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**MULTIPLE DISCRIMINATION
AND YOUNG PEOPLE IN EUROPE**

CRIME

**BEYOND 'AGE-ONLY' BASED
DISCRIMINATION**

-INATION

**LESSONS LEARNT BY THE EXPLORATORY SURVEY
ON MULTIPLE DISCRIMINATION AFFECTING YOUNG
PEOPLE IN EUROPE**

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY OF THE MAIN FINDINGS

INTRODUCTION

This report presents the findings of the **online exploratory survey** on multiple discrimination affecting young people in Europe, launched by the European Youth Forum (Youth Forum) between March and June 2014, which involved 495 young people between 18 and 35.

The study collected data from across **Europe** (across the countries of the Council of Europe) on how multiple discrimination occurs in young people's lives, on which grounds as well as on young people's awareness of the existing anti-discrimination law on this topic.

The survey **aims to raise awareness** of multiple discrimination, **to support the development of evidence-based policies and adequate measures to tackle multiple discrimination based on an open-ended list of discrimination grounds** (for instance, along the lines of the European Convention of Human Rights and Revised Social Charter of the Council of Europe). We believe that it should also lead to **further research on how multiple discrimination affects young people**, more specifically, how it aims to support the adoption of the so called EU 'Horizontal Directive'. This would extend the protection from discrimination based on age, sexual orientation, religion or belief and disability beyond the area of occupation and employment, and which is still in the hands of the Council of the European Union.

This report supports the European Youth Forum's goal to promote and adopt a rights-based approach to youth policy that integrates the norms, standards and principles of the international human rights system into the development, implementation and evaluation of youth policy.

There is a lack of general data on multiple discrimination affecting young people and there is the need to gather more information about this topic. In order to achieve this goal, this survey **widened the spectrum of grounds and areas** where discrimination can take place in young people's lives and it focused on their experiences of discrimination based on more than one ground beyond the perspective of a single group of young people. It also inquired into respondents' perception about the grounds on which their young peers are more likely to be discriminated against or at risk of discrimination in their country.

CONSTRAINTS OF THE SURVEY

The in-depth and long questionnaire was originally designed to be disseminated as extensive as possible through the direct involvement of the NGOs cooperating with the Youth Forum but, due to some constraints, the survey was mainly distributed through online youth networks. This circumstance might have discouraged some participants to complete the full questionnaire and prevented many others from accessing the survey. The topic of the survey itself (multiple discrimination) is relatively new among youth who are not involved in NGOs and even many of them, who have a relation to NGOs (56.7% of respondents are involved in NGOs activities), **were not familiar with the concept of multiple discrimination.** The availability of the survey in English and online only made it accessible to those who have a relation to the Youth Forum or one of its member organisations and who have ICT literacy and command of English. At the same time, the survey explored respondents' perception about other young people at risk of discrimination in the country where respondents live and this also provided relevant information to tackle discrimination.

However, further quantitative and qualitative research in this field should accommodate the need of people with language and ICT illiteracy to reach youngsters who are more at risk of exclusion and discrimination. The constraints of the survey have some implications on how the results should be read, because they cannot represent the general view of European youth while having a degree of self-selection bias. Despite that, this exploratory survey can still offer a ground for reflection on multiple discrimination affecting youth from their point of view.

THE CONCEPT OF MULTIPLE DISCRIMINATION

WHAT DOES MULTIPLE DISCRIMINATION MEAN?

The concept of 'multiple discrimination' is often criticised by many legal practitioners as a 'non-problem' or as a merely intellectual exercise. Looking at the origin of this notion, though, multiple discrimination is far from being just a theoretical divertissement: it is rooted in the U.S. Black women's fight for substantive equality in their attempt to make visible situations of discrimination which would have otherwise been obscured.¹

For the aim of this survey, multiple discrimination embraces three situations: multiple discrimination; additive or compound discrimination; intersectional discrimination.²

The main findings of the study suggest that above all multiple discrimination and intersectional discrimination play a strong role in young people's lives, while compound discrimination was less reported. **The wealth of examples provided in the open questions of the survey show that multiple discrimination often has the effect of marginalising young people both in their private sphere and in society.** This double burden makes young victims of discrimination feel disempowered and helpless. Furthermore, respondents underlined that their identities and social structures reciprocally impact on each other, suggesting that social barriers created by institutions at the macro and meso level should be jointly addressed when analysing individual cases of discrimination.³ **For example, one recurring concern is the lack of access to a bank loan for the purchase of a flat for young people who have precarious and low paid jobs. Another major issue is the high rate of youth unemployment in those countries without a strong welfare system, a situation which hinders young people's full transition to adulthood.** Also, the fact that **single young people, de facto couples and couples without children are more likely to be excluded from social benefits is also perceived as a structural barrier** interplaying with the individual situation of discrimination.

WHY DO WE NEED TO TACKLE MULTIPLE DISCRIMINATION?

Young people are usually defined just by 'age' and are perceived as a homogenous subset of society.

The survey shows that 'age' is but one characteristic defining young people's identity and by which they define themselves. Besides, even if discrimination grounds are socially constructed as mutually exclusive, in reality they can add to and interplay with each other. By focusing on each category at the same time, the interconnectedness of the experiences of discrimination based on more than one ground, is overlooked. The problem is that antidiscrimination laws and policies mainly conceive categories as tightly sealed off factors. As a consequence, lawyers defending victims of multiple discrimination often pick up the ground that is more likely to succeed before the courts. Also, young people located at the intersection between different categories of identity and structures of oppression can be easily disregarded by the various policies and laws based on one ground only. The importance to step up efforts to further research, legislation and evidence-based policies tackling multiple discrimination can be easily understood by trying to address and answer specific cases and challenges similar to the following ones:

Imagine that a Muslim woman wearing a veil is discriminated against because of her particular situation (the intersection between being a Muslim (religion) and woman (gender)). The employer does not want to hire women wearing a headscarf, but hires both Muslim men and non-Muslim women. Consequently, the employer discriminated neither just on gender, nor just on religion, but, rather on the intersection between religion and gender. In the workplace her situation would be fully covered because both Directive 2000/78/EC (religion) and Directive 2006/54/EC (gender) tackle discrimination in the workplace. But 'Quid iuris' if discrimination happens in the field of the access to housing (covered just by Directive 2004/113/EC on gender, but not by Directive 2000/78/EC)?

The fragmentation of law would leave the particular condition of certain sub-sets of people, located at particular intersections, without protection. *Imagine that a young Roma gay is discriminated against in the housing field because he is gay (the landlord wants to rent the flat just to straight people) and he has difficulties to access the labour market because he is Roma.*

The stigma towards Roma people in Europe is so rooted that the anti-discrimination law seems to be ineffective to tackle anti-Roma discrimination, despite the efforts stepped up by the National Roma Integration Strategies.⁴ At the same time, discrimination based on sexual harassment is banned only in the field of employment and occupation under today's EU law.

The examples collected during this research show the importance of what Mari Matsuda calls "to ask the other question". This author says: "The way I try to understand the interconnection of all forms of subordination is through a method I call 'ask the other question'. When I see something that looks racist, I ask 'Where is the patriarchy in this?' When I see something that looks sexist, I ask 'Where is the heterosexism in this?'."⁵ *Mutatis mutandis*, this implies the consideration of gender relations and heterosexism when approaching disability (e.g. sexual education towards disabled people, risk of gender-based violence against disabled women); to question social status and class inequalities when dealing with ethnic and racial origin, and so on.

1 Crenshaw, K., 1991. Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence Against Women of Colour. *Stanford Law Review*, 43, 1241-1299.

2 Makkonen, T., 2002. Multiple, compound and intersectional discrimination: bringing the experiences of the most marginalized to the fore. Institute for Human Rights. Åbo Akademi University; Moon, G., 2010. 'Multiple Discrimination: Justice for the Whole Person'. *Roma Rights 2*, 2009: Multiple Discrimination. Available at: www.errc.org/roma-rights-journal/roma-rights-2-2009-multiple-discrimination/3564/1; Burri, S. and Schiek, D., 2009. Multiple Discrimination in EU Law. Opportunities for legal responses to intersectional gender discrimination?. Available at: http://ec.europa.eu/justice/gender/equality/files/multiplendiscriminationfinal7september2009_en.pdf.

3 Degele, N. and Winker, G., 2011. Intersectionality as multi-level analysis: Dealing with social inequality. *European Journal of Women's Studies*, 18(1), 51-66.

4 The Strategies for Roma integration can be accessed at: http://ec.europa.eu/justice/discrimination/roma/index_en.htm

5 Matsuda, M., 1991. Beside My Sister, Facing the Enemy: Legal Theory out of Coalition', *Stanford Law Review* 43(6): 1183-92, quoted in Bello, B.G., 2015. Report 'United for Dignity. Conference on the specific situation of Roma young people affected by multiple discrimination', 24 - 26 June 2014, European Youth Centre Strasbourg. Available at: <http://enter.coe.int/Roma-Youth-Action-Plan/Publications>.

