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Intersecting identities and their consequences on inequality structures in the labour market in Europe

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

1. INTRODUCTION

The RAISE project (Recognition and Acknowledgement of Injustice to Strengthen Equality) is a research initiative funded under the Horizon Europe framework. It aims to investigate structural racism and xenophobia in contemporary European societies, focusing on how social boundaries are created and maintained across different institutional and social contexts. By employing an interdisciplinary, multi-method approach, RAISE seeks to enhance public and policy awareness of racial, ethnic, and religious inequalities, ultimately contributing to more inclusive and equitable societies.

Work package 3 (WP3) examines the role of intersectional identities in labour market inequalities. It explores how ethnic, racial, religious, and gender identities interact to shape employment outcomes, emphasising structural discrimination rather than isolated individual experiences. Using both qualitative and quantitative methodologies, WP3 highlights the systemic barriers that contribute to differential access to employment opportunities.

This deliverable (D3.3) presents the findings of the quantitative intersectional analysis within WP3. Drawing on large-scale European survey data, it uncovers patterns of inequality and demonstrates how intersecting identities shape socioeconomic opportunities across European contexts. Due to the limitations of existing datasets for studying the intersections of racial, ethnic, religious and gender identities and inequalities in the labour market (Hajdu & Messing, 2024), our analysis proceeds in two parts. First, we analyse intersectional disadvantages for immigrants and minorities using the six most recent waves of the European Social Survey (ESS). To test the robustness of these findings, we also use data from four recent Eurobarometer surveys.[1] Second, given the limitations of the ESS measure of ethnic minority identification and the size of the minority subsample, we complement this analysis with data from the 2021 Roma Survey of the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights and the EU Labour Force Survey (LFS), focusing specifically on the labour market disadvantages faced by Roma people.

Importantly, this quantitative analysis is complemented by a parallel qualitative report (Messing & Kende, 2025), which presents a comparative analysis of focus group discussions with members of minoritised communities in Belgium, Hungary, the Netherlands, and Poland. The report identifies key barriers to accessing and advancing in the labour market for immigrants and racialised minorities. Its purpose is to contextualise and deepen the quantitative findings, offering a more nuanced understanding of the mechanisms behind observed inequalities. In a separate synthesis report, we bring together the findings from both the qualitative and quantitative components of this work package (Messing, 2025) and unpack the mechanisms

[1] This analysis can be found in Section A3 of the Appendix.

behind intersectional disadvantages affecting immigrant and ethnic minority groups in Europe, aiming to make these insights accessible to a broader audience.

The empirical analysis in this report yields several important findings. On average, immigrants are 8.7 percentage points more likely to have been unemployed than natives, whose unemployment rate is 30.5%.[2] Second-generation immigrants also face a higher risk of unemployment than individuals with native-born parents, though the penalty is considerably smaller than for the first generation.

Identifying as an ethnic minority is strongly and positively associated with unemployment, especially in Eastern Europe. In this region, minorities are 11 percentage points more likely to have experienced unemployment than non-minorities, compared to 7 percentage points in Western Europe compared to non-minorities. The disadvantage is larger for minorities than for immigrants in Eastern Europe, whereas in Western Europe the opposite pattern holds, though the differences are smaller. Importantly, minorities in Eastern Europe face a bigger disadvantage than immigrants in Western Europe, and an even larger one compared to second-generation immigrants in Western Europe.

Beyond barriers to access to employment, we also examined how job quality (measured by occupational status) is associated with intersectional identities. We found that immigrants face a significant disadvantage in terms of job quality, in addition to their disadvantage in accessing the labour market. However, second-generation status does not appear to be associated with occupational status. In other words, while the likelihood of being employed is somewhat lower for the second generation, the quality of the jobs they obtain does not differ from that of individuals with native-born parents.

Several intersectional differences also emerged. Religious immigrants face compounded disadvantages in both accessing employment and obtaining high-quality jobs, beyond what would be expected from the additive effects of being an immigrant and being religious. By contrast, the intersection of immigrant status and gender does not increase the penalty of being an immigrant woman. While immigrant status, gender, and religiosity do not compound disadvantages with respect to unemployment – beyond the penalties that separately occur for immigrants, for women and for religious persons –, they do interact in shaping occupational status, where their combined effect results in an added penalty beyond the simple sum of their individual impacts. In other words, when combined, these factors result in an extra disadvantage in job quality. The intersection of religion and gender also produces additional disadvantages for religious women born in the country, especially in Eastern Europe, probably due to more traditional gender and family roles.

[2] This measure of unemployment refers to having experienced at least one spell of joblessness lasting three months or longer.

Finally, the analysis confirms and refines our knowledge of the striking disadvantages faced by Roma people in the European labour market. We show that Roma individuals have a significantly lower likelihood of being in paid work and, when employed, tend to occupy lower-quality jobs than their individual characteristics (such as education, gender, and age) would predict. The intersectional disadvantage for Roma women is substantial in most of the countries studied, either in terms of the probability of being in paid work or of occupational status (and, in some cases, both).

The report is structured as follows. Section 2 briefly reviews previous empirical research and outlines methodological considerations and challenges in quantitative research on labour market inequalities and intersecting identities. Section 3 presents the analysis based on the ESS data, while Section 4 reports the analysis based on the 2021 Roma Survey and the LFS data. Section 5 discusses and summarises the results.

2. BACKGROUND

2.1. PREVIOUS LITERATURE

The labour market disadvantages faced by immigrants, women, and ethnic minorities are well-documented in empirical social research and are also prominent in policy reports and public discourse (European Commission, 2024; FRA, 2023, 2024; OECD, 2020, 2024). A consistent finding across countries is that immigrants and ethnic minorities are less likely to be employed and, when employed, are often concentrated in lower-status occupations (Adserà & Ferrer, 2016; Ballarino & Panichella, 2015, 2018; Damelang et al., 2021; Donato et al., 2014; Heath & Cheung, 2007; Kogan, 2004).

Country-of-origin matters considerably. For Europe, Fleischmann and Dronkers (2010) show that immigrants from Islamic countries experience particularly high unemployment risks, while those from Western Europe fare much better. Similarly, Blekesaune (2021) also documents substantial differences in the employment rates of female migrants from Christian countries and from Islamic countries. Similar patterns have been found for other regions and in other research (Auer et al., 2017; Brekke & Mastekaasa, 2008; C. Fernández & Ortega, 2008; Gorodzeisky & Semyonov, 2017; Raijman & Semyonov, 1997).

Gender also shapes immigrants' disadvantage in important ways: a substantial literature documents a 'double' or compounded disadvantage for immigrant women. Compared with immigrant men and native women, immigrant women are more likely to be out of the labour market or concentrated in lower-status, part-time or precarious jobs (Bevelander, 2005; Brekke & Mastekaasa, 2008; Donato et al., 2014; Kesler, 2006; Raijman & Semyonov, 1997; Schieckoff & Sprengholz, 2021).

Cultural and religious factors often help explain part of this pattern: individual religiosity and community norms can depress female labour-force participation for some groups (Blau et al., 2011; Blekesaune, 2021; Connor & Koenig, 2015; Nazari, 2024),

Several analyses find that the educational gap between second-generation immigrants and natives tends to be narrower, suggesting considerable assimilation in human capital. However, this is not always translated into increased labour market opportunities, as gains in labour market performance are more variable across countries and origin groups (Algan et al., 2010; Connor & Koenig, 2015; Fleischmann & Höhne, 2013; Gorodzeisky & Semyonov, 2017). Some comparative studies report that, once education and other covariates are taken into account, second-generation men and women in several Western European contexts achieve labour-market outcomes closer to those of natives. However, other research finds only modest progress.

Overall, the literature documents persistent and multifaceted labour market disadvantages for immigrants, women and ethnic minorities. Labour market outcomes vary not only by origin and gender but also by other dimensions of identity, such as religion. This highlights that intersectional analysis – while methodologically challenging (see the following subsection) – is essential to uncovering the compound disadvantages faced by certain groups.

2.2. METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Intersectional research typically relies on qualitative methods to examine the complex experiences of individuals. However, the impact of intersecting identities on social, economic and health outcomes is increasingly being measured using quantitative methods (Bauer, 2014; Bauer et al., 2021; Bowleg, 2012; Spierings, 2023).

There are several methodological challenges in quantitative research on labour market inequalities and intersecting identities. Here, we discuss three of the most significant: (1) measurement issues, (2) data sources, and (3) statistical challenges and challenges related to empirical strategy.

2.2.1. Measurement issues

The central concepts of this research – ethnicity and immigrant background – are subject to ongoing conceptual debates, and their measurement has been widely discussed in the literature. In this section, we outline key issues related to how these concepts are measured and explain the decisions we made for our analysis.

The concept of immigrant background is far from straightforward. Different conceptualisations and data sources use varying criteria. Most commonly, classifications rely on foreign

citizenship or place of birth. However, for policy purposes – particularly those related to integration and public services – indicators such as parental place of birth (to identify second-generation immigrants) or language spoken at home are frequently used. In everyday interactions, which – as our qualitative research shows – often form the basis of discriminatory behaviour, other visible or perceived traits are used as proxies for immigrant background. These include skin colour, religious affiliation (e.g., Muslim), or other markers of difference.

In this report, we use data that define immigrant background by country of birth. This means our dataset may include individuals who are citizens of the country but were born abroad, as well as people who identify as natives despite being born elsewhere. This approach does not account for traits that are often (wrongly) used to identify immigrant status and that frequently serve as the basis for discrimination in Europe, such as race or religion.

Ethnicity and minority status are even more contested concepts, with a wide variety of measurement approaches. While we do not engage in the broader academic debates surrounding the conceptualisation of minorities – such as whether simple, one-dimensional categories are appropriate (see, for example, Brubaker's *Ethnicity without Groups*) – we acknowledge that surveys must construct categories, even if these do not fully reflect the complexities of social realities. Self-identification is the most widely accepted method for measuring ethnic belonging. However, in the case of certain minority groups – such as the Roma/Gypsy populations in Europe, who have a long history of cohabitation with majority populations yet face persistent stigmatisation and exclusion – data using self-identification may significantly underrepresent the actual size of the minority (for example, Messing 2014). Another important consideration is the ethnic heterogeneity within the category commonly referred to as 'Roma' or 'Gypsy'. This label encompasses a wide range of subgroups, each with distinct identities, languages, and experiences of social inclusion or exclusion.

While the European Commission (2021) guidelines highlight the value of self-identified ethnicity and multiple group affiliations (see also Civitillo et al., 2025), the surveys analysed here provide measures of country of birth and ethnic minority identification.

Although this research focuses on systemic racism and structural discrimination, the data sources we use – namely the European Social Survey (ESS) and FRA surveys – rely on self-identified ethnicity or minority status. As a result, we must acknowledge that certain groups who are subject to both individual and institutional discrimination may not be adequately represented in these datasets. When analysing racism and xenophobia, it would be beneficial to consider not only individuals' self-identified ethnicity but also how they are perceived by others, as perceptions of racial or ethnic origin often shape discrimination experiences among Afro-Europeans, European Muslims, and Roma (Farkas, 2017). This is a limitation of this study, one that comes up in the qualitative – focus group research – component of the work package (Messing & Kende, 2025).

2.2.2. Data sources

Suitable data sources for studying the intersections of racial, ethnic, religious, and gender identities and inequalities in the labour market, comparatively across countries, must meet several criteria: adequate geographical and population coverage, measurement of relevant labour market outcomes, and sufficiently large sample sizes. Importantly, samples should not only include minorities, immigrants or members of particular religious groups, but also the general population. This is essential because labour market inequalities are relative and must be evaluated against a benchmark, which can be provided by majority population indicators. Other major challenges include the fact that surveys conducted only in the official or dominant language of a country may exclude segments of the population with limited language proficiency (Font & Méndez, 2013; Laganà et al., 2013), and that most cross-national surveys do not simultaneously include all variables central to this research, such as racial, ethnic, religious, and gender identities.

In earlier work, we provided an overview of the quantitative data sources with potential for such analysis (Hajdu & Messing, 2024). From the five identified cross-national surveys, this paper relies on three for the main analysis (the European Social Survey and the European Union Labour Force Survey) and for robustness tests (Eurobarometer surveys). We further complement these with a dataset on Roma living conditions, the 2021 Roma Survey conducted by the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights.

2.2.3. Statistical challenges

Quantitative intersectionality analysis raises several methodological considerations, including scalability, small sample sizes, and the interpretability of results (Evans et al., 2018; Spierings, 2023). Within quantitative intersectionality analysis, the intercategorical approach focuses on inequalities between social groups (McCall, 2005).[3] A standard empirical strategy associated with this approach is the use of fixed-effects models that include variables representing social identities and positions, as well as interaction terms between these variables (or a full set of dummy variables that capture all possible combinations of social identities and positions) (Bauer et al., 2021; Evans et al., 2018).

Including multiple identities in a regression model can result in a large number of interaction terms and main effects. In other words, the greater the number of social identity and position

[3] We do not discuss the other two approaches (intracategorical, anticategorical) identified by McCall (2005), as they are less relevant to our analysis.

categories included, the greater the number of regression coefficients that must be estimated. This increase is geometric rather than linear (Evans et al., 2018, 2024).[4]

This has several consequences. First, even when using a very large sample, the sample size in many social groups (or intersectional social strata) may be insufficient. This is because coefficients may be estimated from only a few observations, leading to unreliable, imprecise estimates. Second, as the number of identity categories and their intersections increases, reliably estimating the model becomes more difficult. This is due not only to sparse data in certain intersectional categories but also to concerns about model parsimony and fit. As the number of estimated parameters increases, the model may overfit the data, resulting in poor generalisability and inflated variance. In other words, there is a trade-off between model complexity and explanatory power. Third, having dozens or even hundreds of coefficients – especially higher-order interactions – might make the interpretation of the results harder. This interpretive burden complicates communication and discussion of the findings and increases the risk of misinterpretation.

Recent literature has proposed statistical approaches to address the challenges of modelling intersectional effects (Cairney et al., 2014; Evans et al., 2018, 2024; Jackson, 2017; Jackson et al., 2016; Shaw et al., 2012). One increasingly popular method is the intersectional multilevel analysis of individual heterogeneity and discriminatory accuracy (I-MAIHDA) (Evans et al., 2018, 2024), sometimes described as a new 'gold standard' for analysing inequalities in an intersectional framework (Merlo, 2018). This method nests individuals within intersectional strata using multilevel random-intercept models, with stratum-level random effects capturing deviations from outcomes expected under additive effects alone. Although widely discussed and promising, I-MAIHDA also presents practical challenges. It requires sufficiently large sample sizes within each stratum; otherwise, estimates are 'shrunk' toward the mean, which can lead to underestimation of multiplicative effects. The method also generates a large number (dozens or even hundreds) of stratum means and variances, which are difficult to interpret and compare across groups. Visualisations can help, but do not fully resolve the interpretive burden, nor do they allow for straightforward cross-group comparisons.

Given these limitations and the relatively modest number of identity dimensions (ethnicity, religion, minority identification, gender) in our study, combined with large-scale datasets, we opted to use standard fixed-effects OLS models. These models not only align with our analytical

[4] For example, when three social identity and position variables, each with three categories, are used, 26 coefficients (6 main effects, 12 two-way interactions and 8 three-way interactions) must be estimated when all interaction terms are included. When four variables, each with three categories, are used, 80 coefficients (8 main effects, 24 two-way interactions, 32 three-way interactions and 16 four-way interactions) must be estimated. When five variables, each with three categories, are used, 242 coefficients (10 main effects, 40 two-way interactions, 80 three-way interactions, 80 four-way interactions and 32 five-way interactions) must be estimated.

objectives but are also easier to interpret and more accessible – particularly for broader audiences – than more complex multilevel regression approaches such as I-MAIHDA.

3. INTERSECTIONAL DISADVANTAGES FOR IMMIGRANTS AND MINORITIES AS REVEALED BY THE EUROPEAN SOCIAL SURVEY

3.1. DATA AND METHODS

3.1.1. Data

We use the six most recent waves (wave 6 to wave 11) of the European Social Survey (ESS ERIC, 2023a, 2023b, 2023c, 2023d, 2023e, 2024). This dataset covers 12 years (2012-2023, collected every 2 years) and 34 European countries.

The sample is restricted to respondents aged 18 or older. Individuals with missing data on fieldwork year, basic demographics (age, gender), immigrant status, or religion are excluded. Additionally, respondents aged 95 or older are excluded due to the increased likelihood of age misreporting or data entry errors. The final sample size is 263,309 (from 34 countries).

The weighting approach combines post-stratification and population weights to ensure representativeness while accounting for demographic imbalances. Additionally, each survey wave is given equal importance in the analysis.

Table A1 in the Appendix presents the weighted number of observations by country and wave, illustrating the distribution of respondents across the six most recent waves of the European Social Survey.

3.1.2. Variables

3.1.2.1. Outcome variables

We use four outcome variables: (1) ever been unemployed for at least 3 months; (2) long-term unemployment (ever been unemployed for 12 months); (3) recent unemployment: unemployed for 3 months in the last 5 years[5]; and (4) occupational status.

The first three outcome variables capture different aspects of unemployment. The first measures whether a person has ever experienced a period of unemployment lasting at least three months,

[5] Respondents were asked the following questions: 'Have you ever been unemployed and seeking work for a period of more than three months?', if yes, 'Have any of these periods lasted for 12 months or more?', and 'Have any of these periods been within the past 5 years?'

providing a broad indicator of exposure to unemployment. The second focuses on long-term unemployment, highlighting more severe and persistent labour market disadvantage. The third measure captures recent unemployment over the last five years, reflecting short-term or current labour market difficulties. Using all three indicators allows us to assess both the frequency, duration, and recency of unemployment experiences. Since the results of the analysis show very similar correlations and intersectionalities, we use the second and third measures of unemployment for robustness tests.

The fourth outcome variable, occupational status, is derived from the respondent's occupation, coded according to the ISCO (International Standard Classification of Occupations). International Socio-Economic Index of Occupational Status (ISEI) scores (Ganzeboom et al., 1992; Ganzeboom & Treiman, 2003) are linked to these ISCO codes using the codes provided by Ganzeboom and Treiman (2010). The ISEI, which ranges from 10 (lowest occupational status) to 90 (highest occupational status), measures the relative socioeconomic standing of occupations based on the extent to which they translate educational attainment into income. Thus, occupational status reflects the social and economic position associated with a person's job, allowing us to assess differences in labour market outcomes beyond simple employment or unemployment status.

3.1.2.2. Identity variables

Immigrant status is defined as being born in a country other than the country of residence.[6] We define second-generation immigrants as people who live in their own country of birth but have at least one parent who was born in another country.[7] Using the specific countries in which respondents (or their parents) were born, we constructed a variable for the region of origin of immigrants with four categories: Europe, Africa, Asia, and other regions. (See explanation of considerations related to this measure in Section 2.2.1).

Minority identification is defined as belonging to a minority ethnic group in the country, and it is self-reported by respondents. However, it should be noted that the question on minority identification changed after Wave 9, and respondents were asked whether they felt they were part of the same race or ethnic group as most people in the country.[8]

In the ESS questionnaire, respondents were asked whether they considered themselves to belong to a particular religion or denomination. If they answered yes, they were asked about the specific religion. Based on these responses, we constructed an indicator variable for

[6] The survey questions were: 'Were you born in [country]?' If the respondent answered 'No', they were then asked: 'In which country were you born?'
[7] The survey questions were: 'Was your father/mother born in [country]?' If the respondent answered 'No', they were then asked: 'In which country was your father/mother born?'
[8] The survey questions were: 'Do you belong to a minority ethnic group in [country]?' and 'Do you feel you are part of the same race or ethnic group as most people in [country]?'

religious affiliation and another variable for religious denomination (non-religious, Christian, Islamic, or other).

3.1.3. Empirical strategy

We regressed the outcome variables on the four identity variables (immigrant status, minority identification, religion, and gender) and their interactions. People with an immigrant, minority, or religious background may differ from others in several demographic characteristics that are also likely to be correlated with labour market outcomes (Damelang et al., 2021). We used the following control variables: age, type of place of residence, marital status, and household size. We also controlled for differences in education and self-rated health. Less education or poorer health may be the result of facing discrimination, but the inclusion of these variables did not change the conclusions, so we decided to use them as controls, as they measure important characteristics related to work ability and labour supply. We also include year-fixed effects to control for changes over time that affect everyone, and country-fixed effects to control for time-invariant differences between countries. We estimated standard errors that are robust to heteroscedasticity and clustered at the country-year level.

Given the relatively small number of identity variables (immigrant status, religion, gender, and minority identification) and the use of large-scale datasets in this analysis, we use standard OLS fixed effects models. These models are not only well-suited to our analytical goals but are also easier to interpret and more accessible to a broader audience than multilevel regression approaches (e.g., I-MAIHDA).

We present results for the total sample, and for Eastern Europe and Western Europe separately, because the two groups of countries differ in several key characteristics, such as the proportion of immigrants, region of origin of the immigrants, and the proportion of people who self-identify as belonging to an ethnic minority group (see the next section).

3.2. RESULTS

3.2.1. Descriptive statistics

The following tables present descriptive statistics for the main variables. Table 1 shows that most individuals were born in the country where the survey was conducted. *The proportion of immigrants is 11.1% with a great disparity between regions of Europe: only 2.3% in Eastern European countries and 13.0% in Western European countries.*

Table 2 shows the region of origin of the immigrants, which shows similar disparities.[9] *In Eastern Europe, where the number of immigrants is very small, the vast majority come from other European countries (2.1%), while immigration from other regions is almost non-existent in the sample.*[10] *The country of origin of immigrants is significantly more diverse in Western Europe.*

TABLE 1: DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS REGARDING IMMIGRANT STATUS

	Western Europe	Eastern Europe	Total
Born in the country	190366 (87.0%)	43599 (97.7%)	233965 (88.9%)
Immigrant	28329 (13.0%)	1015 (2.3%)	29344 (11.1%)
Total	218695	44614	263309

Weighted N is reported.

TABLE 2: DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS REGARDING REGION OF ORIGIN

	Western Europe	Eastern Europe	Total
Born in the country	190366 (87.7%)	43599 (97.8%)	233965 (89.4%)
Europe	12093 (5.6%)	952 (2.1%)	13046 (5.0%)
Africa	5462 (2.5%)	5 (0.0%)	5467 (2.1%)
Asia	5639 (2.6%)	25 (0.1%)	5664 (2.2%)
Other	3512 (1.6%)	8 (0.0%)	3519 (1.3%)
Total	217072	44588	261660

Weighted N is reported.

The data above provide a first glimpse of the very different magnitudes and natures of immigration in the two parts of Europe. Table 3 and Table 4 show distributions of religious affiliations: around 60% of the total sample reported formal affiliation with a religion, with a higher proportion in Eastern Europe (71.6%) compared to Western Europe (56.1%).

Christianity is the dominant religion, and the number of followers of other religions, including Islam, is very small in Eastern Europe, while the proportion of followers of non-Christian religions is about 5% in Western Europe.[11]

TABLE 3: DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS REGARDING BELONGING TO A RELIGION

	Western Europe	Eastern Europe	Total
Non-religious	96036 (43.9%)	12683 (28.4%)	108719 (41.3%)
Religious	122660 (56.1%)	31930 (71.6%)	154590 (58.7%)
Total	218695	44614	263309

Weighted N is reported.

[9] Because information on region of origin is missing for some respondents, the share of natives differs from that reported in TABLE 1.

[10] Consequently, analysis of immigrants' region of origin is not possible for Eastern Europe.

[11] As with region of origin, this means that analysis of immigrants' religious denomination is meaningless and not feasible for Eastern Europe.

TABLE 4: DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS REGARDING RELIGIOUS DENOMINATION

	Western Europe	Eastern Europe	Total
Non-religious	96036 (44.0%)	12683 (29.5%)	108719 (41.6%)
Christian	110993 (50.9%)	29614 (68.8%)	140607 (53.8%)
Islamic	8124 (3.7%)	655 (1.5%)	8779 (3.4%)
Other	2948 (1.4%)	109 (0.3%)	3057 (1.2%)
Total	218101	43060	261162

Weighted N is reported.

