors (e.g. the presence of Roma minority in a country, policies and practices targeted at them, including residential and educational segregation leading to further disadvantages in other spheres, through the mechanism of side-effect discrimination, Feagin and Eckberg 1980; Wrench 2015).

¹⁶ Purchasing power standards

Figure 22. GDP per capita and the perception of discrimination in the EU – bivariate correlation at the country level (2019)

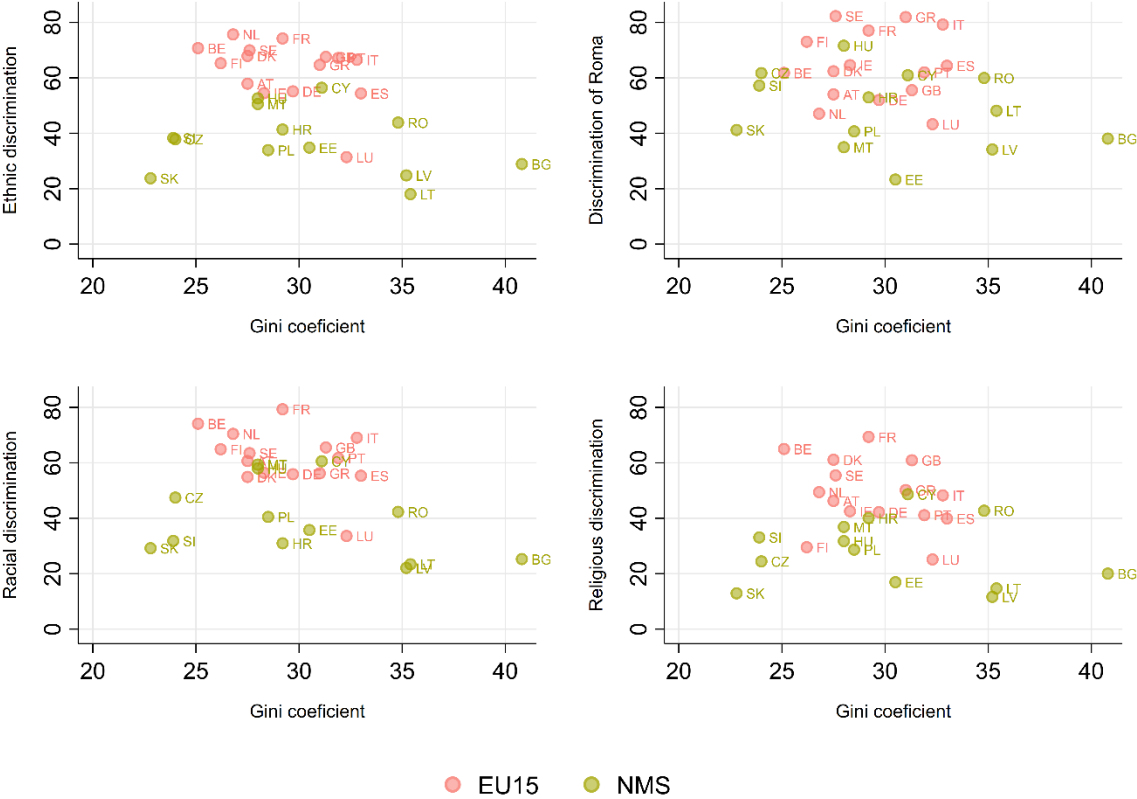


Actually, within the cluster of old member states, the data revealed a negative correlation between GDP per capita and perceived prevalence of discrimination ($r=-0.72$, $p=0.003$ for ethnic; $r=-0.61$, $p=0.016$ for racial and $r=-0.54$, $p=0.036$ for discrimination against Roma)¹⁷. This negative relationship is however largely driven by Ireland and Luxembourg (their exclusion renders the respective correlations non-significant). For the new member states, in turn, only racial discrimination showed a significant, though moderate, positive correlation with GDP per capita ($r=0.58$, $p=0.039$).

Figure 23 presents the association between income inequality (measured by the Gini coefficient) and the proportion of respondents who perceived discrimination based on each of the four analysed grounds as widespread. The scatter plots did not show a significant association between income inequality and perceived discrimination on either ground (the correlation was weakly negative and statistically non-significant for all grounds). This observation held both for the old and new member states.

¹⁷ The correlation between GDP per capita (PPS) and the perception of discrimination on religious grounds was weak ($r=-0.42$) and statistically not significant.

Figure 23. Income inequality and the perception of discrimination in the EU – bivariate correlation at the country level (2019)



Finally, Figure 24 shows the relationship between unemployment levels and perceived discrimination in the EU in 2019. We do not see any clear correlation between the two variables for any ground either. We found only a moderate correlation between the unemployment rate and perceptions of discrimination against Roma ($r=0.48$, $p=0.009$). Correlation between unemployment levels and perception of the prevalence of discrimination based on other grounds was weak and statistically non-significant (both with and without Spain and Greece as the clear outliers, and both for the EU as a whole and for the old and new member states).

As we argued before, the perception of the prevalence of discrimination is likely influenced by the exposure to information on discriminatory acts and practices. The latter may be of importance both when considered at the individual and contextual level. This includes witnessing or hearing about discrimination or harassment. Figure 25 explores this connection on the contextual level. The left panel plots witnessing or hearing about discrimination or harassment against the perception of ethnic discrimination. The right panel does the same for religious discrimination.¹⁸

¹⁸ The 2012 Eurobarometer only involved ethnic origin and religion or beliefs from among the four grounds analysed.

Figure 24. Unemployment rate and the perception of discrimination in the EU – bivariate correlation at the country level (2019)

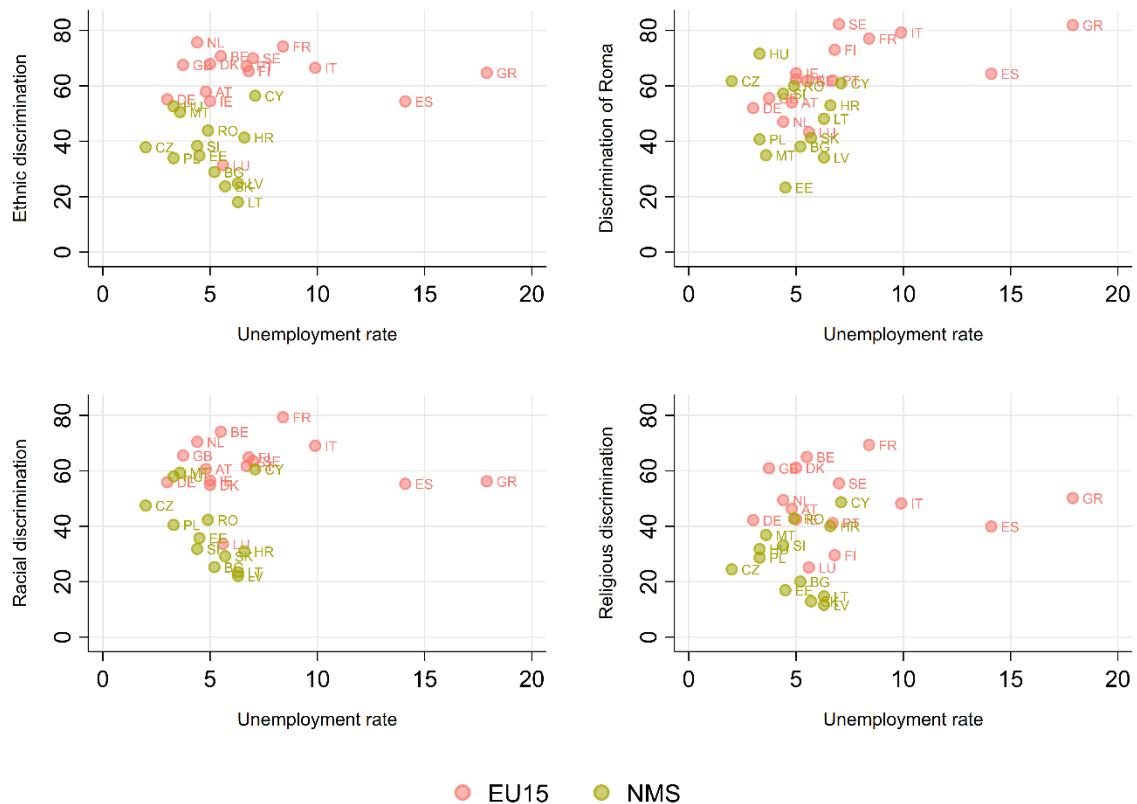
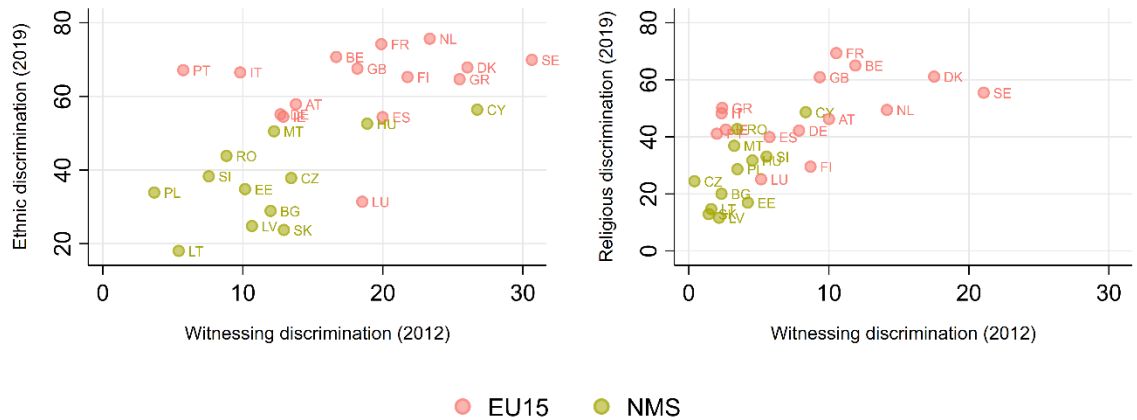


Figure 25. Witnessing or hearing of discrimination or harassment and the perception of the prevalence of discrimination in the EU – bivariate correlation at the country level (2012 & 2019)



Since witnessing and hearing of discrimination or harassment was not measured in the 2019 Eurobarometer survey, we use the 2012 estimates as a proxy. The figure reveals a moderate positive correlation between witnessing or hearing about discrimination or harassment and perceived discrimination for both ethnic and religious grounds ($r=0.58$, $p=0.001$ and $r=0.66$, $p<0.001$, respectively)¹⁹. In other words, countries with higher rates of people witnessing or hearing about

¹⁹ The correlation was weaker than the correlation between the two variables measured in 2012 ($r=0.83$, $p<0.001$ for ethnic and $r=0.80$, $p<0.001$ for religious discrimination). This suggests that while aggregate levels of witnessing discrimination offer valuable context for the analysis based on 2012 data, it may prove less relevant

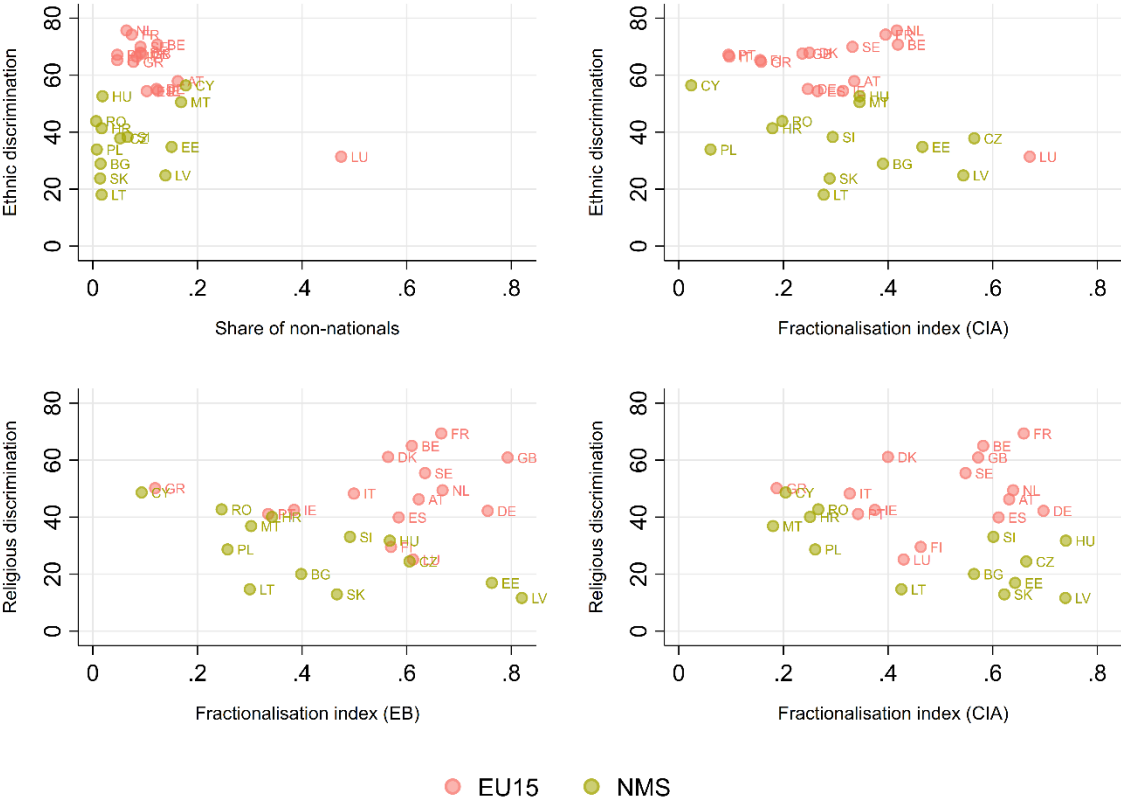
discrimination or harassment also showed higher levels of perceived discrimination. This pattern held both for the EU as a whole as well as for the old and the new members states' clusters. This may be just the aggregate effect (driven by the respective relationships on an individual level) but we want to test later on if contextual levels of witnessing or hearing of discrimination or harassment matter over and above witnessing or hearing of discrimination or harassment on an individual level. We again see the clear division into the old and new member states, with residents of the old member states (EU15) reporting both higher levels of perceived discrimination and of witnessing discrimination than the new member states. Witnessing or hearing about discrimination or harassment based on religion or beliefs was significantly less common in the new than the old member states, with most new member states reporting rates below 6% (Cyprus constituted an exception, with a slightly higher rate of 8%). EU15 countries displayed a wider range, varying from around 2% in Portugal, Greece, Italy, and Ireland to 21% in Sweden.

Another – albeit less direct – measure of exposure to discriminatory acts and practices other than witnessing or hearing of discrimination or harassment, which may be related to the perception of discrimination, is the very presence of minorities in a society. Unfortunately, there is no reliable data on ethnic, racial and religious diversity that would be consistent and available for all EU28 countries. As proxies, we used the share of non-nationals in EU member states in 2019 according to Eurostat, as well as the ethnic fractionalisation index (Alesina et al. 2003) calculated on the basis of data from the CIA World Factbook for ethnic discrimination, and the religious fractionalisation index based on the CIA World Factbook²⁰ data and on 2019 Eurobarometer data for religious discrimination. We have not found reliable data that would enable us to measure racial diversity or the presence of Roma minority in EU countries and hence we focus on perceived discrimination on ethnic and religious grounds in the remainder of this section. Figure 26 plots the four measures of ethnic and racial diversity against the share of Eurobarometer 2019 respondents who perceived discrimination on the respective grounds as widespread.

for the 2019 data. However, in the absence of other data, we will estimate the corresponding multivariate model based on the combination of 2012 and 2019 data.

²⁰ Data on the structure of the population by ethnicity (www.cia.gov/the-world-factbook/field/ethnic-groups) and religion (www.cia.gov/the-world-factbook/field/religions) from the CIA World Factbook came from different years – mostly from 2021-2022 and 2011. For countries for which no data were available, we complemented the CIA data with data from other sources (Encyclopedia Britannica).

Figure 26. Population heterogeneity and perceived discrimination in the EU – bivariate correlation at the country level (2019)



The picture does not lend itself to an easy interpretation. In particular, drawing meaningful conclusions on the relationship between ethnic diversity as proxied by the share of non-nationals and perceived discrimination based on ethnic grounds seems difficult. The respective scatter plot does not show a significant association between the two variables. Luxembourg stands out as a clear outlier with the highest share of non-nationals and relatively low perception of ethnic discrimination. Apart from it, the old member states generally showed higher perceived discrimination and non-citizens levels than most of the new member states (apart from Cyprus and Malta, and Latvia and Estonia). For the old members states, the relationship between the share of non-nationals and perceived ethnic discrimination was negative ($r=-0.86$, $p<0.001$; $r=-0.56$, $p=0.037$ without Luxembourg). Estonia and Latvia constitute specific cases as a considerable share of non-nationals in these states are ethnic Russians who had not been granted citizenship automatically after the dissolution of the USSR (Aasland and Fløtten 2001), and are either stateless, holders of non-citizens passports or have acquired Russian citizenship, and who – due to historical and political reasons – are unlikely to be perceived as discriminated against by the Latvian and Estonian majorities, respectively. This distinguishes these countries from the Western European states in which most of non-nationals are relatively fresh immigrants. This also links to an important limitation of the share of non-nationals as a proxy for ethnic diversity – the fact that it does not capture the long-standing diversity stemming from the historical coexistence of established ethnic groups (Koopmans, Lancee, and Schaeffer 2015; Bessudnov and Shcherbak 2020; Brunarska and Toruńczyk-Ruiz 2023).

The ethnic fractionalisation index sounds like a better measure in this regard (as it covered also ‘indigenous’ minorities), but there was not any clear pattern in the relationship between its levels and perceived ethnic discrimination across Europe either. The overall correlation between the two

variables was small ($r=-0.29$, $p=0.136$) and statistically non-significant. The correlation was also not statistically significant for both the old and new member states when viewed separately.

The religious fractionalisation index based on Eurobarometer data correlated strongly with the one based on CIA data ($r=0.83$, $p<0.001$). Neither of them displayed a significant correlation with the perception of discrimination based on religion or beliefs. Interestingly, when one looks at the two country clusters separately, a different pattern emerged. The new member states noted a moderate negative correlation between the perception of religious discrimination being widespread and either of the religious fractionalisation indices (the correlation coefficient was -0.66 , $p=0.014$, for the Eurobarometer aggregate and -0.69 , $p=0.009$, for the index based on CIA data). This pattern is counter to the theoretical expectations, which would predict greater population diversity leading to more frequent intergroup contacts, which should bring higher levels of perceived discrimination. This pattern was not observed in the EU15 countries, where the correlation remained weak ($r=0.19$, $p=0.503$ and $r=0.23$, $p=0.405$ respectively) and statistically non-significant. The pattern of results may again be attributed to the different nature of ethnic diversity in the old and new members states, with mostly old member states seeing immigrant-driven diversity.

Overall, the scatterplots displaying the relation between perceived discrimination and various country-level characteristics showed limited associations. However, these bivariate relationships do not account for compositional differences across the countries studied, nor for the role of individual characteristics. This calls for the use of multilevel modelling, which allows accounting both for individual and country-level differences (see the next sections).

5. Determinants of perceived discrimination – a multivariate approach (Katarzyna Saczuk, Zuzanna Brunarska)

We conclude our analyses with running multivariate regression models, in which we include a number of different independent variables – measuring various characteristics of individuals and the context (in multilevel models) – simultaneously. We estimated our models on weighted data, which take into account both the structure of the population by age, gender and place of residence (NUTS2 level and locality type) in each country, and the relative population size of the countries. This approach ensured that larger countries had a greater impact on the estimations than smaller countries, accurately reflecting the EU/new/old member states averages. In multilevel models, we applied the same weights at the individual level and the EU population share of each country as the country weights.