SNAPSHOTS FROM THE SURVEY. GROUNDS AND AREAS OF DISCRIMINATION

The findings of this survey show that the main experiences of discrimination reported by respondents occur in the field of **education** and **employment/occupation** (both in the access to a remunerated job and at the workplace), but relevant cases of discrimination can also be found in the **access to goods and services, including housing**. In addition, respondents found that social security and benefits would be important areas to cover in future research.

IN A NUTSHELL

- 53.8%** of respondents experienced discrimination in the field of education;
- 50.5%** in searching for a remunerated job;
- 42.4%** at the workplace;
- 29.2%** when looking for accommodation;
- 26.6%** in healthcare;
- 26.0%** in having their qualifications recognised;
- 24.9%** in restaurants, cafés or pubs;
- 24.7%** when trying to get bank services;
- 24%** at the cinema, theatre or clubs;
- 19.3%** in sport centers;
- 22.8%** in shops, supermarkets or shopping centers;
- 15.8%** in accessing justice or legal system.

EDUCATION AND THE LABOUR MARKET

The most mentioned grounds of discrimination in the field of **education** are **gender** (15%), **sexual orientation** (10.1%), **religion or belief**, **social origin** (10.4%), **physical appearance** (8.4%), **ethnic origin** (7.8%), **language as well as political or any other opinion** (both 7.5%).

The EU secondary antidiscrimination legislation (Directive 2004/113 and Directive 2006/54) does not ban discrimination on gender in the field of education, despite several NGOs advocating and lobbying to extend the law to cover this ground. Several studies show that experiences of discrimination at early age impact young's people well-being, sense of belonging and self-esteem, which are likely to impact their future.⁶ Respondents pointed out that school books contribute to strengthening roles and expectations related to gender and sexual orientation, contributing to perpetuating and even reinforcing stereotyped descriptions of people's identities.

The issue of the **recognition of degrees and qualifications** was also explored because it is heavily interlinked with mobility and access to the labour market abroad, and heavily connected to the guaranteed freedom of movement within the EU, but not covered at all in any other mobility context. When **looking for a remunerated job**, 18% of respondents declared that they had experienced discrimination because of 'young age' (being **18-24 years** and **25-29 years old, respectively 18.2%** and **8.8%** of respondents), both alone and in combination with other grounds, such as **gender** (16%), **ethnic origin** (7.2%) and **language** (7.8%).

Interestingly, respondents consider that the following grounds are major causes of discrimination against their young peers in the field of employment: **Roma ethnic origin** (72%), **refugee/asylum seeker status** (71.5%), **social status** (69.5%), **irregular migration status** (64.9%) and **statelessness** (62%).

Also, the examples provided by respondents show that neither the education systems, nor the job market manage to accommodate the needs of young people that have **psychological diseases**. Depression is described as a taboo issue across the survey, which is worrying given the interconnection between long-term unemployment and depression.

Sandra Fredman explains that, "*the human and social costs of age discrimination, particularly when it leads to exclusion from the labour force, should not be under-estimated. Increased poverty, ill health, depression, as well as low self-esteem and social isolation, are themselves strong justifications for legal intervention*".⁷

As a result, young people who are affected by discrimination based on age and mental diseases are stuck in a vicious circle of exclusion.

Young women are particularly at risk of discrimination due to pregnancy, childbirth, or medical conditions related to these events, which make employers consider them as 'less productive' than their male competitors. The situation is exacerbated in the case of young women belonging to **ethnic, religious or migrant communities**, who suffer prejudice as they are expected to have more children than other women. Findings show that 'patriarchy' is still pervasive both in the family and workplace structures.

⁶ Cicognani, E, Zani, B. and Albanesi, C., 2012. Sense of community in adolescence. *Global Journal of Community Psychology Practice*, 3(4), 119-125.
⁷ Fredman, S., 2011. *Discrimination Law*. Oxford University Press, 2nd ed.

The plethora of examples provided by respondents in the open question also show that **sexual orientation, gender identity and physical appearance (particularly obesity)** make the experience of discrimination of young people qualitatively different from their peers and impact both their working life and private sphere.

OUTSIDE THE LABOUR MARKET

The main gaps of today's antidiscrimination legislation and consequently policy concern the areas outside the labour market in many countries. Within the EU legal framework, just the EU antidiscrimination legislation on ethnic and racial origin and, partially, on gender, go beyond this field. In a nutshell, the main grounds of discrimination experienced by respondents in almost all fields outside the labour market are of **ethnic origin (above all Roma), social origin, being 18-24 years old, gender, sexual orientation and physical appearance (obesity)** was explicitly mentioned many times across the survey).

The area in which most respondents declared that they experienced discrimination (30%) is when looking for renting a flat and also **accommodation** in hotels, etc., particularly on age (being 18-24 years old for 6.2%), **ethnic origin** (5.2%), **social origin** (3.6%) and **sexual orientation** (3.6%). When asked about their perception of most discriminated young people in the field of accommodation, they listed in both cases **Roma, transgender or transsexual and refugee or asylum seeker** as the most vulnerable. In this concern, for example, in recent years NGOs and studies show that Roma asylum seekers are facing multiple barriers both in the EU and when they are forcibly returned to Kosovo or other non EU Balkan countries in accessing housing and accommodation.⁸ The issue of gender identity is perceived as being a taboo issue both within ethnic or migrant communities and outside them.

The second area reported by respondents as a 'place' where discrimination occurs (27%) is **public and private healthcare**. **Social origin** (3.6%) surfaces as a repeatedly mentioned discrimination ground, together with sexual orientation (5.2%) gender (3.6%), gender identity and age between 18 and 24 years old (same rate, 3.3%). Among the grounds on which they perceive that young people would be more at risk of discrimination in this field, respondents mention Roma ethnic origin (35.4%), refugee/asylum seeker status (32.1%), social status (28.6%), irregular status (64.9%) and statelessness (62.0%).

As far as the access to **bank services** is concerned, 24.7% had experienced discrimination. Interestingly, being **aged between 18-24** is the most cited ground of discrimination. Many respondents were very critical towards the bank system itself, above concerning the strict conditions set for the access to loan, which exclude all people with precarious jobs and unemployed people. **These conditions have a disparate impact on young people who figure at the top positions in unemployment statistics**. According to respondents, their peers who are refugee/asylum seeker (43.5%), irregular person (42.1%), Roma (32.1%), and poor (30.1%) are more at risk of discrimination in this field.

A low rate of respondents answered that they had never felt discriminated against in these areas: 24.2% at the cinema, theatre and clubs; 24.9% in restaurants, cafes and pubs; 23.8% in shops, supermarkets and shopping centres. 19.3% in swimming pools, sport centers, fitness centers and ski facilities. Even if this data concerns a small amount of respondents, they are instructive to grasp how discrimination works in young people's lives and to point out areas for further research and policy intervention. **Physical appearance (including obesity), social origin, gender and ethnic origin are most cited grounds of discrimination in almost all these four areas. Language** is a major ground of discrimination in restaurants, cafes, pubs as well as shops, supermarket and shopping centres, whereas being 18-24 years old is a relevant cause of discrimination also in shops, supermarkets and shopping centres and, additionally, at the cinema, theatre and clubs. **In most cases discrimination occurred on each ground on a different occasion (so defined 'multiple discrimination'), while in a lower number of cases it was based on the interplay between more grounds (intersectional discrimination).**

Roma, transgender/transsexual and refugee/asylum seeker followed by disabled people were considered as particularly discriminated against when trying to **hire a taxi or waiting for a bus**.

It is worth mentioning that the participants in the survey spontaneously raised the issue of discrimination and racism in areas that were not covered by the research, namely at the **control borders**, in **relation with the police**, in **public spaces** (forms of assault and racism), the **lack of recognition of same sex couples** in many countries and **the gender binary in personal documents**.

**ETHNIC ORIGIN
SOCIAL ORIGIN,
BEING 18-24 YEARS OLD,
GENDER,
SEXUAL ORIENTATION AND
PHYSICAL APPEARANCE**

⁸ Unicef, 2011. *Integration Subject to Conditions. A Report on the Situation of Kosovan Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian Children in Germany and After Their Repatriation to Kosovo*, drafted by Verena Knaus, Peter Widmann et al. Available at: http://www.unicef.org/kosovo/RAEstudy_eng_web.pdf

ARE YOUNG PEOPLE AWARE OF ANTIDISCRIMINATION LAW AND POLICY?

The survey inquired specifically into respondents' **awareness on antidiscrimination law and policy**-

The EU anti-discrimination secondary legislation places a strong emphasis on the dissemination of information because discrimination can be better tackled when people know what their rights are. The findings show that the awareness of discrimination (particularly multiple discrimination) and of the law tackling it is not very high among respondents. Half of respondents think that EU law bans multiple discrimination, while a higher number (50.6%) are not sure of the position of EU law. It is also worth mentioning that only 5.6% of respondents are aware that the EU and national policies (apart from the national law) tackle multiple discrimination against young people (3.3%). Moreover, just 45.7% of young people are aware of equality bodies existing in the country where they live and just 36.4% are familiar with organisations that provide help to young discriminated people. As a conclusion, it can be said that despite a relatively high occurrence of discrimination among young people living in Europe their awareness of protective mechanisms is quite low and there is still an open space for promotion of human rights standards among European residents.