Finally, Table 5 reveals that minority identification is more frequent in Western Europe (8.0%) compared to Eastern Europe (4.7%). (It is worth noting that the question on minority identification changed after Wave 9, which doubled the proportion of respondents identifying as a minority. For detailed descriptive statistics by wave, see Table A2 in the Appendix.)

TABLE 5: DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS REGARDING MINORITY IDENTIFICATION

	Western Europe	Eastern Europe	Total
Non-minority	198353 (92.0%)	42099 (95.3%)	240452 (92.6%)
Minority	17259 (8.0%)	2090 (4.7%)	19350 (7.4%)
Total	215612	44190	259801

Weighted N is reported.

Table 6 presents summary statistics for the four outcome variables related to labour market position. About 3 in 10 (31.5%) respondents have ever been unemployed, 14.8% have been long-term unemployed (12 months or more), and 17.9% have been unemployed in the last 5 years. The average occupational status of employed or self-employed respondents is 46 points, with a standard deviation of 21.6 points, ranging from 11 to 89 points.

TABLE 6: DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS OF OUTCOME VARIABLES

	Mean	SD	Min	Max	N
Ever unemployed	31.5%	46.4%	0	1	261410
Long-term unemployed	14.8%	35.6%	0	1	261410
Recent unemployment	17.9%	38.3%	0	1	192534
Occupational status	46.1	21.6	11.0	89.0	132097

3.2.2. Unemployment

In this section, we examine how unemployment risks vary across intersecting dimensions of identity, including immigrant background, gender, religion, and minority identification. By analysing these intersectional effects, we aim to uncover which groups are most disadvantaged in terms of access to employment.

Ever unemployed for more than 3 months

Table 7 presents how ever being unemployed is associated with the four identity variables (immigrant status, religion, minority identification, and gender) by region and for the whole sample. The table reports the means of the binary indicator variable for ever being unemployed. In other words, it reports the share of respondents who are unemployed.[12]

While Table 7 reports unadjusted means, Table 8 reports adjusted means. Specifically, it reports predicted unemployment levels from regressions controlling for age, gender, type of settlement, marital status, household size, education, subjective health status, year, and religion. This provides a different comparison of the unemployment risks of different groups (e.g., immigrants and natives from Western Europe and Eastern Europe), taking into account that these groups may differ in their socio-demographic characteristics, which can affect their labour market outcomes.

Table 7 shows that immigrants and respondents identifying as a minority are more likely to be unemployed than respondents born in the country or non-minority respondents. However, there are some differences between Western Europe and Eastern Europe. While immigrant respondents are much more likely to be unemployed in Western Europe (by 8.8 percentage points), immigrants in Eastern Europe are in a somewhat less disadvantaged position than natives; however, they are still 2.4 percentage points more likely to be unemployed. On the other hand, while respondents with minority identification are 7.4 percentage points more likely to be unemployed in Western European countries, they face an even higher disadvantage in Eastern Europe (11.2 percentage points). All these differences are somewhat smaller when the means are adjusted for differences in socio-demographic characteristics (Table 8), except one. Immigrants in Eastern Europe are even more likely to be unemployed than respondents born in the country (by 5.2 percentage points) if differences in their highest level of education, age, type of settlement, etc., are controlled for. Importantly, in Eastern Europe, ethnic minority background is related to much higher chances of unemployment than immigrant status. In contrast, these differences are small in Western Europe.

[12] Table A3, Table A4, Table A5, and Table A6 in the Appendix present the non-intersectional determinants of the other unemployment measures, indicating how each of the unemployment variables is individually associated with immigrant status, religion, minority identification, and gender.

Religious respondents are less likely to be unemployed than non-religious respondents in Western European countries (by 6.1 percentage points). Other differences (gender, religion in Eastern Europe) are small and statistically irrelevant. However, when differences in socio-demographic characteristics are controlled for (Table 8) religious people in Eastern Europe are slightly more likely to be unemployed (by 2.7 percentage points) than non-religious people, while women are also more likely to be unemployed than men (by 1.9 percentage points).

TABLE 7: UNEMPLOYMENT AND IMMIGRANT STATUS, RELIGION, MINORITY IDENTIFICATION, AND GENDER (UNADJUSTED MEANS)

	Western Europe	Eastern Europe	Total
(A) Immigrant status			
Born in the country	30.7%	29.4%	30.5%
Immigrant	39.5%	31.8%	39.2%
Difference between the two groups	8.8%	2.4%	8.7%
(B) Religion			
Non-religious	35.3%	28.6%	34.5%
Religious	29.2%	29.8%	29.3%
Difference between the two groups	-6.1%	1.2%	-5.2%
(C) Minority identification			
Non-minority	31.2%	28.9%	30.8%
Minority	38.6%	40.1%	38.7%
Difference between the two groups	7.4%	11.2%	7.9%
(D) Gender			
Men	32.3%	29.2%	31.8%
Women	31.5%	29.7%	31.2%
Difference between the two groups	-0.8%	0.5%	-0.6%
Total	31.9%	29.4%	31.5%

Note: The table reports the means of a binary indicator variable. The means represent the share of respondents who are unemployed.

TABLE 8: UNEMPLOYMENT AND IMMIGRANT STATUS, RELIGION, MINORITY IDENTIFICATION, AND GENDER (ADJUSTED MEANS)

	Western Europe	Eastern Europe
(A) Immigrant status		
Born in the country	31.1%	29.1%
Immigrant	37.5%	34.3%
Difference between the two groups	6.4%	5.2%
(B) Religion		
Non-religious	34.1%	26.9%
Religious	30.3%	29.6%
Difference between the two groups	-3.8%	2.7%
(C) Minority identification		
Non-minority	31.3%	28.7%
Minority	37.1%	38.1%
Difference between the two groups	5.7%	9.4%
(D) Gender		
Men	32.1%	28.1%
Women	31.8%	30.1%
Difference between the two groups	-0.3%	1.9%

Note: The table reports predicted unemployment levels from regressions controlling for age, gender, type of settlement, marital status, household size, education, subjective health status, year, and religion. Each panel reports results based on separate regressions.

Table 9 shows the regression results for ever being unemployed. Columns 1 and 2 include all observations, Column 3 includes only Eastern European countries, and Column 4 includes only Western European countries. The predicted probabilities of unemployment are displayed in Figure 1.

In a regression that includes interaction terms, the interpretation of the coefficients is slightly different from a model with only main effects. In general, the coefficients in the table (and all regression tables below) show how the likelihood of having ever been unemployed differs for each group (e.g., immigrants, religious respondents, or women) compared to a reference group (native, non-religious men). A positive coefficient indicates that members of the group are more likely to have been unemployed, while a negative coefficient indicates they are less likely.

The main effects (e.g., the coefficient on being an immigrant) represent the effect of each variable conditional on the other variables in the interaction being at their reference levels. Because of this, the main effects no longer represent the average effect across the whole sample, and interpreting predicted outcomes requires combining the main effects and the interaction terms. Interaction terms indicate whether belonging to multiple groups changes the risk of unemployment in a way that differs from what would be expected by simply adding the effects of each individual characteristic.

For example, the main effect of being an immigrant (0.062 in Column 1) reflects the unemployment risk for non-religious male immigrants (i.e., when religious and female are at their reference categories). The two-way interaction 'Immigrant x Female' (-0.026 in Column 1) indicates whether being an immigrant and female changes the risk of unemployment beyond what would be expected from the separate effects of being an immigrant and being female, among non-religious respondents. Similarly, the two-way interaction 'Immigrant x Religious' (0.065 in Column 1) indicates whether being an immigrant and belonging to a religious denomination jointly change the risk beyond what would be expected from the separate effects of each characteristic, among males. Finally, the three-way interaction 'Immigrant x Religious x Female' (0.003 in Column 1) captures whether belonging to all three groups alters the risk of unemployment beyond what would be expected from the main effects and all two-way interactions. To understand the predicted outcome for any group (e.g., religious female immigrants), the main effects and all relevant interaction terms must be combined.

It is important to note that the number of observations in some groups is small (see Table 1-Table 5). As a result, some estimated coefficients may appear relatively large in magnitude but should be interpreted with caution, as they may reflect sampling variation rather than genuine effects.

The predicted probabilities of unemployment are shown in Figure 1. This figure (and similar figures that follow) presents the predicted probabilities (marginal means) for each group, calculated from the main effects and all relevant interaction terms, while accounting for other variables. Such visualisations offer a clearer view of which combinations of identities (for example, immigrant women or religious men) face the highest risk of unemployment and how different identity dimensions interact. To complement the regression tables, we provide these figures throughout the analysis, as they make the results easier to interpret and understand.

TABLE 9: UNEMPLOYMENT AND INTERSECTIONAL IDENTITIES: IMMIGRANT STATUS, RELIGION, GENDER

	(1) All	(2) All	(3) East	(4) West
Immigrant	0.062***	0.058***	0.060	0.056***
	(0.014)	(0.013)	(0.038)	(0.013)
Religious	-0.068***	-0.054***	-0.022+	-0.058***
	(0.009)	(0.007)	(0.013)	(0.008)
Female	-0.006	-0.005	0.005	-0.006
	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.008)
Immigrant x Religious	0.065**	0.040*	-0.025	0.047**
	(0.020)	(0.017)	(0.049)	(0.018)
Immigrant x Female	-0.026	-0.020	-0.003	-0.020
	(0.019)	(0.019)	(0.050)	(0.019)
Religious x Female	0.012+	0.015*	0.022+	0.012
	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.011)	(0.008)
Immigrant x Religious x Female	0.003	-0.009	-0.009	-0.006
	(0.026)	(0.025)	(0.054)	(0.026)
Controls	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
N	261429	261429	44157	217272
Adj. R-Square	0.007	0.090	0.091	0.092

Dependent variable: ever unemployed. Each column reports coefficients from an OLS regression with standard errors clustered at the country-wave level reported in parentheses. + represents statistical significance at the 10% level; * at the 5% level; ** at the 1% level; and *** at the 0.1% level. Controls: age, education, settlement, marital status, health, household size, year FE, country FE. Weighted N is reported.

In Table 9, Column 1, where control variables are not included, the results are similar to those in Column 2, where controls are included. In Column 2, non-religious immigrant men are 5.8 percentage points more likely to have been unemployed. Given that 31.5% of all respondents have been unemployed at least once in their lives, this nearly six percentage-point disadvantage for immigrants is substantial. The main effect of being religious is negative (-0.054), and there is no relevant main effect for female respondents (-0.005).

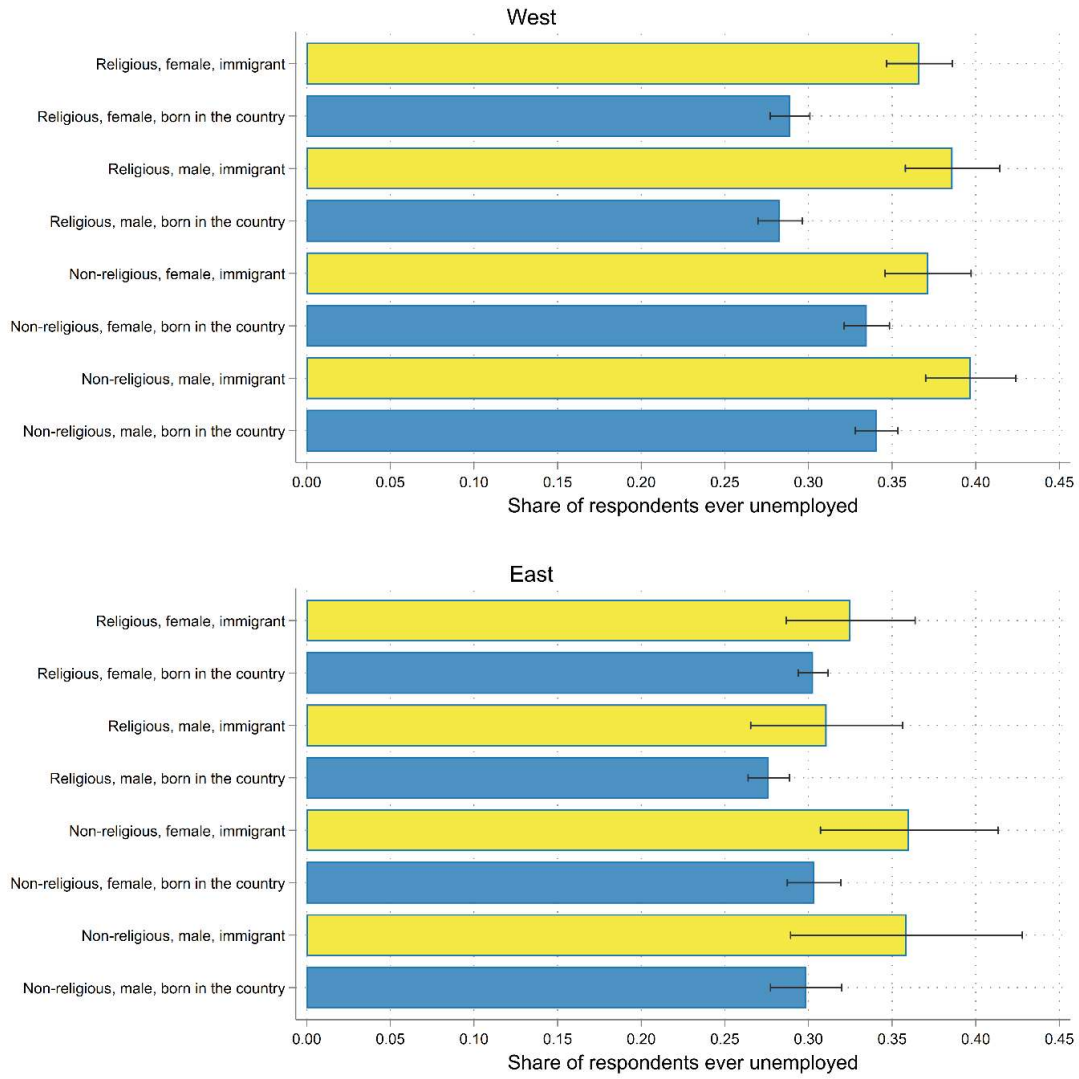
Two intersectional differences emerge. First, the positive and significant two-way interaction 'Immigrant x Religious' indicates that religious immigrant men are four percentage points more likely to be unemployed than the simple additive effects would predict. In other words, they are 4.4 percentage points (0.058 – 0.054 + 0.040 = 0.044) more likely to be unemployed than non-religious male respondents born in the country (p = 0.006), and 9.8 percentage points (0.058 + 0.040 = 0.098) more likely than religious men born in the country (p = 0.000). For women, being both religious and an immigrant also represents an intersectional disadvantage: they are 3.1 percentage points (0.040 – 0.009) more likely to be unemployed than the additive effects would suggest (p = 0.063). Second, the significant two-way interaction 'Religious x Female' shows that religious (non-immigrant) women are 1.5 percentage points more likely to be unemployed than the simple additive effects of being religious and being female would suggest.

Immigrant status, religion and gender are associated with unemployment in slightly different ways in Eastern and Western Europe (Columns 3 and 4, respectively). In both regions, non-religious, male immigrants are more likely to be or have been unemployed, but the estimated coefficient is statistically significant only for Western Europe (B = 0.056, p = 0.000). In Eastern Europe, the coefficient is imprecisely estimated (B = 0.060, p = 0.125). The main effect of being religious is more negative in Western Europe than in Eastern Europe (-0.058 and -0.022, respectively). The interaction term between immigrant status and religiosity is positive and significant in Western Europe (B = 0.047, p = 0.010), indicating that religious immigrant men face greater barriers to employment than the additive effects alone would suggest. Similarly, when the combined, intersecting effect of immigrant status and religion is calculated for religious immigrant women (B = 0.047 – 0.006 = 0.041, p = 0.019), the conclusion is the same: being both an immigrant and religious is associated with a higher risk of unemployment among women compared to what the simple additive effects would predict. By contrast, in Eastern Europe, the corresponding interactions are smaller and statistically insignificant.

The positive coefficient on the interaction term between religiosity and gender in the whole sample is driven by Eastern Europe: the coefficient on the interaction term is 0.022 and is significant at the 10 per cent level (p = 0.053) in Column 3; however, the coefficient for Western Europe is also positive (B = 0.012, p = 0.145) in Column 4. This positive interaction between religiosity and gender – particularly pronounced in Eastern Europe – may reflect the influence of traditional gender norms often reinforced by religious values. In many Eastern European contexts, religiosity is closely tied to a 'traditional' family model in which women are expected to assume primary caregiving responsibilities. As a result, religious women may spend longer periods outside the labour market, which can lead to reduced work experience, gaps in employment history, and ultimately, lower labour market attachment, which together may contribute to a higher likelihood of unemployment.

Figure 1 shows that in Western Europe, religious immigrants are more likely to be unemployed than native-born religious respondents. By contrast, in Eastern Europe, no such large discrepancy is observed. This regional difference can be explained by variation in religious denominations and in the geographical origins of the two immigrant groups (see Table 2 and Table 4).

FIGURE 1: PREDICTIVE MARGINS OF INTERSECTIONAL IDENTITIES: IMMIGRANT STATUS, RELIGION, GENDER



Notes: The figure shows the predicted unemployment rate for different combinations of immigrant status, gender, and religion. Error bars represent 95% confidence intervals. The results are based on Table 9, Column 3 and Column 4. Red bars indicate immigrants, blue bars indicate respondents born in the country.

Table 10 reports the results for minority identification. Immigrant status is excluded due to the small number of immigrants in Eastern Europe, which would result in very small sample sizes for strata defined by four-way interactions. Additionally, from a theoretical perspective, the combination of minority identification and immigrant status is relatively rare in the population, making it unlikely to yield meaningful or reliable estimates for the interaction terms.

TABLE 10: UNEMPLOYMENT AND INTERSECTIONAL IDENTITIES: MINORITY IDENTIFICATION, RELIGION, GENDER

	(1) All	(2) East	(3) West
Religious	-0.050***	-0.021+	-0.053***
	(-7.90)	(-1.72)	(-7.65)
Female	-0.003	0.007	-0.004
	(-0.40)	(0.89)	(-0.52)
Minority	0.081***	0.140***	0.076***
	(5.01)	(3.89)	(4.25)
Religious x Female	0.014+	0.021*	0.011
	(1.93)	(2.12)	(1.36)
Religious x Minority	0.025	-0.039	0.034
	(1.21)	(-1.08)	(1.48)
Female x Minority	-0.041*	-0.059	-0.040+
	(-2.00)	(-1.61)	(-1.76)
Religious x Female x Minority	-0.011	0.024	-0.014
	(-0.42)	(0.56)	(-0.47)
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes
N	258072	43754	214319
Adj. R-Square	0.089	0.093	0.090

Dependent variable: ever unemployed. Each column reports coefficients from an OLS regression with standard errors clustered at the country-wave level reported in parentheses. + represents statistical significance at the 10% level; * at the 5% level; ** at the 1% level; and *** at the 0.1% level. Controls: age, education, settlement, marital status, health, household size, year FE, country FE. Weighted N is reported.

Column 1 reports the results for the whole sample. Results concerning the individual effect of religiosity and gender are very similar to those observed in the previous model (Table 9). The main effect of religiosity indicates a negative association with the probability of unemployment (B = -0.050, p = 0.000), and religious females are 1.4 points more likely (p = 0.055) to be unemployed than the simple additive effects (being religious and being female) would suggest. These results are similar to those in Table 9.

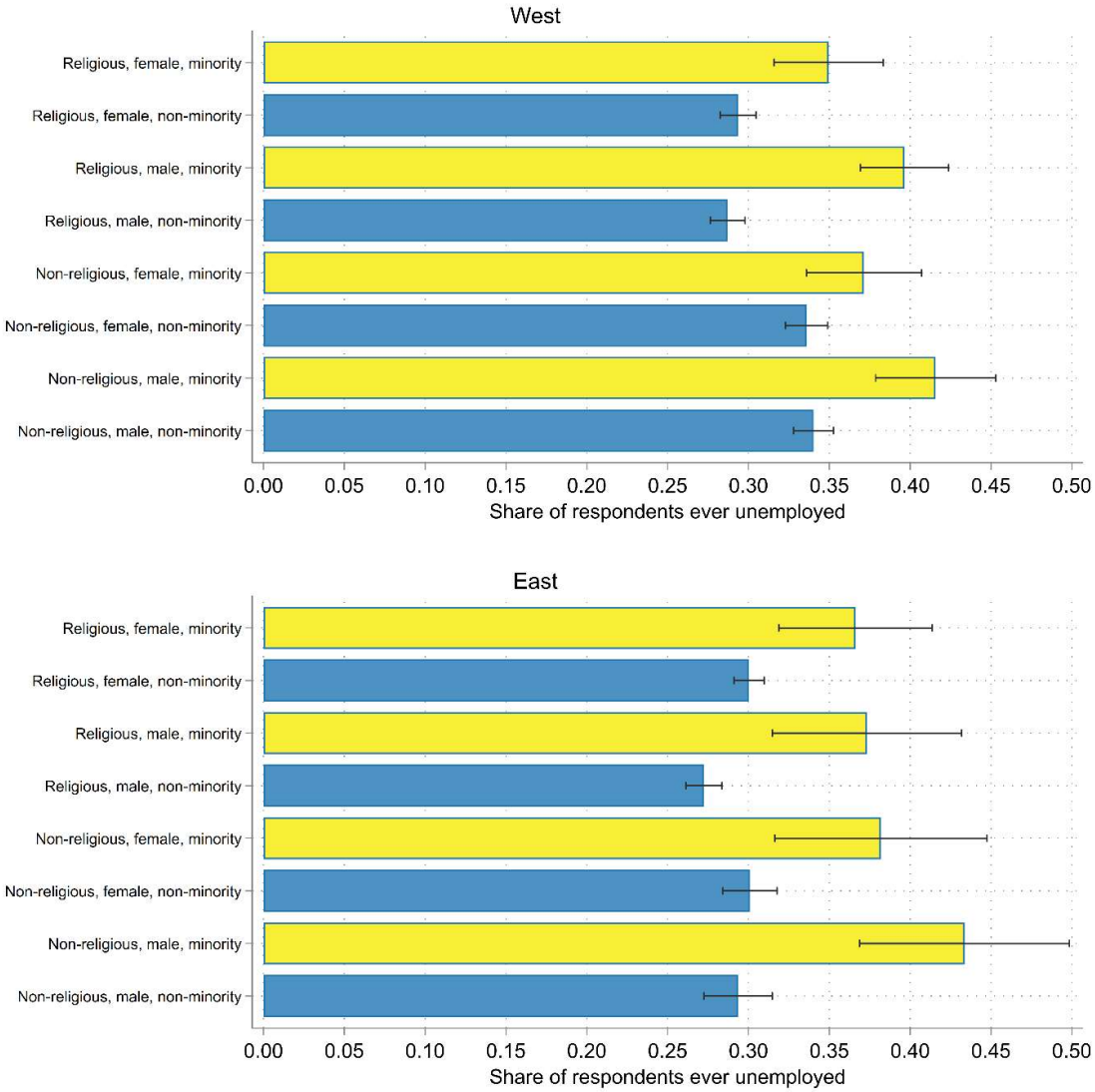
The main effect of minority identification indicates that those (non-religious men) who belong to an ethnic minority group are more likely to be unemployed at least once in their lives by 8.1 percentage points. Non-religious women who belong to an ethnic minority group are less likely to be unemployed than the additive effects would predict (B = -0.041, p = 0.047).

Columns 2 and 3 show the results for Eastern and Western Europe, respectively. Consistent with the results above (Table 7, Panel C), the main effect of belonging to an ethnic minority group is positive and large in both Eastern and Western Europe. However, the coefficient for Eastern Europe is almost double that for Western Europe (0.140 and 0.076, respectively). The main effects on religiosity are similar to those in Table 9, with religious men born in the country being less likely to be unemployed in Western Europe than in Eastern Europe.

The results (predicted probabilities) are illustrated in

Figure 2. Similar patterns emerge in both Western and Eastern Europe; however, the differences between minority and non-minority groups – especially among non-religious respondents – are larger in Eastern Europe. Specifically, the largest labour market penalty for belonging to an ethnic minority group is observed among non-religious men in Eastern Europe, although religious minority men are also greatly disadvantaged. In other words, being a minority man appears to be a significant barrier to employment. Non-religious minority women also face notable disadvantages compared to non-religious non-minority women.