Responses to the general question on discrimination based on ethnic grounds were given on a 4-point scale, where 1 stood for 'very widespread' and 4 for 'very rare', with an additional 'non-existent' answer provided spontaneously by the respondent, which we treated as a fifth level of our dependent variable. We recoded the replies so that higher values corresponded to stronger beliefs that discrimination is widespread in the respondent's country of residence. We used ordinary least squares (OLS) regression with these data.

Our baseline models included independent variables that we considered and that have been considered as potential predictors of the majority members' perception of discrimination in previous studies (e.g. Valentino and Brader 2011; Jordan, Lajevardi, and Waller 2022; Kende et al. 2023; Müller et al. 2023): gender, age (in decades), education (in decades)²¹, subjective wealth (expressed as

²¹ We decided to measure age and education in decades for presentation reasons (we display our regression results in coefplots).

difficulty paying bills), life satisfaction, type of community (village, town, city), political orientation on a left-right scale²², contact with ethnic outgroup members (measured as having ethnic outgroup members among friends and acquaintances), and economic activity (0=economically inactive, 1=employed or unemployed). Additionally, since we run our models on the nationwide samples, we controlled for whether a respondent belonged to a minority group. To account for observed and unobserved country-level influences, we either included country-fixed effects or run multilevel models with individuals clustered in countries. In multilevel models, we also included several country-level variables – GDP per capita (PPS), Gini coefficient, unemployment rate, share of non-nationals²³, fractionalisation indices and the percent of population who witnessed or heard of discrimination or harassment (the 2012 Eurobarometer aggregate) – capturing the socio-economic situation in the country and the exposure to information on discrimination. The full model specifications can be found in Appendix A. Statistical annex.

5.1. Discrimination based on ethnic origin (Katarzyna Saczuk, Zuzanna Brunarska)

Figure 27 presents the estimates of the OLS models regressing the perception of ethnic discrimination on our baseline set of potential predictors. It shows that in 2019 at the EU level, ethnic discrimination was considered to be more widespread among women than among men with similar characteristics. It also demonstrates that, in line with our expectations and previous studies (e.g. Jordan, Lajevardi, and Waller 2022; Carter et al. 2019; Mo and Conn 2018), people who had friends or acquaintances whose ethnic origin was different from theirs perceive ethnic discrimination as more widespread than those who did not have ethnic outgroup members among their friends or acquaintances, all else held constant. Discrimination was also perceived as more widespread among people with more years of education (potentially due to greater awareness of the existing inequalities), and among those experiencing financial difficulties than among those not facing hardships in making ends meet. Moreover, at the EU level, residents of big cities proved to be more perceptive of ethnic discrimination than comparable residents of villages – as we expected, given that usually more ethnically diverse, more urbanized areas provide more opportunities for inter-ethnic contact. Residents of towns did not differ, however, from comparable residents of villages. Moreover, perceived discrimination proved to be negatively associated with age (i.e. the older a person, the less perceptive of ethnic discrimination), which may be linked to the generally more conservative world view among older people (cf. Peterson, Smith, and Hibbing 2020), making them more likely to want to maintain the status quo and deny the existence of discrimination. It has to be noted, however, that this observation is made while controlling for the respondent's political orientation. The estimate for the latter is in line with the conservatism-status quo-denialism argument and the observation that the Left do not accept inequality (Lindqvist 2024) – those who position themselves as more right-wing were less perceptive of discrimination. Moreover, the more satisfied with life a person, the less perceptive of discrimination. This, along with the positive association for financial difficulties, suggest that people who were worse off were more perceptive of ethnic discrimination, which may be linked to perspective-taking (Todd, Bodenhausen, and Galinsky 2012) and may indicate the existence of intergroup solidarity (cf. Verkuyten and

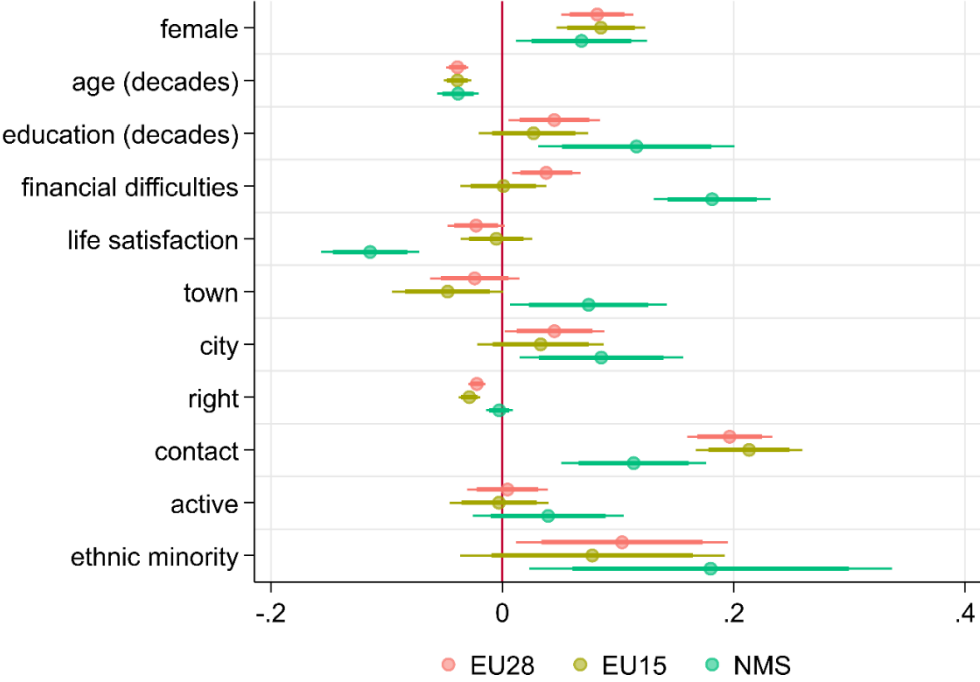
²² Inclusion of political orientation considerably reduced the sample size (by 17%) due to the high non-response rate to the political orientation question. Nevertheless, we decided to keep it in the model, as we expected it to be an important predictor of perceived discrimination. Importantly, we have tested the models without this variable and found that its inclusion changed the full-sample estimates for the remaining variables only marginally.

²³ Country level data on GDP per capita (PPS), Gini coefficient, unemployment rate and the share of non-nationals were extracted from the Eurostat online database (accessed on Feb 5, 2024). More detailed information on these data can be found in Appendix B. Methodological issues.

Martinovic 2015; Subašić, Reynolds, and Turner 2008). Labour market participation, meanwhile, did not emerge as a significant predictor. These findings are generally consistent with the findings in the previous sections.

Moreover, ethnic minority members who are more likely to become targets of discrimination reported a higher prevalence of ethnic discrimination, all else held constant.²⁴

Figure 27. The perception of ethnic discrimination, OLS estimates (2019)



Note: Weighted data. Minority status controlled for. Country-fixed effects included. Lines stand for 95% and 99% confidence intervals. For complete econometric output, see Table A. 5. Figure prepared with the use of Stata `coefplot` command (Jann 2014).

Importantly, the figure shows that the estimates for some predictors differ considerably between the old and the new member states, a trend that we already signalled in the previous sections. Surprisingly, education, financial difficulties, and living in a city as compared to village were positively associated with beliefs in discrimination in the new member states only, while they were all not significant in the old member states. Similarly, life satisfaction was negatively associated with perceived discrimination only in the new member states. While residents of small towns did not differ from residents of villages at the EU28 level, they turned out to be more perceptive of ethnic discrimination than the villagers in the new member states but less perceptive than the villagers in the old member states, all else held constant. Right-wing political orientation, in turn, proved to be a negative predictor of beliefs about discrimination only in the old member states, which might be linked to the lower relevance of the left–right political orientation scale for the new member states (Leykin and Gorodzeisky 2024) and left being not necessarily most perceptive of inequality in these countries (cf. Lindqvist 2024). Surprisingly, ethnic minority status was not positively related to perceived ethnic discrimination in the EU15 countries. The differences between the two groups of countries point to the potential role of

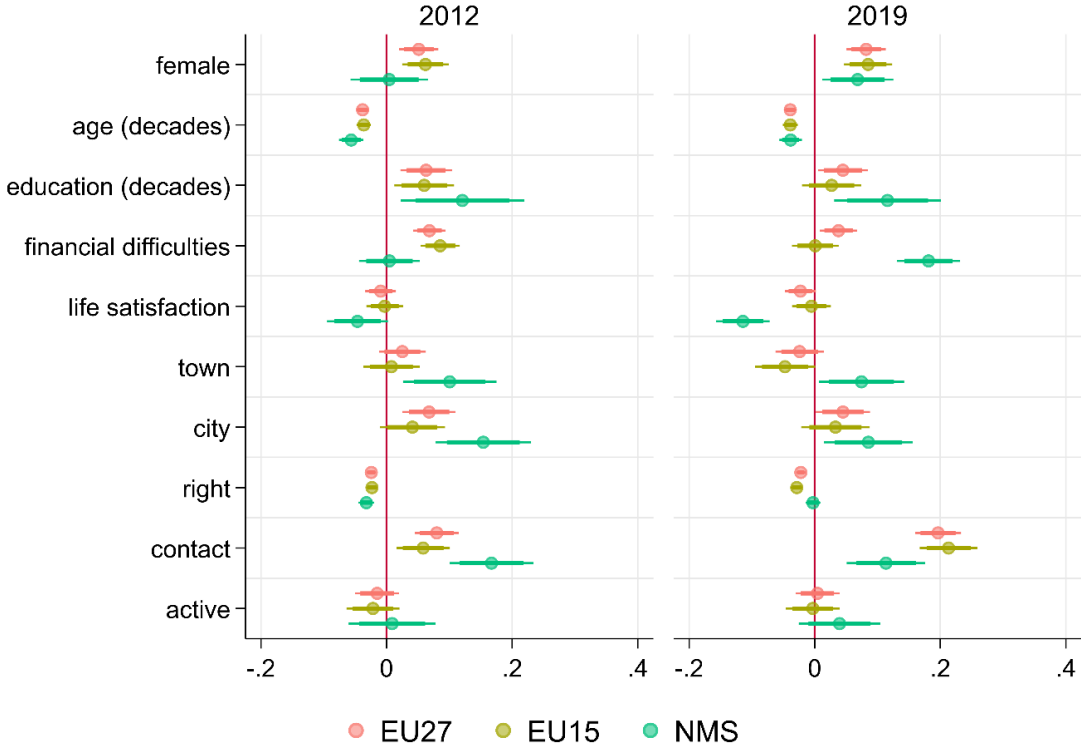
²⁴ We controlled for minority status in all models. However, the limited number of minority members in the sample resulted in wide confidence intervals (see Figure 27), which limited visibility of other estimates and led us to exclude this variable from subsequent figures (though retaining it in the models).

contextual, country-level factors, some of which we will try to account for towards the end of this section.

First, however, we want to additionally include in our models a measure of whether respondents had witnessed or heard of discrimination or harassment based on ethnic grounds. Since it was only included in the 2012 data, we first estimated a baseline model for this dataset and compared it with our previous model, yet run on a comparable sample (i.e. excluding Croatia; see Figure 28). Although the overall picture looked similar, there were some notable differences between the 2012 and 2019 baseline models.

In 2012, gender was not a significant predictor of the perception of ethnic discrimination in the new member states, while in 2019 women in these countries proved more perceptive of ethnic discrimination, similarly as their counterparts in the old member states. Education was not significant in the EU15 countries in 2019, while it was positively related to perceived ethnic discrimination, similarly as in the new member states, in 2012. Financial difficulties, which were found to be positively related to perceived discrimination in the new member states and were not significant in the old member states in 2019, in 2012 were positively related to the perception of discrimination in the old member states and were not significant in the new member states. This may sound like a surprising result, suggesting that the effect of subjective wealth on the perception of discrimination may be dependent on the overall economic situation or the situation the others face (e.g. that it may work differently depending on how others cope, which may link to the mechanism of relative deprivation).

Figure 28. Determinants of the perception of ethnic discrimination, OLS estimates (2012, 2019)

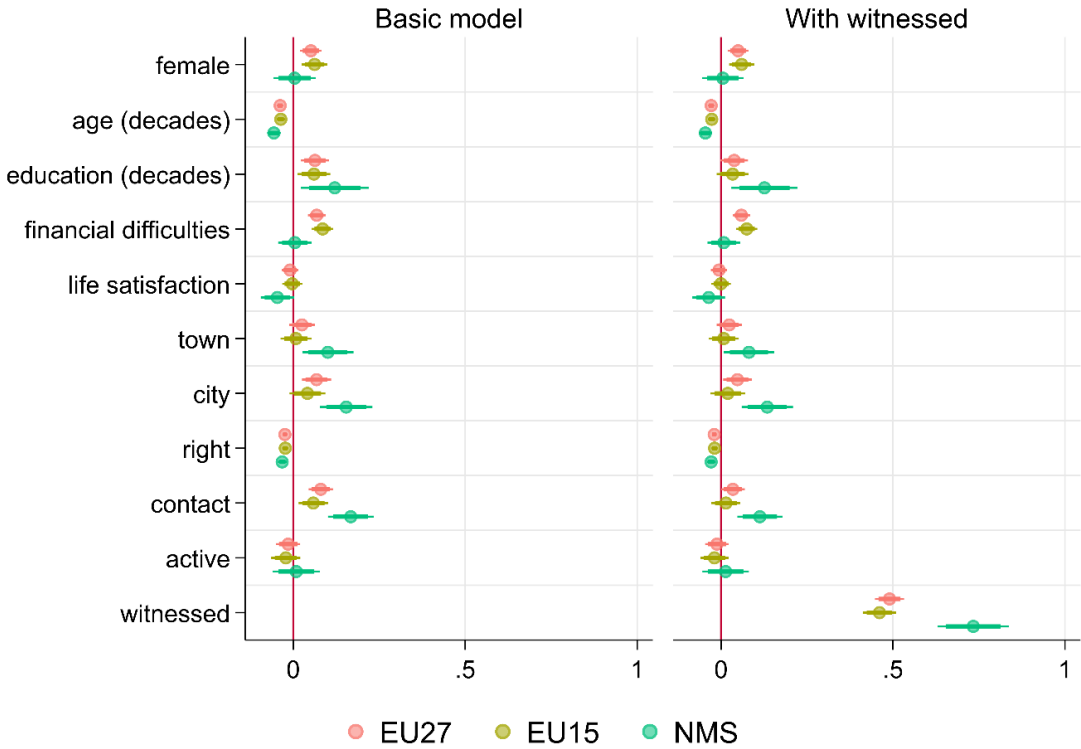


Note: Weighted data. Minority status controlled for. Country-fixed effects included. Lines stand for 95% and 99% confidence intervals. For complete econometric output, see Table A. 5. and Table A. 6. Figure prepared with the use of Stata coefplot command (Jann 2014).

Furthermore, while being more right-wing was non-significant in the new member states in 2019, in 2012 the more right-wing their residents were, the less perceptive of ethnic discrimination, similarly to the residents of the old member states. This undermines our previous explanation provided for the non-significant coefficient and is in line with Lindqvist’s (2024) findings, who showed that acceptance of inequality is related to left-right political orientation in both Eastern and Western Europe. Finally, in 2019, outgroup contact was a stronger predictor of the perception of discrimination in the old than the new member states, while in 2012 it was the other way round. This difference seems to be due to outgroup contact becoming a stronger predictor of perceived ethnic discrimination in the old member states in 2019 as compared to 2012 (the coefficient for the new member states has not changed that much). This could be because discrimination became more salient in the public discourse in EU15 (and consequently e.g. became subject of daily conversations between minority and majority members). Overall, despite the changes in the magnitude and statistical significance of the estimates, the overall valence of the effects was rather stable.

Figure 29 compares our previous, baseline 2012 model, with a model that accounts for witnessing or hearing of discrimination or harassment based on ethnic grounds. The results suggest that witnessing or hearing of specific incidents is much more important for the perception of discrimination than having ethnic outgroup members among friends or acquaintances. When accounting for witnessing or hearing of discrimination or harassment, the effect of personal contact with outgroup members becomes smaller (statistically non-significant in the old member states). It could be that those with outgroup contact hear about discrimination from their ethnically different friends and hence inclusion of the witnessed variable reduces the effect of contact. The results for the remaining variables were largely unchanged.

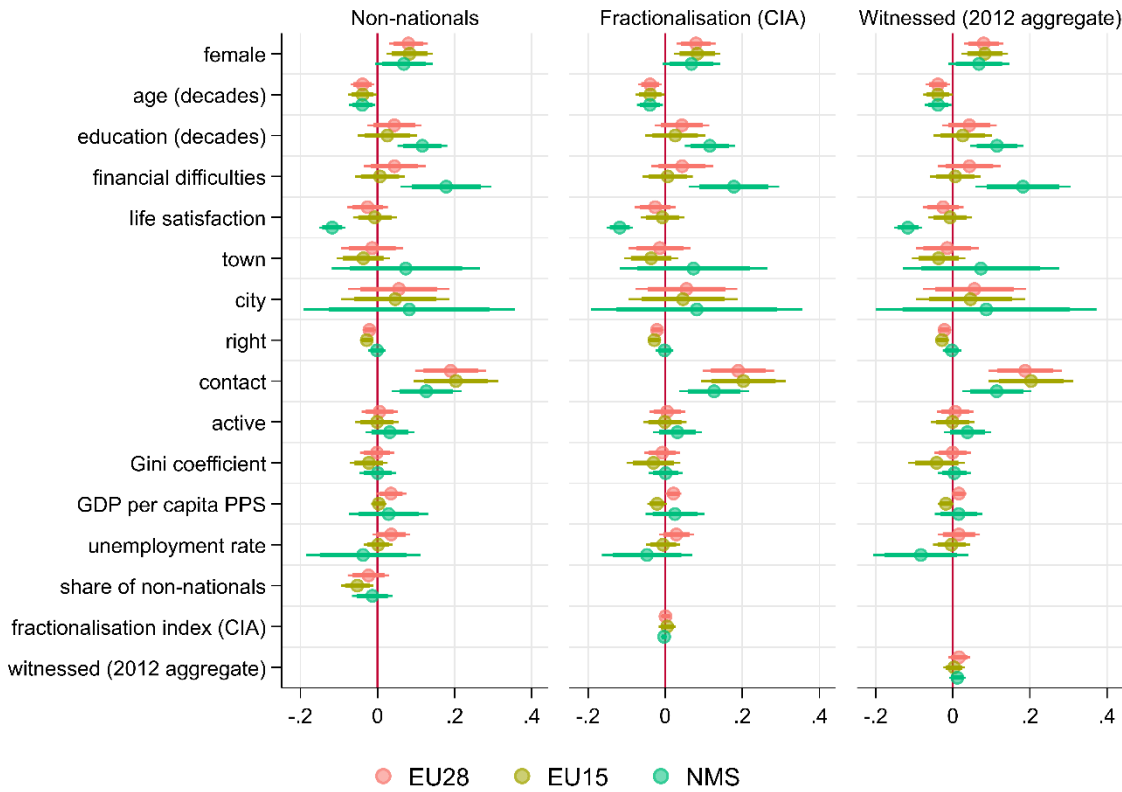
Figure 29. Perception of ethnic discrimination and witnessing or hearing of discrimination or harassment, OLS estimates (2012)



Note: Weighted data. Minority status controlled for. Country-fixed effects included. Lines stand for 95 and 99 percent confidence intervals. For complete econometric output, see Table A. 6. Figure prepared with the use of Stata coefplot command (Jann 2014).