LESSONS LEARNT

The survey shows that **young people are a kaleidoscope** in terms of biographies, mobility trajectories, kinds and levels of education. In different ways, many youngsters find it difficult to find stable employment, to access credit, to rent a house, to complete their transition to adult life: a whole trend that has been intensified by the global financial crisis. Findings show that all forms of multiple discrimination are spread across at least half of respondents' life.

They also show that there is a **certain interconnectedness among sectors where discrimination occurs** and, often, among grounds of discrimination. The respondents in this survey are generally highly educated and they are mobile inside their countries and abroad. Therefore, **there is an urgent need to get a clearer idea of how young people with fewer opportunities are impacted by multiple discrimination**. Besides, there are some recurrent patterns of discrimination (including multiple discrimination) in different sectors and this implies that the issue is widespread. Some grounds of discrimination are covered by today's anti-discrimination legislation, whereas many others are not. This leaves victims of discrimination on one or more grounds without, or with weak, protection. The interconnectedness between sectors also raises the issue that a prolonged stay in the internship 'limbo', or in precarious or low paid jobs hinder access to house renting, bank loans, etc. Not being able to plan for the future with a stable income to rely on has serious consequences for young people who are forced to postpone the start of adult life. Some young people can rely on their families, but young people who come from low income or marginalised families will lose out and stay trapped in a vicious circle of exclusion.

Age (particularly 18-24) is considered, perceived and experienced as a discrimination ground per se. Ageism does not concern only senior workers, but also juniors. This ground intersects, adds to and multiplies with many other grounds which, jointly with structural and institutional barriers, prevent many young people enjoying equal opportunities and substantive equality.

RECOMMENDATIONS/ NEXT STEPS

- **To follow-up this explorative online survey with further quanti-qualitative large-scale research on multiple discrimination affecting young people in Europe delving into different ways in which multiple discrimination may occur (multiple, intersectional, compound).**
- **To enforce the existing anti-discrimination law and policy in a way that can benefit 'all young people'.**
- **To put anti-discrimination legislation and policy in a global perspective and integrate the needs of non-EU nationals moving to the European Union. To encourage the application of the Directives 2003/109 and Directive 2011/98, which are meant to fill in the gaps concerning Third-Country nationals residing in the European Union.**
- **To spread information about current anti-discrimination laws, including multiple discrimination, as recommended by the EU anti-discrimination Directives. More precisely, to disseminate information on the existing anti-discrimination legislation and policy (with a focus on multiple discrimination) among young people through user- and learner-friendly material and training modules;**
- **To bring anti-discrimination law to the attention of young people, youth NGOs and people working with them in rural or peripheral areas. Youth NGOs play a crucial role in multiplying the knowledge on anti-discrimination law and calling to action for its implementation and amelioration.**
- **To raise awareness of the role that youth NGOs can play as para-legals and social actors in the field of multiple discrimination for more information about existing anti-discrimination law and policy.**
- **To encourage the adoption of anti-discrimination legislation based on a non-exhaustive list of grounds inspired by the European Convention of Human Rights.**
- **To encourage equality bodies, where existing, to put an end to multiple discrimination.**
- **To embrace the complexity of young people's identity beyond the anti-discrimination law, in other areas of policy and legislation (youth policy, employment policy, etc.)**
- **To include modules on multiple discrimination in the trainings for lawyers, judges and practitioners.**
- **To encourage exchanges of best practices between European countries on existing mechanisms regarding anti-discrimination law and policy and their implementation.**
- **To include a summary on the multiple discrimination perspective (including intersectional and compound discrimination) when planning and evaluating policies, training and projects.**

01

Multiple discrimination in Europe: Research background

This report presents the results of the online exploratory survey on multiple discrimination concerning young people aged 18 to 35 years across Europe. Both the exploratory survey and report were commissioned by the European Youth Forum. The aim of this survey is to collect data across European countries ('Europe' refers to the 49 countries of the Council of Europe), however for strategic reasons a stronger emphasis is placed on the EU antidiscrimination legislation.

In recent years, some pieces of qualitative research focused on specific intersections of grounds, such as Roma women, Muslim youth, young Roma LGBT, migrants and women, but the European Youth Forum (in the following Youth Forum) identified the need to accumulate knowledge on young people's experiences of discrimination based on multiple perspectives. More precisely, the Youth Forum decided to ask young people directly about their experiences of multiple discrimination in order to support the development of more effective and evidenced-based laws and policies to tackle discrimination as well as improve equal treatment and opportunities of "all" young people across society; to raise awareness on multiple discrimination; to support further research on multiple discrimination affecting young people. This supports the European Youth Forum's goal to adopt a full rights-based approach to youth policy that integrates the norms, standards and principles of the international human rights system into the development, implementation and evaluation of youth policy.

When speaking about multiple discrimination, the main issue lies in the fact that individuals tend to be defined by one ground at a time (youngsters, migrants, women, etc.). This 'only one ground-based approach' to discrimination overlooks the complexity of people's identity and the way in which different grounds combine, intersect and add to each other in their daily life. Furthermore, the anti-discrimination laws mainly provide fragmented protection from unequal treatment because they are based on the assumption that protected grounds are objectively identifiable, mutually exclusive and internally homogenous.

This exploratory survey will, hopefully, be followed up with further research on the issues highlighted in the following pages and will contribute to call institutions' attention to the need to tackle multiple discrimination affecting young people holistically.

Despite the high rates of NEETs (Not in Education, Employment and Training), youth unemployment, unpaid internships, underpaid and precarious jobs, low access to bank loans, poor access to health services in many European countries, the awareness that young people are at risk of discrimination and/or exclusion just because of their age (*rectius* because they are *young*) has been spreading only recently. After the adoption of the EU Directive 2000/78/EC⁹, which introduced 'age' as a discrimination ground in the EU legal framework for the first time, scholars and practitioners have discussed whether 'age' should be understood as a symmetric ground, including both young and old people, or just elder ones. In the same way, "youth rights" have received low attention both within academia and in the political debate¹⁰. Many reasons could be found for this situation. One reason might be that policy makers at different levels of European institutions are, on average, much older than young people¹¹ and one can question whether they can genuinely understand and represent young people's "interests".

Another reason lies in the fact that, in age discrimination, "the opposition between 'Self' and 'Other' prevalent in other kinds of discrimination is not as stark. Indeed, there is no clearly demarcated boundary between the group subject to discrimination and others"¹² and "[t]he new emphasis on combating age discrimination is not, therefore, a result of a sudden appreciation of the need for fairness, but gains its chief impetus from macroeconomic imperatives" (Ibid, p. 104). Furthermore the demarcation line between **social age and biological age**¹³ is very blurred and context-specific.

Another important aspect is that adults perceive that young people in today's Europe enjoy many more opportunities than previous generations (e.g. targeted mobility programs, access to education). The last two Special Eurobarometers on Discrimination shed light on these aspects. The Special Barometer on Discrimination of 2007 points out that, even if many people think that young people are less likely to benefit from their age (30%), being young is seen as being an advantage by 39% of the respondents. Besides, youth is the only category which is seen "as having an advantage when it comes to getting a job or being accepted for training or being promoted"¹⁴ according to 23% of respondents.

The same perception is confirmed by the Special Eurobarometer

9 Council Directive 2000/78/EC of 27 November 2000, Establishing a general Framework for equal Treatment in Employment and Occupation. Available at: <http://eurlex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=CELEX:32000L0078:EN:HTML> (3 June 2014).

10 Mahidi, M., 2011. The Young and the Rightless. The Protection of Youth Rights in Europe. European Youth Forum. Available at: <http://www.youthforum.org/publication/the-young-and-the-rightless-the-protection-of-youth-rights-in-europe/>

11 Ibid

12 Fredman, S., 2011. Op.cit. See also Bakowsky, P. and Copeland, N., 2012. The EU's role in combating discrimination. Library Briefing Library of the European Parliament 09/05/2012. Available at: [http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/bibliotheque/briefing/2012/120299/LDM_BRI\(2012\)120299_REV2_EN.pdf](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/bibliotheque/briefing/2012/120299/LDM_BRI(2012)120299_REV2_EN.pdf)

13 Mahidi, M., 2011. Op.cit.

14 European Union, 2007. Special Eurobarometer 296. Discrimination in the European Union: Perceptions, Experiences and Attitudes, p. 19. Available at: http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/ebs/ebs_296_en.pdf (accessed 28 June 2014).

on Discrimination of 2012, which shows that, despite rising youth unemployment rates, "Europeans in general do not believe discrimination on the basis of being under 30 years old is widespread in their country"¹⁵ 77% of respondents think that discrimination against young people on the basis of age is either rare (67%) or non-existent (10%), and just 18% think that it is widespread. Interestingly, this survey dedicates separate space to 'discrimination against older people' and 'age discrimination against younger people'. Data shows that 23% of young Europeans are more likely to find that there is widespread discrimination on young age, such as being under 30 years old.