FIGURE 2: PREDICTIVE MARGINS OF INTERSECTIONAL IDENTITIES: MINORITY IDENTIFICATION, RELIGION, GENDER



Notes: The figure shows the predicted level of unemployment at different combinations of minority identification, gender, and religion. The error bars represent 95% confidence intervals. The results are based on Table 10, Column 2 and Column 3. Red bars indicate respondents with minority identification, blue bars indicate respondents without minority identification.

Table 11 reports the results when religious denomination is included in the regressions rather than religiosity alone. The notable differences in Table 9 are that the negative association between unemployment and religiosity comes from Christian religions, the estimated main effect is negative only for this religious denomination, whereas the main effects of belonging to an Islamic religion and belonging to other religions are large and positive (B = 0.106, p = 0.000 and B = 0.069 and p = 0.065, respectively).

TABLE 11: UNEMPLOYMENT AND INTERSECTIONAL IDENTITIES: THE ROLE OF RELIGIOUS DENOMINATION

	(1) All	(2) West
Immigrant	0.058***	0.057***
	(4.61)	(4.46)
Christian	-0.062***	-0.067***
	(-9.22)	(-8.88)
Islamic	0.106***	0.107***
	(3.95)	(3.44)
Other	0.069+	0.060
	(1.86)	(1.50)
Female	-0.004	-0.006
	(-0.57)	(-0.67)
Immigrant x Christian	0.029+	0.035*
	(1.76)	(2.02)
Immigrant x Islamic	-0.071+	-0.068+
	(-1.95)	(-1.71)
Immigrant x Other	-0.156***	-0.145**
	(-3.59)	(-3.16)
Immigrant x Female	-0.020	-0.020
	(-1.08)	(-1.05)
Christian x Female	0.018*	0.013
	(2.44)	(1.64)
Islamic x Female	-0.049+	-0.036
	(-1.69)	(-1.05)
Other x Female	-0.035	-0.026
	(-0.82)	(-0.58)
Immigrant x Christian x Female	0.002	0.007
	(0.09)	(0.28)
Immigrant x Islamic x Female	0.005	-0.007
	(0.10)	(-0.12)
Immigrant x Other x Female	0.176*	0.164*
	(2.57)	(2.32)
Controls	Yes	Yes
N	259315	216699
Adj. R-Square	0.091	0.094

Dependent variable: ever unemployed. Each column reports coefficients from an OLS regression with standard errors clustered at the country-wave level reported in parentheses. + represents statistical significance at the 10% level; * at the 5% level; ** at the 1% level; and *** at the 0.1% level. Controls: age, education, settlement, marital status, health, household size, year FE, country FE. Weighted N is reported.

We can observe some intersectional differences. The positive and significant two-way interaction 'Immigrant x Christian' indicates that immigrant men who belong to a Christian religion are 2.9 percentage points more likely to be unemployed than the additive effects would

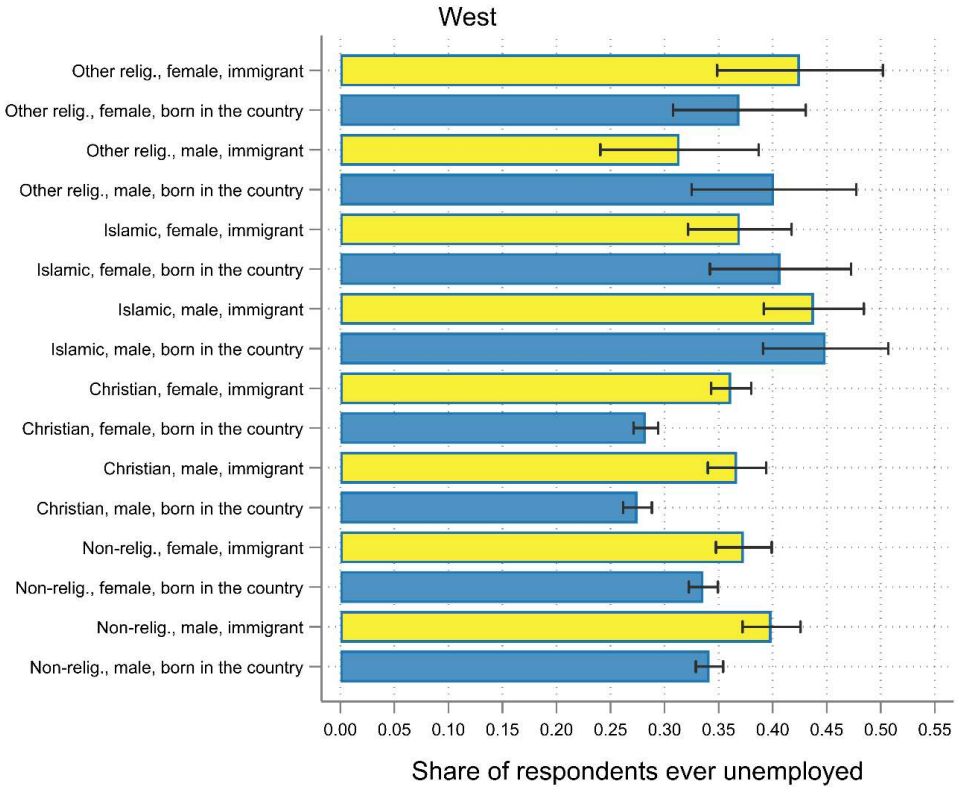
suggest. And similar conclusions can be reached for immigrant women who belong to a Christian religion.

In contrast, for other religions the estimated coefficients on these two-way interactions are negative (-0.071, p = 0.053 for Islamic religions and -0.156, p = 0.000 for other religions) which may be explained by the fact that the additive effects (e.g., 0.058 + 0.106 = 0.164 for immigrant men who belong to an Islamic religion) is extremely large and induces a ceiling effect, meaning that the predicted probability of unemployment for immigrants is already high, leaving less room for additional intersectional 'penalties'. The negative interaction terms for Islamic and other religions may also imply a mitigating effect, which could be linked to strong ethnic community networks or different patterns of discrimination that interact with religious identity in complex ways. Another interaction effect emerges for female immigrants who follow other religions (than a Christian or Islamic religion), which seems to offset the effect for male immigrants; however, it is worth noting that the number of observations for followers of other religions is low (see Table 4), which means that these results may be less reliable.

As we have seen before (Table 4) followers of Islam and other religions are almost exclusively from Western Europe; hence, it is not surprising that the results in Column 2 (for the Western European subsample) are very similar to those in Column 1.

Predicted probabilities of unemployment in Western Europe are shown in Figure 3. Consistent with the results described above, one major difference is visible: between native-born respondents who are non-religious or Christian and other groups. In other words, immigrants (regardless of religion) and non-immigrant respondents who follow non-Christian religions face significant barriers to employment. It is also worth noting that the confidence intervals for the Islamic and other non-Christian religion categories are wide, indicating that these predictions are less precise.

FIGURE 3: PREDICTIVE MARGINS OF INTERSECTIONAL IDENTITIES: THE ROLE OF RELIGIOUS DENOMINATION



Notes: The figure shows the predicted level of unemployment at different combinations of immigrant status, gender, and religious denomination. The error bars represent 95% confidence intervals. The results are based on Table 11, Column 2. Red bars indicate immigrants, blue bars indicate respondents born in the country.

Table 12 reports the results when immigrants' region of origin is included instead of overall immigrant status. Notable differences emerge between regional groups. Non-religious male immigrants from Europe experience a comparatively smaller penalty than other immigrant groups, indicating that while European immigrants do face some labour market disadvantages, these are less pronounced than for other groups. In contrast, non-religious male immigrants from Asia show the highest unemployment penalty (B = 0.114, p = 0.004), while immigrants from Africa and other regions show positive but weaker effects, suggesting that they face significant labour market disadvantages compared to people from European countries. The interaction terms between region of origin and gender indicate that these higher probabilities of unemployment are less pronounced for females – except for immigrant women from Europe.

It is also worth noting that the unemployment penalty for religious immigrants (see Table 9) is mainly driven by immigrants from Africa and 'other' parts of the world, and less by immigrants from Europe or Asia. It may also be important to remember that almost half of the immigrants in Western Europe come from another European country (see Table 2). Finally, as before, the

results in Column 2 (for the Western European subsample) are very similar to those in Column 1.

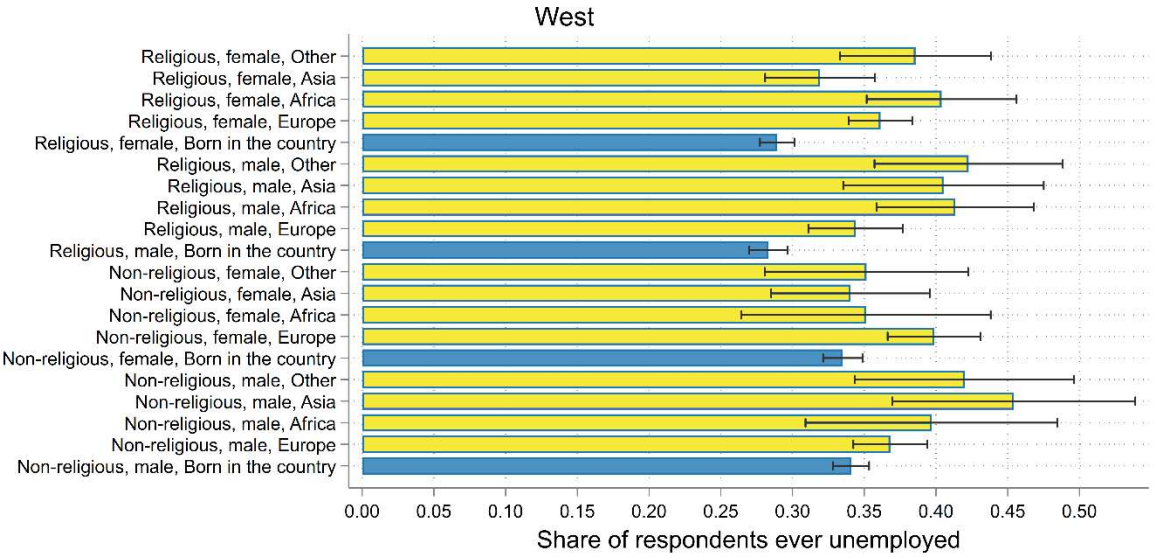
TABLE 12: UNEMPLOYMENT AND INTERSECTIONAL IDENTITIES: THE ROLE OF REGION OF ORIGIN

	(1) All	(2) West
Europe	0.029*	0.027*
	(2.33)	(2.11)
Africa	0.060	0.056
	(1.32)	(1.23)
Asia	0.114**	0.113**
	(2.88)	(2.81)
Other	0.080*	0.079*
	(2.10)	(2.07)
Religious	-0.054***	-0.058***
	(-7.53)	(-7.29)
Female	-0.004	-0.006
	(-0.59)	(-0.69)
Europe x Religious	0.027	0.033
	(1.31)	(1.57)
Africa x Religious	0.067+	0.074+
	(1.67)	(1.82)
Asia x Religious	0.001	0.009
	(0.03)	(0.18)
Other x Religious	0.057	0.061
	(1.31)	(1.40)
Europe x Female	0.033+	0.036+
	(1.72)	(1.81)
Africa x Female	-0.037	-0.040
	(-0.91)	(-0.98)
Asia x Female	-0.108*	-0.108*
	(-2.05)	(-2.02)
Other x Female	-0.063	-0.063
	(-1.55)	(-1.53)
Religious x Female	0.015*	0.012
	(2.09)	(1.48)
Europe x Religious x Female	-0.027	-0.025
	(-0.89)	(-0.78)
Africa x Religious x Female	0.018	0.024
	(0.34)	(0.46)
Asia x Religious x Female	0.013	0.016
	(0.22)	(0.26)
Other x Religious x Female	0.016	0.019
	(0.29)	(0.35)
Controls	Yes	Yes
N	259810	215678
Adj. R-Square	0.090	0.093

Dependent variable: ever unemployed. Each column reports coefficients from an OLS regression with standard errors clustered at the country-wave level reported in parentheses. + represents statistical significance at the 10% level; * at the 5% level; ** at the 1% level; and *** at the 0.1% level. Controls: age, education, settlement, marital status, health, household size, year FE, country FE. Weighted N is reported.

Figure 4 shows the predicted probabilities, which help to illustrate the unemployment patterns. Although the confidence intervals for several estimates are wide, a clear pattern is visible: religion amplifies the unemployment 'penalty' of being an immigrant. This 'religion penalty' is smaller for European immigrants than for other groups, primarily for African immigrants. Immigrant men face greater barriers to employment than immigrant women, with the exception of European immigrants.

FIGURE 4: PREDICTIVE MARGINS OF INTERSECTIONAL IDENTITIES: THE ROLE OF REGION OF ORIGIN



Notes: The figure shows the predicted level of unemployment at different combinations of immigrant status, gender, and religion. The error bars represent 95% confidence intervals. The results are based on Table 12, Column 2. Red bars indicate immigrants, blue bars indicate respondents born in the country.

To test the robustness of the results, we replicated the analysis using two additional measures of unemployment: long-term unemployment (having experienced at least 12 months of unemployment at any point in the past) and recent unemployment (having been unemployed for at least 3 months in the past 5 years). These results, reported in Section A2 of the Appendix, reveal patterns that are highly consistent with those based on the primary unemployment indicator and lead to the same substantive conclusions.

Overall, these results show that immigrants, ethnic minorities, and certain religious groups face significant disadvantages in the labour market. These disadvantages are particularly pronounced for religious immigrant men and ethnic minority individuals – the latter especially in Eastern Europe. While religiosity alone is generally associated with a lower risk of unemployment among native Christians, this protective effect does not extend to other religious groups, religious immigrants, and, to a lesser extent, religious minority individuals. This

suggests that the interaction between religion and immigrant status or minority identification is key to understanding labour market exclusion.[13]

3.2.3. Occupational status (ISEI)

In this section, we focus on occupational status. While the previous section revealed how ethnic, racial, religious, and gender identities may be associated with barriers to employment, this section analyses how these intersectional identities shape access to quality employment, as measured by occupational status. Specifically, it examines whether individuals from marginalised groups – particularly at the intersections of immigrant background, gender, and religion – are not only less likely to be employed, but also more likely to be concentrated in lower-status occupations when they are employed. This allows us to assess the extent to which social stratification persists beyond employment itself, reflecting deeper inequalities in labour market positioning. For this analysis, we used data from respondents in paid work (employed or self-employed), allowing us to focus specifically on differences in occupational outcomes conditional on labour market participation.

Table 13 presents how occupational status is associated with the four identity variables (immigrant status, religion, minority identification, and gender) by region and for the whole sample. The table reports the mean occupational status. While Table 13 reports unadjusted means, Table 14 reports adjusted means. Specifically, it reports the predicted level of occupational status from regressions controlling for age, gender, type of settlement, marital status, household size, education, subjective health status, year, and religion. This provides a different comparison of the occupational status of different groups (e.g., immigrants and natives from Western Europe and Eastern Europe), taking into account that these groups may differ in terms of their socio-demographic characteristics, which can affect their labour market outcomes.

Table 13 shows that immigrants and respondents identifying as a minority are more likely to be employed in lower-status jobs than respondents born in the country or non-minority respondents. However, the patterns differ somewhat between Western and Eastern Europe. In Western Europe, immigrant respondents are much more likely to hold lower-status jobs, with a disadvantage of 6.26 status points compared to natives. In Eastern Europe, immigrants are in a somewhat less disadvantaged position, but their occupations still score 0.98 status points lower than those of natives. On the other hand, respondents with minority identification have 4.37 points lower occupational status in Western European countries, and an even larger

[13] To further test the robustness of these findings, we analysed how unemployment varies across three intersecting dimensions of identity (minority identification, gender, and religion) using Eurobarometer survey data. The details and results of this analysis can be found in Section A3 of the Appendix.

disadvantage in Eastern Europe (6.73 status points). Most of these differences are somewhat attenuated once means are adjusted for differences in socio-demographic characteristics (Table 14), with one notable exception: in Eastern Europe, immigrants have significantly lower occupational status than respondents born in the country (by 3.60 status points) when differences in education, age, type of settlement, and other factors are controlled for. Importantly, in Western Europe, immigrant status is associated with a greater occupational disadvantage than ethnic minority identification, whereas in Eastern Europe, no such difference is observed. Differences between religious and non-religious respondents are small, particularly after adjusting for socio-demographic characteristics. Women hold higher-status jobs in both regions; however, these differences diminish when socio-demographic factors are taken into account.

TABLE 13: OCCUPATIONAL STATUS AND IMMIGRANT STATUS, RELIGION, MINORITY IDENTIFICATION, AND GENDER (UNADJUSTED MEANS)

	Western Europe	Eastern Europe	Total
(A) Immigrant status			
Born in the country	47.45	43.97	46.80
Immigrant	41.19	42.99	41.24
Difference between the two groups	-6.26	-0.98	-5.56
(B) Religion			
Non-religious	47.35	45.18	47.10
Religious	45.82	43.36	45.30
Difference between the two groups	-1.53	-1.82	-1.80
(C) Minority identification			
Non-minority	47.00	44.26	46.52
Minority	42.63	37.53	42.16
Difference between the two groups	-4.37	-6.73	-4.36
(D) Gender			
Men	45.67	41.60	44.97
Women	47.63	46.79	47.49
Difference between the two groups	1.96	5.19	2.52
Total	46.57	43.95	46.13

Note: The table reports the means of occupational status.

TABLE 14: OCCUPATIONAL STATUS AND IMMIGRANT STATUS, RELIGION, MINORITY IDENTIFICATION, AND GENDER (ADJUSTED MEANS)

	Western Europe	Eastern Europe
(A) Immigrant status		
Born in the country	47.23	44.85
Immigrant	41.36	41.26
Difference between the two groups	-5.87	-3.60
(B) Religion		
Non-religious	46.77	45.10
Religious	46.06	44.59
Difference between the two groups	-0.71	-0.51
(C) Minority identification		
Non-minority	46.77	44.99
Minority	43.05	41.71
Difference between the two groups	-3.72	-3.29
(D) Gender		
Men	46.20	44.22
Women	46.61	45.59
Difference between the two groups	0.41	1.37

Note: The table reports predicted occupational status from regressions controlling for age, gender, type of settlement, marital status, household size, education, subjective health status, year, and religion. Each panel reports results based on separate regressions.

Table 15 presents the relationship between occupational status and the intersection of immigrant status, religion, and gender. Column 1 includes all observations without controls, Column 2 includes all observations with controls, Column 3 includes only Eastern-European countries, and Column 4 includes only Western-European countries.

TABLE 15: OCCUPATIONAL STATUS AND INTERSECTIONAL IDENTITIES: IMMIGRANT STATUS, RELIGION, GENDER

	(1) All	(2) All	(3) East	(4) West
Immigrant	-2.422**	-3.782***	-3.661+	-3.735***
	(0.913)	(0.534)	(1.897)	(0.546)
Religious	-1.669**	-0.473+	-0.864	-0.286
	(0.636)	(0.268)	(0.533)	(0.299)
Female	1.711***	-0.044	0.731	-0.174
	(0.373)	(0.360)	(0.750)	(0.393)
Immigrant x Religious	-4.355***	-2.770***	2.539	-3.114***
	(1.190)	(0.794)	(2.564)	(0.817)
Immigrant x Female	2.674**	0.850	-0.580	1.080
	(0.999)	(0.806)	(2.756)	(0.823)
Religious x Female	1.655***	1.454***	0.025	1.554***
	(0.487)	(0.259)	(0.660)	(0.300)
Immigrant x Religious x Female	-4.667***	-3.182**	-1.873	-3.335**
	(1.263)	(1.025)	(3.368)	(1.049)
Controls	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
N	133977	133977	22685	111292
Adj. R-Square	0.014	0.397	0.476	0.383

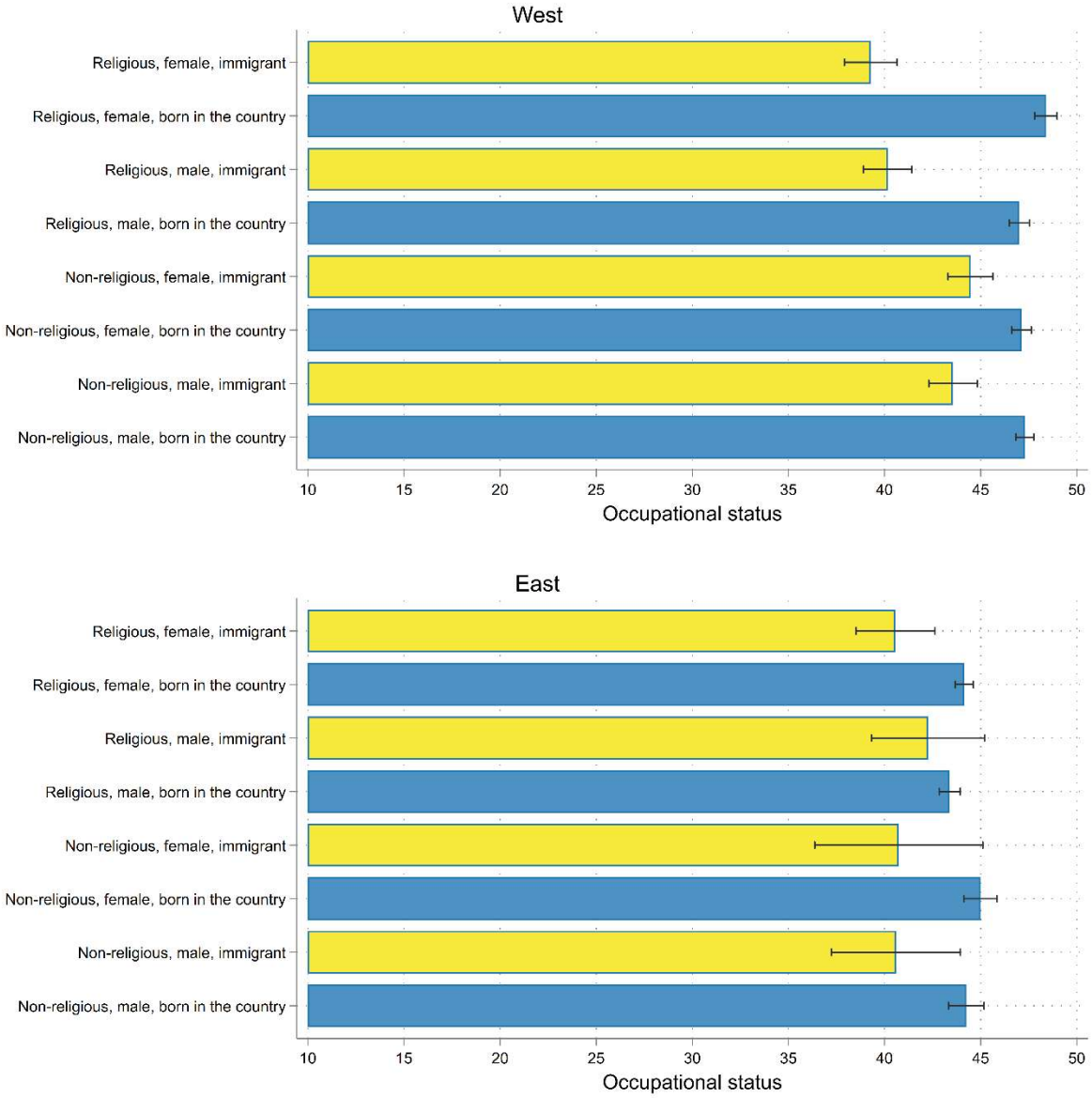
Dependent variable: occupational status (measured on a 10-90 scale). Each column reports coefficients from

an OLS regression with standard errors clustered at the country-wave level reported in parentheses. + represents statistical significance at the 10% level; * at the 5% level; ** at the 1% level; and *** at the 0.1% level. Controls: age, education, settlement, marital status, health, household size, year FE, country FE. Weighted N is reported.