We next estimated multilevel models, which enabled us to additionally account for country-level characteristics, namely: income inequality (measured by the Gini coefficient), GDP per capita (PPS), and the unemployment rate, which captured the economic aspects, and exposure to information on discriminatory acts and practices. The latter was measured with the percentage of people who had witnessed or heard of discrimination or harassment (a Eurobarometer data aggregate from 2012) or the presence of minorities in a society: the proportion of non-nationals in a country’s population according to the Eurostat and ethnic fractionalisation index based on CIA data. While we again estimated separate models for the EU as a whole and for the old and new member states, the reliability of the estimates from multilevel models for the two groups of countries may be limited by the low number of observations at the second, country level (a rule of thumb is to have at least 20-30 clusters at the higher level).

Figure 30. The perception of ethnic discrimination and country-level characteristics, multilevel OLS models (2019)



Note: Weighted data. Minority status controlled for. Lines stand for 95 and 99 percent confidence intervals. For complete econometric output, see Table A. 7. Figure prepared with the use of Stata `coefplot` command (Jann 2014).

Figure 30 shows that the inclusion of country-level variables did not change the associations between the belief in the prevalence of discrimination and individual-level characteristics as compared to the OLS models with country dummies much. The most notable difference was that, when contextual variables were included, the size of locality no longer mattered.

Of all the country-level variables capturing the socio-economic situation in the country, only GDP per capita (PPS) proved to be (negatively) related to the perception of ethnic discrimination – at the EU level and in the old member states, but only in the models with the ethnic fractionalisation index and the witnessed 2012 aggregate. The proportion of non-nationals in the country’s population was negatively related to the perception of ethnic discrimination in the pooled EU28 sample, i.e. the higher

the proportion of non-nationals, the less perceptive a respondent of ethnic discrimination, all other things being equal. This is a surprising result, since one would theoretically expect higher share of non-nationals to make majority members more exposed to incidence of discrimination or information regarding them and consequently more perceptive of discrimination. It may be that people perceive minority members as less marginalised and less discriminated against when minorities constitute a larger share of the society, since, in line with theories of group threat and conflict theory, the presence of an outgroup affects perceived competition between groups and triggers group threat (Blumer 1958; Blalock 1967). The models for the two country clusters suggest that the EU28 estimate was driven by the old member states (it was not significant in new member states). The central panel shows that ethnic diversity (measured by the ethnic fractionalisation index) was a non-significant predictor of the perception of the prevalence of ethnic discrimination, both in the old and new member states. This may be because members of old diasporas (indigenous minorities, Koopmans, Lancee, and Schaeffer 2015) are less likely to be perceived as being discriminated against but it may also be due to the relatively low quality of the CIA data we used (e.g. in some countries data represented population by country of birth, in others – by citizenship; in some countries only data for several aggregated categories were available). Finally, the right-hand panel shows that the country-level share of people who declared having witnessed or heard of discrimination or harassment due to ethnic origin is not significantly related to the perception of ethnic discrimination, suggesting that it is the direct, personal rather than the indirect, societal exposure that matters²⁵.

5.2. Discrimination due to being Roma (Katarzyna Saczuk)

Our estimates of OLS baseline model of perceived discrimination against Roma, depicted in Figure 31, reveals patterns generally consistent with the findings for broader ethnic discrimination. However, some variations exist in the association between perceived discrimination and specific predictors across different model specifications.

Women consistently reported higher levels of perceived discrimination compared to men with similar characteristics. This perception was also more common among individuals with more education, those facing financial difficulties, and urban residents compared to their rural counterparts. Additionally, individuals who reported contact with Roma and those with left-wing political orientations (consistent with previous findings on ethnic discrimination) were more likely to perceive discrimination. Interestingly, labour market participation was positively associated with perceiving discrimination against Roma. This means employed and unemployed individuals were more likely to report it compared to those outside the workforce, holding all else constant.

Life satisfaction showed a contrasting relationship with perceived discrimination against Roma compared to broader ethnic discrimination. Here, higher life satisfaction was associated with a higher perception of discrimination against Roma (and lower of ethnic discrimination). This suggests that greater life satisfaction might decrease overall sensitivity to ethnic inequality issues, but increase sensitivity specifically to discrimination against Roma. Finally, neither age nor being Roma themselves emerged as significant predictors of perceiving discrimination against Roma. However, the finding that the perception of discrimination against Roma did not significantly differ between Roma and the

²⁵ This result may, however, also be driven by the fact that we used a 2012 aggregate with otherwise 2019 data, and the situation (exposure to incidents of discrimination or harassment) might have changed during these 7 years. When we included both the individual-level and country-level witnessed variable, both of them were positive and statistically significant.

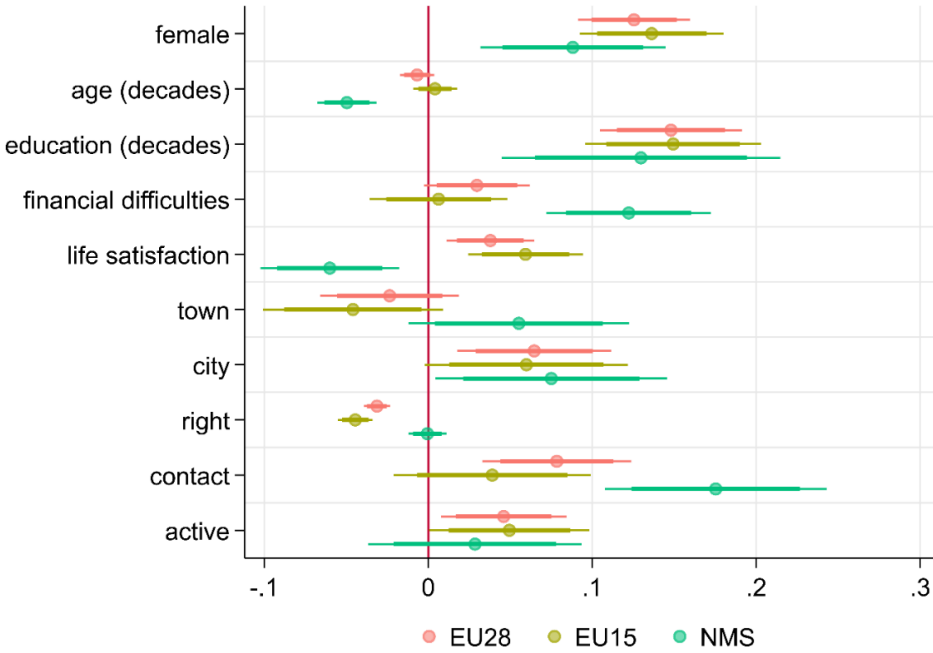
majority members may be due to the quality of the data and the relatively small number of Roma in the sample (less than 1.6%), which lead to large estimation errors.

Across all three specifications – for the EU as a whole, and for the old and new member states – our estimates consistently show that women, individuals with more education, and city residents were more perceptive of discrimination against Roma. However, the association of other factors varied between the old and newer member states.

Only in the new member states was age negatively associated with perceived discrimination, while financial difficulties and contact with Roma had positive associations. Conversely, the right-wing political orientation (negative association) and labour force participation (positive association) only emerged as significant predictors in the old member states.

It is noteworthy that the association with living in a town and life satisfaction also differed between the country groups. Life satisfaction appeared to be linked to a stronger perception of unequal treatment of Roma in the old member states, but a weaker perception in the new member states. Residents of towns displayed a similar pattern: they showed a positive association with perceived discrimination against Roma in the new member states, but a negative association in the old member states.

Figure 31. Perception of discrimination against Roma, OLS estimates (2019)



Note: Weighted data. Minority status controlled for. Country-fixed effects included. Lines stand for 95 and 99 percent confidence intervals. For complete econometric output, see Table A. 8. Figure prepared with the use of Stata coefplot command (Jann 2014).

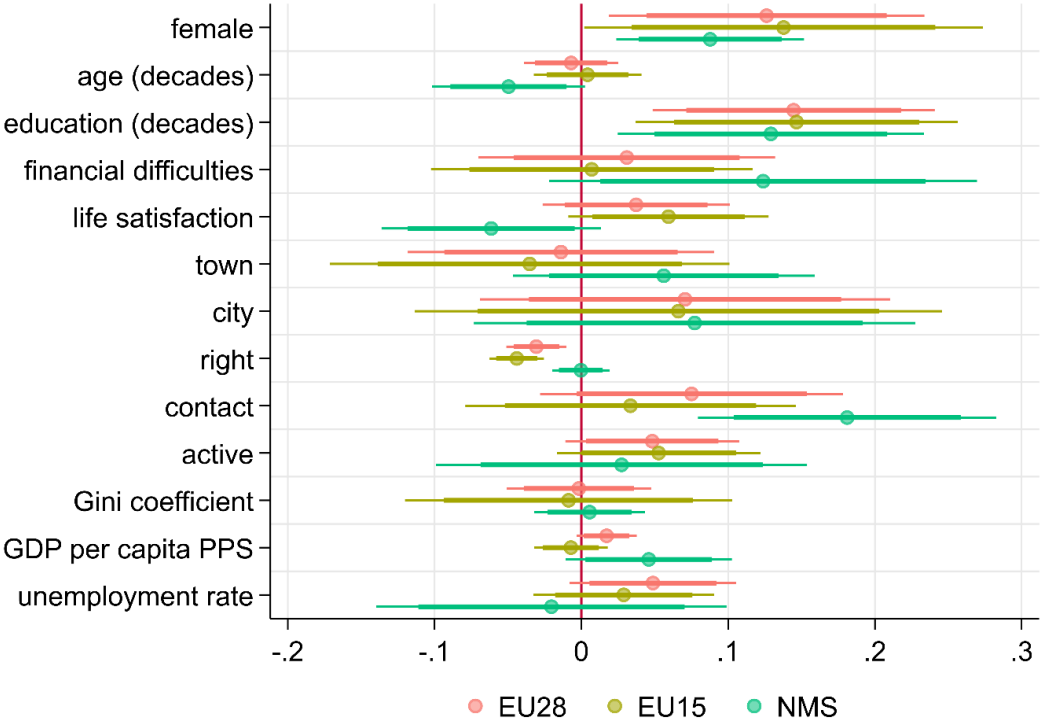
Due to limited access to reliable and comparable data on the Roma minority across all 28 countries, we estimated multilevel models that only consider general economic factors that may be related to the perception of discrimination against the Roma (see Figure 32).

Considering economic country-specific factors within the model restricts the salience of the individual level predictors of perceptions of discrimination against Roma. When examining the entire EU, these perceptions were more common among women, individuals with higher education levels, and those

actively participating in the labour market, all else being equal. Conversely, those with right-wing political views were less perceptive of discrimination against Roma, *ceteris paribus*. A positive association existed between the perceptions and a country's GDP per capita (PPS) and unemployment rate, suggesting that people in wealthier nations or those facing higher unemployment were more likely to perceive unequal treatment of Roma. However, there were discrepancies between new and old EU member states in this connection.

The connections between perception of discrimination and factors like gender, education, and political orientation remained consistent across the EU. However, the remaining predictors differed between the country groups. Nonetheless, these results were similar to the OLS estimates. In the new member states, contact with Roma positively related to perceiving discrimination, while age and life satisfaction showed negative relation. Interestingly, in the old member states, life satisfaction had a positive association with perception. This suggests, similar to the OLS model, that life satisfaction made people more attuned to the issue of Roma discrimination in the old members states but less sensitive in the new member states. The sole significant economic factor at the country level within the new member states was GDP per capita (PPS), exhibiting a positive association with perceiving discrimination.

Figure 32. The perception of discrimination against Roma and country-level characteristics, multilevel model (2019)



Note: Weighted data. Minority status controlled for. Lines stand for 95 and 99 percent confidence intervals. For complete econometric output, see Table A. 8. Figure prepared with the use of Stata *coefplot* command (Jann 2014).

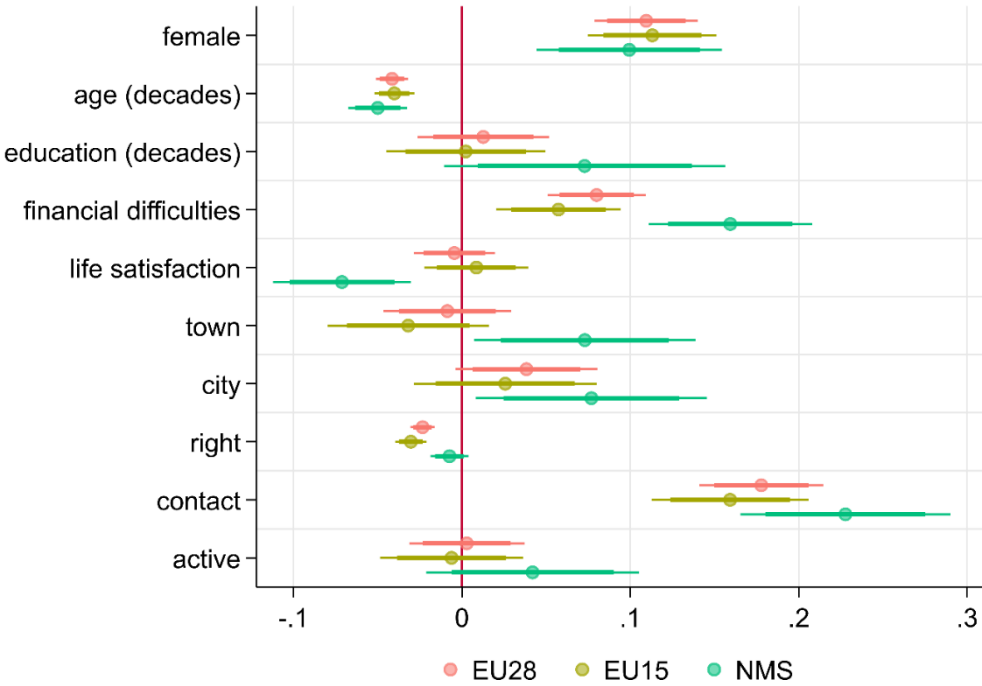
5.3. Discrimination based on skin colour (Katarzyna Saczuk)

The baseline model estimates for perceived discrimination based on skin colour, presented in Figure 33, mirrored the estimates for perceived discrimination based on ethnicity even more closely than those for discrimination against Roma. Across the EU, women, younger individuals, those experiencing financial difficulties, and those with contact with people of different skin colour reported higher racial discrimination, all else being equal. Additionally, living in a city showed a positive association with

perceiving skin colour-based discrimination, while a right-wing political orientation had a negative association. These relationships, again, support the conclusions drawn in the section on discrimination perception at the EU level. However, the estimates for racial discrimination diverged from those for ethnic discrimination in that years of education and life satisfaction were not significant predictors of perceptions of racial discrimination in the EU as a whole.

The predictors of perceived racial discrimination in the old member states mirrored those at the EU level, except for the lack of significant association between residing in a city and perceiving discrimination. However, substantial differences emerged in the new member states. Here, a positive association existed between believing in racial discrimination and both longer years of education levels and living in a city or a town compared to rural areas. Only in this group of countries is there a negative association between skin-colour based discrimination and life satisfaction. This suggests that individuals with lower life satisfaction in the new member states are more sensitive to inequalities based on skin colour. This specific association was not observed in the old member states or at the EU level.

Figure 33. Perception of racial discrimination, OLS estimates (2019)



Note: Weighted data. Minority status controlled for. Country-fixed effects included. Lines stand for 95 and 99 percent confidence intervals. For complete econometric output, see Table A. 9. Figure prepared with the use of Stata coefplot command (Jann 2014).

Similar to the analysis of discrimination against Roma, reliable data on racial diversity within EU countries remained unavailable. Consequently, we estimated a multilevel model, examining only socio-economic factors at the country level that might correlate with perceived racial discrimination. The model’s estimates are presented in Figure 34.

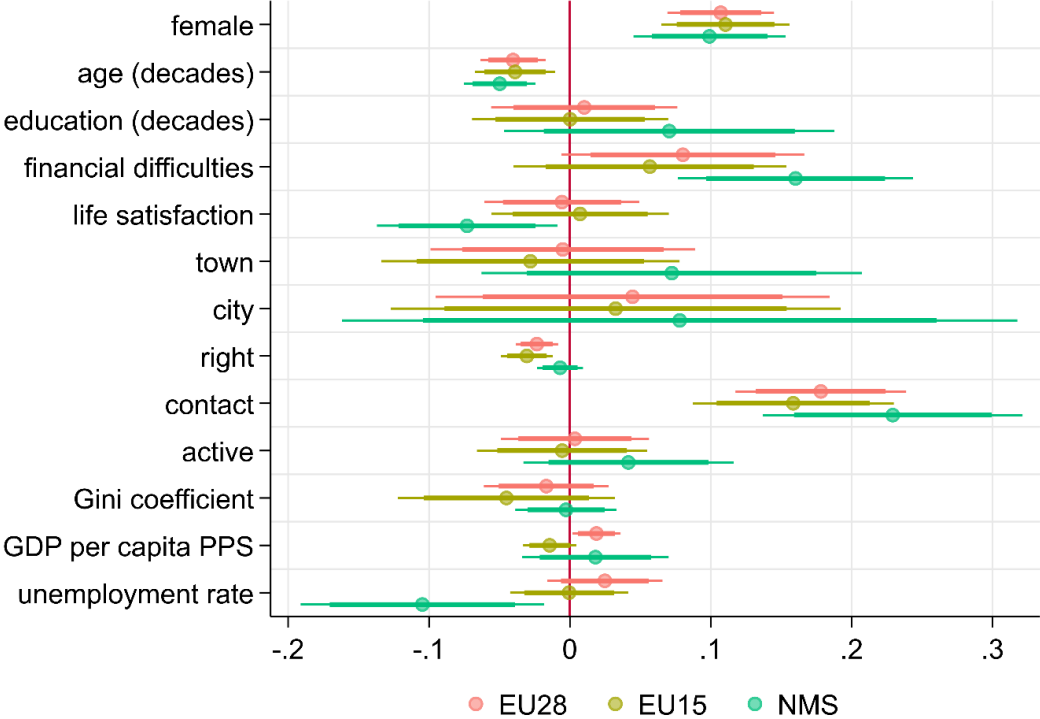
The factors associated with perceiving skin colour-based discrimination at the EU level largely aligned with those in the OLS model, with the exception of residing in a city. This factor was not a significant predictor in the multilevel model. As previously noted, residence type has already been shown to lose

significance as a predictor of perceived discrimination after accounting for country-specific socio-economic factors in the multilevel models for both ethnic and Roma discrimination.

At the EU level, a positive association emerged between perceiving racial discrimination and GDP per capita (PPS). Interestingly, this positive association at the EU level was not significant within the new member states, while it was negative in the group of old member states. This suggests a trend across the EU: as a country’s wealth increases, so does public sensitivity to the issues related to racial inequality. However, within the old member states, which tend to be wealthier than the new member states on average, the association flips direction.

The estimates for the EU15 countries largely matched those observed in the EU28 setting, with two exceptions. Firstly, the previously noted inverse association with wealth persisted. Secondly, experiencing financial difficulties no longer held a significant association with perceiving racial discrimination. Within this group of countries, the control variable for racial minority members was not significant. This suggests that in the old member states, the perception of racial discrimination among minorities did not differ significantly from the perception of the majority population. However, it is important to note that this result may also be due to the small number of members of racial minorities in the sample and to large estimation errors, as in the case of Roma.

Figure 34. The perception of racial discrimination and country-level characteristics, multilevel model (2019)



Note: Weighted data. Minority status controlled for. Country-fixed effects included. Lines stand for 95 and 99 percent confidence intervals. For complete econometric output, see Table A. 9. Figure prepared with the use of Stata coefplot command (Jann 2014).