Apart from the mere ground of 'age', the situation is complicated because young people are not a monolithic and homogeneous segment of society that can be defined just by 'age'. They may face social barriers based on age and sexual orientation, gender identities and expressions, cultures, religions, linguistic, racial and ethnic groups as well as factors such as disability, financial means and family composition/responsibilities among others. These and other grounds taken alone or in combination, may lead to various types of discrimination (including multiple discrimination) against most vulnerable young people. The interplay between age and other factors, either covered by existing anti-discrimination legislation, (in the EU secondary legislation: gender, sexual orientation and/or gender identity, religion and belief, ethnic ground and disability) or not, might significantly impact young people's access to jobs, services and goods, as well as their true participation in society. If not adequately tackled, multiple discrimination contributes to perpetuating "brain drain", young people's exclusion from employment, quality education and many other sectors.

A literature review undertaken before starting the survey shows that there is a gap of knowledge in this field and that directly involving young people in research on discrimination affecting them can better help to fill in this gap and support policy makers to tackle discrimination effectively. This will possibly bring ignored and overlooked types of discrimination to the surface. It also helps to focus on protecting young people's rights in the existing law and policy, which might hinder or postpone young people's transition to adulthood. Lastly, it helps to rebalance young people's power, taking their voices to the fore in the adults' arena.

The survey broadened the grounds of discrimination, beyond those covered by the European anti-discrimination law, in order to explore on what grounds young people perceive to be treated unequally. The survey also looked at three aspects: respondents' perceived and/or experienced discrimination on one or more grounds; what groups are perceived as particularly discriminated in respondent's countries; respondents' awareness of multiple discrimination and anti-discrimination law and policy.

15 European Union, 2012. Special Eurobarometer 393. Discrimination in the EU in 2012. p. 46. Available at: http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/ebs/ebs_393_en.pdf (accessed 28 June 2014).

1.2. A GROWING INTEREST IN THE SUBJECT

Since the early 2000s, the interest in multiple discrimination has increasingly spread in the European socio-legal debate and in NGOs' advocacy agenda.

In the European Union, an impetus to the debate was given by the adoption of the EU Anti-discrimination Directives in 2000, which address for the first time in a binding legal document (though in its Preamble) the issue of multiple discrimination affecting women (see par. 1.3.). The European Union has focused above all on women belonging to ethnic minorities, on migrant women and disabled women.¹⁶ In the field of youth, the Salto Resource Centre on Cultural Diversity, Social inclusion and more recently Euromed have stimulated a reflection on multiple discrimination affecting vulnerable youth groups (minority and migrant women). The European Union Fundamental Rights Agency has conducted several pieces of in-depth research on specific groups (e.g. Muslim youth) and has integrated the analysis of multiple discrimination in many of them (e.g. access to healthcare). The Council of Europe (CoE) has also supported initiatives targeting particular vulnerable groups (e.g. Roma women), even they were not carried out under the banner of multiple discrimination. The first ground-breaking event officially organised by the Council of Europe on this topic in the field of youth was the Conference on multiple discrimination affecting Roma young people on 24-28 July 2014. This event was the result of the cross-sectorial cooperation among the CoE's Youth Department, the Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity (SOGI) Unit and the support team of the Special Representative of the Secretary General of the Council of Europe for Roma Issues.¹⁷ Last but not least, the European Partnership between the Council of Europe in the field of youth explored the specific issue of multiple discrimination affecting Roma youth in 2011¹⁸ and decided to dedicate a thematic issue of its Coyote Magazine to multiple discrimination, bringing together interdisciplinary expertise on the topic¹⁹. Some other examples in the field of youth can be found beyond the institutional framework in the activities of youth NGOs, such as IGLYO,

PeerThink, as well as other NGOs (ERRC²⁰). All these actors have been converging on the relevance and need of a genuine multiple discrimination approach, but thorough research on this form of discrimination, not even from the perspective of a specific group, is rarely found.

Why is it then needed to promote further research on multiple discrimination affecting European youth?

The main reason for that is the need to address all possible discrimination grounds which hinder young people's equal opportunities. Different grounds and their intersections pose different kinds of barriers to the access to jobs, goods and services: some of them are more 'visible' and cannot be hidden (colour of the skin, disability, age, etc.), whereas others can be kept secret (sexual orientation, religion, etc.). Young people are often on the move and cross their national borders: for some of them discrimination is a push factor, whereas for many others it is an experience that they face in their host country.

One of the main issues is that the main existing antidiscrimination legislations cover just some grounds of discrimination and lead to a hierarchy of protection. Consequently, there are many unequal treatments that are not banned by law. This aspect is addressed in the following chapter.

16 European Parliament resolution on the situation of women from minority groups in the European Union (2003/2109(INI)). Available at: <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?pubRef=-//EP//TEXT+REPORT+A5-2004-0102+0+DOC+XML+V0//EN>; European Parliament resolution on the situation of Roma women in the European Union (2005/2164(INI)). Available at: <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?pubRef=-//EP//TEXT+TA+P6-TA-2006-0244+0+DOC+XML+V0//EN>. In the field of research see also: Kocze, A. and Raluca, M.P., 2009. Missing Intersectionality: Race/Ethnicity, Gender, and Class in Current Research and Policies on Romani Women in Europe. Budapest: CEU University Press; Kuhar, R., 2008. Report Analysing Intersectionality in Gender Equality Policies for Slovenia and the EU, QUIING Project. Vienna: Institute for Human Sciences (IWM), available at http://www.quing.eu/files/results/ir_slovenia.pdf;

Marcu, O. and Marani, P., 2012. Understanding drug addiction in Roma and Sinti communities. Research report. Available at: <http://srap-project.eu/files/2012/06/SRAP-Action-research-final-report-Short.pdf>.

17 Bello, B.G., 2014. United for Dignity Conference on the specific situation of Roma young people affected by multiple discrimination. Strasbourg: Council of Europe Publishing. Available at: <http://enter.coe.int/roma/Media/Files/United-for-Dignity-Conference-final-report> (20 January 2015).

18 Bello, B.G., 2011

19 Partnership between the Council of Europe and the European Commission, 2015. In Coyote Magazine "Multiple Discrimination". Available at: <http://ppj-eu.coe.int/en/web/youth-partnership/coyote>.

20 ERRC, 2009. Multiple Discrimination; Kuhar, R., 2009. (Intersectional) Discrimination as a Practice of Inequality. Available at: <http://www.errc.org/article/roma-rights-2-2009-multiple-discrimination/3564/4>.

1.3. THE EXISTING LEGISLATION AND GAPS

The **European Union's** Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union of 2000²¹ has a binding effect since the Treaty of Lisbon entered into force on 1 December 2009. It prohibits discrimination on an exhaustive list of grounds (sex, race, color, ethnic or social origin, genetic features, language, religion or belief, political or any other opinion, membership of a national minority, property, birth, disability, age or sexual orientation) that is more comprehensive than those of the secondary legislation, namely:

- Directive 2000/43/EC²² (Racial Equality Directive) bans discrimination based on racial or ethnic origin in the field of labour market, education, membership of and involvement in an organisation of workers or employers, social protection (including social security and healthcare), social advantages; access to and supply of goods and services which are available to the public, including housing;
- Directive 2000/78/EC²³ (Employment Equality Directive) establishes a framework for equal treatment in employment and occupation, on the grounds of religion or belief, disability, age or sexual orientation;
- Directive 2004/113/EC²⁴ provides a framework for equal treatment between men and women in the access to and supply of goods and services;
- Gender Recast Directive 2006/54/EC²⁵ enforces the principle of equal opportunities and equal treatment of men and women in matters of employment and occupation.

Apart from the preambles of the Directives 2000/43/EC and 2000/78/EC, that raise awareness on the fact that women are victim of multiple discrimination, this notion is completely disregarded by the EU secondary legislation. When the EU Member States transposed the EU anti-discrimination Directives, some of them referred to multiple discrimination (Austria, Bulgaria, Croatia, Germany, Greece, Italy, Poland, Romania, Spain, United Kingdom), but with various degrees of protection. Since 2 July 2008 the Proposal for a Horizontal Directive of the European Commission²⁶ for trying to harmonise the objective scopes of the Directive 2000/78/EC and the Directive 2000/43/EC has been discussed, but the text is still frozen.

Directives 2003/109²⁷ and Directive 2011/98²⁸ are meant to fill in the gaps concerning Third-Country nationals residing in the European Union. The first one enucleates several areas in which long-term residents shall enjoy equal treatment with nationals (Art. 11. Equal treatment). The second one provides, among other, with "a common set of rights to third-country workers legally residing in a Member State, irrespective of the purposes for which they were initially admitted to the territory of that Member State, based on equal treatment with nationals of that Member State" (art. 1(b)).