Across all models, the main effect of being an immigrant is negative, reflecting that being an immigrant is associated with significantly lower occupational status. The estimated coefficient is large and statistically significant (B = -3.782, p = 0.000) even after including controls (Column 2). The main effect of being religious is also associated with a disadvantage, though it becomes weaker and only marginally significant after controlling for covariates (B = -0.474, p = 0.080). For women born in the country, being religious is not associated with lower occupational status, since the positive coefficient on the 'Religious x Female' interaction term offsets the negative main effect of religiosity. Interestingly, the interaction between immigrant status and religiosity is consistently large and negative – particularly in Western Europe (B = -3.114, p = 0.000) – suggesting a compounded disadvantage for religious immigrant men in accessing higher-status occupations. Meanwhile, the triple interaction term (Immigrant x Religious x Female) is strongly negative and significant in both the full sample and the Western European subsample, indicating that religious immigrant women face the steepest penalties in occupational outcomes. This means that in Western Europe, religious immigrant men access lower quality employment by 6.85 status points compared to religious native men, while religious immigrant women's occupational status is 9.1 points lower than that of religious native women.

Figure 5 illustrates these results. It is clearly visible that there is a large gap in the occupational status of immigrants and those born in the country, both for Western Europe (top panel) and Eastern Europe (bottom panel). However, there is a key difference: religious immigrants in Western Europe have significantly lower occupational status than both natives and non-religious immigrants. This disadvantage is not observed in Eastern Europe.

FIGURE 5: PREDICTIVE MARGINS OF INTERSECTIONAL IDENTITIES: IMMIGRANT STATUS, RELIGION, GENDER



Notes: The figure shows the predicted level of occupational status at different combinations of immigrant status, gender, and religion. The error bars represent 95% confidence intervals. The results are based on Table 15, Column 3 and Column 4. Red bars indicate immigrants, blue bars indicate respondents born in the country.

Table 16 shows the results when minority identification is included instead of immigrant status. The main effect of minority identification is negative, indicating an association with lower occupational status. This disadvantage is even more pronounced when combined with religious identity, as reflected in the negative, marginally significant interaction between religion and minority identification in Western Europe (B = -2.408, p = 0.061). The interaction term between gender and minority identification is negative across all models and marginally significant in Eastern Europe (B = -3.424, p = 0.085), suggesting that in this region, minority women are

particularly likely to hold lower-status jobs, pointing to a compounded disadvantage in job quality. While earlier results (Table 10) showed that minority women face slightly fewer barriers to entering employment than minority men, here we find that once employed, minority women tend to be concentrated in lower-quality jobs, especially in Eastern Europe.

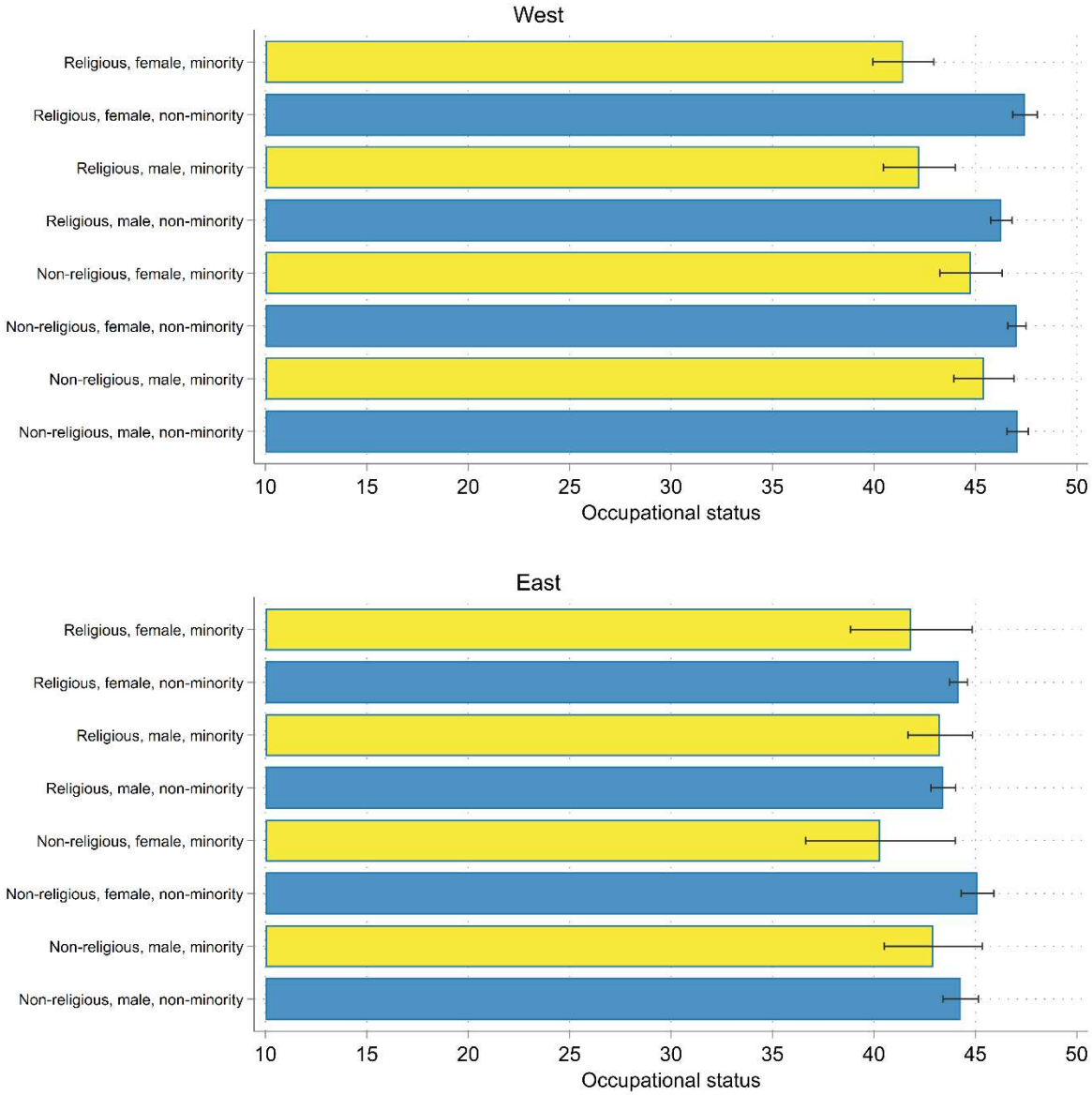
The results are illustrated in Figure 6. The general pattern is similar in both Western and Eastern Europe: people with minority identification have lower occupational status than non-minority respondents. In Western Europe, combining minority identification with religious identity entails a particularly large 'penalty' in occupational status, whereas in Eastern Europe, religion does not appear to play a meaningful role.

TABLE 16: OCCUPATIONAL STATUS AND INTERSECTIONAL IDENTITIES: MINORITY IDENTIFICATION, RELIGION, GENDER

	(1) All	(2) East	(3) West
Religious	-0.912**	-0.852	-0.787*
	(0.276)	(0.535)	(0.302)
Female	0.080	0.819	-0.028
	(0.384)	(0.726)	(0.420)
Minority	-1.691*	-1.353	-1.652*
	(0.679)	(1.092)	(0.722)
Religious x Female	1.141***	-0.082	1.187***
	(0.286)	(0.663)	(0.321)
Religious x Minority	-1.982+	1.189	-2.408+
	(1.153)	(1.114)	(1.270)
Female x Minority	-0.834	-3.424+	-0.614
	(1.132)	(1.949)	(1.193)
Religious x Female x Minority	-1.157	1.265	-1.322
	(1.429)	(2.465)	(1.489)
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes
N	132645	22514	110131
Adj. R-Square	0.390	0.476	0.375

Dependent variable: occupational status. Each column reports coefficients from an OLS regression with standard errors clustered at the country-wave level reported in parentheses. + represents statistical significance at the 10% level; * at the 5% level; ** at the 1% level; and *** at the 0.1% level. Controls: age, education, settlement, marital status, health, household size, year FE, country FE. Weighted N is reported.

FIGURE 6: PREDICTIVE MARGINS OF INTERSECTIONAL IDENTITIES: MINORITY IDENTIFICATION, RELIGION, GENDER



Notes: The figure shows the predicted level of occupational status at different combinations of minority identification, gender, and religion. The error bars represent 95% confidence intervals. The results come from Table 16, Column 2 and Column 3. Red bars indicate respondents with minority identification, blue bars indicate respondents without minority identification.

Table 17 examines how occupational status is shaped by the intersection of immigrant status, religious denomination, and gender. For native men affiliated with an Islamic religion, the estimated coefficient is negative but imprecise (B = -1.606, p = 0.145). While immigrant status alone is associated with a significant reduction in occupational status, this disadvantage is not evenly distributed across non-religious and religious groups. Specifically, both Christian and Islamic immigrant men experience a substantial and statistically significant penalty compared to non-Christian natives, with an additional drop in status of about 2-3 points – suggesting a compounded effect that may stem from specific structural or cultural disadvantages associated

with these groups. This implies that Islamic immigrant men, on average, occupy jobs with status scores 7.50 points lower than those of native, non-religious men, and Christian immigrant men occupy jobs with status scores 7.21 points lower than those of native, non-religious men. Religious immigrant women appear to face a strong and significant triple penalty in occupational status. However, the triple interaction term is statistically significant only for Christian immigrant women; for other groups, the estimates are imprecise. In practical terms, Islamic immigrant women work in occupations with status scores about 7.4 points lower, and Christian immigrant women about 9.3 points lower, than those of native, non-religious women.

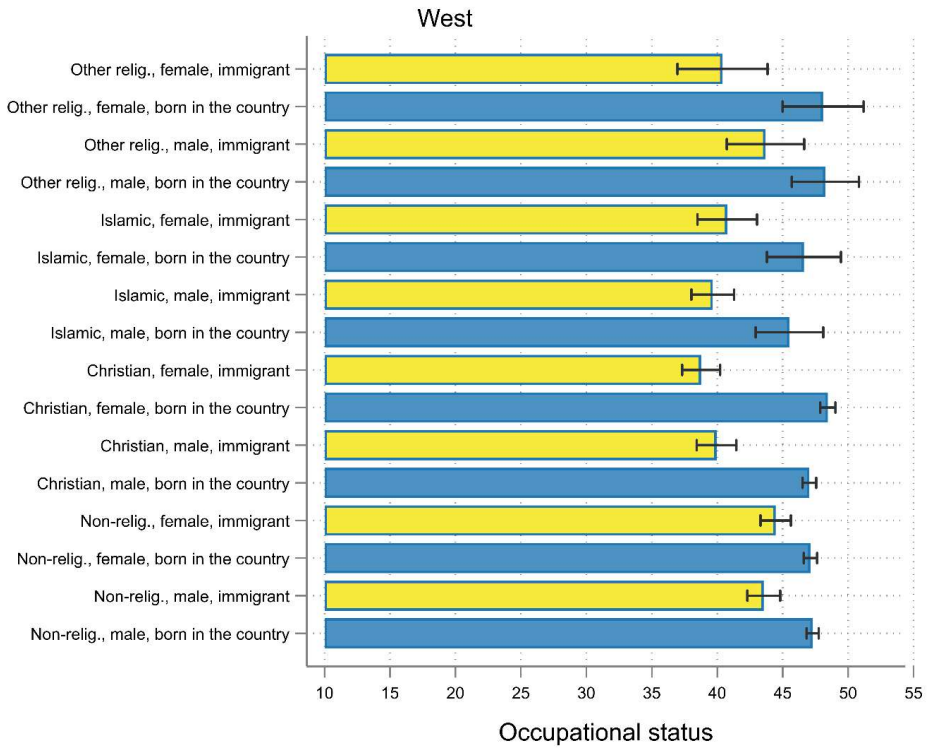
Figure 7 provides a visual representation of these findings. It clearly illustrates the substantial differences in occupational status between individuals with and without an immigrant background, between immigrants affiliated with Islamic or Christian religions and non-religious immigrants, and between native individuals affiliated with Islamic religions and other natives.

TABLE 17: OCCUPATIONAL STATUS AND INTERSECTIONAL IDENTITIES: THE ROLE OF RELIGIOUS DENOMINATION

	(1) All	(2) West
Immigrant	-3.780***	-3.737***
	(0.534)	(0.546)
Christian	-0.439	-0.249
	(0.275)	(0.306)
Islamic	-1.606	-1.774
	(1.097)	(1.274)
Other	0.854	0.969
	(1.198)	(1.267)
Female	-0.040	-0.171
	(0.359)	(0.392)
Immigrant x Christian	-2.993**	-3.357***
	(0.948)	(0.975)
Immigrant x Islamic	-2.114+	-2.125
	(1.152)	(1.292)
Immigrant x Other	-0.794	-0.837
	(1.513)	(1.563)
Immigrant x Female	0.851	1.082
	(0.806)	(0.823)
Christian x Female	1.458***	1.578***
	(0.266)	(0.306)
Islamic x Female	0.858	1.279
	(1.917)	(2.168)
Other x Female	0.142	-0.002
	(1.994)	(2.105)
Immigrant x Christian x Female	-3.460**	-3.668**
	(1.197)	(1.233)
Immigrant x Islamic x Female	-0.781	-1.080
	(2.093)	(2.317)
Immigrant x Other x Female	-4.201	-4.193
	(2.562)	(2.649)
Controls	Yes	Yes
N	133058	111007
Adj. R-Square	0.397	0.383

Dependent variable: occupational status. Each column reports coefficients from an OLS regression with standard errors clustered at the country-wave level reported in parentheses. + represents statistical significance at the 10% level; * at the 5% level; ** at the 1% level; and *** at the 0.1% level. Controls: age, education, settlement, marital status, health, household size, year FE, country FE. Weighted N is reported.

FIGURE 7: PREDICTIVE MARGINS OF INTERSECTIONAL IDENTITIES: THE ROLE OF RELIGIOUS DENOMINATION



Notes: The figure shows the predicted level of occupational status at different combinations of immigrant status, gender, and religious denomination. The error bars represent 95% confidence intervals. The results come from Table 17, Column 2. Red bars indicate immigrants, blue bars indicate respondents born in the country.

Table 18 examines how occupational status is shaped by the intersection of region of origin, religiosity, and gender. Across all origin groups, immigrants face significant penalties in occupational status compared to native-born individuals, with female immigrants facing somewhat smaller penalties. However, the interaction terms between gender and region of origin are positive but statistically non-significant. These disadvantages are amplified when combined with religiosity: religious individuals from Europe, Africa, and Asia experience additional and statistically significant drops in status, particularly among female religious immigrants.

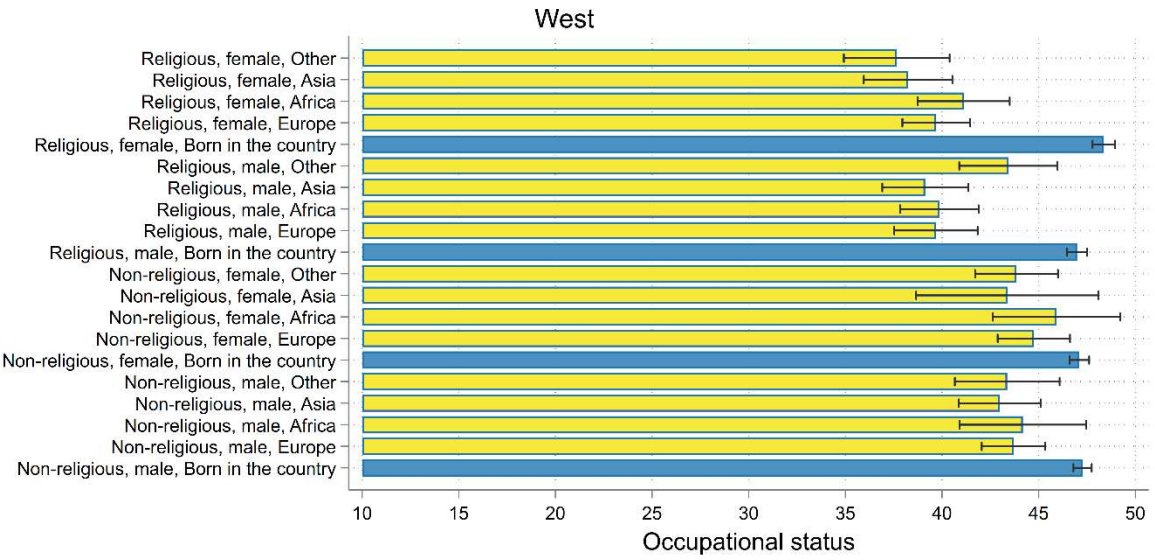
Figure 8 graphically presents the results. A large gap between immigrants and those born in the country is clearly visible. In addition, the differences between religious and non-religious immigrants are also substantial, with religious immigrants facing greater disadvantages.

TABLE 18: OCCUPATIONAL STATUS AND INTERSECTIONAL IDENTITIES: THE ROLE OF REGION OF ORIGIN

	(1) All	(2) West
Europe	-3.655***	-3.574***
	(0.720)	(0.759)
Africa	-3.137+	-3.086+
	(1.613)	(1.623)
Asia	-4.304***	-4.285***
	(0.965)	(0.974)
Other	-4.044**	-3.899**
	(1.362)	(1.351)
Religious	-0.469+	-0.287
	(0.270)	(0.302)
Female	-0.041	-0.170
	(0.359)	(0.392)
Europe x Religious	-3.206**	-3.723***
	(1.005)	(1.047)
Africa x Religious	-3.780+	-4.040+
	(2.251)	(2.255)
Asia x Religious	-3.284**	-3.571**
	(1.251)	(1.278)
Other x Religious	0.751	0.344
	(1.758)	(1.755)
Europe x Female	1.127	1.221
	(1.163)	(1.194)
Africa x Female	1.180	1.911
	(2.512)	(2.473)
Asia x Female	0.330	0.559
	(2.211)	(2.211)
Other x Female	0.478	0.651
	(1.421)	(1.426)
Religious x Female	1.453***	1.553***
	(0.259)	(0.300)
Europe x Religious x Female	-2.591*	-2.591+
	(1.293)	(1.357)
Africa x Religious x Female	-1.393	-2.030
	(2.985)	(2.919)
Asia x Religious x Female	-2.793	-2.830
	(2.305)	(2.267)
Other x Religious x Female	-7.844***	-7.808***
	(1.647)	(1.644)
Controls	Yes	Yes
N	133047	110378
Adj. R-Square	0.397	0.383

Dependent variable: occupational status. Each column reports coefficients from an OLS regression with standard errors clustered at the country-wave level reported in parentheses. + represents statistical significance at the 10% level; * at the 5% level; ** at the 1% level; and *** at the 0.1% level. Controls: age, education, settlement, marital status, health, household size, year FE, country FE. Weighted N is reported.

FIGURE 8: PREDICTIVE MARGINS OF INTERSECTIONAL IDENTITIES: THE ROLE OF REGION OF ORIGIN



Notes: The figure shows the predicted level of occupational status at different combinations of immigrant status, gender, and religion. The error bars represent 95% confidence intervals. The results come from Table 18, Column 2. Red bars indicate immigrants, blue bars indicate respondents born in the country.

In summary, the analysis shows that both immigrant status and religious background are independently associated with lower occupational status. Religious immigrants face an additional intersectional disadvantage, experiencing compounded penalties beyond the simple additive effects of religion and immigrant status when accessing higher-status occupations. Minority identification is also linked to lower occupational status, though to a somewhat lesser extent than immigrant status. While previous findings indicated that individuals of different religions and regions of origin encounter varying barriers to employment, no substantial differences were observed in access to quality employment between religious denominations or regions of origin.

3.2.4. Second-generation immigrants

Classical assimilation theory suggests that children of immigrants (the second generation) typically experience better labour market outcomes than their parents. However, despite overall progress, the second generation often continues to face disadvantages in the labour market (Drouhot & Nee, 2019; Heath et al., 2008; Hermansen et al., 2025). Since the European Social Survey data are suitable for analysing the intersectionalities of second-generation immigrants, this section focuses on Western Europe, where the position of the second generation is particularly relevant.

This section explores how second-generation immigrant status intersects with religion and gender in shaping labour market outcomes, specifically unemployment and occupational status.

Building on previous findings about the disadvantages faced by first-generation immigrants and religious minorities, we now examine whether similar or distinct patterns emerge for their descendants. As noted earlier, we define second-generation immigrants as individuals who live in their own country of birth but have at least one parent who was born in another country.

Table 19 presents the results for the likelihood of ever experiencing unemployment among second-generation immigrants. The findings indicate that second-generation immigrants face a higher overall risk of unemployment. The main effect of being a second-generation immigrant is positive (B = 0.027, p = 0.039), although smaller than the effect observed for first-generation immigrants (see Table 9). Consistent with earlier findings for first-generation immigrants, being religious is associated with a lower probability of unemployment among men with native-born parents. While gender alone is not significantly associated with unemployment risk, the interaction between religion and gender is positive and statistically significant, pointing to particular vulnerabilities among religious women. This may reflect the influence of traditional gender norms and family roles that limit their labour market participation or job continuity.

Most importantly, the interaction between second-generation immigrant status and religious identification is positive and significant in the full sample (B = 0.054, p = 0.003), and even stronger in Western Europe (B = 0.069, p = 0.000). This indicates that religious second-generation immigrant men face compounded disadvantages beyond the simple additive effects of each identity. A similar, though weaker, pattern is found for religious second-generation immigrant women. The negative coefficient on the triple interaction term (B = 0.048, p = 0.066 for Western Europe) suggests that these women face a somewhat lower unemployment risk than would be expected from the additive effects of their identities alone. Nevertheless, second-generation immigrant women who are religious still face a higher risk of unemployment overall, although this effect is not statistically significant (B = 0.021, p = 0.437).

TABLE 19: UNEMPLOYMENT AND INTERSECTIONAL IDENTITIES: SECOND-GENERATION IMMIGRANT STATUS, RELIGION, GENDER

	(1) All	(2) East	(3) West
Second-generation immigrant	0.027*	0.046	0.025+
	(0.013)	(0.029)	(0.014)
Religious	-0.058***	-0.023+	-0.064***
	(0.007)	(0.013)	(0.008)
Female	-0.004	0.005	-0.006
	(0.008)	(0.009)	(0.009)
Second-generation immigrant x Religious	0.054**	-0.012	0.069***
	(0.018)	(0.035)	(0.019)
Second-generation immigrant x Female	-0.003	-0.001	-0.003
	(0.020)	(0.030)	(0.022)
Religious x Female	0.018*	0.021+	0.016+
	(0.008)	(0.011)	(0.009)
Second-generation immigrant x Religious x Female	-0.041+	0.017	-0.048+
	(0.024)	(0.043)	(0.026)
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes
N	231170	42945	188225
R-Square	0.090	0.091	0.093

Dependent variable: ever unemployed. Each column reports coefficients from an OLS regression with standard errors clustered at the country-wave level reported in parentheses. + represents statistical significance at the 10% level; * at the 5% level; ** at the 1% level; and *** at the 0.1% level. Controls: age, education, settlement, marital status, health, household size, year FE, country FE. Weighted N is reported.

Table 20 examines the likelihood of experiencing long-term unemployment (defined as being unemployed for 12 months or more) among second-generation immigrants. The results and the conclusions largely mirror those presented in Table 19. In the case of recent unemployment (Table 21), the patterns remain similar, and the signs of the coefficients are consistent with those in Table 19; however, some estimates lack precision.

TABLE 20: LONG-TERM UNEMPLOYMENT AND INTERSECTIONAL IDENTITIES: SECOND-GENERATION IMMIGRANT STATUS, RELIGION, GENDER

	(1) All	(2) East	(3) West
Second-generation immigrant	0.023*	0.021	0.023+
	(0.011)	(0.019)	(0.012)
Religious	-0.035***	-0.019**	-0.038***
	(0.005)	(0.007)	(0.006)
Female	0.011*	0.023**	0.009
	(0.005)	(0.007)	(0.006)
Second-generation immigrant x Religious	0.022	-0.012	0.030+
	(0.015)	(0.020)	(0.017)
Second-generation immigrant x Female	0.003	0.007	0.003
	(0.013)	(0.020)	(0.014)
Religious x Female	0.019**	0.019*	0.018**
	(0.006)	(0.009)	(0.006)
Second-generation immigrant x Religious x Female	-0.038+	0.007	-0.043+
	(0.020)	(0.026)	(0.023)
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes
N	231170	42945	188225
R-Square	0.069	0.083	0.068

Dependent variable: ever unemployed for 12 months. Each column reports coefficients from an OLS regression with standard errors clustered at the country-wave level reported in parentheses. + represents statistical significance at the 10% level; * at the 5% level; ** at the 1% level; and *** at the 0.1% level. Controls: age, education, settlement, marital status, health, household size, year FE, country FE. Weighted N is reported.