Within the new member states, a positive association emerged between perceiving racial discrimination and experiencing financial difficulties. Conversely, a negative association was found with both life satisfaction and the unemployment rate. This suggests that in countries with lower living standards, hardships might heighten people’s sensitivity to racial inequality to a greater degree than political orientation (which did not hold a significant association in these countries). In contrast,

wealthier countries, like the old member states, seem to have perceptions of racial discrimination more closely linked to an individual's worldview than their personal circumstances.

5.4. Discrimination based on religion or beliefs (Katarzyna Saczuk)

EU respondents consistently perceived discrimination based on religion or beliefs as less prevalent compared to discrimination based on ethnicity, being Roma, and skin colour. However, the factors associated with perceiving this type of discrimination were largely the same as those for discrimination based on other grounds.

Figure 35 displays the baseline OLS model estimates for EU perceptions of religious discrimination in 2019. The data reveals that women, individuals experiencing financial difficulties, people residing in cities, and those having contact with individuals from different religious groups reported higher prevalence of perceived religious discrimination, holding all other factors constant. These associations align with those observed for discrimination based on other grounds. Additionally, the data suggests a negative association between perceiving religious discrimination and both age and right-wing political orientation.

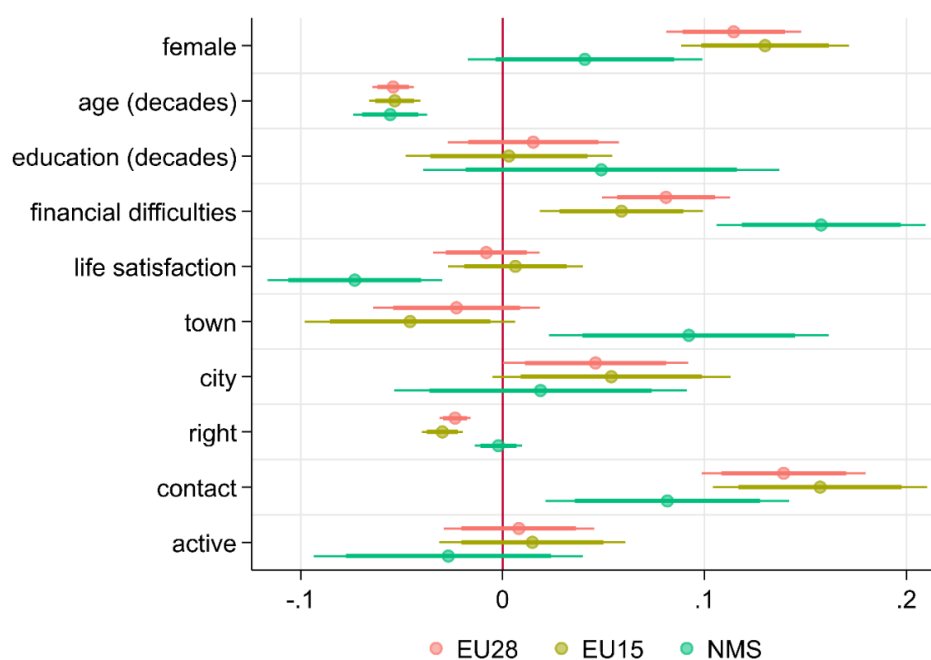
It is important to note that the minority perspective on religious discrimination differed significantly from that of the majority population. As expected, members of religious minorities were more perceptive of discrimination than the majority members. This discrepancy was consistent across all model specifications presented in this section.

Similar to other discrimination grounds, the estimates for old member states largely mirrored those for the entire EU. However, one exception emerged: residents of towns reported perceiving discrimination less frequently compared to those in rural areas (this association was not statistically significant at the EU level). Greater discrepancies arose when comparing the whole EU with the new member states.

The factors associated with perceiving religious discrimination in the new member states differed in relation to residence. Across the EU and the old member states, living in a city significantly predicted a higher perception of discrimination, suggesting urban residents displayed a heightened sensitivity to the religious inequality compared to their rural counterparts. However, this trend did not hold true in the new member states. There, residing in a town was positively associated with people's perception of unequal treatment based on religion, whereas it was negatively associated in the old member states.

Additionally, in the new member states, perception of religious discrimination lacked a connection to political orientation. Instead, it showed a negative association with life satisfaction, mirroring the pattern observed for other discrimination grounds.

Figure 35. Perception of religious discrimination, OLS estimates (2019)



Note: Weighted data. Minority status controlled for. Country-fixed effects included. Lines stand for 95 and 99 percent confidence intervals. For complete econometric output, see Table A. 10. Figure prepared with the use of Stata `coefplot` command (Jann 2014).

To assess the association between perceived discrimination and whether respondents had personally witnessed or heard about discrimination or harassment against religious minorities at the individual level, we employed a baseline model using 2012 data, following the same approach used for ethnic discrimination. For comparison purposes, an additional baseline model was estimated utilising 2019 data, excluding Croatia. Figure 36 displays the estimates generated by both models.

The figure reveals that the factors associated with perceiving religious discrimination exhibited minor variations between 2012 and 2019. However, certain relationships remained consistent across all three model specifications. These consistent associations include a negative association between perception and age, and a positive association between perception and contact with people of different religions or beliefs.

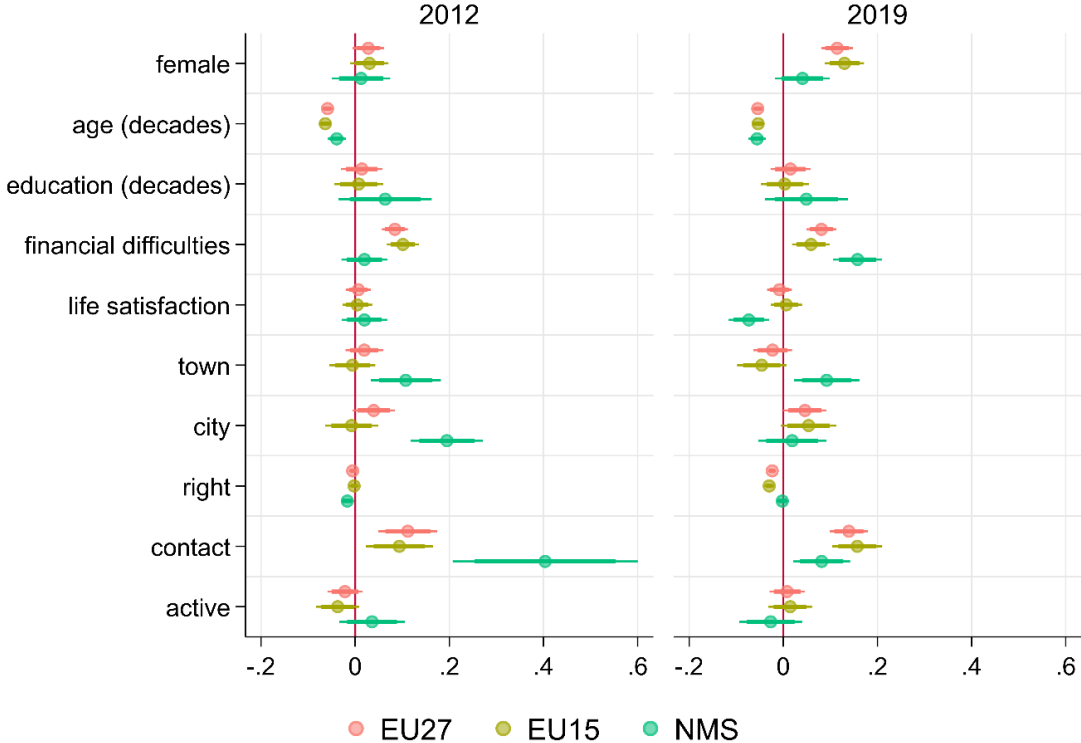
At the EU level, the only difference observed involves the association between right-wing political orientation and believing in religious discrimination. This association, which was not significant in 2012, became so in 2019 data.

Examining the 2012 model for the old member states, we see that perceiving discrimination based on religion or beliefs was more common among individuals experiencing financial difficulties and those outside the labour market. However, seven years later, neither of these associations remained statistically significant.

In the new member states, residence in a city and contact with members of different religious groups were stronger predictors of believing in discrimination in 2012 compared to 2019. Conversely, in 2019, belief in discrimination was more strongly associated with life satisfaction and experiencing financial difficulties than in 2012, when these factors were not significant.

It is worth noting that in the new member states, personal circumstances like financial difficulties and life satisfaction appeared to hold a stronger relation to perceiving discrimination than worldview, as reflected by political orientation. This contrasted with the old member states, where the opposite trend emerged. Interestingly, in 2012, the situation was reversed: financial difficulties predicted perceived religious discrimination in the old member states, while political orientation held a predictive role in the new member states.

Figure 36. Perception of religious discrimination, OLS estimates (2012, 2019)

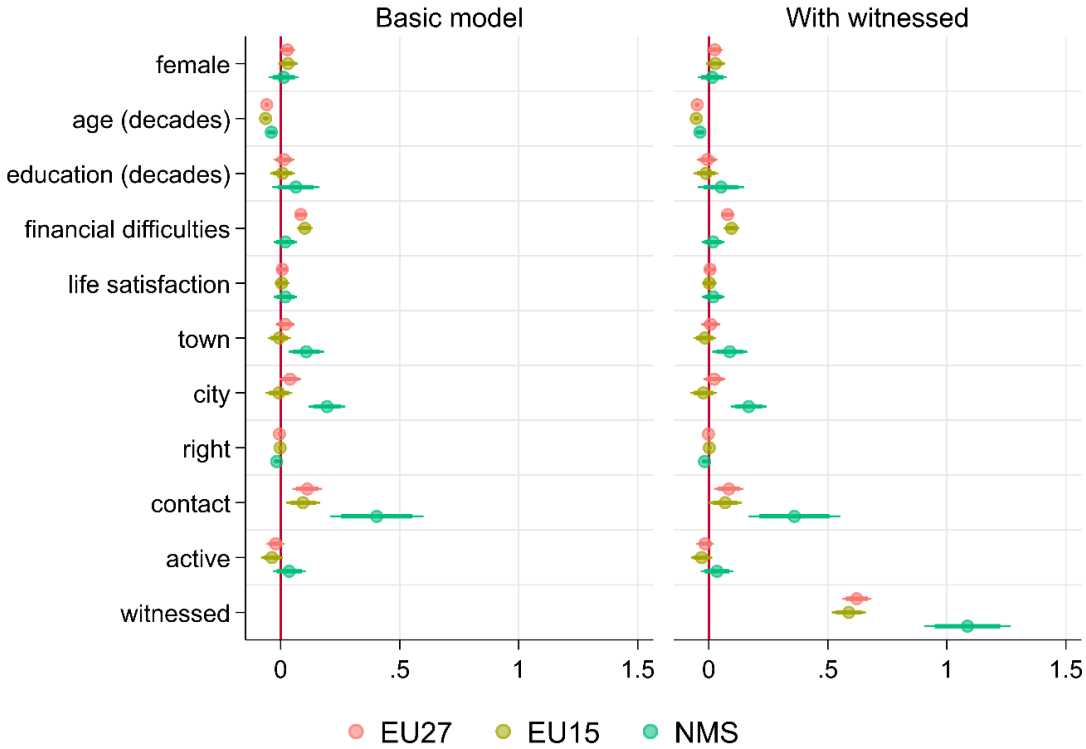


Note: Weighted data. Minority status controlled for. Country-fixed effects included. Lines stand for 95 and 99 percent confidence intervals. For complete econometric output, see Table A. 10. and Table A. 11. Figure prepared with the use of Stata coefplot command (Jann 2014).

Including witnessed discrimination or harassment in the 2012 model shows minimal change in the factors associated with perceived discrimination compared to the original model. However, witnessing such events became a significant predictor of perceiving discrimination across all three models (see Figure 37).

Apart from minor changes in the estimates, the only noteworthy differences are that residence in a city within the EU28 model and participation in the labour force within the EU15 model no longer held a statistically significant association. The remaining set of predictors and their relationships with perceiving discrimination stayed consistent.

Figure 37. Perception of religious discrimination and witnessing or hearing of discrimination or harassment, OLS estimates (2012)



Note: Weighted data. Minority status controlled for. Country-fixed effects included. Lines stand for 95 and 99 percent confidence intervals. For complete econometric output, see Table A. 11. Figure prepared with the use of Stata coefplot command (Jann 2014).

Similar to the approach taken with ethnic discrimination, we estimated multilevel models to account more effectively for contextual variables. Including the fractionalisation indices and the proportion of the population who witnessed or experienced discrimination or harassment according to the 2012 Eurobarometer data, alongside controlling for income inequality (measured by the Gini coefficient), GDP per capita (PPS), and the unemployment rate, revealed minimal change in the overall perception of religious discrimination (see Figure 38).

Within the European Union and the old member states, the factors associated with perceiving religious discrimination mirrored those identified in the baseline OLS model. Holding all other factors constant, women, individuals experiencing financial difficulties, those with contact with people from different religions, younger people, and those with left-wing political views displayed a heightened sensitivity to the discrimination based on religion or beliefs.

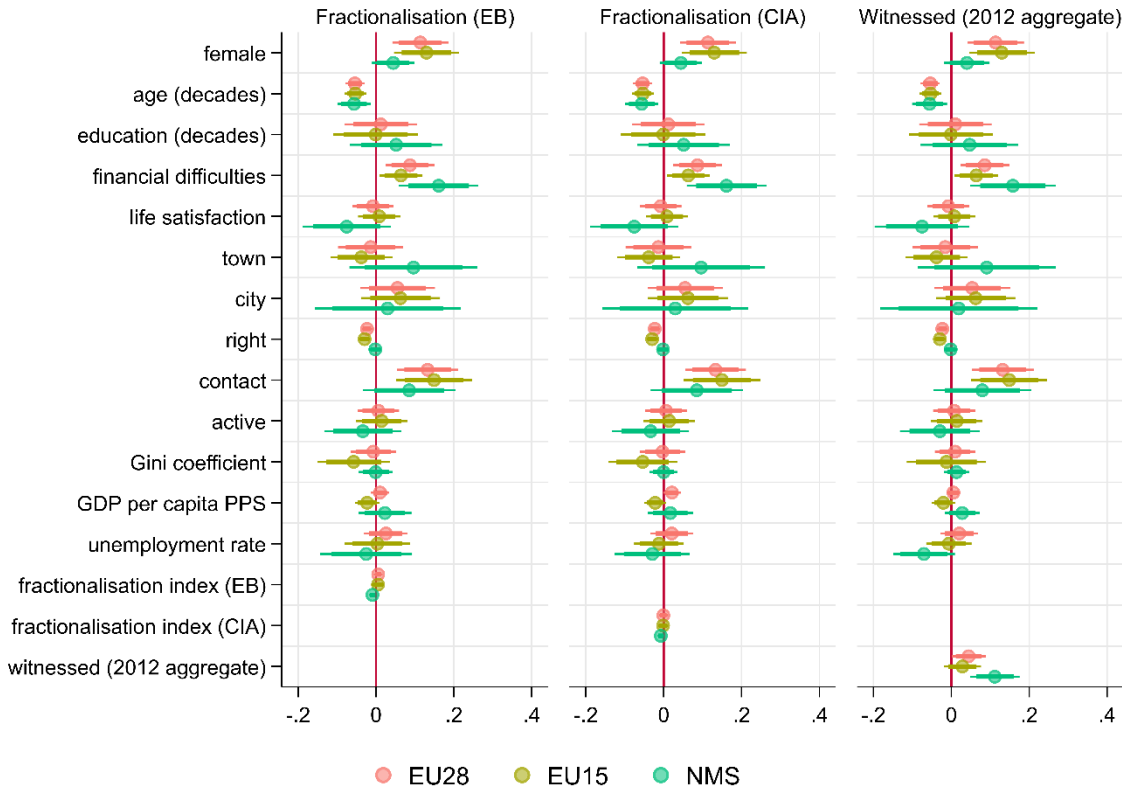
When religious diversity was approximated using the fractionalisation index from the Eurobarometer data, none of the economic factors at the country level held a significant association. The index itself was only significant in the new member states. Here, the factors associated with perceiving discrimination remained consistent with the EU and the old member states, with the exception of political orientation and actual contact with members of a religious minority group, which were not statistically significant.

Switching the fractionalisation index to one based on CIA data yields minimal influence on the estimates. The factors associated with perceiving religious discrimination remained consistent with the

models using the previous measure. The index persisted as a significant predictor of belief in religious discrimination, but solely in the new member states.

However, the CIA data-based fractionalisation index revealed a significant association with GDP per capita (PPS), exhibiting a negative relation to perception in the EU15 model. This suggests an inverse association within this group: the wealthier the country, the less perceptive its population is of religious discrimination.

Figure 38. The perception of religious discrimination and country-level characteristics, multilevel estimates (2019)



Note: Weighted data. Minority status controlled for. Lines stand for 95 and 99 percent confidence intervals. For complete econometric output, see Table A. 12. Figure prepared with the use of Stata coefplot command (Jann 2014).

Across the EU and within the new member states, the proportion of the population who witnessed or experienced discrimination or harassment emerged as a significant predictor of the perception of religious discrimination. The remaining factors associated with perceiving discrimination remained consistent with the models using fractionalisation indices.

However, in the new member states model, gender ceased to be a significant predictor. Instead, the unemployment rate emerged as a predictor of perceived discrimination, exhibiting a negative association. This suggests that perceiving discrimination was not gender-specific in these countries, and people in nations with higher unemployment displayed a lower awareness of religious inequality.

Finally, incorporating contextual variables eliminates the association between perceived religious discrimination and place of residence across all model specifications. This is consistent with the pattern observed in models for other discrimination grounds.

6. Executive summary (Katarzyna Saczuk)

Being Roma, skin colour and ethnic origin were perceived as the most common grounds for discrimination in the European Union. Discrimination on the grounds of religion or beliefs was perceived as less frequent. While discrimination can affect any individual, the Eurobarometer survey suggests that vulnerability to discrimination varies between groups in the eyes of the European public. The 2019 data indicates that Roma, racial and ethnic outgroups were identified as the most frequent targets of discrimination, with nearly 60% of respondents perceiving such discrimination as very or fairly widespread. By comparison, less than half of respondents felt that discrimination on the grounds of religion or beliefs was very or fairly widespread.

Although being Roma, and skin colour and ethnic origin were identified as the most frequent reasons for discrimination, these factors were not perceived as that influential in assessing job applicants as their looks, age and disability. The workplace is a recognised area where discrimination can manifest itself. Marginalised groups may face unfair treatment in recruitment, pay, promotion or job allocation. These unfair practices may include being disadvantaged in hiring, receiving lower wages, being excluded from promotions and benefits, or being assigned less desirable or challenging work. In several editions of the Eurobarometer, including 2019, respondents were asked what personal characteristics could put a job applicant at a disadvantage. However, while being Roma, and skin colour and ethnic origin were generally perceived as the most common grounds for discrimination, a significantly lower percentage of respondents believed that these characteristics disadvantaged jobseekers compared to physical appearance, age and disability.

Housing, education and services were the areas where religious discrimination was most prevalent. Eurobarometer survey explores the various situations and life spheres where discrimination might occur. The 2008 Flash wave specifically investigated perceived discrimination based on religion, disability, age, sexual orientation as well as a combination of these grounds. Respondents indicated that, among five spheres considered, discrimination on religious grounds was perceived to be most prevalent in the housing market. This was followed by education and services sectors. Healthcare and insurance were seen as areas where religious discrimination occurred less frequently.