**MULTIPLE DISCRIMINATION
BUT WITH VARIOUS DEGREES
OF PROTECTION**

21 Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union. Available at: http://www.europarl.europa.eu/charter/pdf/text_en.pdf

22 Council Directive 2000/43/EC of 29 June 2000, Implementing the Principle of equal Treatment between Persons irrespective of racial or ethnic Origin.. Available at: <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=CELEX:32000L0043:en:HTML>

23 Council Directive 2000/78/EC of 27 November 2000, op.cit.

24 Council Directive 2004/113/EC of 13 December 2004 implementing the principle of equal treatment between men and women in the access to and supply of goods and services. Available at: <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=CELEX:32004L0113:EN:HTML>

25 Council Directive 2006/54/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council of 5 July 2006. Available at: <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:L:2006:204:0023:0036:EN:PDF>

26 Proposal for a Council Directive on implementing the principle of equal treatment between persons irrespective of religion or belief, disability, age or sexual orientation (presented by the Commission). Available at: <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=COM:2008:0426:FIN:EN:PDF>

27 Council Directive 2003/109/EC of 25 November 2003 concerning the status of third-country nationals who are long-term residents. Available at: <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:32003L0109&from=EN>

28 Directive 2011/98/EU of the European Parliament and of the Council of 13 December 2011

on a single application procedure for a single permit for third-country nationals to reside and work in the territory of a Member State and on a common set of rights for third-country workers legally. Available at: <http://old.eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:L:2011:343:0001:0009:EN:PDF>

Fig. 1. Source: Social Platform 2012, quoted in Bakowsky, P. and Copeland, N., 2012. The EU's role in combating discrimination Library Briefing Library of the European Parliament 09/05/2012. Available at: [http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/bibliotheque/briefing/2012/120299/LDM_BRI\(2012\)120299_REV2_EN.pdf](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/bibliotheque/briefing/2012/120299/LDM_BRI(2012)120299_REV2_EN.pdf)

		Grounds of Discrimination					
		Age	Disability	Religion or Belief	Sexual Orientation	Sex	Race, Ethnic Origin
Fields covered by EU legislation	Education	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES
	Social Protection	NO	NO	NO	NO	PARTLY COVERED	YES
	Social Advantages	NO	NO	NO	NO	PARTLY COVERED	YES
	Access to Goods and Services available to the Public, Including Housing	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES
	Employment and Vocational Training	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES

1.4. ASK THE YOUNG PEOPLE: BRIEF PROFILE OF THE RESPONDENTS TO THE SURVEY

This set of legislation is complemented by the Council Framework Decision 2008/913/JHA of 2008 on combating certain forms and expressions of racism and xenophobia by means of criminal law,²⁹ that sanctions those who “publicly incite to violence or hatred directed against a group of persons or a member of such a group defined by reference to race, color, religion, descent or national or ethnic origin [...]”. Even if this piece of legislation was not at the core of this explorative survey, it is worth mentioning it because respondents spontaneously described many cases of hatred in the open questions which are not covered by the anti-discrimination law.

The situation is not better in the **Council of Europe (CoE)** either, where no binding document mentions multiple discrimination so far. The ECHR makes it easier to litigate cases of multiple discrimination because its art. 14 covers a non-exhaustive list of grounds (sex, race, color, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, association with a national minority, property, birth or other status). Protocol 12 to the ECHR³⁰ extends the protection from discrimination beyond the ECHR, but just 18 member states out of the 47CoE member states are bound. Also Article E of the Revised European Social Charter³¹ sets the precondition to act against multiple discrimination since it entails an open ended list of grounds (race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national extraction or social origin, health, association with a national minority, birth or other status). In more recent years the Istanbul Convention on preventing and combating violence against women and domestic violence,³² entered into force on 1 August 2014, might help tackle multiple discrimination and violence even if just its Explanatory report underlines that “women tend to experience multiple forms of discrimination as may be the case of women with disabilities and/or women of ethnic minorities, Roma, or women with HIV/Aids, to name but a few. This is not different when they become victims of gender-based violence” (p.10). Among non-binding documents, the Recommendation on Measures to combat discrimination on the grounds of sexual orientation and gender identity (Recommendation CM/Rec(2010)5),³³ adopted by the Council of Europe’s Committee of Ministers in 2010, provides that the States have “to take measures to ensure that legal provisions in national law prohibiting or preventing discrimination also protect against discrimination on multiple grounds, including on grounds of sexual orientation or gender identity; national human rights structures should have a broad mandate to enable them to tackle such issues” (Art.46).

This overview shows that there are still gaps of protection in the field of education, social security, healthcare, housing, good and services for people discriminated on the basis of religion or belief, disability, age or sexual orientation; as well as in the field of education and healthcare for people discriminated on the basis of gender.

29 Council Framework Decision 2008/913/JHA of 28 November 2008 on combating certain forms and expressions of racism and xenophobia by means of criminal law. Available at: <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:32008F0913&from=EN>
 30 Council of Europe, 2000. Protocol No. 12 to the Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms (ETS No. 177). Available at: <http://conventions.coe.int/Treaty/en/Reports/Html/177.htm>
 31 The text of the European Social Charter is available at: <http://www.coe.int/t/dghl/monitoring/socialcharter/presentation/escrbooklet/English.pdf>
 32 Council of Europe, 2011. Convention on preventing and combating violence against women and domestic violence. Available at: <http://www.coe.int/t/dghl/standardsetting/convention-violence/convention/Convention%202010%20English.pdf>
 33 Recommendation CM/Rec(2010)5 of the Committee of Ministers to member states on measures to combat discrimination on grounds of sexual orientation or gender identity (Adopted by the Committee of Ministers on 31 March 2010 at the 1081st meeting of the Ministers’ Deputies). Available at: http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/igbt/documents/reccm2010_5_EN.asp

02

The survey on multiple discrimination involving youth

The aim of the survey is to collect data across European countries. For the aim of this survey, 'Europe' means the territory of the **Council of Europe**.

The survey was structured in a way that took into consideration three geographical aspects of the respondents: the country of origin; the country where they lived at the moment of the survey; and the country where the reported discriminations took place.

The survey was based on online standardised questionnaires entailing questions that call for real-life contextual understandings and multi-level perspectives (EU/CoE implementation, civil society). In the introduction to the survey, young people were given in depth instructions on the survey and its purposes. Some general definition of the main concepts (discrimination, multiple discrimination and discrimination grounds) were also provided in order to ease the process of filling in the questionnaires. The definitions adopted refer to the meaning developed within the EU legal context.

The survey was made available online from the 19th March to 30th June 2014. It was disseminated online to member and partner organisations of the Youth Forum through two international events (European Youth Event, Strasbourg May 2014; Conference "United in Dignity" 24-28 June 2014), press releases and social media. The survey was also promoted at Youth Forum events and statutory meetings.

Out of the 495 who accessed the questionnaire, one third of them did not complete the whole questionnaire. For this reason the exact number of answers will be mentioned in each diagram in this report (see also par 3 chap 2).. The answers to open questions in the questionnaire are likely to give a more accurate picture, though anecdotal, of how discrimination on one or more grounds occurs in young people's reality.

2.1. METHODOLOGY OF THE SURVEY

The majority of respondents were 24 years old at the time of the survey (born 1990), while only 4% of respondents were under the age of 18 and 5.4% were 35 years old. Respondents were born in 34 European countries (belonging to an Euro-Asian continent) and respondents coming from the non-European countries present 4.4%.

Italy (15.6%),³⁴ Portugal (6.1%) and Cyprus (5.4%) are the only countries represented by more than 5% of respondents. When it comes to the country of residence, there are six countries that attracted more than 5% of the respondents: Italy (13%), Belgium (6.1%), Germany (5.4%) and Cyprus, Portugal and the UK (all with 5.1%). It is important to emphasise that a high percentage of respondents (77.7%) have the EU citizenship and 86.9% hold a long-term or permanent residence in the EU.

The majority of the sample is female (68.1%), men make 27.7%, whereas 1.9 % of respondents define themselves differently.

The same is with gender identity, where queer, transgender and others make only 7.7% of the sample. Sexual orientation is slightly different as 68.6% of respondents are heterosexual.

Taking into account that the sample encompasses young people up to 35 years of age it is quite surprising that 86.8% of them are not married or in a registered relationship, which indicates a certain lifestyle and values of the respondents. This insight is followed by 94.4% of respondents who do not have children.

91.2% of the respondents claim not to have any kind of disability, but 18.3% reported psychological or physical health problems which hinder their daily life.