TABLE 21: RECENT UNEMPLOYMENT AND INTERSECTIONAL IDENTITIES: SECOND-GENERATION IMMIGRANT STATUS, RELIGION, GENDER

	(1) All	(2) East	(3) West
Second-generation immigrant	0.016+	0.018	0.016
	(0.009)	(0.021)	(0.010)
Religious	-0.026***	-0.031*	-0.025***
	(0.005)	(0.012)	(0.006)
Female	0.006	0.000	0.007
	(0.006)	(0.010)	(0.007)
Second-generation immigrant x Religious	0.040*	-0.009	0.046**
	(0.016)	(0.030)	(0.017)
Second-generation immigrant x Female	0.018	0.013	0.017
	(0.012)	(0.020)	(0.013)
Religious x Female	0.013+	0.030*	0.009
	(0.007)	(0.014)	(0.007)
Second-generation immigrant x Religious x Female	-0.030*	-0.025	-0.027
	(0.015)	(0.031)	(0.016)
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes
N	170066	32941	137125
R-Square	0.082	0.085	0.084

Dependent variable: unemployed in the last 5 years. Each column reports coefficients from an OLS regression with standard errors clustered at the country-wave level reported in parentheses. + represents statistical significance at the 10% level; * at the 5% level; ** at the 1% level; and *** at the 0.1% level. Controls: age, education, settlement, marital status, health, household size, year FE, country FE. Weighted N is reported.

Table 22 shifts the focus from unemployment outcomes to occupational status and shows a somewhat different pattern compared to the previous tables. While second-generation immigrant status is consistently associated with higher unemployment risks in Table 19, Table 20, and Table 21, it does not appear to be significantly associated with occupational status. Similarly, the interaction between second-generation status and religious identity – which was a source of disadvantage in unemployment outcomes – is statistically insignificant here.

TABLE 22: OCCUPATIONAL STATUS AND INTERSECTIONAL IDENTITIES: SECOND-GENERATION IMMIGRANT STATUS, RELIGION, GENDER

	(1)	(2)	(3)
	All	East	West
Second-generation immigrant	0.008	0.306	0.061
	(0.557)	(0.955)	(0.597)
Religious	-0.575*	-0.818	-0.424
	(0.290)	(0.556)	(0.334)
Female	-0.090	0.705	-0.213
	(0.364)	(0.792)	(0.395)
Second-generation immigrant x Religious	-0.062	-0.619	-0.106
	(0.893)	(1.213)	(0.988)
Second-generation immigrant x Female	0.573	0.137	0.629
	(1.024)	(1.429)	(1.104)
Religious x Female	1.451***	0.040	1.563***
	(0.263)	(0.688)	(0.306)
Second-generation immigrant x Religious x Female	-0.305	0.201	-0.396
	(1.378)	(2.231)	(1.492)
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes
N	117434	22172	95262
R-Square	0.393	0.477	0.374

Dependent variable: occupational status. Each column reports coefficients from an OLS regression with standard errors clustered at the country-wave level reported in parentheses. + represents statistical significance at the 10% level; * at the 5% level; ** at the 1% level; and *** at the 0.1% level. Controls: age, education, settlement, marital status, health, household size, year FE, country FE. Weighted N is reported.

The findings suggest that while second-generation immigrants – and especially religious second-generation immigrants – may face barriers to employment, those who are employed may attain relatively high-status positions, possibly reflecting selective labour market participation or compensatory strategies to overcome these barriers, such as investing more in education or pursuing higher-status occupations. It is worth noting that education, which may mediate the relationship between second-generation immigrant status and occupational status, is controlled for in the analysis. However, even without controlling for education, the

coefficients for second-generation status and its interaction with religion remain statistically insignificant.

4. Labour market disadvantages faced by the Roma: LFS and Roma Survey 2021

Since ethnic minority identification in the European Social Survey is broadly defined and its definition changed across waves, in this section, we use the 2021 Roma Survey of the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA) to analyse the labour-market disadvantages faced by Roma people. For data on the general population, we rely on the EU Labour Force Survey (LFS) because the Roma Survey 2021 questionnaire was designed to include identical questions on labour market participation and socio-demographic characteristics to those in the LFS. However, a major limitation of these surveys is the absence of information on respondents' religion and religious activities in the LFS.

4.1. Data and methods

4.1.1. Data

The first dataset is the LFS from 2022, which is a large household sample survey conducted in all countries of the European Union and seven additional countries. It provides comprehensive and comparable data on labour market participation, employment, and unemployment across Europe.

The second dataset we use is the Roma Survey 2021 of the FRA, carried out in ten European countries (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2023b).[14] We use data from eight countries that also participated in LFS: Croatia, Czechia, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Portugal, Romania, and Spain. The dataset includes 7,282 face-to-face interviews with self-identified Roma individuals (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2023a).[15]

[14] The survey targeted individuals aged 16 or over who self-identified as having a Roma background or any group subsumed under this umbrella term. A two-stage sampling process was used across ten countries. In the first stage, Primary Sampling Units (PSUs) – typically municipalities or regions with a significant Roma population – were selected. In the second stage, Secondary Sampling Units (SSUs), smaller geographical units, were selected. Efforts were made to include all relevant PSUs and SSUs to minimise the risk of excluding eligible units. However, due to challenges in identifying all Roma households and other general limitations in building a representative Roma sample (Farkas, 2017; Messing, 2014; Van Caeneghem, 2019), some undercoverage was inevitable. This resulted in considerable variation in the proportion of the Roma population reached across countries, ranging from 66% to 95%. These limitations may also help explain why respondents' characteristics varied substantially across countries (see Section 4.1.3).

[15] We use LFS data from 2022 because health indicators are collected in even years, and we preferred to include information on respondents' health. The results are similar, and the conclusions remain unchanged when using the 2021 dataset.

The sample is restricted to respondents aged 15-64. As our aim was to compare labour market outcomes of Roma people with those of the general population, respondents born outside of the reporting country were excluded from the LFS dataset. The final sample size is 640,575 for the LFS dataset and 6,488 for the Roma Survey dataset. Sample sizes by survey and country are reported in Table A7 in the Appendix.

The merging of the two data sources provides a unique opportunity to analyse labour-market outcomes and intersectionalities for the largest indigenous ethnic minority group in Europe, in comparison with ethnic majorities. In addition, the qualitative component of WP3 placed specific emphasis on the experiences of Roma people, with particular attention to Roma women.

4.1.2. Variables

Labour market status is measured by self-perceived activity status, which refers to the respondent's own perception of their current and most important activity status.[16] This approach is informative, as it captures the realities of disadvantaged groups who often work in the informal economy and may not be fully represented in formal labour market classifications.

The two questionnaires use identical categories for main activity status, with one difference: the 'employed' category is subdivided in the Roma Survey into three groups (employed, self-employed, helping in the family business), whereas in the LFS it is a single category (employed).[17] Since non-employed individuals may pursue different alternatives to unemployment across countries – e.g., performing domestic tasks rather than identifying as unemployed –, as our first outcome variable, we use a binary indicator variable for being employed rather than for being unemployed.

Our second outcome variable is occupational status, based on the ISCO code of the respondent's occupation. Consistent with the analysis above, we use ISEI scores (Ganzeboom et al., 1992; Ganzeboom & Treiman, 2003) reflecting the social and economic position associated with a person's occupation.[18]

As control variables, we use respondents' age (10 categories), type of settlement (3 categories: big city (densely populated areas); towns and suburbs (intermediate density); rural areas (thinly populated), education (four categories: ISCED 0-1, ISCED 2, ISCED 3-4, ISCED 5-8 level),

[16] Although a person may have multiple activity statuses (e.g., working while retired), the question specifically asks for the activity considered most important.
[17] Other activity statuses are the following: unemployed; student, pupil; unable to work due to long-standing health problems; fulfilling domestic tasks; retired; compulsory military or civilian service; other.
[18] Since the Roma Survey 2021 provides only 1-digit ISCO codes, we use the mean ISEI scores for each major occupational group (1-digit code).

partnership status, health status (subjective general health on a five-point scale from very bad to very good, and whether the respondent is limited in their activity due to health problems), and household size.

4.1.3. Empirical strategy

Respondents' characteristics in the Roma survey dataset vary considerably by country (see Table A8 –Table A12 in the Appendix).[19] The proportion of the Roma population actually reached by the survey also differed substantially across countries, ranging from about two-thirds (66%) to almost the entire population (95%) (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2023a). Although the same methodology was applied in all countries and the survey was designed to provide comparable data, these differences may create challenges when comparing empirical results between countries. For this reason, we chose to analyse the data separately for each country rather than pooling them together.

We regressed the outcome variables on the two identity variables (Roma, gender) and their interactions.[20] We also used the following control variables: age, type of settlement, living with a partner, education, health, and household size. We estimated standard errors that are robust to heteroscedasticity.

4.2. RESULTS

4.2.1. Descriptive statistics

Table 23 presents summary statistics for the outcome variables by country based on the combined analytical dataset (LFS and Roma Survey). It is important to note that due to differences in the sample sizes, the results are predominantly driven by the LFS data. The share of respondents employed at the time of the survey ranges from 59% to 75%, while the average

[19] For example, there are substantial differences in main activity status (Table A8 in the Appendix). Self-employment is prevalent in Greece, Italy, and Portugal (15-18%), while it is rare in Hungary and Croatia (less than 2%). Similarly, unemployment rates vary widely, with particularly high levels in Greece and Spain (55-58%), compared to much lower rates in Romania and Hungary (8-15%). In contrast, a high share of respondents in Romania report undertaking domestic tasks and care responsibilities (44%), and the share of people doing domestic tasks is also high in Spain and Italy (25%). This may indicate that, in these contexts, domestic work serves as an alternative route out of unemployment. There are also large differences in terms of settlement type (Table A9 in the Appendix). The Italian and the Spanish samples are mainly drawn from cities, whereas the share of respondents living in rural areas is particularly high in Hungary and Romania. Substantial variation is observed in the highest level of education completed (Table A12 in the Appendix). Most respondents in Portugal (72%) and Spain (63%) have only primary education or less, while the share of individuals with upper secondary or post-secondary education is relatively high in Hungary (35%) and Croatia (23%).

[20] While there was information on the religion of respondents in the Roma Survey, no questions were included on the LFS. Therefore, we cannot include religion in our analysis. We experimented with differentiating between religious and non-religious Roma respondents; however, in three countries, the share of non-religious Roma was below 5%, and in an additional two countries, it was below 15%.

occupational status score among employed or self-employed respondents ranges from 39 to 45 points.

TABLE 23: DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS OF OUTCOME VARIABLES

	Mean	SD	N
CZ			
Currently employed	72.5%	44.6%	21258
Occupational status	43.9	19.3	14978
EL			
Currently employed	59.3%	49.1%	15869
Occupational status	43.5	21.2	8935
ES			
Currently employed	62.7%	48.4%	47697
Occupational status	44.4	20.1	29028
HR			
Currently employed	62.4%	48.4%	22897
Occupational status	43.6	19.7	12927
HU			
Currently employed	71.6%	45.1%	129443
Occupational status	42.6	20	88163
IT			
Currently employed	59.1%	49.2%	255124
Occupational status	44	18.8	148816
PT			
Currently employed	69.3%	46.1%	18019
Occupational status	44.9	20.2	11892
RO			
Currently employed	62.7%	48.4%	136459
Occupational status	39.1	20.4	83217

CZ = Czech Republic; EL = Greece; ES = Spain; HR = Croatia; HU = Hungary; IT = Italy; PT = Portugal; RO = Romania

4.2.2. Paid work

Table 24 reports the share of respondents who describe their main activity status as employed or self-employed, i.e. the share of respondents who were employed at the time of the survey. There are large differences between Roma respondents and the general population, both among men (Panel B) and women (Panel A). The employment gap between Roma and the general population is especially large among women, with Roma women showing much lower employment rates in every country. Although the gap is narrower for men, Roma men also have substantially lower employment rates than their non-Roma counterparts. The lowest employment rates for Roma women are in Spain (10%), Croatia (12%), and Greece (19%), while the highest rates are in Hungary (37%) and the Czech Republic (29%). The lowest employment rates for Roma men are in Spain (23%) and Greece (34%), and the highest are in Hungary (68%). Employment rates are also around 50% in the Czech Republic, Italy and

Romania. Spain has the largest employment gap between the Roma and the general population for both women and men, while Hungary has the smallest.[21]

TABLE 24: SHARE OF RESPONDENTS IN EMPLOYMENT BY GENDER, COUNTRY

	CZ	EL	ES	HR	HU	IT	PT	RO
(A) Women								
LFS	65.2%	51.1%	59.4%	58.7%	65.5%	51.2%	68.4%	54.4%
Roma survey	28.5%	18.5%	10.2%	11.8%	37.4%	21.8%	14.6%	18.7%
Difference (LFS - Roma survey)	36.7%	32.6%	49.2%	46.9%	28.1%	29.4%	53.8%	35.7%
(B) Men								
LFS	81.1%	68.9%	68.4%	67.8%	78.6%	67.8%	72.5%	72.1%
Roma survey	50.5%	44.1%	23.0%	34.0%	67.7%	52.9%	44.6%	50.1%
Difference (LFS - Roma survey)	30.6%	24.8%	45.4%	33.8%	10.9%	14.9%	27.9%	22.0%
Difference (Roma men – Roma women)	22.0%	25.6%	12.8%	22.2%	30.3%	31.1%	30.0%	31.4%
Difference (LFS men – LFS women	15.9%	17.8%	9.0%	9.1%	13.1%	16.6%	4.1%	17.7%
(C) Total								
LFS: total population	73.3%	60.0%	64.0%	63.3%	72.1%	59.6%	70.4%	63.4%
Roma survey	39.6%	30.2%	16.2%	22.4%	51.5%	36.6%	29.2%	29.5%
Difference (LFS - Roma survey)	33.7%	29.8%	47.8%	40.9%	20.6%	23.0%	41.2%	33.9%

CZ = Czech Republic; EL = Greece; ES = Spain; HR = Croatia; HU = Hungary; IT = Italy; PT = Portugal; RO = Romania

Table 25 show the result of the regression models. The odd-numbered columns present the results without control variables, i.e. they replicate the results reported in Table 24 in a regression framework. Across all countries, being a Roma man is associated with a significantly lower probability of being employed. Even the smallest difference for men (-0.108 for Hungary) is very precisely estimated and significant at the 0.1% level. Female non-Roma respondents are consistently less likely to be employed than male non-Roma respondents, with strong negative coefficients across all countries. The interaction term between Roma status and female gender is generally negative and significant, indicating that Roma women face an additional disadvantage in employment likelihood beyond the individual effects of ethnicity and gender. There are three countries where the estimated coefficient on the interaction term is not significant at any conventional level; however, the coefficients are relatively large (ranging from -0.038 to -0.072) and imprecisely estimated.

[21] Official statistics may differ from these results. For example, in Hungary, the Hungarian Central Statistical Office reported an employment gap of approximately 30% between the Roma and non-Roma populations. (https://ksh.hu/kiadvanyok/fenntarthato-fejlodes-indikatorai/2024/4-2-sdg-8, Accessed: 2025.10.20).

TABLE 25: ASSOCIATION BETWEEN ROMA STATUS, GENDER, AND LIKELIHOOD OF CURRENTLY BEING EMPLOYED

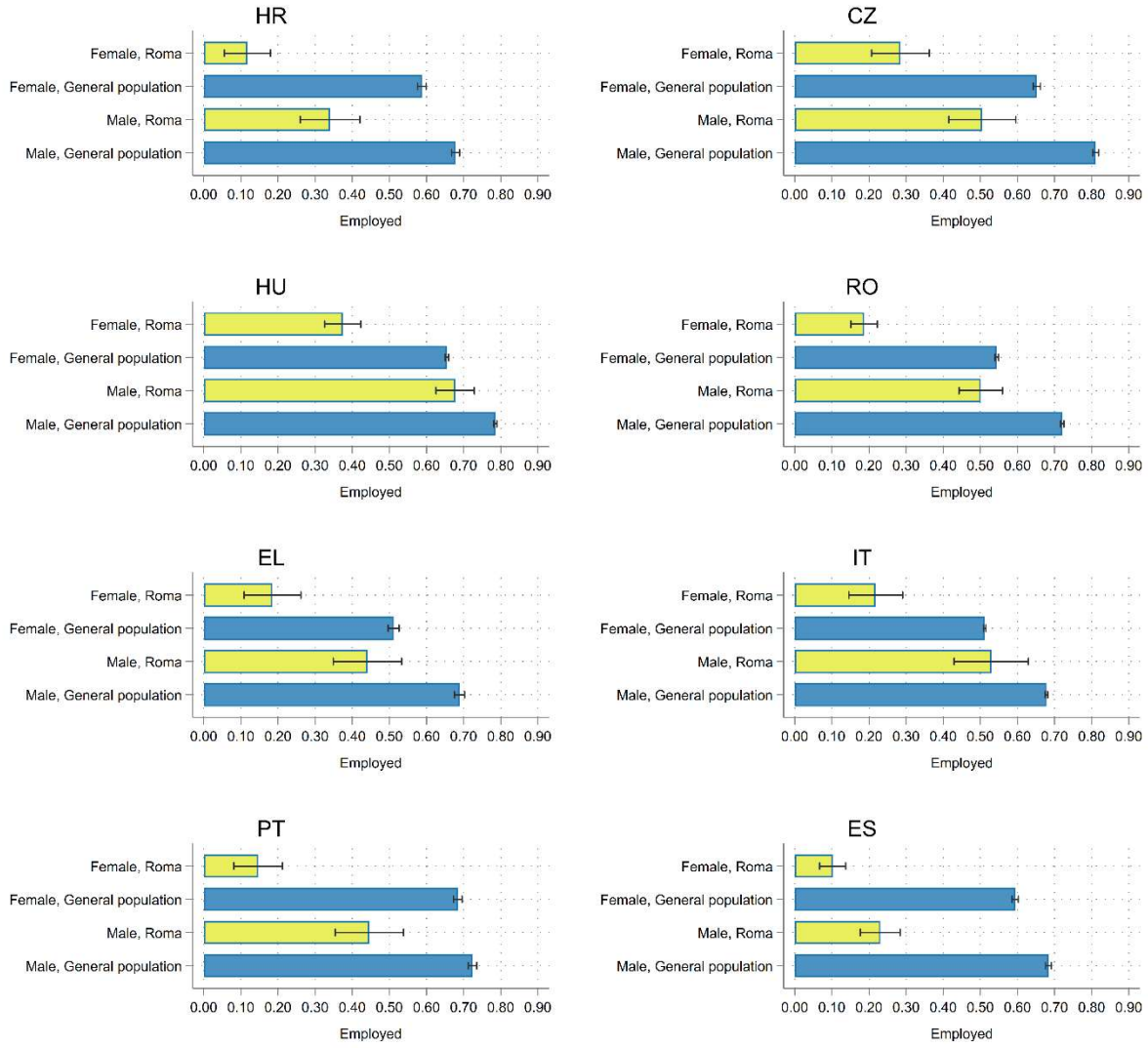
	(1) HR	(2) HR	(3) CZ	(4) CZ	(5) HU	(6) HU	(7) RO	(8) RO
Roma	-0.338***	-0.084*	-0.306***	-0.119**	-0.108***	0.081***	-0.220***	-0.026
	(0.042)	(0.042)	(0.046)	(0.042)	(0.026)	(0.023)	(0.030)	(0.026)
Female	-0.091***	-0.108***	-0.158***	-0.157***	-0.130***	-0.135***	-0.177***	-0.172***
	(0.008)	(0.007)	(0.006)	(0.005)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)
Roma x Female	-0.132*	-0.063	-0.062	0.013	-0.173***	-0.151***	-0.138***	-0.061+
	(0.053)	(0.052)	(0.061)	(0.055)	(0.036)	(0.034)	(0.035)	(0.032)
Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
N	22897	22897	21258	21258	129443	129443	136459	136459
Adj. R^2	0.025	0.364	0.045	0.396	0.027	0.356	0.045	0.399
	(9) EL	(10) EL	(11) IT	(12) IT	(13) PT	(14) PT	(15) ES	(16) ES
Roma	-0.248***	-0.151***	-0.149**	0.098*	-0.278***	-0.200***	-0.454***	-0.234***
	(0.047)	(0.045)	(0.051)	(0.046)	(0.047)	(0.047)	(0.028)	(0.028)
Female	-0.177***	-0.187***	-0.166***	-0.181***	-0.040***	-0.050***	-0.090***	-0.100***
	(0.010)	(0.009)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.008)	(0.007)	(0.006)	(0.005)
Roma x Female	-0.078	-0.009	-0.145*	-0.098+	-0.259***	-0.221***	-0.038	-0.036
	(0.062)	(0.059)	(0.063)	(0.058)	(0.058)	(0.062)	(0.033)	(0.034)
Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
N	15869	15869	255124	255124	18019	18019	47697	47697
Adj. R^2	0.042	0.333	0.035	0.327	0.024	0.367	0.034	0.353

Dependent variable: currently being employed. Each column reports coefficients from an OLS regression with robust standard errors reported in parentheses. + represents statistical significance at the 10% level; * at the 5% level; ** at the 1% level; and *** at the 0.1% level. Controls: age, education, settlement, living with a partner, subjective health, health-related limitations, and household size. HR = Croatia, CZ = Czech Republic, HU = Hungary, RO = Romania, EL = Greece, IT = Italy, PT = Portugal, ES = Spain.

The even-numbered columns show the results with the control variables. After adding controls, the size of the coefficients is reduced but remains significant in most countries. These results imply that a substantial proportion of the barriers Roma people face in accessing employment can be explained by disadvantages in educational and health outcomes, as well as differences in settlement patterns, family structure, and living arrangements. For example, many Roma reside in smaller, more isolated settlements where job opportunities are limited and commuting to larger urban centres is challenging. Additionally, household composition and caregiving responsibilities may differ, making it harder for some individuals, especially women, to participate in the labour market. In addition, in five countries, even after controlling for differences in age, education, health, place of residence or household composition, the estimated probability of working for Roma men is smaller than that of men in the general population. The intersectional disadvantage of Roma women remains statistically significant in four countries, and it remains large, albeit imprecisely estimated in Croatia. These suggest that other factors (such as discrimination, social exclusion, or unmeasured structural disadvantages) may play a role in limiting employment opportunities of Roma men and women.