Discrimination is perceived to be more widespread in society as a whole than specifically in the workplace. The 2012 Eurobarometer allowed a comparison between perceptions of discrimination in general and discrimination outside working life. The percentages of respondents reporting very or fairly widespread discrimination outside work were consistently lower than for discrimination in general, with an average gap of 7.5 percentage points. This may be due to the fact that discrimination in employment settings is easier to measure than in other areas of life.

There are substantial differences in perceptions of discrimination between countries. People living in the old member states (EU15) tended to perceive discrimination on all grounds as more prevalent than residents of the new member states. 2019 Eurobarometer data point to the existence of significant differences in the perception of discrimination across Europe. Country-level analysis reveals considerable differences between the old (EU15) and new member states. In general, people living in the old member states perceived discrimination across all grounds as more widespread than those living in the new member states. This difference was more pronounced for perceived discrimination on the grounds of ethnic origin, skin colour and religion or beliefs than for discrimination on the grounds of being Roma.

Discrimination was perceived to be more widespread among women, those who had witnessed or heard about discrimination and those who had contact with members of minorities. Perceptions of

discrimination varied not only between old and new member states, but also within countries. While the prevalence of perceived discrimination varied by ground, the factors associated with these perceptions were largely consistent. Women consistently reported higher levels of perceived discrimination. A multivariate approach shows that although the gender gap in the Eurobarometer survey was modest, women were more sensitive to discrimination issues, holding all other factors constant. People who had witnessed or heard about specific incidents of discrimination or harassment were also more likely to perceive discrimination as widespread. To a lesser extent, the same relationship held for those who had members of minority groups among their friends and acquaintances. These relationships support the idea that personal observation and experience play a role in shaping majority perceptions of discrimination.

Age and right-wing views were associated with lower perceptions of discrimination in the EU as a whole and in the old member states (EU15). Life satisfaction was linked to lower perceptions in the new member states, while education and financial difficulties were linked to higher perceptions.

Across the EU and the old member states, a negative association emerged between perceived discrimination and both age and right-wing political views, holding all other factors constant. In the new member states, life satisfaction showed a negative association with perceived discrimination. Conversely, years of education and experiencing financial difficulties were positively associated with perceived discrimination in this region. This suggests that in countries with a lower living standard, hardship may make people more sensitive to the issue of inequality than political orientation. By contrast, in wealthier countries, such as the old member states, there seems to be a stronger link between perceptions of discrimination and an individual's worldview rather than their personal circumstances.

There was no stable association of perceived discrimination and contextual economic factors and population diversity measures. In the multilevel models of perceived ethnic and religious discrimination that accounted for country level wealth, income inequality, and labour market situation, along with alternative measures of ethnic and religious diversity or exposure to discriminatory acts or practices, we found no stable associations between the perception of discrimination and economic variables or diversity measures. While some associations emerged between perceived discrimination and GDP per capita (PPS), unemployment rates, and certain population diversity measures, these associations varied across model specifications and discrimination grounds without a clear pattern. Importantly, the Gini coefficient did not show a statistically significant association with perceived discrimination. This suggests that income inequality is unlikely to play a major role in shaping perceptions of unequal treatment based on ethnicity, race or religion or beliefs.

Perceptions of discrimination in the EU as a whole were closer to those in the EU15 than in the new member states. In most cases, the estimates for the entire European Union closely resembled those for the EU15 countries. This alignment stems from the weights applied, which accurately represent the population sizes of each member state. The new member states consistently reported a lower perceived prevalence of discrimination.

The perception of discrimination against Roma was somewhat different from that of ethnic discrimination in general. In terms of grounds, perceptions of discrimination on the basis of ethnicity and skin colour showed very similar patterns and differed from those on the basis of being Roma. Although discrimination based on being Roma may be considered as a form of ethnic discrimination, it appears to be perceived differently. In the Eurobarometer data, discrimination against Roma was perceived to be more widespread and showed slightly different patterns across different population sub-groups. However, the factors associated with the perception of this discrimination remained broadly consistent.

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Appendix A. Statistical annex

Table A. 1. Distribution of responses to perception of discrimination on the grounds of ethnic origin by selected characteristics (2019)

	Very or fairly widespread	Very or fairly rare	Non-existent	Don't know
EU28	58.6	35.5	1.3	4.6
Gender				
Man	57.9	36.9	1.2	4.1
Woman	59.2	34.2	1.5	5.1
Age				
15-24	65.6	29.8	1.3	3.2
25-39	61.8	34.0	0.8	3.3
40-54	59.7	36.1	1.1	3.1
55+	53.5	37.9	1.8	6.8
Education (years)				
8 or less	53.5	38.0	1.4	7.1
9-12	55.8	37.3	1.6	5.3
13 or more	62.2	33.6	1.0	3.2
Left-right political scale				
Left	66.9	29.6	1.2	2.3
Centre	56.8	37.6	1.3	4.3
Right	53.6	41.1	1.5	3.8
Type of community				
Rural area or village	54	39	1	5
Small or middle sized	59	35	1	4
Large town	62	32	1	5
Life satisfaction				
Very satisfied	60.7	33.7	1.1	4.5
Fairly satisfied	58.2	36.1	1.4	4.3
Not very satisfied	55.2	38.0	1.4	5.4
Not at all satisfied	61.4	31.5	1.2	5.8
Financial difficulties				
Most of the time	63	31	1	4
From time to time	60	36	1	3
Almost never/never	58	36	1	5
Contact with out-group members				
Contact	46	45	2	8
No contact	66	30	1	3

Source: Eurobarometer 2019

Table A. 2. Distribution of responses to perception of discrimination on the grounds of being Roma by selected characteristics (2019)

	Very or fairly widespread	Very or fairly rare	Non-existent	Don't know
EU28	62	29	2	8
Gender				
Man	60	31	1	7
Woman	63	27	2	9
Age				
15-24	59	29	2	10
25-39	64	29	1	6
40-54	64	28	1	7
55+	59	30	2	9
Education (years)				
8 or less	62	29	1	8
9-12	57	32	2	9
13 or more	65	27	1	7
Left-right political scale				
Left	69	24	1	6
Centre	60	31	1	8
Right	58	34	2	6
Type of community				
Rural area or village	58	33	2	8
Small or middle sized	62	28	2	8
Large town	65	26	1	8
Life satisfaction				
Very satisfied	61	28	1	10
Fairly satisfied	61	30	2	8
Not very satisfied	65	28	1	6
Not at all satisfied	66	26	2	6
Financial difficulties				
Most of the time	70	23	2	5
From time to time	64	29	1	6
Almost never/never	60	30	2	9
Contact with out-group members				
Contact	68	27	1	3
No contact	61	29	2	8

Source: Eurobarometer 2019

Table A. 3. Distribution of responses to perception of discrimination on the grounds of skin colour by selected characteristics (2019)

	Very or fairly widespread	Very or fairly rare	Non-existent	Don't know
EU28	60	36	1	3
Gender				
Man	58	38	1	3
Woman	61	34	1	4
Age				
15-24	66	32	1	2
25-39	63	33	1	3
40-54	60	36	1	3
55+	55	39	1	5
Education (years)				
8 or less	57	37	1	5
9-12	57	38	1	4
13 or more	62	34	1	3
Left-right political scale				
Left	66	31	1	2
Centre	59	38	1	3
Right	54	41	2	3
Type of community				
Rural area or village	55	40	1	3
Small or middle sized	61	35	1	3
Large town	62	33	1	4
Life satisfaction				
Very satisfied	61	35	1	3
Fairly satisfied	60	36	1	3
Not very satisfied	56	38	1	5
Not at all satisfied	64	29	2	4
Financial difficulties				
Most of the time	70	26	1	3
From time to time	60	36	1	3
Almost never/never	58	37	1	4
Contact with out-group members				
Contact	68	30	1	2
No contact	48	45	2	5

Source: Eurobarometer 2019

Table A. 4. Distribution of responses to perception of discrimination on the grounds of religion or beliefs by selected characteristics (2019)

	Very or fairly widespread	Very or fairly rare	Non-existent	Don't know
EU28	47	48	1	4
Gender				
Man	45	51	1	4
Woman	49	45	2	4
Age				
15-24	56	41	1	2
25-39	51	46	1	3
40-54	47	49	1	3
55+	42	51	2	5
Education (years)				
15-	41	52	1	6
16-19	46	48	2	4
20+	49	47	1	3
Left-right political scale				
Left	53	44	1	2
Centre	46	49	1	3
Right	42	53	2	3
Type of community				
Rural area or village	43	51	2	4
Small or middle sized	47	48	1	4
Large town	51	44	1	4
Life satisfaction				
Very satisfied	50	45	1	4
Fairly satisfied	46	49	1	3
Not very satisfied	44	50	2	5
Not at all satisfied	52	43	2	4
Financial difficulties				
Most of the time	55	40	1	4
From time to time	47	48	1	3
Almost never/never	47	48	1	4
Contact with out-group members				
Contact	52	44	1	2
No contact	37	55	2	6

Source: Eurobarometer 2019

Table A. 5. The perception of ethnic discrimination, OLS estimates (2019)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	EU28	EU15	NMS13	EU27	EU15	NMS12
	OLS estimates (2019)			OLS estimates (2019)		
Perception of ethnic discrimination						
female	0.0819*** (0.0119)	0.0851*** (0.0149)	0.0687*** (0.0208)	0.0819*** (0.0121)	0.0851*** (0.0149)	0.0684*** (0.0220)
age (in decades)	-0.0391*** (0.00368)	-0.0389*** (0.00461)	-0.0399*** (0.00661)	-0.0389*** (0.00375)	-0.0389*** (0.00461)	-0.0383*** (0.00696)
years of education (in decades)	0.0455*** (0.0151)	0.0270 (0.0184)	0.118*** (0.0312)	0.0449*** (0.0154)	0.0270 (0.0184)	0.116*** (0.0329)
financial difficulties	0.0391*** (0.0113)	0.000899 (0.0144)	0.176*** (0.0184)	0.0379*** (0.0115)	0.000899 (0.0144)	0.181*** (0.0196)
life satisfaction	-0.0239** (0.00940)	-0.00518 (0.0120)	-0.115*** (0.0156)	-0.0227** (0.00960)	-0.00518 (0.0120)	-0.114*** (0.0165)
town	-0.0231 (0.0147)	-0.0473** (0.0187)	0.0741*** (0.0249)	-0.0239 (0.0150)	-0.0473** (0.0187)	0.0745*** (0.0263)
city	0.0441*** (0.0164)	0.0331 (0.0212)	0.0797*** (0.0260)	0.0450*** (0.0167)	0.0331 (0.0212)	0.0855*** (0.0274)
right-wing political orientation	-0.0216*** (0.00278)	-0.0286*** (0.00365)	-0.00175 (0.00426)	-0.0221*** (0.00284)	-0.0286*** (0.00365)	-0.00266 (0.00449)
contact with outgroup members	0.198*** (0.0139)	0.213*** (0.0179)	0.124*** (0.0230)	0.196*** (0.0142)	0.213*** (0.0179)	0.113*** (0.0243)
active	0.00359 (0.0133)	-0.00298 (0.0166)	0.0326 (0.0239)	0.00445 (0.0135)	-0.00298 (0.0166)	0.0396 (0.0253)
minority member	0.107*** (0.0349)	0.0777* (0.0444)	0.194*** (0.0582)	0.103*** (0.0355)	0.0777* (0.0444)	0.180*** (0.0609)
Belgium	-0.191*** (0.0398)	-0.193*** (0.0449)		-0.191*** (0.0404)	-0.193*** (0.0449)	
Netherlands	-0.0983*** (0.0351)	-0.120*** (0.0397)		-0.0993*** (0.0357)	-0.120*** (0.0397)	
Italy	-0.213*** (0.0256)	-0.185*** (0.0290)		-0.212*** (0.0259)	-0.185*** (0.0290)	
Luxembourg	-0.909*** (0.191)	-0.925*** (0.215)		-0.909*** (0.194)	-0.925*** (0.215)	
Denmark	-0.201*** (0.0553)	-0.219*** (0.0624)		-0.202*** (0.0561)	-0.219*** (0.0624)	
Ireland	-0.458*** (0.0650)	-0.465*** (0.0733)		-0.458*** (0.0660)	-0.465*** (0.0733)	
United Kingdom	-0.203*** (0.0244)	-0.218*** (0.0276)		-0.203*** (0.0248)	-0.218*** (0.0276)	
Greece	-0.326*** (0.0433)	-0.288*** (0.0492)		-0.325*** (0.0440)	-0.288*** (0.0492)	
Spain	-0.520*** (0.0258)	-0.536*** (0.0292)		-0.521*** (0.0262)	-0.536*** (0.0292)	
Portugal	-0.314*** (0.0487)	-0.302*** (0.0549)		-0.313*** (0.0494)	-0.302*** (0.0549)	
Finland	-0.265*** (0.0561)	-0.269*** (0.0633)		-0.266*** (0.0569)	-0.269*** (0.0633)	
Sweden	-0.223*** (0.0436)	-0.234*** (0.0493)		-0.224*** (0.0443)	-0.234*** (0.0493)	
Austria	-0.391*** (0.0481)	-0.404*** (0.0543)		-0.392*** (0.0488)	-0.404*** (0.0543)	
Germany	-0.521*** (0.0224)	-0.534*** (0.0253)		-0.522*** (0.0227)	-0.534*** (0.0253)	
Cyprus	-0.404** (0.174)			-0.404** (0.177)		

Czech Republic	-0.682*** (0.0427)		-0.292** (0.138)	-0.683*** (0.0433)		-0.296** (0.142)
Estonia	-0.994*** (0.121)		-0.574*** (0.162)	-0.994*** (0.122)		-0.572*** (0.167)
Hungary	-0.503*** (0.0441)		-0.130 (0.138)	-0.503*** (0.0448)		-0.132 (0.142)
Latvia	-1.213*** (0.106)		-0.835*** (0.156)	-1.212*** (0.108)		-0.833*** (0.161)
Lithuania	-1.262*** (0.0861)		-0.865*** (0.149)	-1.262*** (0.0874)		-0.866*** (0.153)
Malta	-0.510** (0.256)		-0.0255 (0.238)	-0.511** (0.260)		-0.0255 (0.245)
Poland	-0.813*** (0.0301)		-0.427*** (0.136)	-0.813*** (0.0305)		-0.431*** (0.140)
Slovakia	-1.106*** (0.0608)		-0.691*** (0.141)	-1.106*** (0.0617)		-0.693*** (0.146)
Slovenia	-0.856*** (0.102)		-0.418*** (0.154)	-0.856*** (0.103)		-0.419*** (0.159)
Bulgaria	-1.141*** (0.0540)		-0.866*** (0.140)	-1.140*** (0.0549)		-0.869*** (0.144)
Romania	-0.599*** (0.0365)		-0.273** (0.137)	-0.598*** (0.0371)		-0.273* (0.141)
Croatia	-0.801*** (0.0628)		-0.407*** (0.142)			
Constant	3.151*** (0.0508)	3.174*** (0.0637)	2.754*** (0.160)	3.151*** (0.0518)	3.174*** (0.0637)	2.751*** (0.165)
N	21,218	12,569	8,649	20,366	12,569	7,797
BIC	54026.1	31155.7	23971.2	51827.5	31155.7	21649

Standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table A. 6. The perception of ethnic discrimination, OLS estimates (2012)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(1)	(2)	(3)
	EU28	EU15	NMS13	EU28	EU15	NMS13
	OLS estimates (2012)			OLS estimates (2012)		
Perception of ethnic discrimination						
female	0.0504*** (0.0120)	0.0608*** (0.0143)	0.00418 (0.0239)	0.0488*** (0.0118)	0.0588*** (0.0140)	0.00529 (0.0234)
age (in decades)	-0.0382*** (0.00376)	-0.0364*** (0.00449)	-0.0563*** (0.00760)	-0.0287*** (0.00369)	-0.0271*** (0.00440)	-0.0456*** (0.00746)
years of education (in decades)	0.0624*** (0.0158)	0.0592*** (0.0183)	0.121*** (0.0382)	0.0378** (0.0155)	0.0331* (0.0179)	0.126*** (0.0373)
financial difficulties	0.0685*** (0.00996)	0.0856*** (0.0120)	0.00462 (0.0189)	0.0594*** (0.00975)	0.0750*** (0.0118)	0.00811 (0.0185)
life satisfaction	-0.00895 (0.00942)	-0.00240 (0.0113)	-0.0463** (0.0188)	-0.00527 (0.00922)	0.000263 (0.0110)	-0.0359* (0.0184)
town	0.0252* (0.0144)	0.00793 (0.0172)	0.101*** (0.0289)	0.0239* (0.0141)	0.00816 (0.0168)	0.0811*** (0.0283)
city	0.0680*** (0.0163)	0.0416** (0.0200)	0.154*** (0.0296)	0.0479*** (0.0160)	0.0201 (0.0195)	0.134*** (0.0290)
right-wing political orientation	-0.0244*** (0.00282)	-0.0234*** (0.00351)	-0.0321*** (0.00486)	-0.0200*** (0.00276)	-0.0189*** (0.00343)	-0.0287*** (0.00476)
contact with outgroup members	0.0795*** (0.0136)	0.0577*** (0.0164)	0.167*** (0.0258)	0.0338** (0.0134)	0.0136 (0.0161)	0.113*** (0.0255)
active	-0.0146 (0.0136)	-0.0212 (0.0162)	0.00883 (0.0268)	-0.0115 (0.0133)	-0.0188 (0.0159)	0.0134 (0.0262)
minority member	0.116*** (0.0295)	0.0706** (0.0354)	0.327*** (0.0569)	0.0330 (0.0290)	-0.00362 (0.0348)	0.183*** (0.0562)
witnessed ethnic				0.490*** (0.0163)	0.461*** (0.0188)	0.733*** (0.0404)
Belgium	-0.206*** (0.0406)	-0.208*** (0.0439)		-0.191*** (0.0397)	-0.195*** (0.0429)	
Netherlands	-0.174*** (0.0344)	-0.174*** (0.0373)		-0.189*** (0.0337)	-0.187*** (0.0364)	
Italy	-0.338*** (0.0257)	-0.343*** (0.0279)		-0.301*** (0.0251)	-0.310*** (0.0273)	
Luxembourg	-0.492*** (0.183)	-0.487** (0.198)		-0.470*** (0.179)	-0.466** (0.194)	
Denmark	-0.158*** (0.0535)	-0.153*** (0.0580)		-0.187*** (0.0523)	-0.180*** (0.0566)	
Ireland	-0.831*** (0.0693)	-0.838*** (0.0750)		-0.797*** (0.0678)	-0.804*** (0.0732)	
United Kingdom	-0.347*** (0.0233)	-0.340*** (0.0253)		-0.334*** (0.0228)	-0.328*** (0.0247)	
Greece	-0.197*** (0.0454)	-0.204*** (0.0493)		-0.217*** (0.0444)	-0.220*** (0.0482)	
Spain	-0.356*** (0.0258)	-0.360*** (0.0280)		-0.358*** (0.0252)	-0.361*** (0.0273)	
Portugal	-0.500*** (0.0527)	-0.509*** (0.0571)		-0.445*** (0.0516)	-0.459*** (0.0558)	
Finland	-0.191*** (0.0547)	-0.192*** (0.0592)		-0.207*** (0.0535)	-0.206*** (0.0578)	
Sweden	-0.0510 (0.0424)	-0.0403 (0.0460)		-0.0900** (0.0415)	-0.0763* (0.0450)	
Austria	-0.574*** (0.0481)	-0.579*** (0.0521)		-0.556*** (0.0470)	-0.563*** (0.0508)	
Germany	-0.471*** (0.0222)	-0.470*** (0.0240)		-0.444*** (0.0217)	-0.445*** (0.0235)	