Respondents can be regarded as highly educated, significantly above the European average as 40.9% hold a graduate and 34.1% a post-graduate degree, and only 1% do not have any school certificate. When it comes to the socio-professional status, the majority of the sample is made of students or interns (41.8%), and full-time employed (26%), with only 10% of the unemployed, which also places the sample above the European average. However the data also shows that 29.6% of the respondents are engaged in undeclared work and 54.6% of those who have never succeeded in finding a work situates them in not so beneficial position. Also, only 9.6% live in a house or an apartment they bought on their own, while a high percentage of 33.3% live in rented accommodation.

The respondents can be described as socially active as 56.7% belong to an NGO and 55.7% always and 28% usually vote in elections. Moreover, a relatively high percentage of 29.9% would stand as a candidate at political elections.

2.1.1. A THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

The theoretical background of the survey is based on intersectionality, a theory that tries to raise awareness of the invisibility of US Black women's specific experience of discrimination in the 1980s. These women claimed that their rights were not advocated either by Black men's or White women's movements³⁵. The battles of Black women were then joined by Black LGBTs and other discriminated groups (e.g. *Latinas*). Since its beginning intersectionality has been directly linked with law transformation and advocacy. All in all, what intersectionality scholars suggest to do is to "ask the other question" Matsuda says, "The way I try to understand the interconnection of all forms of subordination is through a method I call 'ask the other question'. When I see something that looks racist, I ask 'Where is the patriarchy in this?' When I see something that looks sexist, I ask 'Where is the heterosexism in this?'"³⁶ Mutatis mutandis, when there is something that looks like 'ageism', what role do heteronormativism, class, ableism and others play?

³⁴ In Italy, some data were also gathered through a focus group exercise run by prof. Alessio Surian and prof. Barbara Segatto at the University of Padova.
³⁵ Crenshaw, K., 1991. Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence Against Women of Colour. *Stanford Law Review*, 43, 1241-1299.
³⁶ Matsuda, M., 1991. Op.cit.

2.1.2. THE APPROACH TAKEN

For the aim of this exploratory survey, the research team decided to adopt the umbrella term 'multiple discrimination', of which 'intersectional discrimination' represents just one of the three types covered, in order to grasp various kinds and types of multiple discrimination occurring in young people's life.

The often-mentioned umbrella term covers the following cases:³⁷

'MULTIPLE DISCRIMINATION'

That occurs when one person suffers from discrimination on several grounds, but discrimination takes place on one ground at a time and on separate occasions.

E.g.: A young migrant is discriminated by non- migrant employers because of the colour of his or her skin or migration background, whereas he or she is discriminated in the access to housing, because he or she is young (perception that young people make noise and party in a quiet building, the fact that they have just precarious jobs and not being reliable, etc.).

'ADDITIVE (OR COMPOUND) DISCRIMINATION'

That take place when two or more grounds add to each other in the same occasion, but they can still be distinguished.

E.g.: the reason why Anne didn't have access to a flat rental was because the landlord does not want to rent a house to young people or women. An adult man is appointed instead. The refused rental is separately both direct age discrimination and direct sex discrimination.



THE LANDMARK CASE

In the case 'Perera v Civil Service Commission', the employer listed a number of requirements for a prospective employee. Mr Perera was denied the job because the interviewing committee took into consideration various factors all together (experience in the UK, command of English, nationality and age). As Gay Moon explains "in this case the lack of one factor did not prevent him getting the job but it did make it less likely, and the lack of two factors decreased yet further his chance of selection for the job. Ultimately he was unsuccessful because his personal circumstances were such that he was not preferred on a variety of different ground" (Moon, G., 2006).

'INTERSECTIONAL DISCRIMINATION'

This is based on more than one ground interplaying with each other at the same time and cannot be distinguished. This produces very specific types of discrimination.

E.g.: An example is the scarf in the case of Muslim girls. In this case, the intersection of being a woman and Muslim (wearing a scarf) expose these women to a different kind of discrimination from both Muslim men, non-Muslim women and even from Muslim women who are not wearing a scarf.



THE LANDMARK CASE

In the case Bahl v the Law Society, an Asian woman was subjected to discriminatory treatment because both of her Asian origin and her gender. At first the Tribunal of first instance, the employment tribunal ruled that she could compare herself to a White man, so that the combined effect of her race and her sex could be considered. Unfortunately, the higher courts did not uphold this decision, but an interesting method to provide protection in case of intersectional discrimination was offered and could be further used.

There are several advantages in adopting such a wide concept of multiple discrimination in this exploratory survey. Even if 'intersectional discrimination' has galvanised the attention in recent years because it unveils cases of discrimination that otherwise would be overlooked as well as because of the difficulties to litigate it before the courts³⁸ widening the spectrum of inquiry as to embrace additional and multiple discrimination can help to delve into different ways in which multiple discriminations against young people occur, namely:

1. to shed light on different forms of multiple discrimination affecting young people
2. to raise awareness of EU policy-makers on the need to adopt the so defined 'Horizontal Directive' and to integrate an open-ended list of grounds in the EU legislation;
3. to support the mainstream of youth in all relevant policies (on gender, on disability, etc...) and other grounds in youth policies.
4. to support the identification of areas in which further research is needed.

2.1.3. THE USE OF CATEGORIES

The problem of antidiscrimination law and policy is that the forbidden discrimination grounds refer to categories (gender, ethnic origin, etc.), that run the risk of making people's identities appear as fixed and unchangeable.

The issue of static grounds, that are unable to grasp the fluidity of young people's identity, was raised also by some respondents in the questionnaires in a rather critical way.

European legal scholars suggest challenging the grounds-based approach and to reconsider the way in which they are used.³⁹ Some scholars even suggest overcoming them.⁴⁰ At the moment, though, categories are used within antidiscrimination law and policy and this is the reason why the research team instrumentally used them within the survey. A note of caution is needed here. Among intersectionality scholars there is a consensus that categories are socially constructed and are not founded on ontological realities. This common view has led to three approaches towards categories⁴¹:

1. the first one denies the use of categories and seeks to deconstruct and overcome them ('anticategorical' approach).
2. the second one zooms on specific social groups, but it looks at just one specific dimension of each intersecting category ('intracategorical' approach). For example, in the intersection "young women", the dimension 'young' within the category 'age' and the dimension 'women' in the category 'gender' are taken into consideration.
3. the third one ('intercategorical' approach) delves into different dimensions within each identity category. This approach compares each group within a given category ('men' and 'women' within 'gender'; 'young' and 'adult' within 'age'; etc.).

For the aim of this survey the team decided to instrumentally use categories, in order to identify the grounds and the areas where young people perceive to be most discriminated and foster further legislation and policy. Also, for the purpose of this research, 'youth' was meant to cover young people between **18 and 35 years old** and was divided into three sub-categories: young people aged between 18-24, 25-29 and 30-35. The list of other discrimination grounds covered by the survey went much beyond those covered by the EU primary and secondary legislation (art. 19 TFEU,

art. 21 of the Nice Charter, antidiscrimination Directives) and the legislation of the Council of Europe (art. 14 of the European Convention of Human Rights and Article E of the Revised European Social Charter). The rationale behind the enlargement of the spectrum of grounds was to explore in which fields and on which grounds discrimination occurs in young people's life, in order to suggest relevant policy change.

The grounds taken into consideration were:

Being 18-24 years old,	language,	irregular migrant,
being 25-29 years old,	political or any other opinion,	refugee/asylum seeker,
being 30-35 years old,	membership of a national minority,	EU citizenship,
gender,	property,	Third Country citizenship (Country belonging to the CoE),
gender identity,	birth,	Third Country citizenship (Country outside the CoE),
sexual orientation,	HIV positive,	physical appearance,
religion or belief,	psychological health conditions,	obesity,
racial origin,	physical health conditions,	

37 Makkonen, T., 2002. Op. cit.; Burri, S. and Schiek, D., 2009. Op. cit. .
38 Moon, G., 2006. Op.cit

39 McColgan, A., 2014. Discrimination, Equality and the Law. Oxford and Portland, Oregon: Hart Publishing.
40 Baer, S., 2011. Rechtssoziologie. Eine Einfuehrung in die interdisziplinäre Rechtsforschung. Baden Baden: Nomos Verlagsg.
41 McCall, L., 2005. The Complexity of Intersectionality'. Journal of Women in Culture and Society, 30, 3, pp. 1771-1800.

2.2 STRUCTURE OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE

The survey was articulated into four sections, which collected information in an anonymous way.

1 THE FIRST SECTION
(Section A. *Introducing Yourself*, questions 132) collected information on respondents. This section unveiled the richness and variety of backgrounds of respondents (see par. 4, Chapter 1).

2 THE SECOND SECTION
(Section B. *Your story matters! Questions 33104*) was the core of the survey and asked young people directly about the experiences of discrimination they perceived to have experienced in their life. The main questions were limited to the last ten years, but there was also the chance to go back in past experiences, since discrimination experienced at early age is likely to be internalised and impact also on young people's future. Respondents were also asked some open questions to describe potential cases of multiple discrimination they have experienced. The open questions were also aimed at exploring whether young respondents felt comfortable with the use of fixed categories and some of them did indeed express their reluctance to define themselves and their experience or perception of discrimination according to static discrimination grounds, particularly with regards to their sex and gender identity.