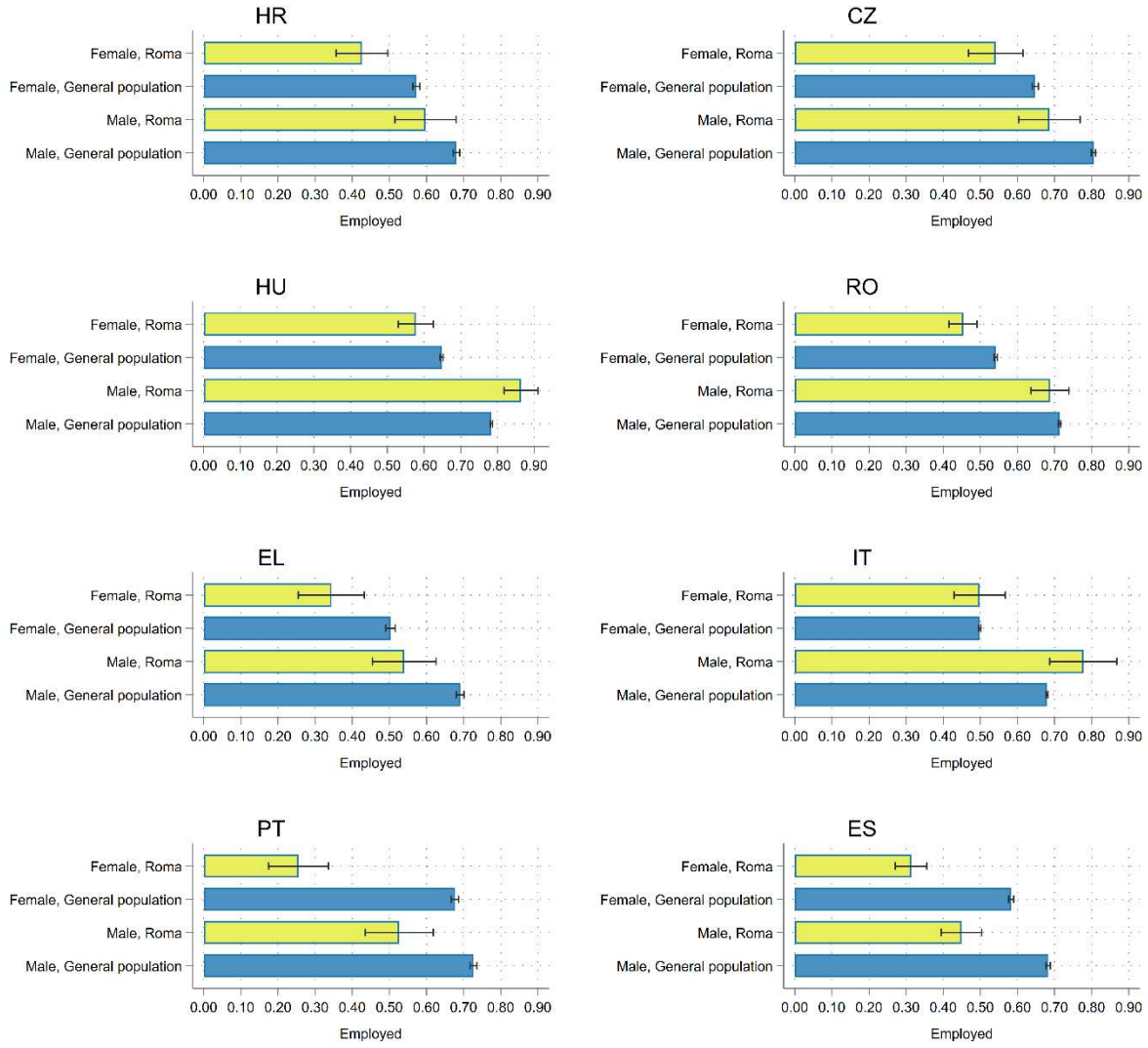
FIGURE 9 depicts the unadjusted results, while FIGURE 10 illustrates the adjusted results by presenting the predicted employment probabilities for different combinations of Roma status and gender. In Hungary and Italy, after adjusting for sociodemographic differences, the predicted probability of employment is slightly higher for Roma men than for the general population. In Italy, this may be explained by the composition of the Roma sample, as all observations come from cities and densely populated areas (see Table A9). In Hungary, public work programmes (Messing & Bereményi, 2017; Molnár et al., 2020) are an important factor behind the relatively high employment rate among Roma. At the same time, the sociodemographic variables that are controlled for are also strong predictors of employment. For example, educational differences account for a large part of the employment gap between Roma and non-Roma, and their role increased throughout the 1990s and 2000s (Kertesi & Kézdi, 2011).

FIGURE 9: PREDICTED PROBABILITIES OF EMPLOYMENT BY ROMA STATUS AND GENDER – UNADJUSTED RESULTS



Notes: The figure shows the predicted probabilities of being employed for different combinations of Roma status and gender. Error bars indicate 95% confidence intervals. Estimates are based on the odd-numbered models presented in TABLE 25. HR = Croatia, CZ = Czech Republic, HU = Hungary, RO = Romania, EL = Greece, IT = Italy, PT = Portugal, ES = Spain.

FIGURE 10: PREDICTED PROBABILITIES OF EMPLOYMENT BY ROMA STATUS AND GENDER – ADJUSTED TO SOCIODEMOGRAPHIC DIFFERENCES



Notes: The figure shows the predicted probabilities of being employed for different combinations of Roma status and gender. Error bars indicate 95% confidence intervals. Estimates are based on the even-numbered models presented in TABLE 25. HR = Croatia, CZ = Czech Republic, HU = Hungary, RO = Romania, EL = Greece, IT = Italy, PT = Portugal, ES = Spain.

In an additional analysis, we included an indicator variable for the presence of children in the household in the models. Although the coefficients are imprecisely estimated, the results suggest that for Roma women, the presence of children in the household is associated with a lower probability of employment than the simple additive effects would suggest in several countries. The full results of the analysis are presented in Section A4 of the Appendix.

4.2.3. Occupational status

This section shows the results for occupational status. For this analysis, the sample is restricted to respondents in employment.

Table 26 reports average occupational status scores by gender, Roma status, and country. There are substantial differences in occupational status between Roma individuals and the general population across all countries and both genders. Roma respondents have occupations with consistently lower status, with the gap particularly pronounced among women. For example, Roma women's average scores range from 20.9 in Spain to 29.6 in Portugal, compared with the general population's scores, which range from 44.1 in Romania to 48.2 in Greece. Among men, Roma occupational status scores range from 22.2 in Romania to 28.7 in Portugal, while the general population's scores range from 35.7 in Romania to 43.2 in Portugal. The largest differences in occupational status between Roma and non-Roma groups are observed in Spain for both genders, with a similarly large gap for women in the Czech Republic. Smaller gaps are found in Portugal and, to a lesser extent, Romania and Greece.

TABLE 26: MEAN OCCUPATIONAL STATUS SCORES BY GENDER, COUNTRY

	CZ	EL	ES	HR	HU	IT	PT	RO
(A) Women								
LFS	46.6	48.2	47.6	47.4	46.1	47.3	47.0	44.1
Roma survey	22.5	28.0	20.9	25.3	23.7	23.4	29.6	23.6
Difference (LFS - Roma survey)	24.1	20.2	26.7	22.1	22.4	23.9	17.4	20.5
(B) Men								
LFS	42.3	40.4	42.0	40.5	40.4	42.1	43.2	35.7
Roma survey	23.2	25.9	23.1	22.8	22.8	25.7	28.7	22.2
Difference (LFS - Roma survey)	19.1	14.5	18.9	17.7	17.6	16.4	14.5	13.5
Difference (Roma men – Roma women)	0.7	-2.1	2.2	-2.5	-0.9	2.3	-0.9	-1.4
Difference (LFS men – LFS women	-4.3	-7.8	-5.6	-6.9	-5.7	-5.2	-3.8	-8.4
(C) Total								
LFS	44.1	43.7	44.6	43.7	43.0	44.3	45.1	39.2
Roma survey	23.0	26.6	22.4	23.5	23.1	25.0	28.9	22.8
Difference (LFS - Roma survey)	21.2	17.2	22.2	20.2	19.8	19.3	16.3	16.5

CZ = Czech Republic; EL = Greece; ES = Spain; HR = Croatia; HU = Hungary; IT = Italy; PT = Portugal; RO = Romania

Results confirm what is known from earlier qualitative research and policy analyses: Roma possess the lowest quality jobs throughout Europe. Unfortunately, there is no data in the applied datasets that would allow a more in-depth analysis of the types of jobs and the precarity of the working conditions of Roma, but a large number of qualitative research studies support the

view that they constitute the labour-force reserve for the most precarious sectors, including agriculture and construction (Kovai & Vigvári, 2020).

Table 27 shows the result of the regression models. The odd-numbered columns show the results without the control variables, which means that – as for employment status, these models replicate the results reported in Table 26 in a regression framework. For every country, the gap between the average occupational status scores of Roma men and those of men in the general population is 13.5 points or larger. This is a very large difference, corresponding to about two-thirds of one standard deviation (see Table 23). The coefficient for females is positive and statistically significant, indicating that, on average, women belonging to the ethnic majority tend to work in jobs with higher occupational status scores than men.[22] However, the interaction term between Roma status and female gender is consistently negative, and in most countries statistically significant, which shows that Roma women experience an additional disadvantage in occupational status beyond the separate effects of being Roma or female.

TABLE 27: ASSOCIATION BETWEEN ROMA STATUS, GENDER, AND OCCUPATIONAL STATUS SCORES

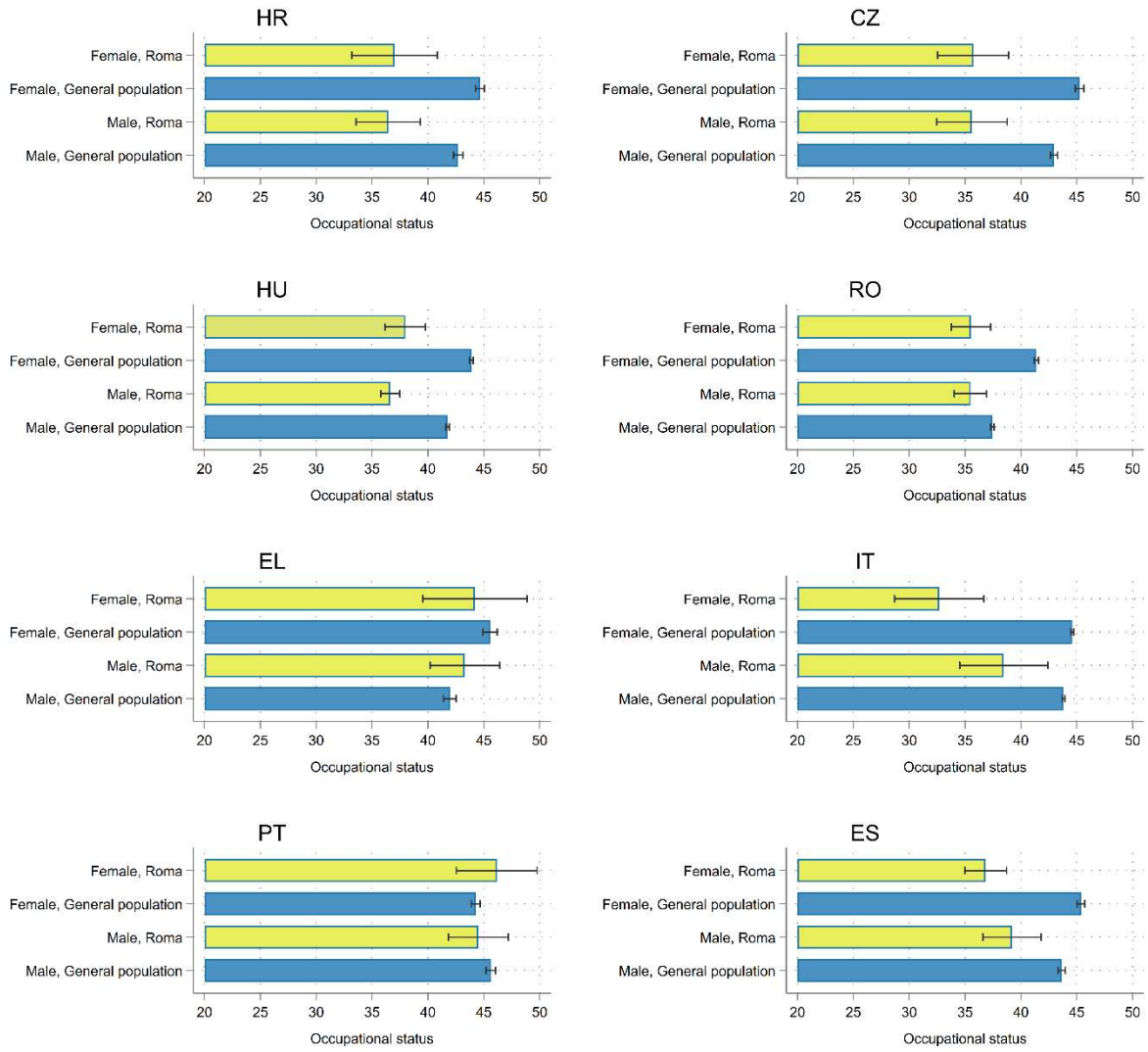
	(1) HR	(2) HR	(3) CZ	(4) CZ	(5) HU	(6) HU	(7) RO	(8) RO
Roma	-17.7***	-6.3***	-19.1***	-7.4***	-17.6***	-5.1***	-13.5***	-2.0**
	(1.3)	(1.5)	(1.7)	(1.6)	(0.4)	(0.4)	(0.6)	(0.7)
Female	6.8***	2.0***	4.3***	2.3***	5.7***	2.1***	8.4***	3.9***
	(0.4)	(0.3)	(0.3)	(0.3)	(0.2)	(0.1)	(0.2)	(0.1)
Roma x Female	-4.4	-1.4	-5.0*	-2.2	-4.8***	-0.8	-6.9***	-3.9***
	(2.7)	(2.4)	(2.3)	(2.1)	(1.0)	(1.0)	(1.2)	(1.1)
Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
N	12927	12927	14978	14978	88163	88163	83217	83217
Adj. R^2	0.038	0.573	0.027	0.479	0.036	0.558	0.047	0.588
	(9) EL	(10) EL	(11) IT	(12) IT	(13) PT	(14) PT	(15) ES	(16) ES
Roma	-14.5***	1.3	-16.3***	-5.3**	-14.5***	-1.1	-18.9***	-4.4***
	(1.5)	(1.6)	(1.8)	(2.0)	(1.1)	(1.4)	(1.2)	(1.3)
Female	7.9***	3.6***	5.2***	0.8***	3.8***	-1.4***	5.6***	1.7***
	(0.6)	(0.4)	(0.1)	(0.1)	(0.5)	(0.3)	(0.3)	(0.2)
Roma x Female	-5.8+	-2.7	-7.6***	-6.6*	-2.9	3.0	-7.8***	-4.1**
	(3.0)	(2.8)	(2.2)	(2.9)	(1.9)	(2.3)	(1.8)	(1.5)
Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
N	8935	8935	148816	148816	11892	11892	29028	29028
Adj. R^2	0.041	0.487	0.032	0.423	0.015	0.594	0.027	0.428

Dependent variable: occupational status score. The sample is restricted to working respondents. Each column reports coefficients from an OLS regression with robust standard errors reported in parentheses. + represents statistical significance at the 10% level; * at the 5% level; ** at the 1% level; and *** at the 0.1% level. Controls: age, education, settlement, living with a partner, subjective health, health-related limitations, and household size.

[22] This is because women are more likely to work in white-collar and service occupations, while men are more likely to work in skilled manual occupations.

The even-numbered columns show the results with the control variables. As for employment status, the coefficients are reduced in all countries, showing that compositional differences (age, education, health, place of residence or household composition) explain a relevant part of the gap. However, in all but two countries, a significant gap between the occupational status of Roma men and men in the general population remains. In three countries, the intersectional disadvantage of Roma women also remains statistically significant, indicating that Roma women face compounded barriers in achieving higher occupational status. FIGURE 11 illustrates these results by showing the predicted occupational status levels across different combinations of Roma status and gender.

FIGURE 11: PREDICTED OCCUPATIONAL STATUS BY ROMA STATUS AND GENDER



Notes: The figure shows the predicted occupational status for different combinations of Roma status and gender. Error bars indicate 95% confidence intervals. Estimates are based on the even-numbered models presented in TABLE 27. HR = Croatia, CZ = Czech Republic, HU = Hungary, RO = Romania, EL = Greece, IT = Italy, PT = Portugal, ES = Spain.

As with current employment, we conducted an additional analysis that included an indicator variable for the presence of children in the household. While the coefficients are imprecisely estimated and should be interpreted with caution, the results suggest that Roma women with children tend to be employed in lower-status occupations than would be expected based on the simple additive effects.

Overall, these findings highlight that while Roma people face substantial barriers to employment, even those who can find a job and are able to work tend to be employed in occupations with lower status than their non-Roma counterparts.

5. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This report has examined how immigrant status, ethnic minority identification, gender, and religiosity intersect to shape labour market outcomes across Europe. Using two main datasets – the European Social Survey (ESS) and a merged dataset combining the 2021 FRA Roma Survey with the EU Labour Force Survey (LFS) – we analysed both the likelihood of unemployment and the quality of employment, measured by occupational status. The analysis aimed to uncover patterns of inequality and demonstrate how intersecting identities shape labour market opportunities across European contexts

Overall, the findings reveal significant disadvantages for immigrants, ethnic minorities, and certain religious groups. Importantly, the vast majority of these disadvantages persist even after controlling for socio-demographic characteristics such as age, place of residence, marital status, household size, education, and health – some of which may themselves reflect the consequences of discrimination. This means that disadvantages linked to immigrant status and other identities exist independently of key factors related to work ability and labour supply.

On average, immigrants are 8.7 percentage points more likely to have experienced unemployment than native-born respondents. While religiosity is generally associated with a lower probability of unemployment (by 5.2 percentage points in the full sample), it becomes a barrier for immigrant men and women in Western Europe. In this region, religious immigrants face compounded disadvantages in both accessing employment and obtaining high-quality jobs, beyond what would be expected from the additive effects of being an immigrant and being religious. By contrast, the intersection of immigrant status and gender identity does not increase the penalty of being an immigrant woman. These patterns highlight the importance of considering heterogeneity within immigrant populations to achieve a more nuanced understanding of labour market inequalities (Civitillo et al., 2025).

Religious denomination also plays a significant role. In Western Europe, the positive effects of religiosity for natives are largely driven by Christian affiliation, whereas belonging to non-

Christian religions – particularly Islam – is associated with a substantial labour market penalty, even for native-born respondents. The intersection of religion and gender adds further disadvantages for religious women born in the country, particularly in Eastern Europe, likely reflecting more traditional gender and family roles. For immigrants, religiosity tends to amplify existing disadvantages. Region of origin also plays an important role: European immigrants face smaller penalties, while those from Asia or Africa experience larger ones, primarily among men, regardless of religious denomination. In general, immigrant men face greater barriers to employment than immigrant women, except for European immigrants.

The analysis also highlights substantial ethnic penalties. Membership in an ethnic minority is associated with a higher likelihood of experiencing unemployment, particularly in Eastern Europe. Minorities are 11 percentage points more likely to have experienced unemployment in Eastern Europe and 7 percentage points more likely in Western Europe than non-minorities. In Eastern Europe, these disadvantages for minorities exceed those faced by immigrants in Western Europe and are notably larger than the penalties experienced by second-generation immigrants in Western Europe.

Beyond access to employment, we also examined occupational status. We found that immigrants face a significant disadvantage in job quality, particularly in Western Europe, and religious immigrants (both Islamic and Christian) experience compounded penalties, which aligns with the qualitative component of the research (Messing & Kende, 2025). Although immigrant status, gender, and religiosity do not compound disadvantages in unemployment, they do interact to shape occupational status, resulting in an additional penalty beyond the simple sum of their individual impacts. In other words, when combined, these factors create an extra disadvantage in job quality. For example, religious immigrant men hold jobs with an average status score 6.85 points (32% of a standard deviation) lower than religious native men. In comparison, the occupational status of religious immigrant women is 9.1 points (42% of a standard deviation) lower than that of religious native women. Minority identification is also associated with lower occupational status, with intersectional penalties differing by region: in Western Europe, the combination of minority status and religion increases disadvantage, while in Eastern Europe, the combination of minority status and gender (minority women) is associated with lower job quality. That is, while minority women face slightly fewer barriers to employment than minority men, once they are employed, they hold lower-quality jobs, especially in Eastern Europe. These results are in accordance with the findings of the qualitative research in WP3 (Messing & Kende, 2025).

Second-generation immigrants, defined as individuals born in the country with at least one parent born abroad, experience higher unemployment risk than individuals with native-born parents, though penalties are substantially smaller than for first-generation immigrants. However, second-generation status does not appear to be associated with occupational status.

This suggests that while second-generation immigrants may face barriers to employment, those who are employed may achieve relatively high-status positions, possibly reflecting selective labour market participation or compensatory strategies to overcome barriers, such as investing more in education or pursuing higher status occupations (Lillehagen & Hermansen, 2025). Disadvantages are most pronounced when second-generation status intersects with religion, particularly for men in Western Europe. These results mirror findings from other empirical studies on earnings (Hermansen et al., 2025), education (Algan et al., 2010), unemployment (Aradhya et al., 2023), workplace segregation (Lillehagen & Hermansen, 2025), and other social outcomes (Drouhot & Nee, 2019).

A unique analysis of Roma communities across eight countries, using the merged FRA Roma Survey and LFS dataset, supports and refines knowledge about the severe disadvantages Roma people face in the European labour market (Drydakis, 2012; Kahanec & Zimmermann, 2011; Kertesi & Kézdi, 2011; O'Higgins & Ivanov, 2006). Roma individuals experience striking disadvantages in both employment and job quality. The penalties observed in this analysis are much greater than those found for the general minority population in the ESS.[23] Even after controlling for key variables such as age, education, settlement type, and household size, Roma people are significantly less likely to be in employment than non-Roma, suggesting that structural factors and discrimination likely play a major role. Roma women face compounded intersectional disadvantages in multiple countries, reflecting a 'double penalty' on both access to employment and job quality. These results are consistent with qualitative research showing that Roma workers are often concentrated in the most precarious sectors, including agriculture and construction (Kovai & Vigvári, 2020; Ladányi & Szelényi, 2006).

The report has certain limitations. First, as discussed, understanding intersectional inequalities in the labour market requires sufficiently large sample sizes. Although we used datasets with very large sample sizes – likely among the largest available – the number of observations within some groups (intersectional social strata) remained relatively small. These include immigrants in Eastern Europe, respondents with non-Christian religious affiliations in Eastern Europe, and immigrants with non-Christian and non-Islamic affiliations in Western Europe. Consequently, as noted earlier, some coefficients were estimated with limited precision, while others should be interpreted with caution, as they appeared relatively large in magnitude but most likely reflected sampling variation rather than genuine effects. The second limitation concerns the measurement of identity variables. While the European Commission (2021) guidelines emphasise the importance of self-identified ethnicity and the possibility of indicating multiple ethnic/group affiliations (see also Civitillo et al., 2025), the surveys used here only included limited measures, such as country of birth and ethnic minority identification. When analysing

[23] However, it is worth noting that the ESS data and the Roma Survey differ in terms of their methodological rigour and data quality, which may also help explain some of the observed differences.

racism and xenophobia, it is also crucial to consider not only individuals' self-identified ethnicity but also how they are perceived by others, as perceptions of racial or ethnic origin often shape discrimination experiences among Afro-Europeans, European Muslims, and Roma (Farkas, 2017). Although surveys cannot directly measure how respondents are perceived, they can, to some extent, capture partial proxies or related information – such as language use, minority organisation membership, or experiences of discrimination. In the ESS dataset, only ethnic minority identification served as such a proxy, which may provide an incomplete picture of perceived ethnic origin. The third limitation relates to outcome measures. We analysed two key dimensions of labour market inequality: access to employment and occupational status, the latter reflecting the quality of jobs held. However, disadvantage may also manifest in other areas, such as earnings, perceived discrimination, or broader qualitative aspects of labour market participation, which were beyond the scope of this analysis.

In summary, this report demonstrates that labour market disadvantages in Europe are shaped by complex interactions between immigrant status, ethnic minority identification, gender, and religiosity. Immigrants, minorities, and particularly religious or female members of these groups experience compounded barriers to both employment and high-quality jobs. Second-generation immigrants face smaller disadvantages, suggesting some evidence of partial integration, though intersecting identities can still create vulnerability – especially for non-Christian religious individuals. Roma communities remain among the most marginalised groups, experiencing severe barriers to both employment access and job quality. Most of these disadvantages are likely to reflect structural racism and discrimination, while individual and institutional forms of discrimination, as well as group-specific preferences toward work (Antecol, 2000; Blau et al., 2011; R. Fernández, 2007), may also play a role.

These findings – complemented by the parallel qualitative report (Messing & Kende, 2025) – provide empirical evidence to inform policies aimed at reducing inequality and promoting labour market inclusion for minoritised and marginalised groups across Europe.

Building on these findings, future quantitative intersectional research could be strengthened by combining large, representative datasets with richer measures of identity, including both self-identified and perceived ethnicity. Using larger, country-specific (panel) datasets may help achieve sufficient sample sizes for detailed intersectional analyses. For example, Germany's German Household Panel or the UK's Understanding Society survey could provide larger subsamples of immigrants, religious minorities, and other minoritised groups, although this approach may limit the geographical scope. Expanding outcome variables beyond employment and occupational status – such as earnings, job precarity, and experiences of workplace discrimination – and using alternative definitions of migration background, ethnicity, and race (Civitillo et al., 2025) would allow a more comprehensive understanding of intersecting inequalities. While our quantitative findings were complemented by a parallel qualitative study

on four countries (Belgium, Hungary, the Netherlands, and Poland) (Messing & Kende, 2025), extending qualitative research to additional countries and minoritised groups, or focusing on specific contexts such as informal employment and workplace discrimination, could further illuminate the structural and cultural factors underpinning intersecting labour market disadvantages.