Cyprus	-0.292*			-0.343**		
	(0.175)			(0.171)		
Czech Republic	-0.407***		-0.112	-0.385***		0.00848
	(0.0427)		(0.151)	(0.0417)		(0.147)
Estonia	-0.879***		-0.640***	-0.824***		-0.478***
	(0.133)		(0.184)	(0.130)		(0.180)
Hungary	-0.116**		0.169	-0.114**		0.262*
	(0.0461)		(0.151)	(0.0451)		(0.148)
Latvia	-1.272***		-1.001***	-1.213***		-0.837***
	(0.105)		(0.170)	(0.103)		(0.167)
Lithuania	-1.248***		-0.965***	-1.182***		-0.788***
	(0.0848)		(0.162)	(0.0829)		(0.159)
Malta	-0.292		0.0543	-0.302		0.126
	(0.248)		(0.255)	(0.243)		(0.249)
Poland	-1.086***		-0.781***	-1.023***		-0.599***
	(0.0303)		(0.149)	(0.0297)		(0.146)
Slovakia	-0.626***		-0.364**	-0.590***		-0.224
	(0.0567)		(0.154)	(0.0555)		(0.151)
Slovenia	-0.889***		-0.609***	-0.828***		-0.440***
	(0.105)		(0.171)	(0.103)		(0.167)
Bulgaria	-0.934***		-0.677***	-0.877***		-0.523***
	(0.0541)		(0.153)	(0.0529)		(0.150)
Romania	-0.933***		-0.668***	-0.875***		-0.499***
	(0.0368)		(0.150)	(0.0361)		(0.147)
Constant	3.112***	3.103***	2.918***	3.008***	3.010***	2.627***
	(0.0504)	(0.0598)	(0.176)	(0.0494)	(0.0585)	(0.173)
N	19,522	12,224	7,298	19,522	12,224	7,298
BIC	48729	29194.1	20988	47868.4	28624	20674.1

Standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table A. 7. The perception of ethnic discrimination and country-level characteristics, multilevel models (2019)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
	EU28	EU15	NMS13	EU28	EU15	NMS13	EU28	EU15	NMS13
	Multilevel estimates (2019)			Multilevel estimates (2019)			Multilevel estimates (2019)		
Perception of ethnic discrimination									
female	0.0799*** (0.0197)	0.0831*** (0.0234)	0.0681** (0.0289)	0.0799*** (0.0197)	0.0831*** (0.0234)	0.0681** (0.0289)	0.0800*** (0.0198)	0.0831*** (0.0234)	0.0677** (0.0307)
age (in decades)	-0.0389*** (0.0119)	-0.0387*** (0.0146)	-0.0396*** (0.0132)	-0.0389*** (0.0119)	-0.0387*** (0.0146)	-0.0396*** (0.0132)	-0.0387*** (0.0120)	-0.0387*** (0.0146)	-0.0383*** (0.0135)
years of education (in decades)	0.0434 (0.0275)	0.0254 (0.0298)	0.116*** (0.0251)	0.0436 (0.0275)	0.0260 (0.0301)	0.116*** (0.0252)	0.0429 (0.0276)	0.0258 (0.0297)	0.115*** (0.0268)
financial difficulties	0.0440 (0.0312)	0.00616 (0.0254)	0.178*** (0.0457)	0.0440 (0.0312)	0.00642 (0.0253)	0.178*** (0.0456)	0.0432 (0.0315)	0.00621 (0.0254)	0.182*** (0.0481)
life satisfaction	-0.0260 (0.0204)	-0.00713 (0.0220)	-0.118*** (0.0133)	-0.0260 (0.0204)	-0.00709 (0.0222)	-0.118*** (0.0133)	-0.0251 (0.0206)	-0.00705 (0.0223)	-0.117*** (0.0140)
town	-0.0140 (0.0312)	-0.0370 (0.0267)	0.0733 (0.0745)	-0.0140 (0.0312)	-0.0363 (0.0270)	0.0735 (0.0743)	-0.0144 (0.0316)	-0.0366 (0.0269)	0.0729 (0.0785)
city	0.0553 (0.0511)	0.0460 (0.0547)	0.0821 (0.107)	0.0553 (0.0511)	0.0462 (0.0548)	0.0821 (0.106)	0.0562 (0.0519)	0.0459 (0.0550)	0.0869 (0.111)
right-wing political orientation	-0.0211*** (0.00647)	-0.0280*** (0.00668)	-0.00139 (0.00889)	-0.0211*** (0.00647)	-0.0280*** (0.00667)	-0.00143 (0.00889)	-0.0216*** (0.00655)	-0.0280*** (0.00669)	-0.00216 (0.00939)
contact with outgroup members	0.190*** (0.0360)	0.203*** (0.0425)	0.127*** (0.0352)	0.189*** (0.0360)	0.203*** (0.0427)	0.127*** (0.0351)	0.187*** (0.0368)	0.203*** (0.0427)	0.114*** (0.0349)
active	0.00521 (0.0181)	-0.00103 (0.0220)	0.0318 (0.0245)	0.00518 (0.0181)	-0.000943 (0.0219)	0.0318 (0.0244)	0.00609 (0.0182)	-0.000951 (0.0219)	0.0381 (0.0235)
minority member	0.101** (0.0466)	0.0716 (0.0561)	0.191*** (0.0732)	0.101** (0.0467)	0.0709 (0.0562)	0.190*** (0.0731)	0.0975** (0.0466)	0.0709 (0.0561)	0.177** (0.0723)
Gini coefficient	-0.00161 (0.0172)	-0.0226 (0.0190)	0.000412 (0.0184)	-0.00719 (0.0180)	-0.0304 (0.0272)	0.00131 (0.0170)	-0.000685 (0.0183)	-0.0419 (0.0288)	0.00394 (0.0164)
GDP per capita (PPS)	0.0348** (0.0154)	0.00297 (0.00757)	0.0286 (0.0397)	0.0215*** (0.00795)	-0.0209** (0.00987)	0.0253 (0.0296)	0.0157** (0.00745)	-0.0180** (0.00775)	0.0153 (0.0241)
unemployment rate	0.0353* (0.0190)	0.00163 (0.0143)	-0.0374 (0.0575)	0.0291* (0.0176)	-0.00544 (0.0173)	-0.0471 (0.0455)	0.0157 (0.0214)	-0.00336 (0.0186)	-0.0829* (0.0477)
share of non-nationals	-0.0235 (0.0210)	-0.0525*** (0.0163)	-0.0135 (0.0205)						
fractionalisation index (CIA)				0.000824 (0.00491)	0.00516 (0.00861)	-0.00261 (0.00310)			

witnessing discrimination (2012)							0.0162	0.00351	0.0118
Constant	1.679** (0.765)	3.962*** (0.824)	1.854 (1.494)	2.096*** (0.682)	4.417*** (1.098)	1.973* (1.197)	1.948*** (0.606)	4.731*** (1.117)	2.089** (0.840)
var(_cons)	0.050*** (0.0119)	0.018*** (0.0042)	0.029*** (0.0132)	0.053*** (0.0103)	0.028*** (0.0062)	0.029*** (0.0118)	0.047*** (0.0095)	0.030*** (0.0063)	0.027*** (0.0137)
var(Residual)	0.732*** (0.0297)	0.681*** (0.0286)	0.914*** (0.0219)	0.732*** (0.0297)	0.681*** (0.0286)	0.914*** (0.0219)	0.731*** (0.0300)	0.681*** (0.0286)	0.917*** (0.0235)
N	21,218	12,569	8,649	21,218	12,569	8,649	20,366	12,569	7,797
BIC	2159.6	1682.8	536.7	2159.6	1683.1	545.8	2138.5	1683.2	515.4

Robust standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table A. 8. The perception of discrimination of Roma

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	EU28	EU15	NMS13	EU28	EU15	NMS13
	OLS estimates (2019)			Multilevel estimates (2019)		
Perception of discrimination of Roma						
female	0.125*** (0.0133)	0.136*** (0.0170)	0.0882*** (0.0219)	0.126*** (0.0417)	0.138*** (0.0528)	0.0878*** (0.0248)
age (in decades)	-0.00685* (0.00407)	0.00412 (0.00519)	-0.0496*** (0.00697)	-0.00694 (0.0125)	0.00426 (0.0142)	-0.0496** (0.0202)
years of education (in decades)	0.148*** (0.0168)	0.149*** (0.0208)	0.130*** (0.0330)	0.145*** (0.0373)	0.147*** (0.0426)	0.129*** (0.0405)
financial difficulties	0.0297** (0.0125)	0.00631 (0.0163)	0.122*** (0.0195)	0.0309 (0.0392)	0.00702 (0.0425)	0.124** (0.0566)
life satisfaction	0.0378*** (0.0104)	0.0593*** (0.0136)	-0.0601*** (0.0164)	0.0373 (0.0248)	0.0594** (0.0265)	-0.0615** (0.0290)
town	-0.0235 (0.0164)	-0.0459** (0.0213)	0.0552** (0.0261)	-0.0139 (0.0405)	-0.0353 (0.0529)	0.0561 (0.0399)
city	0.0646*** (0.0182)	0.0598** (0.0240)	0.0750*** (0.0274)	0.0706 (0.0542)	0.0661 (0.0698)	0.0772 (0.0584)
right-wing political orientation	-0.0313*** (0.00308)	-0.0445*** (0.00413)	-0.000511 (0.00448)	-0.0307*** (0.00795)	-0.0440*** (0.00718)	-0.000322 (0.00763)
contact with outgroup members	0.0784*** (0.0176)	0.0390* (0.0233)	0.175*** (0.0262)	0.0751* (0.0401)	0.0335 (0.0437)	0.181*** (0.0395)
active	0.0460*** (0.0149)	0.0495*** (0.0190)	0.0285 (0.0252)	0.0483** (0.0230)	0.0527* (0.0270)	0.0274 (0.0491)
minority member	0.118* (0.0607)	0.0817 (0.112)	0.0617 (0.0583)	0.114 (0.119)	0.0732 (0.118)	0.0596 (0.190)
Belgium	-0.490*** (0.0438)	-0.493*** (0.0502)				
Netherlands	-0.723*** (0.0410)	-0.747*** (0.0470)				
Italy	0.0138 (0.0281)	0.0417 (0.0324)				
Luxembourg	-0.685*** (0.230)	-0.693*** (0.263)				
Denmark	-0.373*** (0.0624)	-0.395*** (0.0715)				
Ireland	-0.315*** (0.0735)	-0.320*** (0.0841)				
United Kingdom	-0.456*** (0.0276)	-0.463*** (0.0317)				
Greece	-0.140*** (0.0474)	-0.112** (0.0546)				
Spain	-0.500*** (0.0291)	-0.497*** (0.0337)				
Portugal	-0.410*** (0.0558)	-0.398*** (0.0639)				
Finland	-0.279*** (0.0613)	-0.280*** (0.0701)				
Sweden	-0.0542 (0.0487)	-0.0715 (0.0558)				
Austria	-0.558*** (0.0541)	-0.571*** (0.0621)				
Germany	-0.599*** (0.0250)	-0.616*** (0.0286)				
Cyprus	-0.580*** (0.194)					

Czech Republic	-0.480*** (0.0456)		0.123 (0.148)			
Estonia	-1.426*** (0.143)		-0.800*** (0.179)			
Hungary	-0.348*** (0.0487)		0.188 (0.148)			
Latvia	-1.132*** (0.118)		-0.580*** (0.169)			
Lithuania	-0.845*** (0.0937)		-0.230 (0.160)			
Malta	-1.009*** (0.323)		-0.354 (0.281)			
Poland	-0.958*** (0.0319)		-0.352** (0.146)			
Slovakia	-1.025*** (0.0657)		-0.444*** (0.152)			
Slovenia	-0.684*** (0.111)		-0.0417 (0.166)			
Bulgaria	-1.107*** (0.0594)		-0.629*** (0.151)			
Romania	-0.551*** (0.0403)		-0.0641 (0.147)			
Croatia	-0.762*** (0.0683)		-0.186 (0.152)			
Gini coefficient				-0.00174 (0.0191)	-0.00872 (0.0433)	0.00561 (0.0147)
GDP per capita (PPS)				0.0172** (0.00795)	-0.00713 (0.00973)	0.0459** (0.0220)
unemployment rate				0.0488** (0.0221)	0.0289 (0.0239)	-0.0204 (0.0463)
Constant	2.988*** (0.0557)	2.953*** (0.0714)	2.690*** (0.170)	1.749** (0.769)	2.903* (1.605)	1.335 (1.184)
var(_cons)				0.062*** (0.0146)	0.054*** (0.0169)	0.041*** (0.0174)
var(Residual)				0.877** (0.0514)	0.837** (0.0609)	0.997 (0.0264)
N	20,393	11,871	8,522	20,393	11,871	8,522
BIC	55678.3	31914.9	24364.1	2200.7	1720.6	553.3

Standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table A. 9. The perception of racial discrimination

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	EU28	EU15	NMS13	EU28	EU15	NMS13
	OLS estimates (2019)			Multilevel estimates (2019)		
Perception of racial discrimination						
female	0.109*** (0.0119)	0.113*** (0.0148)	0.0994*** (0.0213)	0.107*** (0.0147)	0.111*** (0.0177)	0.0991*** (0.0209)
age (in decades)	-0.0415*** (0.00371)	-0.0402*** (0.00461)	-0.0500*** (0.00682)	-0.0403*** (0.00893)	-0.0389*** (0.0111)	-0.0497*** (0.00987)
years of education (in decades)	0.0126 (0.0152)	0.00228 (0.0183)	0.0728** (0.0324)	0.0102 (0.0257)	0.000179 (0.0270)	0.0706 (0.0455)
financial difficulties	0.0800*** (0.0113)	0.0573*** (0.0144)	0.159*** (0.0188)	0.0802** (0.0334)	0.0568 (0.0376)	0.160*** (0.0324)
life satisfaction	-0.00451 (0.00941)	0.00858 (0.0120)	-0.0712*** (0.0159)	-0.00560 (0.0214)	0.00730 (0.0244)	-0.0729*** (0.0248)
town	-0.00864 (0.0147)	-0.0319* (0.0186)	0.0730*** (0.0255)	-0.00503 (0.0365)	-0.0280 (0.0411)	0.0723 (0.0524)
city	0.0383** (0.0164)	0.0257 (0.0211)	0.0769*** (0.0266)	0.0445 (0.0543)	0.0325 (0.0620)	0.0780 (0.0931)
right-wing political orientation	-0.0234*** (0.00279)	-0.0303*** (0.00364)	-0.00740* (0.00437)	-0.0234*** (0.00583)	-0.0305*** (0.00721)	-0.00695 (0.00633)
contact with outgroup members	0.178*** (0.0143)	0.159*** (0.0181)	0.228*** (0.0242)	0.178*** (0.0235)	0.159*** (0.0277)	0.229*** (0.0358)
active	0.00285 (0.0133)	-0.00616 (0.0165)	0.0419* (0.0245)	0.00359 (0.0204)	-0.00547 (0.0235)	0.0416 (0.0290)
minority member	0.178*** (0.0395)	0.136*** (0.0487)	0.375*** (0.0751)	0.176*** (0.0645)	0.134* (0.0721)	0.376** (0.147)
Belgium	-0.148*** (0.0400)	-0.153*** (0.0448)				
Netherlands	-0.240*** (0.0351)	-0.257*** (0.0394)				
Italy	-0.253*** (0.0258)	-0.238*** (0.0290)				
Luxembourg	-0.956*** (0.191)	-0.964*** (0.213)				
Denmark	-0.477*** (0.0555)	-0.488*** (0.0622)				
Ireland	-0.495*** (0.0652)	-0.501*** (0.0731)				
United Kingdom	-0.290*** (0.0243)	-0.297*** (0.0273)				
Greece	-0.486*** (0.0440)	-0.474*** (0.0497)				
Spain	-0.538*** (0.0258)	-0.553*** (0.0290)				
Portugal	-0.451*** (0.0487)	-0.445*** (0.0546)				
Finland	-0.281*** (0.0563)	-0.288*** (0.0632)				
Sweden	-0.343*** (0.0436)	-0.349*** (0.0490)				
Austria	-0.362*** (0.0485)	-0.382*** (0.0545)				
Germany	-0.498*** (0.0226)	-0.515*** (0.0255)				
Cyprus	-0.375** (0.176)					

Czech Republic	-0.559*** (0.0426)			-0.156 (0.142)		
Estonia	-0.870*** (0.123)			-0.464*** (0.169)		
Hungary	-0.401*** (0.0445)			-0.0267 (0.142)		
Latvia	-1.235*** (0.107)			-0.859*** (0.162)		
Lithuania	-1.132*** (0.0879)			-0.723*** (0.154)		
Malta	-0.409 (0.256)			0.0307 (0.245)		
Poland	-0.703*** (0.0302)			-0.293** (0.140)		
Slovakia	-1.073*** (0.0608)			-0.664*** (0.146)		
Slovenia	-1.003*** (0.102)			-0.582*** (0.159)		
Bulgaria	-1.233*** (0.0554)			-0.917*** (0.145)		
Romania	-0.672*** (0.0374)			-0.318** (0.141)		
Croatia	-1.009*** (0.0639)			-0.616*** (0.147)		
Gini coefficient				-0.0167 (0.0172)	-0.0450 (0.0299)	-0.00274 (0.0140)
GDP per capita (PPS)				0.0189*** (0.00668)	-0.0143** (0.00731)	0.0182 (0.0202)
unemployment rate				0.0249 (0.0159)	-0.000517 (0.0163)	-0.105*** (0.0335)
Constant	3.191*** (0.0514)	3.237*** (0.0640)	2.755*** (0.165)	2.529*** (0.590)	4.760*** (1.068)	2.486*** (0.744)
var(_cons)				0.045*** (0.0112)	0.028*** (0.0089)	0.025*** (0.0119)
var(Residual)				0.739*** (0.0399)	0.681*** (0.0368)	0.958** (0.0167)
N	21,321	12,687	8,634	21,321	12,687	8,634
BIC	54506.1	31459	24340.3	2176.9	1699.2	547.4

Standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table A. 10. The perception of religious discrimination, OLS estimates (2019)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	EU28	EU15	NMS13	EU27	EU15	NMS12
	OLS estimates (2019)			OLS estimates (2019)		
Perception of religious discrimination						
female	0.114*** (0.0127)	0.130*** (0.0161)	0.0444** (0.0213)	0.114*** (0.0130)	0.130*** (0.0161)	0.0408* (0.0225)
age (in decades)	-0.0544*** (0.00389)	-0.0534*** (0.00493)	-0.0567*** (0.00674)	-0.0542*** (0.00396)	-0.0534*** (0.00493)	-0.0557*** (0.00710)
years of education (in decades)	0.0161 (0.0161)	0.00309 (0.0199)	0.0547* (0.0324)	0.0152 (0.0165)	0.00309 (0.0199)	0.0489 (0.0343)
financial difficulties	0.0825*** (0.0121)	0.0589*** (0.0157)	0.160*** (0.0189)	0.0809*** (0.0123)	0.0589*** (0.0157)	0.158*** (0.0201)
life satisfaction	-0.00889 (0.0100)	0.00631 (0.0130)	-0.0738*** (0.0159)	-0.00806 (0.0102)	0.00631 (0.0130)	-0.0732*** (0.0168)
town	-0.0206 (0.0157)	-0.0459** (0.0202)	0.0964*** (0.0254)	-0.0228 (0.0160)	-0.0459** (0.0202)	0.0922*** (0.0269)
city	0.0479*** (0.0175)	0.0539** (0.0229)	0.0279 (0.0266)	0.0460*** (0.0178)	0.0539** (0.0229)	0.0188 (0.0281)
right-wing political orientation	-0.0233*** (0.00296)	-0.0299*** (0.00394)	-0.00223 (0.00435)	-0.0235*** (0.00303)	-0.0299*** (0.00394)	-0.00207 (0.00459)
contact with outgroup members	0.139*** (0.0154)	0.157*** (0.0206)	0.0849*** (0.0222)	0.139*** (0.0158)	0.157*** (0.0206)	0.0816*** (0.0234)
active	0.00670 (0.0142)	0.0147 (0.0179)	-0.0323 (0.0245)	0.00804 (0.0145)	0.0147 (0.0179)	-0.0269 (0.0259)
minority member	0.279*** (0.0329)	0.176*** (0.0435)	0.580*** (0.0482)	0.275*** (0.0336)	0.176*** (0.0435)	0.584*** (0.0509)
Belgium	-0.0928** (0.0425)	-0.0869* (0.0487)		-0.0931** (0.0432)	-0.0869* (0.0487)	
Netherlands	-0.449*** (0.0375)	-0.466*** (0.0429)		-0.450*** (0.0381)	-0.466*** (0.0429)	
Italy	-0.408*** (0.0275)	-0.382*** (0.0317)		-0.407*** (0.0279)	-0.382*** (0.0317)	
Luxembourg	-0.852*** (0.204)	-0.859*** (0.233)		-0.853*** (0.207)	-0.859*** (0.233)	
Denmark	-0.161*** (0.0592)	-0.173** (0.0677)		-0.161*** (0.0601)	-0.173** (0.0677)	
Ireland	-0.561*** (0.0697)	-0.568*** (0.0796)		-0.562*** (0.0708)	-0.568*** (0.0796)	
United Kingdom	-0.149*** (0.0259)	-0.158*** (0.0297)		-0.150*** (0.0263)	-0.158*** (0.0297)	
Greece	-0.428*** (0.0466)	-0.405*** (0.0537)		-0.427*** (0.0473)	-0.405*** (0.0537)	
Spain	-0.638*** (0.0276)	-0.650*** (0.0316)		-0.639*** (0.0280)	-0.650*** (0.0316)	
Portugal	-0.539*** (0.0529)	-0.525*** (0.0605)		-0.538*** (0.0537)	-0.525*** (0.0605)	
Finland	-0.712*** (0.0598)	-0.712*** (0.0684)		-0.712*** (0.0608)	-0.712*** (0.0684)	
Sweden	-0.267*** (0.0471)	-0.274*** (0.0539)		-0.267*** (0.0478)	-0.274*** (0.0539)	
Austria	-0.434*** (0.0515)	-0.442*** (0.0589)		-0.435*** (0.0523)	-0.442*** (0.0589)	
Germany	-0.621*** (0.0237)	-0.630*** (0.0272)		-0.622*** (0.0241)	-0.630*** (0.0272)	
Cyprus	-0.406** (0.186)			-0.406** (0.189)		

Czech Republic	-0.933*** (0.0457)		-0.532*** (0.141)	-0.933*** (0.0464)		-0.534*** (0.145)
Estonia	-1.176*** (0.133)		-0.744*** (0.168)	-1.177*** (0.135)		-0.744*** (0.173)
Hungary	-0.779*** (0.0477)		-0.410*** (0.141)	-0.779*** (0.0485)		-0.412*** (0.145)
Latvia	-1.440*** (0.114)		-1.051*** (0.161)	-1.439*** (0.116)		-1.050*** (0.165)
Lithuania	-1.238*** (0.0917)		-0.834*** (0.153)	-1.238*** (0.0931)		-0.835*** (0.157)
Malta	-0.769*** (0.272)		-0.345 (0.244)	-0.770*** (0.277)		-0.348 (0.251)
Poland	-0.795*** (0.0318)		-0.406*** (0.139)	-0.796*** (0.0324)		-0.409*** (0.143)
Slovakia	-1.260*** (0.0651)		-0.843*** (0.145)	-1.261*** (0.0661)		-0.846*** (0.149)
Slovenia	-0.804*** (0.108)		-0.376** (0.158)	-0.804*** (0.109)		-0.378** (0.163)
Bulgaria	-1.240*** (0.0580)		-0.907*** (0.144)	-1.239*** (0.0589)		-0.906*** (0.148)
Romania	-0.525*** (0.0394)		-0.213 (0.140)	-0.524*** (0.0400)		-0.215 (0.144)
Croatia	-0.710*** (0.0665)		-0.319** (0.145)			
Constant	3.065*** (0.0545)	3.059*** (0.0694)	2.721*** (0.163)	3.066*** (0.0556)	3.059*** (0.0694)	2.728*** (0.169)
Observations	20,920	12,397	8,523	20,058	12,397	7,661
BIC	55772.4	32545.1	23911.3	53450.2	32545.1	21509

Standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table A. 11. The perception of religious discrimination, OLS estimates (2012)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(1)	(2)	(3)
	EU28	EU15	NMS13	EU28	EU15	NMS13
	OLS estimates (2012)			OLS estimates (2012)		
Perception of religious discrimination						
female	0.0373*** (0.0127)	0.0418*** (0.0154)	0.0167 (0.0238)	0.0361*** (0.0125)	0.0401*** (0.0152)	0.0179 (0.0234)
age (in decades)	-0.0616*** (0.00392)	-0.0670*** (0.00477)	-0.0449*** (0.00752)	-0.0518*** (0.00387)	-0.0563*** (0.00471)	-0.0440*** (0.00739)
years of education (in decades)	0.000125 (0.0168)	-0.00268 (0.0198)	0.0280 (0.0378)	-0.0184 (0.0165)	-0.0205 (0.0195)	0.0127 (0.0372)
financial difficulties	0.0845*** (0.0105)	0.105*** (0.0130)	0.0124 (0.0188)	0.0802*** (0.0103)	0.101*** (0.0127)	0.0102 (0.0184)
life satisfaction	0.00333 (0.00995)	0.00313 (0.0121)	0.00824 (0.0187)	0.00242 (0.00978)	0.00215 (0.0119)	0.00472 (0.0184)
town	0.0119 (0.0152)	-0.0133 (0.0185)	0.0975*** (0.0287)	0.00146 (0.0150)	-0.0234 (0.0182)	0.0825*** (0.0282)
city	0.0321* (0.0173)	-0.0164 (0.0215)	0.178*** (0.0297)	0.0175 (0.0170)	-0.0296 (0.0211)	0.151*** (0.0293)
right-wing political orientation	-0.00566* (0.00298)	-0.00358 (0.00378)	-0.0151*** (0.00481)	-0.00209 (0.00293)	0.000649 (0.00371)	-0.0156*** (0.00473)
contact with outgroup members	0.0409*** (0.0149)	-0.00671 (0.0186)	0.184*** (0.0249)	0.0193 (0.0146)	-0.0274 (0.0183)	0.153*** (0.0245)
active	-0.0260* (0.0143)	-0.0415** (0.0175)	0.0355 (0.0267)	-0.0204 (0.0141)	-0.0346** (0.0171)	0.0284 (0.0262)
minority member	0.310*** (0.0298)	0.288*** (0.0367)	0.373*** (0.0527)	0.249*** (0.0294)	0.220*** (0.0361)	0.341*** (0.0519)
witnessed ethnic				0.616*** (0.0236)	0.582*** (0.0271)	1.052*** (0.0664)
Belgium	-0.205*** (0.0429)	-0.210*** (0.0473)		-0.211*** (0.0421)	-0.216*** (0.0464)	
Netherlands	-0.329*** (0.0364)	-0.319*** (0.0402)		-0.346*** (0.0358)	-0.336*** (0.0395)	
Italy	-0.529*** (0.0269)	-0.538*** (0.0298)		-0.483*** (0.0265)	-0.495*** (0.0294)	
Luxembourg	-0.655*** (0.197)	-0.649*** (0.217)		-0.614*** (0.194)	-0.611*** (0.213)	
Denmark	-0.258*** (0.0573)	-0.247*** (0.0633)		-0.302*** (0.0563)	-0.288*** (0.0622)	
Ireland	-1.331*** (0.0723)	-1.334*** (0.0798)		-1.281*** (0.0711)	-1.287*** (0.0784)	
United Kingdom	-0.336*** (0.0247)	-0.323*** (0.0273)		-0.326*** (0.0243)	-0.314*** (0.0268)	
Greece	-0.728*** (0.0483)	-0.751*** (0.0536)		-0.680*** (0.0475)	-0.707*** (0.0527)	
Spain	-0.671*** (0.0275)	-0.681*** (0.0304)		-0.647*** (0.0270)	-0.658*** (0.0299)	
Portugal	-0.971*** (0.0558)	-0.984*** (0.0617)		-0.928*** (0.0549)	-0.944*** (0.0606)	
Finland	-0.656*** (0.0581)	-0.653*** (0.0642)		-0.646*** (0.0572)	-0.645*** (0.0630)	
Sweden	-0.202*** (0.0453)	-0.184*** (0.0501)		-0.261*** (0.0446)	-0.241*** (0.0493)	
Austria	-0.729*** (0.0507)	-0.734*** (0.0559)		-0.731*** (0.0498)	-0.736*** (0.0549)	
Germany	-0.622*** (0.0233)	-0.613*** (0.0258)		-0.609*** (0.0229)	-0.601*** (0.0253)	

Cyprus	-0.571*** (0.185)			-0.567*** (0.182)		
Czech Republic	-1.250*** (0.0460)		-0.671*** (0.149)	-1.192*** (0.0453)		-0.579*** (0.147)
Estonia	-1.188*** (0.142)		-0.641*** (0.183)	-1.153*** (0.140)		-0.589*** (0.180)
Hungary	-1.067*** (0.0491)		-0.500*** (0.150)	-1.041*** (0.0483)		-0.462*** (0.148)
Latvia	-1.737*** (0.112)		-1.177*** (0.169)	-1.682*** (0.110)		-1.094*** (0.167)
Lithuania	-1.340*** (0.0876)		-0.775*** (0.160)	-1.285*** (0.0862)		-0.691*** (0.158)
Malta	-1.044*** (0.260)		-0.423* (0.250)	-1.019*** (0.255)		-0.387 (0.246)
Poland	-1.041*** (0.0314)		-0.463*** (0.147)	-1.000*** (0.0309)		-0.400*** (0.145)
Slovakia	-1.266*** (0.0595)		-0.734*** (0.153)	-1.201*** (0.0585)		-0.640*** (0.150)
Slovenia	-0.955*** (0.111)		-0.417** (0.169)	-0.929*** (0.109)		-0.383** (0.166)
Bulgaria	-1.509*** (0.0589)		-0.956*** (0.152)	-1.456*** (0.0579)		-0.872*** (0.150)
Romania	-1.443*** (0.0394)		-0.884*** (0.149)	-1.398*** (0.0387)		-0.823*** (0.146)
Constant	3.060*** (0.0530)	3.135*** (0.0641)	2.276*** (0.174)	2.981*** (0.0522)	3.050*** (0.0631)	2.241*** (0.171)
Observations	18,939	11,920	7,019	18,939	11,920	7,019
BIC	49162.9	30170.9	19994.2	48515.2	29734.8	19767.2

Standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table A. 12. The perception of religious discrimination and country-level characteristics, multilevel models (2019)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
	EU28	EU15	NMS13	EU28	EU15	NMS13	EU28	EU15	NMS13
	Multilevel estimates (2019)			Multilevel estimates (2019)			Multilevel estimates (2019)		
Perception of religious discrimination									
female	0.114*** (0.0280)	0.130*** (0.0326)	0.0441** (0.0212)	0.114*** (0.0280)	0.130*** (0.0326)	0.0441** (0.0212)	0.114*** (0.0283)	0.130*** (0.0326)	0.0402* (0.0227)
age (in decades)	-0.0544*** (0.00941)	-0.0535*** (0.0108)	-0.0567*** (0.0167)	-0.0543*** (0.00941)	-0.0535*** (0.0108)	-0.0566*** (0.0167)	-0.0543*** (0.00949)	-0.0535*** (0.0108)	-0.0559*** (0.0174)
years of education (in decades)	0.0122 (0.0359)	-0.00109 (0.0421)	0.0516 (0.0463)	0.0119 (0.0359)	-0.00124 (0.0421)	0.0512 (0.0463)	0.0103 (0.0361)	-0.00134 (0.0421)	0.0470 (0.0488)
financial difficulties	0.0869*** (0.0243)	0.0638*** (0.0217)	0.161*** (0.0397)	0.0866*** (0.0243)	0.0632*** (0.0215)	0.161*** (0.0396)	0.0857*** (0.0244)	0.0640*** (0.0218)	0.158*** (0.0429)
life satisfaction	-0.00811 (0.0207)	0.00807 (0.0211)	-0.0755* (0.0442)	-0.00790 (0.0207)	0.00831 (0.0211)	-0.0757* (0.0442)	-0.00755 (0.0209)	0.00779 (0.0212)	-0.0753 (0.0474)
town	-0.0140 (0.0325)	-0.0381 (0.0309)	0.0960 (0.0639)	-0.0139 (0.0327)	-0.0384 (0.0313)	0.0961 (0.0639)	-0.0156 (0.0329)	-0.0381 (0.0309)	0.0909 (0.0686)
city	0.0550 (0.0374)	0.0626 (0.0395)	0.0297 (0.0727)	0.0550 (0.0376)	0.0622 (0.0398)	0.0297 (0.0727)	0.0534 (0.0379)	0.0625 (0.0394)	0.0189 (0.0785)
right-wing political orientation	-0.0230*** (0.00527)	-0.0296*** (0.00562)	-0.00183 (0.00606)	-0.0231*** (0.00528)	-0.0297*** (0.00565)	-0.00185 (0.00606)	-0.0232*** (0.00532)	-0.0296*** (0.00561)	-0.00164 (0.00650)
contact with outgroup members	0.132*** (0.0305)	0.149*** (0.0381)	0.0850* (0.0460)	0.133*** (0.0304)	0.149*** (0.0382)	0.0851* (0.0460)	0.132*** (0.0308)	0.149*** (0.0380)	0.0795 (0.0491)
active	0.00566 (0.0208)	0.0141 (0.0256)	-0.0340 (0.0386)	0.00571 (0.0207)	0.0141 (0.0257)	-0.0338 (0.0385)	0.00710 (0.0210)	0.0140 (0.0257)	-0.0297 (0.0398)
minority member	0.281*** (0.0719)	0.176*** (0.0614)	0.587*** (0.105)	0.281*** (0.0719)	0.176*** (0.0614)	0.587*** (0.105)	0.278*** (0.0726)	0.176*** (0.0614)	0.591*** (0.110)
Gini coefficient	-0.00725 (0.0228)	-0.0578 (0.0360)	-0.00104 (0.0171)	-0.00323 (0.0229)	-0.0541 (0.0344)	-0.000284 (0.0138)	0.00954 (0.0202)	-0.0124 (0.0396)	0.0134 (0.0124)
GDP per capita (PPS)	0.0101 (0.00917)	-0.0231* (0.0123)	0.0227 (0.0265)	0.0212** (0.00880)	-0.0219** (0.0110)	0.0170 (0.0225)	0.00537 (0.00664)	-0.0206* (0.0119)	0.0279 (0.0173)
unemployment rate	0.0253 (0.0217)	0.00323 (0.0328)	-0.0255 (0.0459)	0.0207 (0.0212)	-0.0121 (0.0248)	-0.0292 (0.0375)	0.0204 (0.0187)	-0.00643 (0.0227)	-0.0703** (0.0308)
fractionalisation index (EB)	0.00534 (0.00439)	0.00491 (0.00617)	-0.00939*** (0.00306)						
fractionalisation index (CIA)				-0.000939 (0.00417)	-0.00150 (0.00509)	-0.00739** (0.00309)			

witnessing discrimination (2012)							0.0445***	0.0285	0.112***
							(0.0169)	(0.0186)	(0.0247)
Constant	2.025*** (0.710)	4.880*** (1.261)	2.223** (1.000)	1.945*** (0.738)	5.238*** (1.236)	2.307** (0.912)	1.701*** (0.581)	3.575** (1.498)	1.156* (0.606)
var(_cons)	0.069*** (0.0149)	0.046*** (0.0096)	0.026*** (0.0114)	0.074*** (0.0192)	0.048*** (0.0139)	0.025*** (0.0104)	0.053*** (0.0104)	0.042*** (0.0096)	0.023*** (0.0135)
var(Residual)	0.826*** (0.0257)	0.791*** (0.0239)	0.945** (0.0240)	0.826*** (0.0257)	0.791*** (0.0239)	0.945** (0.0240)	0.825*** (0.0259)	0.791*** (0.0239)	0.946** (0.0253)
N	20,920	12,397	8,523	20,920	12,397	8,523	20,058	12,397	7,661
BIC	2235.9	1770.8	538.8	2236	1770.8	538.7	2213.7	1761.3	516.4

Robust standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Appendix B. Methodological issues

Data

Eurobarometer survey

The report is based on individual-level data from several different waves of the Eurobarometer survey that included questions concerning perceived prevalence of discrimination on the grounds of ethnic origin, skin colour, being Roma and religion or beliefs, namely the 2019, 2015, 2012, 2009, 2008 Flash and 2006 editions. From 2006 to 2012 the survey waves were carried out in 27 EU Member States (with separate samples for East Germany and Northern Ireland). Since 2015, they have been carried out in 28 Member States (again East and West Germany sampled separately). The additional sample for Northern Ireland was only included in survey waves up to 2017, except for 2008 Flash. In 2009, an additional survey module on discrimination in the European Union was carried out in all Member States and additionally in Northern Ireland, Croatia, Turkey, Macedonia and East Germany. Table B. 1 provides an overview of sample sizes by country and edition.

Table B. 1. Eurobarometer sample size by country and the survey edition

Country	2006	2008	2008 Flash	2009	2012	2015	2017	2018	2019
FR - France	1,009	1,054	1,009	1,078	1,027	1,000	1,015	1,014	1,007
BE - Belgium	1,032	1,012	1,001	1,000	1,059	1,012	1,001	1,079	1,028
NL - The Netherlands	1,019	1,023	1,002	1,079	1,003	1,008	1,040	1,044	1,014
DE-W - Germany - West	1,053	1,036	1,010	1,092	980	1,008	1,052	1,009	992
IT - Italy	1,019	1,036	1,008	1,048	1,026	1,040	1,029	1,008	1,023
LU - Luxembourg	506	513	1,000	504	503	503	504	501	514
DK - Denmark	1,045	1,032	1,007	1,001	1,008	1,016	1,011	1,004	1,004
IE - Ireland	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,007	997	1,004	1,004	1,001	1,006
GB-UKM - United Kingdom	1,002	1,005	1,000	1,015	1,001	1,006	1,033	1,066	1,022
GB-NIR Northern Ireland	311	301		302	300	300	305		
GR - Greece	1,000	1,000	1,009	1,000	1,000	1,009	1,010	1,016	1,016
ES - Spain	1,012	1,004	1,006	1,007	1,011	1,000	1,024	1,007	1,005
PT - Portugal	1,011	1,000	1,001	1,020	1,001	1,005	1,089	1,012	1,009
DE-E Germany East	517	526		431	525	505	540	517	545
FI - Finland	1,031	1,001	1,008	999	1,017	1,004	1,024	1,023	1,003
SE - Sweden	1,002	1,007	1,001	1,006	1,033	1,066	1,036	1,072	1,008
AT - Austria	1,000	1,008	1,006	1,001	1,001	1,035	1,021	1,033	1,027
CY - Cyprus (Republic)	504	506	1,006	501	504	500	502	499	503
CZ - Czech Republic	1,011	1,070	1,006	1,033	1,004	1,008	1,023	1,008	1,008
EE - Estonia	1,004	1,000	1,005	1,007	1,005	1,018	1,005	1,004	1,003
HU - Hungary	1,015	1,000	1,006	1,000	1,009	1,051	1,038	1,047	1,027
LV - Latvia	1,019	1,004	1,015	1,012	1,024	1,003	1,000	1,002	1,007
LT - Lithuania	1,004	1,009	1,001	1,022	1,028	1,004	1,013	1,007	1,003
MT - Malta	500	500	1,000	500	500	500	508	506	495
PL - Poland	1,000	1,000	1,001	1,000	1,000	1,005	997	1,011	1,010
SK - Slovakia	1,143	1,049	1,017	1,037	1,000	1,016	1,089	1,013	1,081
SI - Slovenia	1,027	1,026	1,003	1,022	1,005	1,019	1,042	1,026	1,008
BG - Bulgaria	1,025	1,000	1,006	1,009	1,008	1,058	1,040	1,034	1,032
RO - Romania	1,001	1,024	1,013	1,023	1,043	1,012	1,005	1,063	1,041

TR - Turkey				1,003						
HR - Croatia				1,000	1,003	1,031	1,010	997		
FYROM - Macedonia				1,009						
Total	26,822	26,746	27,147	29,768	26,622	27,718	28,031	27,636	27,438	

Source: Eurobarometer

The surveys were conducted using a multi-stage stratified probability sample. Data were collected through face-to-face Computer Assisted Personal Interviews (CAPI) with individuals aged 15 years and over. Table B. 2 and Table B. 3 present the definitions and summary statistics of all variables included in the analysis for 2019 and 2012 data, respectively.