Many respondents provided plenty of examples of discrimination and harassment that range from the areas covered by the survey to other ones that were not included, such as public spaces (streets, squares, etc.), partnership and adoption, private life domestic violence (harassment), online hate speech. Many examples show the interconnectedness between the experience and perception of discrimination in different fields and explain how discrimination in one area has an impact on other areas of young people's life.

The structure of this section is heavily based on the EU antidiscrimination Directives: it covers the objective and subjective scopes of these laws as well as further areas where it might be useful to extend the EU legislation (e.g. housing, healthcare, education and access to banking are not covered by all EU antidiscrimination law at the moment). It also covers other 'places' where discrimination might occur in young people's lives, such as the recognition of degrees and qualifications and access to justice, and other grounds that are disregarded by the existing antidiscrimination law.

3 THE THIRD SECTION
(Section C. *Perceptions on discrimination against young people in your country*, questions 105-130) asked respondents on what grounds young people in their country are more likely to be at risk of discrimination. The research team wanted to explore respondents' perceptions about other young people at risk of discrimination in the country where respondents live. Since the survey probably did not manage to reach most vulnerable young people (par.3 in this Chapter) and was based on a random sample with a high probability of getting answers from young people who had not been victims of discrimination themselves, the questionnaire sought to get information about discrimination affecting respondents' peers as well.

4 THE LAST SECTION
(Section D. *Awareness on antidiscrimination law and policy*, questions 131151) enquired into the knowledge of the antidiscrimination law and policy among respondents. The EU antidiscrimination Directives insist on the need to spread information and to build dialogue with NGOs and the survey aimed to explore whether this information about antidiscrimination measures (also beyond the EU legal framework) outreach young respondents or not.

The four sections followed a thorough introduction explaining some definitions of the grounds adopted and of various forms of discrimination.

2.3. CONSTRAINTS

The in-depth and long questionnaire was originally designed to be disseminated as extensively as possible through the direct involvement of the NGOs cooperating with the Youth Forum but, due to limited human and financial resources, the survey was mainly distributed through youth online networks in the end. The topic of the survey itself (multiple discrimination) is relatively new among youth who are not involved in NGOs and even among many who have a relation to them. 56.7% of respondents are involved with youth or other NGOs and most of them believe that being part of an organisation provides them with a better idea of how discrimination work and of available antidiscrimination instruments. Despite that, many respondents were not familiar with the concept of multiple discrimination. The availability of the survey in English and online only made it accessible to those who have a relation to the Youth Forum or one of its member organisations who have IT literacy and command of English. These circumstances might have discouraged some participants to complete the full questionnaire and prevented many others even from accessing the survey. This has some constraints for the whole survey and some implications on how the results should be read. Therefore, the results cannot be generalised to the European youth and have certain degree of self-selection bias. Despite that, the survey can offer a ground for reflection on multiple discrimination affecting youth from their point of view. Both the language and the ICT barriers should be removed when planning further research in this field, taking into account the actual resources needed in this concern.

03

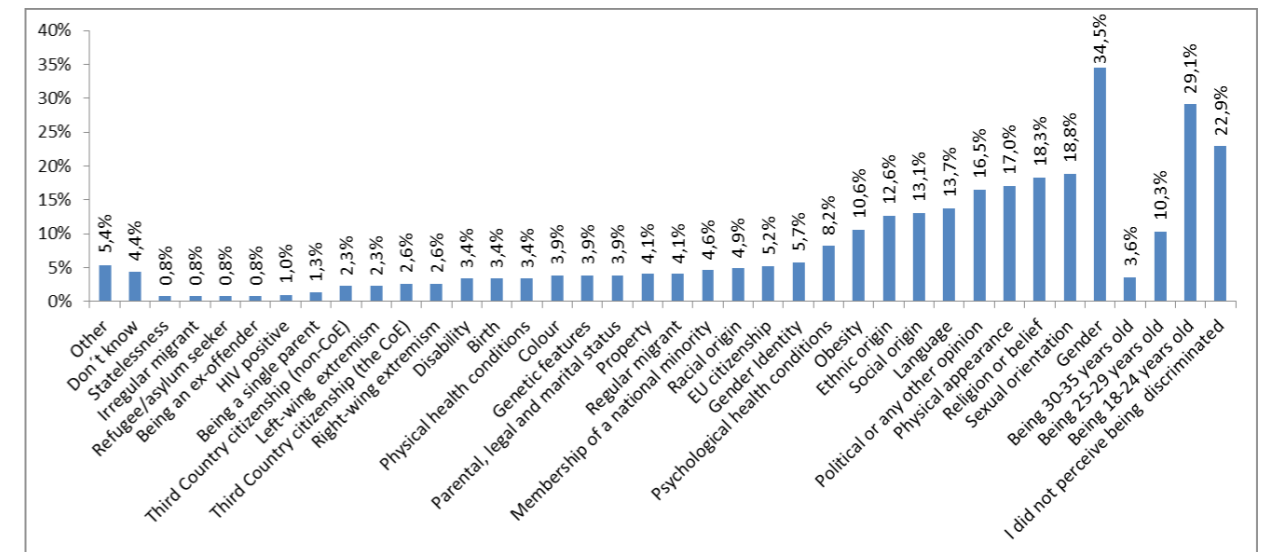
A closer look at the key finding

This chapter will describe the key findings of the survey. It will integrate also information gathered through open questions. For accessibility's sake, data will be articulated in three parts, namely 'Discrimination on one or more than one ground in young people's life' (paragraphs 3.1-3.3.3), 'Young people's perception: which are the groups more at risk of discrimination?' (par. 3.4) and 'Awareness of existing legislation and legal definitions' (par. 3.5). In each paragraph, some speech bubbles contain excerpts from respondents' answers to open questions describing their experiences of discrimination on one or more grounds (see the definitions of multiple discrimination adopted in the survey in par. 1 Chapter 2).

3.1. PERCEIVED OR EXPERIENCED DISCRIMINATION ON ONE OR MORE GROUNDS: AN OVERVIEW

Before enquiring in which area of young people's lives discrimination occurs, a general question broke the ice to ask whether respondents had ever perceived being discriminated against in general on the basis of one or more grounds listed in the questionnaire (par. 2.1.3., Chapter 2) in the last ten years in the country where they lived at the moment of the survey. 77.1% of respondents answered that they did perceive being discriminated against.

Fig. 2 Perception of discrimination the basis of one or more of the following grounds, in the country where participants live at the moment of the survey (388)



Gender is placed first (34%), followed by being 18-24 years old (29.1%), sexual orientation (18.8%), religion or belief (18.3%) and physical appearance (17%). There were 148 answers to open questions providing 195 examples of discrimination or harassment based on one or more grounds.

Among the most cited factors mentioned in the open questions were: being part of a national or religious minority or coming from a particular geographical area (even within Europe, such as being part of the Hungarian minority in Romania, being from the North of England, not being a Christian in Cyprus, being a South European, just to mention some of them), or even having a relationship with someone from different racial origin (discrimination by association⁴²)

The **financial status** (being a young unemployed or not coming from a wealthy background) as well as coming from rural areas are mentioned as grounds that dramatically decrease young people's chances in life, their self-confidence and self-esteem. Coming from a rural area has double implications for young women. One respondent explains that being originally from a rural area had been made clear to her as a discriminatory fact by some university colleagues and punctually by some professors, while her parents made very clear since a young age that being a woman inevitably would mean to obey a husband someday.

On the other hand, the individual social status and the belongingness to a country considered 'rich' or from developing countries in the funding selection criteria is perceived to be discriminatory against young people coming from a poor background in 'rich' countries who can't afford doing unpaid work.

Physical appearance (belonging to subcultures, such as metal music, and dressing accordingly; obesity; 'ugliness') figures among grounds that are likely to cause a disparate treatment above all on young women in various settings (restaurants, public transport, employment, bullying at school). Some respondents specify that having one or more physical characteristics that are considered as 'not desirable' by other people in a given context make them feel that they are treated as 'less clever' than other peers.

3.1.1. BEYOND THE QUESTIONNAIRE

This paragraph describes cases of discrimination in areas that were not covered by the questionnaire and were mentioned spontaneously by respondents. Participants in the survey took the initiative to call attention to their experiences of discrimination in other areas of life (e.g. gender based violence in intimate relationships, par. 3.1.1.1.), in other places (e.g. streets, par. 3.1.1.2.), in relation with state and police authorities (e.g. such as at borders controls and with police officers, tax offices, par. 3.1.1.3.) than those entailed in the questionnaire. Other situations mentioned

⁴² European Union Fundamental Rights Agency, 2010. Handbook on European non-discrimination law. Available at: http://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/fra_uploads/1510-FRA-CASE-LAW-HANDBOOK_EN.pdf

concerned the rights protection for same sex couples. They made clear that patriarchal structures, power relations and stereotypes in one of these fields has consequences also on other spheres, above all when discrimination, homophobic or racist statements are openly supported by policy makers and media (against Roma, LGBT, migrants etc.).