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7. APPENDIX

A1. Additional tables

Table A1: Weighted number of observations by country and wave, ESS

Country	6	7	8	9	10	11	Total
Albania	234	-	-	-	-	-	234
Austria	-	944	848	747	727	830	4 096
Belgium	1 001	1 173	1 050	940	988	1 025	6 176
Bulgaria	715	-	-	592	603	-	1 910
Croatia	-	-	-	348	355	352	1 055
Cyprus	76	-	-	71	75	81	304
Czech Republic	966	1 143	1 010	909	956	-	4 984
Denmark	498	585	-	472	-	-	1 554
Estonia	124	142	126	111	117	-	619
Finland	492	581	516	458	484	499	3 030
France	5 788	6 728	5 967	5 410	5 669	5 888	35 450
Germany	7 820	8 843	7 924	7 159	6 739	7 542	46 028
Greece	-	-	-	-	961	970	1 930
Hungary	918	1 074	936	827	851	858	5 464
Iceland	27	-	30	28	31	34	148
Ireland	396	455	417	378	423	452	2 521
Italy	5 513	-	5 773	5 221	5 329	5 464	27 300
Kosovo	144	-	-	-	-	-	144
Latvia	-	-	-	166	157	-	323
Lithuania	272	315	270	239	248	258	1 602
Montenegro	-	-	-	50	51	-	102
Netherlands	1 524	1 776	1 585	1 416	1 557	1 596	9 455
North Macedonia	-	-	-	-	179	-	179
Norway	436	518	466	413	447	469	2 748
Poland	3 576	4 684	3 592	3 164	3 198	3 234	21 448
Portugal	1 001	893	1 008	874	935	996	5 706
Romania	-	-	-	1 695	-	-	1 695
Serbia	-	-	-	596	594	600	1 790
Slovakia	505	-	-	455	461	474	1 895
Slovenia	193	226	198	176	187	190	1 170
Spain	4 357	5 130	4 484	3 974	4 234	4 473	26 653
Sweden	861	1 009	899	823	846	917	5 356
Switzerland	742	884	795	713	773	805	4 713
United Kingdom	5 703	6 781	5 992	5 458	5 712	5 879	35 525
Total	43 885	43 885	43 885	43 885	43 885	43 885	263 309

Table A2: Minority identification by wave, ESS

	6	7	8	9	10	11	Total
Non-minority	41151 (94.8%)	41041 (94.7%)	41071 (94.7%)	40792 (93.6%)	38455 (89.7%)	37943 (87.7%)	240452 (92.6%)
Minority	2260 (5.2%)	2297 (5.3%)	2287 (5.3%)	2775 (6.4%)	4434 (10.3%)	5297 (12.3%)	19350 (7.4%)
Total	43411	43338	43358	43567	42888	43240	259801

Note: The question on minority identification changed after Wave 9.

Table A3: Labour market outcomes and immigrant status, ESS

	Western Europe	Eastern Europe	Total
(A) Ever unemployed			
Born in the country	0.307	0.294	0.305
Immigrant	0.395	0.318	0.392
Difference between the two groups	0.088	0.024	0.087
Total	0.319	0.294	0.315
(B) Long-term unemployed			
Born in the country	0.145	0.136	0.143
Immigrant	0.193	0.170	0.192
Difference between the two groups	0.048	0.034	0.049
Total	0.151	0.137	0.148
(C) Recent unemployment			
Born in the country	0.166	0.177	0.168
Immigrant	0.251	0.195	0.249
Difference between the two groups	0.085	0.018	0.081
Total	0.179	0.177	0.179
(D) Occupational status			
Born in the country	47.45	43.97	46.80
Immigrant	41.19	42.99	41.24
Difference between the two groups	-6.26	-0.98	-5.56
Total	46.57	43.95	46.13

Note: Panels A, B, and C report the means of binary indicator variables for different types of unemployment. The means represent the share of respondents who are unemployed, measured using different definitions of unemployment.

Table A4: Labour market outcomes and religion, ESS

	Western Europe	Eastern Europe	Total
(A) Ever unemployed			
Non-religious	0.353	0.286	0.345
Religious	0.292	0.298	0.293
Difference between the two groups	-0.061	0.012	-0.052
Total	0.319	0.294	0.315
(B) Long-term unemployed			
Non-religious	0.162	0.115	0.156
Religious	0.142	0.146	0.143
Difference between the two groups	-0.020	0.031	-0.013
Total	0.151	0.137	0.148
(C) Recent unemployment			
Non-religious	0.184	0.175	0.183
Religious	0.174	0.178	0.175
Difference between the two groups	-0.010	0.003	-0.008
Total	0.179	0.177	0.179
(D) Occupational status			
Non-religious	47.35	45.18	47.10
Religious	45.82	43.36	45.30
Difference between the two groups	-1.53	-1.82	-1.80
Total	46.57	43.95	46.13

Note: Panels A, B, and C report the means of binary indicator variables for different types of unemployment. The means represent the share of respondents who are unemployed, measured using different definitions of unemployment.

Table A5: Labour market outcomes and minority identification, ESS

	Western Europe	Eastern Europe	Total
(A) Ever unemployed			
Non-minority	0.312	0.289	0.308
Minority	0.386	0.401	0.387
Difference between the two groups	0.074	0.112	0.079
Total	0.317	0.295	0.314
(B) Long-term unemployed			
Non-minority	0.146	0.133	0.144
Minority	0.192	0.225	0.195
Difference between the two groups	0.046	0.092	0.051
Total	0.150	0.137	0.148
(C) Recent unemployment			
Non-minority	0.171	0.171	0.171
Minority	0.249	0.301	0.254
Difference between the two groups	0.078	0.130	0.083
Total	0.178	0.177	0.178
(D) Occupational status			
Non-minority	47.00	44.26	46.52
Minority	42.63	37.53	42.16
Difference between the two groups	-4.37	-6.73	-4.36
Total	46.64	43.98	46.19

Note: Panels A, B, and C report the means of binary indicator variables for different types of unemployment. The means represent the share of respondents who are unemployed, measured using different definitions of unemployment.

Table A6: Labour market outcomes and gender, ESS

	Western Europe	Eastern Europe	Total
(A) Ever unemployed			
Men	0.323	0.292	0.318
Women	0.315	0.297	0.312
Difference between the two groups	-0.008	0.005	-0.006
Total	0.319	0.294	0.315
(B) Long-term unemployed			
Men	0.143	0.122	0.139
Women	0.159	0.150	0.157
Difference between the two groups	0.016	0.028	0.018
Total	0.151	0.137	0.148
(C) Recent unemployment			
Men	0.177	0.174	0.176
Women	0.181	0.180	0.181
Difference between the two groups	0.004	0.006	0.005
Total	0.179	0.177	0.179
(D) Occupational status			
Men	45.67	41.60	44.97
Women	47.63	46.79	47.49
Difference between the two groups	1.96	5.19	2.52
Total	46.57	43.95	46.13

Note: Panels A, B, and C report the means of binary indicator variables for different types of unemployment. The means represent the share of respondents who are unemployed, measured using different definitions of unemployment.

Table A7: Sample sizes by country and survey

	Roma survey	LFS
CZ	703	20556
EL	590	15279
ES	1052	46645
HR	478	22424
HU	1236	128212
IT	493	254638
PT	469	17826
RO	1467	134995
Total	6488	640575

Table A8: Main activity status (self-defined), Roma Survey 2021 (%)

	CZ	EL	ES	HR	HU	IT	PT	RO
In paid work	36.8	12.8	12.4	19.4	49.6	14.4	8.0	22.9
Self-employed	2.7	16.1	3.4	1.5	1.7	17.6	14.7	5.5
Helping in the family business (unpaid)	0.0	1.4	0.4	1.5	0.0	3.5	6.5	1.1
Unemployed	41.1	57.8	55.2	45.9	14.7	28.5	35.9	7.9
A pupil, student, in training	3.6	0.5	2.9	8.1	5.3	3.8	6.1	1.8
Not working due to illness or disability	3.4	1.8	3.5	4.0	3.2	2.5	3.0	1.0
Fulfilling domestic tasks and care responsibilities	8.9	9.4	18.0	15.6	15.5	24.5	25.0	43.9
In retirement	2.7	0.3	3.3	2.3	6.0	1.0	0.3	4.5
Other	0.6	0.0	0.8	1.5	3.6	1.2	0.4	11.4
Missing	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.4	3.2	0.0	0.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

CZ: Czechia, EL: Greece, ES: Spain, HR: Croatia, HU: Hungary, IT: Italy, PT: Portugal, RO: Romania

Table A9: Type of settlement, Roma Survey 2021 (%)

	CZ	EL	ES	HR	HU	IT	PT	RO
City (densely populated areas)	43.5	45.7	71.0	36.8	16.2	100.0	45.9	22.8
Towns and suburbs (intermediate density areas)	41.9	31.2	23.5	35.2	35.2	0.0	35.7	27.6
Rural areas (thinly populated are	14.7	23.1	5.5	27.9	48.7	0.0	18.4	49.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

CZ: Czechia, EL: Greece, ES: Spain, HR: Croatia, HU: Hungary, IT: Italy, PT: Portugal, RO: Romania

Table A10: Gender of respondents, Roma Survey 2021 (%)

	CZ	EL	ES	HR	HU	IT	PT	RO
Male	50.3	45.6	47.1	47.8	46.6	48.2	48.7	34.5
Female	49.7	54.4	52.9	52.2	53.4	51.8	51.3	65.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

CZ: Czechia, EL: Greece, ES: Spain, HR: Croatia, HU: Hungary, IT: Italy, PT: Portugal, RO: Romania

Table A11: Age of respondents, Roma Survey 2021 (%)

	CZ	EL	ES	HR	HU	IT	PT	RO
15-24	21.6	14.2	31.2	34.6	23.3	22.9	22.0	19.9
25-39	37.6	46.2	29.1	30.9	34.3	41.5	37.1	34.6
40-49	21.3	23.7	20.2	18.0	19.6	18.8	22.3	23.1
50-64	19.4	15.8	19.5	16.5	22.8	16.8	18.6	22.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

CZ: Czechia, EL: Greece, ES: Spain, HR: Croatia, HU: Hungary, IT: Italy, PT: Portugal, RO: Romania

Table A12: Highest level of education of respondents, Roma Survey 2021 (%)

	CZ	EL	ES	HR	HU	IT	PT	RO
ISCED 0-1	13.1	86.1	62.7	31.5	8.2	41.2	72.2	39.7
ISCED 2	67.9	8.2	25.5	45.5	56.2	42.9	23.4	40.9
ISCED 3-4	19.0	4.9	11.8	23.1	35.4	12.6	4.1	19.3
Missing	0.0	0.9	0.0	0.0	0.2	3.3	0.2	0.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

CZ: Czechia, EL: Greece, ES: Spain, HR: Croatia, HU: Hungary, IT: Italy, PT: Portugal, RO: Romania

A2. Robustness of results: alternative unemployment measures (ESS)

Long-term Unemployment

Table A13-Table A16 show the results when the outcome variable is long-term unemployment (ever been unemployed for 12 months) instead of ever been unemployed for 3 months. The main conclusions remain the same.[24]

Immigrants face a relevant barrier to employment, which is greater for religious immigrants (Table A13). People from ethnic minority groups are more likely to be long-term unemployed at some point in their lives, and this effect is larger for Eastern Europe than for Western Europe (see also Panel B in Table A5), with religious, minority men facing a greater risk of unemployment in Western Europe than the simple additive effects would predict (Table A14). People belonging to an Islamic religion are more likely to experience long-term unemployment, but given the large coefficients on immigrant status and belonging to an Islamic religion, the interaction term between the two is not statistically significant (Table A15). This means that, in contrast to 'simple' unemployment, no mitigating effect can be observed. Finally, people from Africa, Asia or other non-European parts of the world are more likely to face barriers to employment than people from Europe, but female immigrants from Europe are also more likely to be long-term unemployed than native men (Table A16).

Table A13: Long-term unemployment and intersectional identities: immigrant status, religion, gender

	(1) All	(2) All	(3) East	(4) West
Immigrant	0.025*	0.021*	0.010	0.020+
	(0.011)	(0.010)	(0.021)	(0.011)
Religious	-0.029***	-0.033***	-0.018*	-0.034***
	(0.007)	(0.005)	(0.007)	(0.006)
Female	0.009+	0.011*	0.023***	0.009
	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.006)	(0.006)
Immigrant x Religious	0.042**	0.033*	0.029	0.035*
	(0.016)	(0.014)	(0.027)	(0.015)
Immigrant x Female	0.002	0.008	0.013	0.009
	(0.020)	(0.020)	(0.035)	(0.020)
Religious x Female	0.018**	0.016**	0.018*	0.013*
	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.009)	(0.007)
Immigrant x Religious x Female	-0.008	-0.016	-0.027	-0.014
	(0.027)	(0.025)	(0.036)	(0.026)
Controls	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
N	261429	261429	44157	217272
Adj. R-Square	0.003	0.068	0.083	0.068

Dependent variable: ever unemployed for 12 months. Each column reports coefficients from an OLS regression with standard errors clustered at the country-wave level reported in parentheses. + represents statistical significance at the 10% level; * at the 5% level; ** at the 1% level; and *** at the 0.1% level. Controls: age,

[24] When interpreting the coefficients, it is important to bear in mind that the prevalence of long-term unemployment is half of that of unemployment (14.8% vs. 31.5%, see TABLE 6).

education, settlement, marital status, health, household size, year FE, country FE. Weighted N is reported.

Table A14: Long-term unemployment and intersectional identities: minority identification, religion, gender

	(1) All	(2) East	(3) West
Religious	-0.031***	-0.015*	-0.032***
	(-5.94)	(-2.31)	(-5.56)
Female	0.013*	0.026***	0.011+
	(2.31)	(4.45)	(1.79)
Minority	0.046**	0.112***	0.038*
	(3.01)	(3.95)	(2.27)
Religious x Female	0.016**	0.017+	0.014*
	(2.76)	(1.98)	(2.19)
Religious x Minority	0.028	-0.031	0.035+
	(1.58)	(-1.29)	(1.75)
Female x Minority	-0.002	-0.042	0.002
	(-0.14)	(-1.61)	(0.12)
Religious x Female x Minority	-0.036+	0.003	-0.038+
	(-1.82)	(0.10)	(-1.75)
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes
N	258072	43754	214319
Adj. R-Square	0.068	0.085	0.067

Dependent variable: ever unemployed for 12 months. Each column reports coefficients from an OLS regression with standard errors clustered at the country-wave level reported in parentheses. + represents statistical significance at the 10% level; * at the 5% level; ** at the 1% level; and *** at the 0.1% level. Controls: age, education, settlement, marital status, health, household size, year FE, country FE. Weighted N is reported.

Table A15: Long-term unemployment and intersectional identities: the role of religious denomination

	(1) All	(2) West
Immigrant	0.022*	0.021+
	(2.09)	(1.93)
Christian	-0.038***	-0.040***
	(-7.27)	(-6.70)
Islamic	0.090***	0.081**
	(4.17)	(3.27)
Other	0.026	0.018
	(0.91)	(0.60)
Female	0.011*	0.010
	(2.08)	(1.59)
Immigrant x Christian	0.018	0.019
	(1.46)	(1.46)
Immigrant x Islamic	-0.041	-0.029
	(-1.15)	(-0.77)
Immigrant x Other	-0.088**	-0.080*
	(-2.64)	(-2.28)
Immigrant x Female	0.008	0.008
	(0.40)	(0.42)
Christian x Female	0.018**	0.014*
	(3.10)	(2.25)
Islamic x Female	-0.042+	-0.034
	(-1.82)	(-1.23)
Other x Female	-0.001	0.006
	(-0.02)	(0.15)
Immigrant x Christian x Female	-0.011	-0.007
	(-0.51)	(-0.30)
Immigrant x Islamic x Female	0.023	0.016
	(0.43)	(0.28)
Immigrant x Other x Female	0.095	0.086
	(1.63)	(1.43)
Controls	Yes	Yes
N	259315	216699
Adj. R-Square	0.070	0.069

Dependent variable: ever unemployed for 12 months. Each column reports coefficients from an OLS regression with standard errors clustered at the country-wave level reported in parentheses. + represents statistical significance at the 10% level; * at the 5% level; ** at the 1% level; and *** at the 0.1% level. Controls: age, education, settlement, marital status, health, household size, year FE, country FE. Weighted N is reported.

Table A16: Long-term unemployment and intersectional identities: the role of region of origin

	(1) All	(2) West
Europe	-0.001	-0.002
	(-0.08)	(-0.20)
Africa	0.071^{+}	0.068^{+}
	(1.91)	(1.83)
Asia	0.046	0.044
	(1.38)	(1.30)
Other	0.020	0.017
	(0.66)	(0.56)
Religious	-0.033***	-0.034***
	(-5.94)	(-5.52)
Female	0.011*	0.009
	(2.08)	(1.58)
Europe x Religious	0.022	0.023
	(1.56)	(1.57)
Africa x Religious	0.012	0.016
	(0.32)	(0.42)
Asia x Religious	0.023	0.027
	(0.64)	(0.73)
Other x Religious	0.053	0.055
	(1.40)	(1.45)
Europe x Female	0.032	0.033
	(1.43)	(1.41)
Africa x Female	-0.069	-0.066
	(-1.56)	(-1.50)
Asia x Female	-0.010	-0.009
	(-0.20)	(-0.18)
Other x Female	0.014	0.016
	(0.52)	(0.58)
Religious x Female	0.016**	0.013*
	(2.65)	(2.02)
Europe x Religious x Female	-0.025	-0.022
	(-0.91)	(-0.76)
Africa x Religious x Female	0.103^{+}	0.103^{+}
	(1.67)	(1.68)
Asia x Religious x Female	-0.044	-0.042
	(-0.87)	(-0.82)
Other x Religious x Female	-0.054	-0.051
	(-1.43)	(-1.36)
Controls	Yes	Yes
N	259810	215678
Adj. R-Square	0.069	0.069

Dependent variable: ever unemployed for 12 months. Each column reports coefficients from an OLS regression with standard errors clustered at the country-wave level reported in parentheses. + represents statistical significance at the 10% level; * at the 5% level; ** at the 1% level; and *** at the 0.1% level. Controls: age, education, settlement, marital status, health, household size, year FE, country FE. Weighted N is reported.

Recent unemployment

Table A17-Table A20 show the results when the outcome variable is recent unemployment (unemployed for 3 months in the last 5 years) instead of ever been unemployed for 3 months. For this analysis, the sample is restricted to respondents aged 23-66 to ensure it consists of individuals of working age – those who have typically completed their education but have not yet reached retirement age. Again, the main patterns are similar to those that emerged with the other two unemployment indicators.

Table A17: Recent unemployment and intersectional identities: immigrant status, religion, gender

	(1) All	(2) All	(3) East	(4) West
Immigrant	0.068***	0.071***	-0.014	0.073***
	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.026)	(0.014)
Religious	-0.021**	-0.018***	-0.029**	-0.017**
	(0.007)	(0.005)	(0.010)	(0.005)
Female	0.003	0.009	0.003	0.010
	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.009)	(0.007)
Immigrant x Religious	0.048*	0.034+	0.069+	0.032+
	(0.022)	(0.018)	(0.036)	(0.019)
Immigrant x Female	-0.017	-0.012	0.032	-0.015
	(0.018)	(0.017)	(0.031)	(0.017)
Religious x Female	0.011+	0.010	0.030*	0.005
	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.013)	(0.008)
Immigrant x Religious x Female	-0.014	-0.018	-0.057	-0.012
	(0.027)	(0.025)	(0.053)	(0.025)
Controls	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
N	187735	187735	32401	155334
Adj. R-Square	0.006	0.084	0.087	0.086

Dependent variable: unemployed in the last 5 years. Each column reports coefficients from an OLS regression with standard errors clustered at the country-wave level reported in parentheses. + represents statistical significance at the 10% level; * at the 5% level; ** at the 1% level; and *** at the 0.1% level. Controls: age, education, settlement, marital status, health, household size, year FE, country FE. Weighted N is reported.

Table A18: Recent unemployment and intersectional identities: minority identification, religion, gender

	(1) All	(2) East	(3) West
Religious	-0.015***	-0.028*	-0.013**
	(0.004)	(0.011)	(0.004)
Female	0.011+	0.004	0.011+
	(0.006)	(0.009)	(0.007)
Minority	0.067***	0.108***	0.061***
	(0.014)	(0.026)	(0.015)
Religious x Female	0.008	0.031*	0.004
	(0.006)	(0.013)	(0.007)
Religious x Minority	0.041+	-0.006	0.044+
	(0.022)	(0.031)	(0.024)
Female x Minority	-0.013	0.004	-0.015
	(0.023)	(0.030)	(0.025)
Religious x Female x Minority	-0.031	-0.045	-0.027
	(0.028)	(0.038)	(0.031)
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes
N	185511	32133	153378
Adj. R-Square	0.082	0.089	0.083

Dependent variable: unemployed in the last 5 years. Each column reports coefficients from an OLS regression with standard errors clustered at the country-wave level reported in parentheses. + represents statistical significance at the 10% level; * at the 5% level; ** at the 1% level; and *** at the 0.1% level. Controls: age, education, settlement, marital status, health, household size, year FE, country FE. Weighted N is reported.

Table A19: Recent unemployment and intersectional identities: the role of religious denomination

	(1) All	(2) West
Immigrant	0.072***	0.074***
	(0.014)	(0.014)
Christian	-0.026***	-0.024***
	(0.004)	(0.005)
Islamic	0.110***	0.099**
	(0.029)	(0.035)
Other	0.071*	0.067+
	(0.032)	(0.035)
Female	0.009	0.010
	(0.006)	(0.007)
Immigrant x Christian	0.030+	0.026
	(0.018)	(0.018)
Immigrant x Islamic	-0.052	-0.039
	(0.034)	(0.038)
Immigrant x Other	-0.165***	-0.162**
	(0.047)	(0.049)
Immigrant x Female	-0.013	-0.016
	(0.017)	(0.017)
Christian x Female	0.011	0.004
	(0.007)	(0.008)
Islamic x Female	0.021	0.050
	(0.052)	(0.064)
Other x Female	0.008	0.013
	(0.036)	(0.038)
Immigrant x Christian x Female	-0.022	-0.013
	(0.027)	(0.028)
Immigrant x Islamic x Female	-0.053	-0.082
	(0.061)	(0.072)
Immigrant x Other x Female	0.162*	0.158*
	(0.068)	(0.071)
Controls	Yes	Yes
N	186265	154930
Adj. R-Square	0.087	0.089

Dependent variable: unemployed in the last 5 years. Each column reports coefficients from an OLS regression with standard errors clustered at the country-wave level reported in parentheses. + represents statistical significance at the 10% level; * at the 5% level; ** at the 1% level; and *** at the 0.1% level. Controls: age, education, settlement, marital status, health, household size, year FE, country FE. Weighted N is reported.

Table A20: Recent unemployment and intersectional identities: the role of region of origin

	(1) All	(2) West
Europe	0.049**	0.052**
	(0.016)	(0.016)
Africa	0.100*	0.100+
	(0.050)	(0.051)
Asia	0.102*	0.102*
	(0.042)	(0.042)
Other	0.076*	0.073*
	(0.032)	(0.032)
Religious	-0.019***	-0.017**
	(0.005)	(0.005)
Female	0.009	0.010
	(0.006)	(0.007)
Europe x Religious	0.014	0.010
	(0.021)	(0.022)
Africa x Religious	0.066	0.064
	(0.048)	(0.048)
Asia x Religious	-0.011	-0.012
	(0.050)	(0.050)
Other x Religious	0.069+	0.069+
	(0.041)	(0.041)
Europe x Female	0.004	0.001
	(0.017)	(0.018)
Africa x Female	-0.082	-0.089
	(0.056)	(0.056)
Asia x Female	-0.046	-0.048
	(0.048)	(0.048)
Other x Female	0.046	0.045
	(0.042)	(0.042)
Religious x Female	0.010	0.005
	(0.007)	(0.008)
Europe x Religious x Female	-0.021	-0.015
	(0.031)	(0.033)
Africa x Religious x Female	0.024	0.034
	(0.059)	(0.058)
Asia x Religious x Female	0.040	0.045
	(0.058)	(0.058)
Other x Religious x Female	-0.090	-0.086
	(0.062)	(0.063)
Controls	Yes	Yes
N	186359	153979
Adj. R-Square	0.085	0.087

Dependent variable: unemployed in the last 5 years. Each column reports coefficients from an OLS regression with standard errors clustered at the country-wave level reported in parentheses. + represents statistical significance at the 10% level; * at the 5% level; ** at the 1% level; and *** at the 0.1% level. Controls: age, education, settlement, marital status, health, household size, year FE, country FE. Weighted N is reported.