European Commission. (2020). Eurobarometer 91.4 (2019) *GESIS Data Archive, Cologne*. ZA7575 Data file Version 1.0.0, <https://doi.org/10.4232/1.13429>.

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European Commission (2012). Eurobarometer 71.2 (May-Jun 2009). *GESIS Data Archive, Cologne*. ZA4972 Data file Version 3.0.2, <https://doi.org/10.4232/1.10990>.

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European Commission (2012). Eurobarometer 65.4 (Jun-Jul 2006). *GESIS Data Archive, Cologne*. ZA4508 Data file Version 1.1.2, <https://doi.org/10.4232/1.10979>.

European Commission (2008). Flash Eurobarometer 232 (Discrimination in the European Union). *GESIS Data Archive, Cologne*. ZA4812 Data file Version 1.0.0, <https://doi.org/10.4232/1.4812>.

Table B. 2. The definitions and summary statistics of all variables included in the analysis, Eurobarometer 2019

Variable	Code	Observations	Mean	Standard Deviation	Min	Max	Survey question used
Perception of discrimination based on ethnic origin		27439					For each of the following types of discrimination, could you please tell me whether, in your opinion, it is very widespread, fairly widespread, fairly rare or very rare in [country]? Discrimination on the basis of ethnic origin
Very widespread	1	3305					
Fairly widespread	2	10528					
Fairly rare	3	7523					
Very rare	4	4118					
Non-existent (SPONTANEUS)	5	568					
Don't know	6	1396					
missing data	.	1					
Perception of discrimination based on ethnic origin		26042	2.4563	0.9742	0	4	recoded (5=0) (4=1) (3=2) (2=3) (1=4)
Perception of discrimination based on skin colour		27439					For each of the following types of discrimination, could you please tell me whether, in your opinion, it is very widespread, fairly widespread, fairly rare or very rare in [country]? Discrimination on the basis of skin colour
Very widespread	1	3660					
Fairly widespread	2	10118					
Fairly rare	3	7618					
Very rare	4	4221					
Non-existent (SPONTANEUS)	5	569					
Don't know	6	1252					
missing data	.	1					
Perception of discrimination based on skin colour		26186	2.4613	0.9904	0	4	recoded (5=0) (4=1) (3=2) (2=3) (1=4)

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

Perception of discrimination based on being Roma

Very widespread	1	5681
Fairly widespread	2	9890
Fairly rare	3	5482
Very rare	4	3541
Non-existent (SPONTANEUS)	5	586
Don't know	6	2258
missing data	.	1

Perception of discrimination based on skin colour 25180 2.6568 1.0476 0 4 recoded (5=0) (4=1) (3=2) (2=3) (1=4)

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

Perception of discrimination based on religion or beliefs

Very widespread	1	2694
Fairly widespread	2	7898
Fairly rare	3	8549
Very rare	4	6315
Non-existent (SPONTANEUS)	5	708
Don't know	6	1274
missing data	.	1

Perception of discrimination based on skin colour 26164 2.2123 1.0091 0 4 recoded (5=0) (4=1) (3=2) (2=3) (1=4)

Female		27439
Man	1	12492
Woman	2	14946
missing data	.	1

Gender

Female		27438	0.5447	0.4980	0	1	recoded (1=0) (2=1)
Age		27438	51.5560	18.1593	15		How old are you?
Education		27051	13.3733	4.3155	0	24	How old were you when you stopped full-time education? Recoded into years of education
Financial difficulties		27439					During the last twelve months, how often have you had difficulties in paying your bills at the end of the month...?
	Most of the time	1	2054				
	From time to time	2	6538				
	Almost never/never	3	18467				
	Refusal (SPONTANEUS)	7	379				
	missing data	.	1				
Financial difficulties		27059	0.3934	0.6249	0	2	recoded (3=0) (2=1) (1=2) (7=.)
Life satisfaction		27439					On the whole, how satisfied or not are you with the life you lead? Are you...?
	Very satisfied	1	7242				
	Fairly satisfied	2	15356				
	Not very satisfied	3	3736				
	Not at all satisfied	4	1002				
	Don't know	5	102				
	missing data	.	1				
Life satisfaction		27336	3.0549	0.7384	1	4	recoded (1=4) (2=3) (3=2) (4=1) (5=.)
Locality		27439					Would you say you live in a...?
	Rural area or village	1	8776				
	Small or middle-sized town	2	10767				

Large town	3	7881
Don't know	8	14
missing data	.	1

In political matters people talk of "the left" and "the right".
Thinking about your views, how would you place yourself on this scale?
1 = Left, 10 = Right

Political orientation (right)		27439
Box 1 - left	1	1489
Box 2	2	968
Box 3	3	2281
Box 4	4	2344
Box 5	5	6983
Box 6	6	2330
Box 7	7	2242
Box 8	8	1955
Box 9	9	664
Box 10 - left	10	1493
Refusal	97	1914
Don't know	98	2775
missing data	.	1

Political orientation (right)		22749	5.3092	2.2840	1	10	recoded (97/98=.)
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Contact with ethnic outgroup members		27439
Yes	1	16666
No	2	10471
Refusal (SPONTANEUS)	3	117
Don't know	4	184
missing data	.	1

Do you have friends or acquaintances who are people whose ethnic origin is different from yours?

Contact with ethnic outgroup members		27137	0.6141	0.4868	0	1	recoded (1=1) (2=0) (3=.) (4=.)
Contact with racial outgroup members		27439					Do you have friends or acquaintances who are people whose skin colour is different from yours?
Yes	1	13507					
No	2	13654					
Refusal (SPONTANEUS)	3	123					
Don't know	4	154					
missing data	.	1					
Contact with racial outgroup members		27161	0.4973	0.5000	0	1	recoded (1=1) (2=0) (3=.) (4=.)
Contact with Roma		27439					Do you have friends or acquaintances who are Roma? READ OUT DEFINITION: The term Roma encompasses diverse groups, including Roma, Manouches, Ashkali, Sinti and Boyash. It also includes Travellers/Gens du voyage, without denying the specificities of these groups)
Yes	1	5966					
No	2	20855					
Refusal (SPONTANEUS)	3	204					
Don't know	4	413					
missing data	.	1					
Contact with Roma		26821	0.2224	0.4159	0	1	recoded (1=1) (2=0) (3=.) (4=.)
Contact with religious outgroup members		27439					Do you have friends or acquaintances of a different religion or have different beliefs than you?
Yes	1	17580					
No	2	9028					
Refusal (SPONTANEUS)	3	209					
Don't know	4	621					
missing data	.	1					

Contact with ethnic outgroup members		26608	0.6607	0.4735	0	1	recoded (1=1) (2=0) (3=.) (4=.)
Labour force participation (active)		27439					What is your current occupation?
Responsible for ordinary shopping, etc.	1	1358					
Student	2	1676					
Unemployed, temporarily not working	3	1304					
Retired, unable to work	4	8791					
Farmer	5	227					
Fisherman	6	12					
Professional (lawyer, etc.)	7	381					
Owner of a shop, craftsmen, etc.	8	807					
Business proprietors, etc.	9	552					
Employed professional (e.g. employed doctor)	10	783					
General management, etc.	11	300					
Middle management, etc.	12	1828					
Employed position, at desk	13	2537					
Employed position, travelling	14	999					
Employed position, service job	15	2213					
Supervisor	16	250					
Skilled manual worker	17	2599					
Unskilled manual worker, etc.	18	821					
missing data	.	1					
Labour force participation (active)		27438	0.5690	0.4952	0	1	recoded (1,2,3 = 0) (4-18 = 1)
Ethnic minority member		27438	0.0304	0.1718	0	1	Where you live, do you consider yourself to be part of any of the following? Please tell me all that apply. An ethnic minority (0 - not mentioned) (1 - an ethnic minority)

Racial minority member	27438	0.0188	0.1357	0	1	Where you live, do you consider yourself to be part of any of the following? Please tell me all that apply. A minority in terms of skin colour (0 - not mentioned) (1 - an ethnic minority)
Roma minority member	27438	0.0159	0.1252	0	1	Where you live, do you consider yourself to be part of any of the following? Please tell me all that apply. Being Roma (0 - not mentioned) (1 - an ethnic minority)
Religious minority member	27438	0.0372	0.1894	0	1	Where you live, do you consider yourself to be part of any of the following? Please tell me all that apply. A religious minority (0 - not mentioned) (1 - an ethnic minority)

Table B. 3. The definitions and summary statistics of all variables included in the analysis, Eurobarometer 2012

Variable	Code	Observations	Mean	Standard Deviation	Min	Max	Survey question used
Perception of discrimination based on ethnic origin		26625					For each of the following types of discrimination, could you please tell me whether, in your opinion, it is very widespread, fairly widespread, fairly rare or very rare in [country]? Discrimination on the basis of ethnic origin
Very widespread	1	2898					
Fairly widespread	2	10879					
Fairly rare	3	7650					
Very rare	4	2943					
Non-existent (SPONTANEUS)	5	1005					
Don't know	.d	1247					
missing data	.	3					
Perception of discrimination based on ethnic origin		25375	2.4620	0.9729	0	4	recoded (5=0) (4=1) (3=2) (2=3) (1=4) (.d=.)
Perception of discrimination based on religion or beliefs		26625					For each of the following types of discrimination, could you please tell me whether, in your opinion, it is very widespread, fairly widespread, fairly rare or very rare in [country]? Discrimination on the basis of religion or beliefs
Very widespread	1	1531					
Fairly widespread	2	6795					
Fairly rare	3	9497					
Very rare	4	5425					
Non-existent (SPONTANEUS)	5	2157					
Don't know	.d	1217					
missing data	.	3					
Perception of discrimination based on skin colour		25405	2.0046	1.0304	0	4	recoded (5=0) (4=1) (3=2) (2=3) (1=4) (.d=.)

Female		26625					Gender
Man	1	12226					
Woman	2	14396					
missing data	.	3					
Female		26622	0.5408	0.4983	0	1	recoded (1=0) (2=1)
Age		26622	48.6952	18.1530	15	95	How old are you?
Education		26623	12.9429	4.3642	0	24	How old were you when you stopped full-time education? Recoded into years of education
Financial difficulties		26625					During the last twelve months, how often have you had difficulties in paying your bills at the end of the month...?
Most of the time	1	3430					
From time to time	2	7672					
Almost never/never	3	15005					
Refusal (SPONTANEUS)	.r	515					
missing data	.	3					
Financial difficulties		26107	0.5566	0.7138	0	2	recoded (3=0) (2=1) (1=2) (.r=.)
Life satisfaction		26625					On the whole, how satisfied or not are you with the life you lead? Are you...?
Very satisfied	1	5588					
Fairly satisfied	2	13991					
Not very satisfied	3	5205					
Not at all satisfied	4	1609					
Don't know	.d	229					
missing data	.	3					

Life satisfaction		26393	2.8926	0.8008	1	4	recoded (1=4) (2=3) (3=2) (4=1) (.d=.)
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Locality		26625					Would you say you live in a...?
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Rural area or village	1	9195
Small or middle-sized town	2	10118
Large town	3	7280
Don't know	.d	29
missing data	.	3

In political matters people talk of "the left" and "the right".
Thinking about your views, how would you place yourself on this scale?
1 = Left, 10 = Right

Political orientation (right)		26625
Box 1 - left	1	1521
Box 2	2	881
Box 3	3	2250
Box 4	4	2205
Box 5	5	6153
Box 6	6	2416
Box 7	7	2127
Box 8	8	1739
Box 9	9	542
Box 10 - left	10	1185
Refusal	.r	2416
Don't know	.d	3187
missing data	.	3

Political orientation (right)		21019	5.2164	2.2601	1	10	recoded (.r, .d = .)
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Contact with ethnic outgroup members		26625					Do you have friends or acquaintances who are people whose ethnic origin is different from yours?
Yes	1	15390					
No	2	10852					
Don't know	.d	380					
missing data	.	3					
Contact with ethnic outgroup members		26242	0.5865	0.4925	0	1	recoded (1=1) (2=0) (.d=.)
Contact with religious outgroup members		26625					Do you have friends or acquaintances of a different religion or have different beliefs than you?
Yes	1	17159					
No	2	8814					
Don't know	.d	649					
missing data	.	3					
Contact with ethnic outgroup members		25973	0.6606	0.4735	0	1	recoded (1=1) (2=0) (.d=.)
Labour force participation (active)		26625					What is your current occupation?
Responsible for ordinary shopping, etc.	1	1683					
Student	2	1966					
Unemployed, temporarily not working	3	2318					
Retired, unable to work	4	7738					
Farmer	5	306					
Fisherman	6	8					
Professional (lawyer, etc.)	7	379					
Owner of a shop, craftsmen, etc.	8	722					
Business proprietors, etc.	9	444					
Employed professional (e.g. employed doctor)	10	630					
General management, etc.	11	254					
Middle management, etc.	12	1736					

Employed position, at desk	13	2165					
Employed position, travelling	14	778					
Employed position, service job	15	1992					
Supervisor	16	221					
Skilled manual worker	17	2379					
Unskilled manual worker, etc.	18	903					
missing data	.	3					
Labour force participation (active)		26622	0.5723	0.4948	0	1	recoded (1,2,3 = 0) (4-18 = 1)
Ethnic minority member		26623	0.0415	0.1995	0	1	Where you live, do you consider yourself to be part of any of the following? Please tell me all that apply. An ethnic minority (0 - not mentioned) (1 - an ethnic minority)
Religious minority member		26623	0.0394	0.1945	0	1	Where you live, do you consider yourself to be part of any of the following? Please tell me all that apply. A religious minority (0 - not mentioned) (1 - an ethnic minority)

Sources of contextual data

Country level contextual data were extracted from Eurostat on February 5, 2024. Definitions according to the Eurostat:

Real GDP per capita – the ratio of real GDP to the average population of a specific year

Purchasing power adjusted GDP per capita – refers to GDP per capita expressed in purchasing power standards (PPS), which represents a common currency that eliminates the differences in price levels between countries to allow meaningful volume comparisons of GDP.

The Gini coefficient – defined as the relationship of cumulative shares of the population arranged according to the level of equivalised disposable income, to the cumulative share of the equivalised total disposable income received by them.

Unemployment rates represent unemployed persons as a percentage of the labour force. Comparable data for UK were not available in Eurostat database. UK figures are taken from the World Bank online database.

Share of non-nationals was calculated as a ratio of non-nationals in a country's population to total population on January 1.

All contextual data are annual. 2019 data were used in comparisons with 2019 Eurobarometer data.

Table B. 4 presents the contextual data used for modelling.

Table B. 4. Contextual data by country

country	Ethnic	Share of	Witnessing	Religious	Religious	Witnessing	Gini	GDP per	Unemployment
	fractionalisation	non-	ethnic	fractionalisation	fractionalisation	religious	coefficient	capita	rate
	index	nationals	discrimination	index	index	discrimination	2019	PPS 2019	2019
	CIA	Eurostat	Eurobarometer	CIA	Eurobarometer	Eurobarometer	Eurostat	Eurostat	Eurostat
Austria	0.335	0.162	13.8	0.631	0.623	10.0	27.5	39400	4.8
Belgium	0.419	0.123	16.7	0.582	0.610	11.9	25.1	36800	5.5
Bulgaria	0.390	0.015	12.0	0.564	0.398	2.3	40.8	16600	5.2
Croatia	0.179	0.017		0.251	0.343		29.2	20900	6.6
Cyprus	0.024	0.178	26.7	0.204	0.093	8.4	31.1	29100	7.1
Czechia	0.565	0.052	13.5	0.664	0.605	0.4	24.0	29200	2.0
Denmark	0.249	0.091	26.0	0.400	0.565	17.5	27.5	39500	5.0
Estonia	0.466	0.151	10.2	0.643	0.763	4.2	30.5	25900	4.5
Finland	0.156	0.047	21.8	0.462	0.570	8.7	26.2	34200	6.8
France	0.395	0.074	19.9	0.659	0.666	10.5	29.2	33100	8.4
Germany	0.247	0.122	12.7	0.697	0.755	7.9	29.7	37900	3.0
Greece	0.157	0.078	25.5	0.187	0.119	2.4	31.0	20600	17.9
Hungary	0.346	0.018	18.9	0.740	0.568	4.5	28.0	22900	3.3
Ireland	0.314	0.125	12.9	0.375	0.385	2.6	28.3	59200	5.0
Italy	0.097	0.084	9.8	0.327	0.499	2.3	32.8	30200	9.9
Latvia	0.544	0.139	10.7	0.739	0.820	2.2	35.2	21700	6.3
Lithuania	0.277	0.017	5.4	0.425	0.300	1.6	35.4	26400	6.3
Luxembourg	0.671	0.475	18.5	0.430	0.612	5.2	32.3	78900	5.6
Malta	0.345	0.169	12.2	0.180	0.303	3.2	28.0	32700	3.6
Netherlands	0.417	0.064	23.4	0.639	0.669	14.2	26.8	39700	4.4
Poland	0.061	0.008	3.7	0.261	0.258	3.5	28.5	22800	3.3
Portugal	0.095	0.047	5.7	0.343	0.335	2.0	31.9	24600	6.7
Romania	0.198	0.006	8.8	0.267	0.246	3.5	34.8	21800	4.9
Slovakia	0.288	0.014	12.9	0.622	0.467	1.4	22.8	22100	5.7

Slovenia	0.294	0.066	7.6	0.601	0.492	5.6	23.9	27800	4.4
Spain	0.265	0.103	20.0	0.611	0.585	5.8	33.0	28500	14.1
Sweden	0.332	0.091	30.6	0.548	0.635	21.1	27.6	37200	7.0
UK	0.236	0.093	18.2	0.572	0.793	9.4	31.3	32500	3.7

Weights

Official Eurobarometer reports are based on weighted data. This report follows this approach to ensure that the results are fully consistent and comparable. Throughout the report, the analysis is based on the weighted extrapolated population 15+ (variable: wex).