A3. Robustness of results: Eurobarometer

To test the robustness of our findings, we use Eurobarometer survey data to analyse how unemployment varies across intersecting dimensions of identity, including minority identification, gender, and religion. The Eurobarometer is a series of surveys conducted regularly on behalf of the European Commission and the European Parliament, covering a wide range of social, political, and cultural topics. Relevant to this study, several survey waves focus specifically on cultural identity, ethnic groups, minorities, and experiences of discrimination.

However, Eurobarometer surveys have certain limitations compared to the European Social Survey: (1) smaller sample sizes; (2) the minority identification question is not exclusively focused on ethnic minorities; and (3) the data lack information on respondents' country of birth or immigrant background.

Despite these limitations, the Eurobarometer remains a valuable resource for robustness checks, offering rich cross-national data that captures self-identifications related to religion and minority identification across diverse European contexts.

Data

We use data from four recent Eurobarometer surveys: EB 91.4 from 2019 (European Commission, 2020), EB 90.4 from 2018 (European Commission, 2019), EB 83.4 from 2015 (European Commission, 2018), and EB 77.4 from 2012 (European Commission and European Parliament, 2015). Each of these includes questions on minority group membership and religious affiliation.

Since the only available labour market variable is respondents' 'current occupation', we examine how being unemployed (versus employed) is associated with individuals' socioeconomic characteristics, including minority identification, gender, and religion. The sample is restricted to respondents aged 23–66, ensuring it consists of individuals of working age – those who have typically completed their education but have not yet reached retirement age. Respondents with missing data on key variables (age, gender, minority identification, or religion) are excluded. The final sample includes 56,194 individuals from 28 countries.

The weighting approach combines post-stratification and population weights to ensure representativeness while accounting for demographic imbalances. Additionally, each survey wave is given equal importance in the analysis. Table A21 presents the weighted number of observations by country and year.

Table A21: Weighted number of observations by country and wave, Eurobarometer surveys

Country	2012	2015	2018	2019	Total
Austria	268	255	254	251	1028
Belgium	312	293	337	316	1257
Bulgaria	242	229	231	229	932
Cyprus	24	27	29	28	109
Czech Republic	341	314	356	329	1341
Germany	2097	2241	1767	2083	8188
Denmark	163	147	170	164	645
Estonia	30	32	41	40	142
Spain	1424	1391	1350	1369	5534
Finland	159	155	151	150	615
France	1640	1657	1774	1745	6815
United Kingdom	1741	1761	1765	1697	6966
Greece	299	288	348	328	1263
Croatia	0	117	131	123	371
Hungary	290	292	314	316	1213
Ireland	124	119	130	126	499
Italy	1780	1672	1709	1641	6802
Lithuania	95	88	88	84	356
Luxembourg	15	15	16	15	60
Latvia	54	55	62	58	228
Malta	9	11	11	10	41
Netherlands	513	472	500	481	1966
Poland	1029	1126	1116	1127	4397
Portugal	253	316	322	320	1212
Romania	596	471	545	493	2105
Sweden	309	282	294	291	1176
Slovenia	60	54	61	62	238
Slovakia	182	166	176	172	697
Total	14049	14048	14048	14048	56194

Variables

Our outcome variable is current labour force status, based on the question: 'What is your current occupation?', with responses categorised as either employed or unemployed. We note that this differs from the outcomes used in the main analysis on the ESS data (ever been unemployed for at least 3 months; long-term unemployment; recent unemployment). Overall, the proportion of unemployed is 11.0% in the total sample.

Minority identification is defined by responses to the question, 'Where you live, do you consider yourself to be part of any of the following?', with 'an ethnic minority' selected as the relevant category. It is important to note that in the 2019 wave, the response options were expanded to include two additional categories: 'a minority in terms of skin colour' and 'being Roma'. As a result, the share of respondents identifying as belonging to an ethnic minority decreased from 4.7% in 2012-2018 to 3.4% in 2019.

Religious affiliation was measured by asking respondents whether they consider themselves to belong to a particular religion, based on a comprehensive list of religious and non-religious

options. Respondents were categorised as religious if they selected one of the listed religious identities.

Empirical strategy

We regressed the current unemployed status on the three identity variables (minority identification, religion, and gender) and their interactions. We used the following control variables: age, place of residence, marital status, education, and household size. We also include year-fixed effects to control for the changes over time that similarly affect everyone, and country-fixed effects that control for time-invariant differences between countries. We estimated standard errors that are robust to heteroscedasticity and clustered at the country-year level.

Results

The following tables present descriptive statistics for the main variables. Table A22 shows that the proportion of respondents with minority identification is 4.3%, which is lower than in the European Social Survey dataset (see Table 5), but it is important to emphasise that the two survey questions are not identical.

Table A22: Descriptive statistics of minority identification; Eurobarometer data

	Western Europe	Eastern Europe	Total
Non-minority	42288 (95.7%)	11482 (95.5%)	53771 (95.7%)
Minority	1887 (4.3%)	536 (4.5%)	2423 (4.3%)
Total	44176	12018	56194

Weighted N is reported.

The proportion of respondents who described themselves as religious is somewhat higher (70.9%) than the proportion who reported formal religious affiliation in the European Social Survey dataset (Table A23).

Table A23: Descriptive statistics of belonging to a religion; Eurobarometer data

	Western Europe	Eastern Europe	Total
Non-religious	14380 (32.6%)	1995 (16.6%)	16375 (29.1%)
Religious	29796 (67.4%)	10023 (83.4%)	39819 (70.9%)
Total	44176	12018	56194

Weighted N is reported.

Table A24 shows that Christianity is the dominant religion in both Eastern and Western Europe, and the proportion of followers of other religions is very small in Eastern Europe, while the proportion (and the number) of followers of non-Christian religions is around 6% in Western Europe.

Table A24: Descriptive statistics of religious denomination; Eurobarometer data

	Western Europe	Eastern Europe	Total
Non-believer, atheist	14380 (32.6%)	1995 (16.6%)	16375 (29.1%)
Christian	27089 (61.3%)	9663 (80.4%)	36752 (65.4%)
Muslim	1092 (2.5%)	123 (1.0%)	1215 (2.2%)
Other	1615 (3.7%)	238 (2.0%)	1852 (3.3%)
Total	44176	12018	56194

Weighted N is reported.

The results of the regression models are reported in Table A25 and illustrated in Figure A1. These results are largely consistent with those presented in Section 3.2.2. Respondents belonging to an ethnic minority group are 1.9 percentage points more likely to be unemployed at the time of the survey. Belonging to an ethnic minority group is associated with a higher likelihood of unemployment in both Eastern and Western Europe. However, the coefficient for Eastern Europe is three times that for Western Europe (0.034 vs. 0.011, respectively). Female respondents are more likely to be unemployed than male respondents. Two intersectional differences emerge. Religious female respondents who are not from an ethnic minority and religious female respondents who are from an ethnic minority are both more likely to be unemployed than the simple additive effects would suggest. Both effects are primarily driven by Western Europe.

Table A25: Unemployment and intersectional identities: minority identification, religion, gender; Eurobarometer data

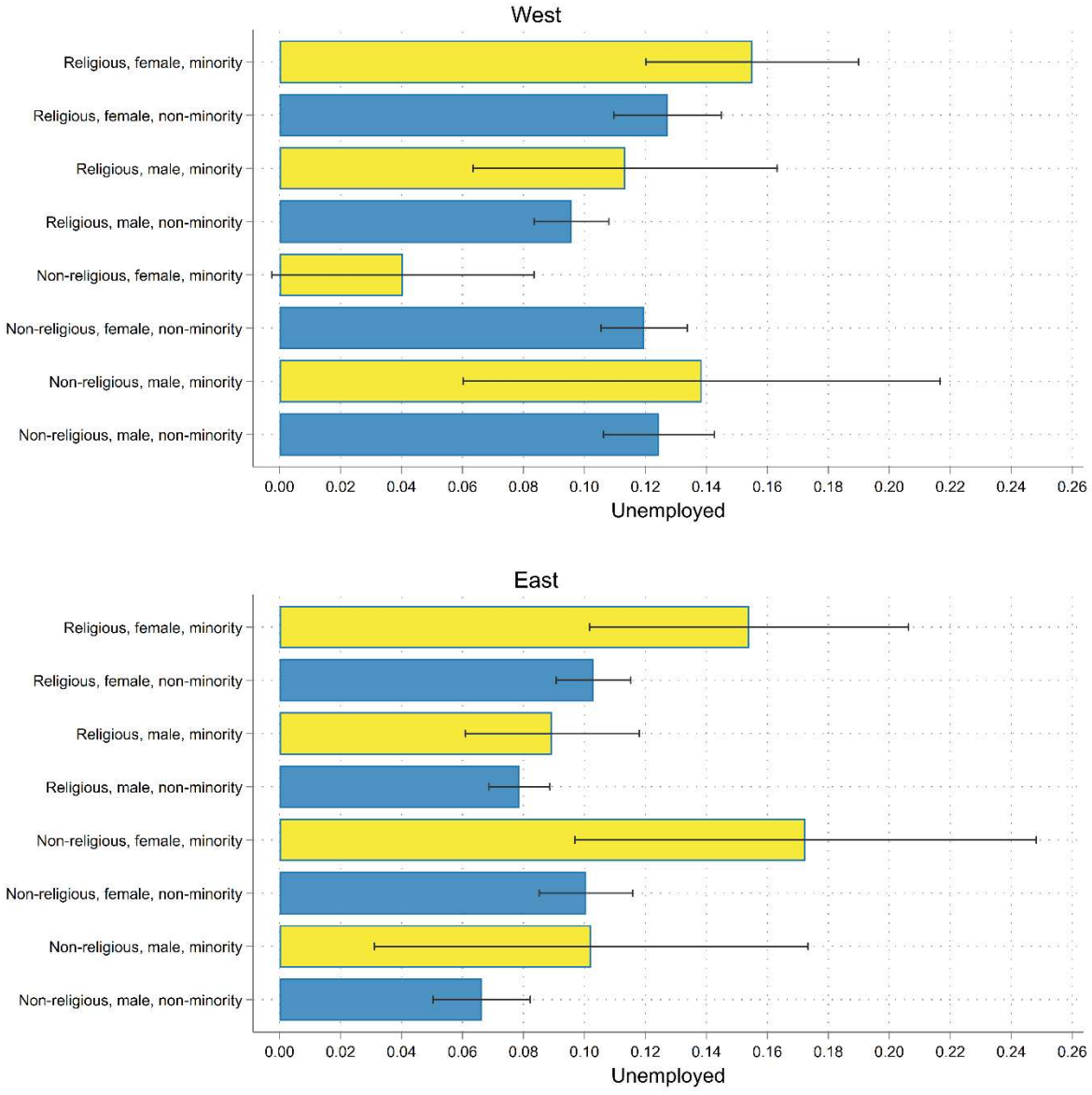
	(1) All	(2) All	(3) East	(4) East	(5) West	(6) West
Minority	0.019^{+}	0.019	0.034*	0.036	0.011	0.014
	(0.011)	(0.034)	(0.014)	(0.035)	(0.014)	(0.041)
Female	0.021***	0.000	0.028***	0.034***	0.019***	-0.005
	(0.004)	(0.009)	(0.005)	(0.007)	(0.005)	(0.010)
Religious		-0.024**		0.012		-0.029**
		(0.008)		(0.009)		(0.008)
Religious x Minority		0.001		-0.025		0.004
		(0.029)		(0.034)		(0.034)
Religious x Female		0.030*		-0.010		0.036*
		(0.012)		(0.010)		(0.015)
Female x Minority		-0.069		0.036		-0.093^{+}
		(0.044)		(0.046)		(0.050)
Religious x Female x Minority		0.086*		0.004		0.103*
		(0.037)		(0.052)		(0.042)
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
N	56174	56174	12014	12014	44160	44160
Adj. R-Square	0.075	0.076	0.064	0.064	0.080	0.082

Dependent variable: unemployed. Each column reports coefficients from an OLS regression with standard errors clustered at

the country-year level reported in parentheses. + represents statistical significance at the 10% level; * at the 5% level; ** at the 1% level; and *** at the 0.1% level. Controls: age, education, settlement, marital status, household size, year FE, country FE. Weighted N is reported.

As Figure A1 shows, there is a clear pattern in Eastern Europe: individuals belonging to a minority group are more likely to be unemployed than similar individuals not belonging to a minority group, and females are also more likely to be unemployed than similar males. The patterns in Western Europe are less clear, primarily due to the relatively small number of observations of respondents with minority identification.

Figure A1: Predictive margins of intersectional identities: minority identification, religion, gender; Eurobarometer data



Notes: The figure shows the predicted level of unemployment at different combinations of minority identification, gender, and religion. The error bars represent 95% confidence intervals. The results come from Table A25, Column 4 and Column 6. Red bars indicate respondents with minority identification, blue bars indicate respondents without minority identification.

A4. Additional analysis: children in the household (combined LFS and Roma Survey data)

Children in the household may affect opportunities for labour market participation, limit the flexibility of working-age adults – particularly women – and shape the range and characteristics of available employment opportunities (Cools et al., 2017; Delaporte & Kulu, 2024). Accordingly, we conducted an additional analysis including an indicator variable for the presence of children in the household. Table A26 reports the results of the regression models for current employment, while Table A27 reports the results for occupational status. The odd-numbered columns present results without control variables, whereas the even-numbered columns include them.

For current employment (Table A26), the presence of children in the household is associated with a higher probability of employment for non-Roma men in most countries (see the Children in household coefficients), and a lower probability of employment for non-Roma women (see the Female x Children in household coefficients). Most coefficients for Roma people are imprecisely estimated, suggesting no clearly detectable intersectional differences for Roma men, as the coefficients on the Roma x Children in household interaction term are generally insignificant in models with the control variables. For Roma women, however, the presence of children in the household is associated with a lower probability of employment than the simple additive effects would suggest in two countries (Croatia and Hungary) once socio-demographic characteristics are controlled for. In three additional countries (Italy, Portugal, and Spain), the estimated coefficients are also negative and large in magnitude, but imprecisely estimated and insignificant.

Table A26: Associations between Roma status, gender, household composition and likelihood of current employment

	(1) HR	(2) HR	(3) CZ	(4) CZ	(5) HU	(6) HU	(7) RO	(8) RO
Roma	-0.343***	-0.090	-0.281***	-0.088	-0.140***	0.026	-0.271***	-0.056
	(0.083)	(0.069)	(0.059)	(0.056)	(0.038)	(0.035)	(0.040)	(0.038)
Female	-0.086***	-0.094***	-0.085***	-0.082***	-0.092***	-0.090***	-0.149***	-0.138***
	(0.010)	(0.009)	(0.008)	(0.007)	(0.004)	(0.003)	(0.004)	(0.003)
Children in household	0.039***	0.006	-0.016+	0.024**	-0.050***	0.004	0.011*	0.013**
	(0.011)	(0.012)	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.005)	(0.004)
Roma x Female	0.041	0.102	-0.108	-0.005	-0.139*	-0.053	-0.137**	-0.063
	(0.119)	(0.099)	(0.081)	(0.076)	(0.054)	(0.050)	(0.047)	(0.047)
Roma x Children in household	-0.007	0.001	-0.060	-0.082	0.071	0.078+	0.101+	0.055
	(0.095)	(0.085)	(0.094)	(0.085)	(0.052)	(0.046)	(0.059)	(0.051)
Female x Children in household	-0.013	-0.031*	-0.156***	-0.165***	-0.085***	-0.106***	-0.055***	-0.069***
	(0.016)	(0.013)	(0.013)	(0.010)	(0.006)	(0.005)	(0.007)	(0.005)
Roma x Female x Children in household	-0.245+	-0.226*	0.106	0.044	-0.032	-0.130+	-0.004	0.002
	(0.130)	(0.115)	(0.124)	(0.111)	(0.073)	(0.067)	(0.070)	(0.063)
Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
N	22897	22897	21258	21258	129443	129443	136459	136459
Adj. R^2	0.026	0.364	0.063	0.406	0.040	0.361	0.046	0.401
	(9) EL	(10) EL	(11) IT	(12) IT	(13) PT	(14) PT	(15) ES	(16) ES
Roma	-0.243**	-0.104	-0.070	0.161**	-0.249***	-0.187**	-0.470***	-0.274***
	(0.086)	(0.074)	(0.062)	(0.058)	(0.071)	(0.070)	(0.037)	(0.036)
Female	-0.169***	-0.179***	-0.152***	-0.158***	-0.040***	-0.045***	-0.084***	-0.082***
	(0.013)	(0.012)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.011)	(0.009)	(0.007)	(0.007)
Children in household	0.034*	0.038*	0.035***	0.065***	0.070***	0.036***	0.001	0.033***
	(0.014)	(0.015)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.012)	(0.011)	(0.008)	(0.008)
Roma x Female	-0.128	-0.071	-0.113	-0.051	-0.151	-0.140	-0.023	0.021
	(0.105)	(0.098)	(0.085)	(0.073)	(0.099)	(0.106)	(0.043)	(0.043)
Roma x Children in household	-0.021	-0.073	-0.186+	-0.141	-0.073	-0.025	0.032	0.075
	(0.104)	(0.089)	(0.104)	(0.094)	(0.096)	(0.093)	(0.055)	(0.055)
Female x Children in household	-0.020	-0.020	-0.040***	-0.065***	-0.006	-0.017	-0.015	-0.046***
	(0.021)	(0.017)	(0.005)	(0.004)	(0.017)	(0.013)	(0.012)	(0.009)
Roma x Female x Children in household	0.080	0.095	-0.053	-0.087	-0.177	-0.132	-0.027	-0.102
	(0.130)	(0.123)	(0.123)	(0.115)	(0.121)	(0.129)	(0.066)	(0.068)
Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
N	15868	15868	255124	255124	18018	18018	47697	47697
Adj. R^2	0.042	0.333	0.036	0.329	0.030	0.367	0.035	0.353

Dependent variable: currently being employed. Each column reports coefficients from an OLS regression with robust standard errors reported in parentheses. + represents statistical significance at the 10% level; * at the 5% level; ** at the 1% level; and *** at the 0.1% level. Controls: age, education, settlement, living with a partner, subjective health, health-related limitations, household size. HR = Croatia, CZ = Czech Republic, HU = Hungary, RO = Romania, EL = Greece, IT = Italy, PT = Portugal, ES = Spain.

For occupational status (Table A27), when restricting the analytical sample to working respondents, the presence of children in the household is associated with higher occupational status for non-Roma men in five countries once socio-demographic characteristics are controlled for (see the Children in household coefficients). For non-Roma women, an additional 'children penalty' is observed in two countries (the Czech Republic and Hungary), while no significant associations are found in other countries (see the Female x Children in household coefficients).

As with employment, most coefficients for Roma respondents are imprecisely estimated, and the coefficients on the Roma x Children in household interaction term are generally insignificant and, in many cases, close to zero in the models that include control variables. (However, in the uncontrolled models, coefficients are negative and significant at the 10% level in three countries, and relatively large negative but insignificant in two additional countries.) In contrast, the triple interaction term in the controlled models (even-numbered columns), which captures the intersectional differences for Roma women with children, is large in magnitude, negative, but imprecisely estimated and statistically insignificant in six countries. This suggests that Roma women with children tend to be employed in lower-status occupations compared to Roma men (and relative to the simple additive effects), although the lack of statistical significance means these results should be interpreted with caution.

Table A27: Associations between Roma status, gender, household composition and occupational status

	(1) HR	(2) HR	(3) CZ	(4) CZ	(5) HU	(6) HU	(7) RO	(8) RO
Roma	-17.00***	-8.09***	-19.00***	-7.18***	-16.63***	-4.48***	-12.22***	-1.92*
	(2.062)	(1.935)	(1.016)	(0.965)	(0.717)	(0.702)	(0.803)	(0.863)
Female	7.01***	1.93***	5.05***	2.85***	5.55***	2.38***	7.82***	3.87***
	(0.572)	(0.389)	(0.434)	(0.324)	(0.228)	(0.156)	(0.206)	(0.138)
Children in household	0.48	1.03*	3.65***	1.18**	0.23	-0.16	0.53*	0.57**
	(0.606)	(0.508)	(0.481)	(0.447)	(0.252)	(0.201)	(0.244)	(0.183)
Roma x Female	-3.83	1.19	-2.44	-0.34	-3.21+	0.34	-6.24**	-4.29*
	(3.550)	(2.775)	(2.333)	(2.172)	(1.659)	(1.600)	(2.039)	(1.859)
Roma x Children in household	-1.24	2.64	0.10	-0.46	-1.69+	-1.21	-2.37+	-0.04
	(2.629)	(2.622)	(4.307)	(4.026)	(0.903)	(0.862)	(1.221)	(1.401)
Female x Children in household	-0.37	0.05	-1.87**	-1.48**	0.45	-0.66**	1.20**	0.11
	(0.902)	(0.598)	(0.705)	(0.523)	(0.364)	(0.248)	(0.392)	(0.269)
Roma x Female x Children in household	-3.52	-5.26	-7.42	-5.52	-3.06	-1.86	-1.14	0.59
	(5.055)	(5.200)	(4.873)	(4.727)	(2.006)	(2.000)	(2.489)	(2.409)
Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
N	12927	12927	14978	14978	88163	88163	83217	83217
Adj. R^2	0.038	0.573	0.033	0.479	0.036	0.558	0.048	0.588
	(9) EL	(10) EL	(11) IT	(12) IT	(13) PT	(14) PT	(15) ES	(16) ES
Roma	-13.90***	-0.03	-16.49***	-5.77***	-12.70***	1.38	-19.22***	-4.87**
	(2.179)	(1.954)	(1.150)	(1.570)	(1.482)	(1.507)	(1.242)	(1.740)
Female	8.41***	4.16***	4.60***	0.69***	3.51***	-1.47***	5.41***	1.96***
	(0.767)	(0.560)	(0.151)	(0.117)	(0.604)	(0.387)	(0.420)	(0.322)
Children in household	1.78*	1.55*	-0.04	0.15	0.72	-0.13	0.62	0.67+
	(0.759)	(0.734)	(0.161)	(0.158)	(0.670)	(0.515)	(0.429)	(0.403)
Roma x Female	-1.07	4.50+	-6.24**	-5.24+	-5.18*	1.01	-7.16***	-3.17
	(3.457)	(2.711)	(1.977)	(2.801)	(2.358)	(2.841)	(1.778)	(1.957)
Roma x Children in household	-1.58	1.77	0.48	1.19	-3.64+	-4.67+	0.44	0.69
	(2.902)	(2.804)	(4.359)	(4.851)	(2.158)	(2.560)	(2.376)	(2.403)
Female x Children in household	-1.34	-1.35	1.66***	0.25	0.65	0.24	0.35	-0.60
	(1.183)	(0.888)	(0.243)	(0.189)	(0.950)	(0.615)	(0.640)	(0.483)
Roma x Female x Children in household	-5.44	-9.21*	-5.32	-6.13	5.19	3.31	-1.23	-1.81
	(5.007)	(4.231)	(5.145)	(6.522)	(4.016)	(4.275)	(3.515)	(3.022)
Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
N	8935	8935	148816	148816	11892	11892	29028	29028
Adj. R^2	0.041	0.488	0.033	0.423	0.016	0.594	0.027	0.428

Dependent variable: occupational status score. The sample is restricted to working respondents. Each column reports coefficients from an OLS regression with robust standard errors reported in parentheses. + represents statistical significance at the 10% level; * at the 5% level; ** at the 1% level; and *** at the 0.1% level. Controls: age, education, settlement, living with a partner, subjective health, health-related limitations, household size. HR = Croatia, CZ = Czech Republic, HU = Hungary, RO = Romania, EL = Greece, IT = Italy, PT = Portugal, ES = Spain.