3.1.1.1. DOMESTIC VIOLENCE AND GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE IN INTIMATE RELATIONS

The survey elicits that domestic violence and gender-based violence in intimate relations are deeply rooted in many societies and communities. Discrimination and harassment at work place are but one aspect of the wider phenomenon of violence and discrimination affecting women. Different forms of violence and discrimination occurring in the private and public sphere go often hand in hand because sexism and patriarchal structures are not confined to just one sector of women's lives. Just to provide some examples, in Italy statistics say that while the rates of homicide against men decreased, the rates of homicides of women stay unvaried.⁴³ However, murders are just the tip of the iceberg. Sexist language emerges as a common vehicle to normalise gender expectations and roles that are considered normative in the society (e.g. girls are told to 'man up' in order to face life).⁴⁴ Besides, being a single young woman without children or a young single mother focused on her career is judged as a failure in women's lives according to mainstream society in the experience of some respondents.

Besides, for young women, being single and having no children or being a single mother are also mentioned as grounds of perceived discrimination because societal expectation are not fulfilled. At the same time, studies show that migration trajectories have challenged the dichotomy man-breadwinner/woman-homemaker.

When I was younger my neighbors expected me to become a 'bad girl' because my mother was a single parent. I have also been a victim of violence from other children because I was small, shy and because they knew that I had no father or other man in the family to protect me.

I did not change my surname after marriage but the Turkish officials constantly change my surname into my husband's one in all documents. Besides, my requests in the state offices were refused just because I am a foreigner who does not speak fluently Turkish. When, on the next day, I arrived with a Turkish citizen translating my questions, my requests were followed up.

I don't personally feel discriminated against very often. But I do feel oppressed as a woman and a young person when I see TV adverts or how media present young people as 'thugs' or women as mindless 'Barbie dolls'.

43 Istat, 2014.

44 Grzywnowicz, M., 2013. Language (r)evolution: gendered, gender-less, gender-neutral, gender-free. Coyote, 19. Available at: http://pjp-eu.coe.int/documents/1017981/1667877/COYOTE_19_Language.pdf/317d5563-5162-4a9a-be0e-dee9c22a41e5 (accessed 30 June 2014).

When applying for a tax rebate with HMRC (note of the author: acronym for Her Majesty's Revenue and Customs) in the U.K., I was consistently disregarded for my age and occupation. They did not take me seriously because I was a young student and it took me over a year to finally get what was rightfully mine. The normal process takes around a month in the UK.

I experienced taunting and harassment because of my gender and impairment: I was even insulted on the street.

3.1.1.2. PUBLIC SPACES: WALKING DOWN THE STREET WHILE WOMAN, LGBT, BLACK AND OTHER...

Public spaces (streets, etc.) were not covered by the questions of the survey, but the harms occurring simply "while walking" on the street were raised by many participants

"Driving While Black" is a phrase coined in the United States to refer to racial profiling of Black drivers. It means that police officers may stop a vehicle driven by a Black driver just because he or she is Black, and then question and search him or her. Rewriting this phrase and broadening up the subjects involved (police, common people on the street, etc.), many respondents explain what happens to them and how unpleasant it often is, when they are "walking down the street while woman, LGBT, Black, fat, and others...".

Colour of the skin, physical appearance, sexual orientation and gender identity are mentioned as grounds that cause

various reactions against young people, ranging from being laughed at to being shouted at in the street by unknown people and without the protection of the police. Gender rules penetrate the whole life on such matters as what a girl 'should do' or 'can or can't do': having a drink in a pub alone or wearing clothes generally considered inappropriate or provocative are likely to legitimise very close approaches without women's consent. Disabled women are more at risk of violence because of their double vulnerability.⁴⁵ Respondents' answers show that human security of **LGBT young people** is at risk in many European countries. The anecdotes narrated by some of them provide examples of the threat against them. Some explain that they were insulted by neighbours and silenced by other people because of their perceived sexual orientation or gender identity. They were victims of physical harassment on the street by unknown people just because they walked hand in hand with their partner or because their sexual orientation or gender identity were assumed by other people. Jokes and judgements on these topics are often told in front of them and this can be intimidating and have the effect of shouting them down. One respondent describes how he or she was threatened and spat at by a group of men on the street during a LGBT Pride celebration just because of his or her being gender non-conforming and taking part in the Pride. Besides, it is often the case that young people who decide to 'come out' experience homophobia in more than

45 NIA, Double Oppression: Violence Against Disabled Women A resource pack for practitioners. Available at: <http://www.niaendingviolence.org.uk/perch/resources/double-oppression-violence-against-disabled-women.pdf> (accessed 15 July 2014); OHCHR, 2013. Report of the Special Rapporteur on violence against women, its causes and consequences. Available at: <http://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Issues/Women/A.67.227.pdf> (accessed 15 July 2014).

one field of their life and are rejected by both their parents and by friends, NGOs or employers because of their sexual orientation and gender identity. The situation is exacerbated for young people belonging to ethnic or religious communities: in these cases they are, on the one hand, marginalised by their communities because of the heteronormative rules and, on the other hand, by the society (and even by LGBT associations in some countries) because of their ethnic or religious belonging. **Double marginalisation has severe consequences on young people who cannot count on their families because of their sexual orientation or gender identity and, at the same time, have no access to a paid job because of their ethnic origin and/or other grounds.** The risk is that they get trapped into prostitution, informal economy and drug addiction.⁴⁶

One respondent explains that in Hungary the most obvious and systematic examples of discrimination take place against gay people and the Roma minority. This statement leads to the question: What happens to young people who are located at the crossroads of these grounds?

Specific challenges confront **transgender** young people because of the lack of third gender option in personal documents (passports or ID) or because of the discrepancy between, on the one hand, their appearance and social name and, on the other hand, the official sex and first name mentioned on their documents (ID card, passport, health insurance card, etc.), not to mention when they have to pass border controls.

This issue goes straight to the heart of young people's identity and their freedom to define themselves beyond the binary gender identities. The answers to the open questions of the survey give evidence that transgender respondents often felt forced to use their official data given at birth in application forms and documents. They also call attention to the intertwining between their gender identity and psychological issues, be they dependent or not on their experience of discrimination, marginalisation and fear (including fear of forced sterilisation).⁴⁷

My gender identity ('agender') is not legally recognised. I was afraid to undergo coercive sterilisation as a result of my trans* status. I don't receive trans* related healthcare due to my history of depression and Posttraumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD).

I have a history of domestic abuse, sexual abuse including rape on more than one occasion, physical and verbal abuse from strangers based both on being perceived as trans* and my style nearly every time I leave my house. I experienced bullying from elementary school to the university (including by teachers/professors).

46 ILGA-Europe, 2011. Destination Equality. Multiple Discrimination Edition. Available on the ILGA webpage; Kurtic, V., 2013. Dzulvjarke Roma Lesbian Existence. Available at: <http://www.errc.org/cms/upload/file/dzulvjarke-roma-lesbian-existence.pdf> (accessed 15 July 2014); Fremlova, L. and Georgescu, M., 2014. Barrabaripen / Equality: Young Roma speak about multiple discrimination. Strasbourg: Council of Europe. Available at: www.coe.int/youth/roma (accessed 15 July 2014).

47 Council of Europe, 2013. Putting an end to coerced sterilisations and castrations. Rapporteur: Ms Liliane Maury Pasquier. Available at: <http://assembly.coe.int/ASP/Doc/XrefViewPDF.asp?FileID=19755&Language=EN>.

I was physically threatened and insulted in public by a man and when I called the police, I was told that he was entitled to his opinion despite he harmed me. On other occasions I have been shouted at in the street and insulted. I have also experienced questions by people based on my relationships as well as on my social origins, wondering whether I could afford University despite being top of my class.

Because we are a gay couple, my partner and I cannot adopt. I was called names several times because I am gay and I have even been beaten up for being gay (gay bashing). Moreover, on other occasions, I was refused service for speaking Dutch in the bilingual region of Brussels.

Another often cited ground is **psychological health**. Psychological diseases are repeatedly described as a taboo issue and lead those who suffer from them to isolation. Some respondents report that they were bullied in different occasions for their mental disease or for being dependent on others for support.

While talking openly about my bipolar disease, people tend to look down at me and discriminate me, instead of appreciating that other people might benefit from hearing my story and how I cope with my disease.

Other intersecting grounds in respondent's life are the belonging to an **ethnic and national minority, foreign languages** (particularly those of major emigration countries or linked to national prejudices and stereotypes), or having a

religion or belief different from the major religion of the country. Being offended on the street because of one or more of these grounds was quite often mentioned. These assaults do not only concern young Third Country nationals, but also EU nationals (being Greek in Cyprus; being Romanian Roma moving westwards, etc.). In general discrimination deals with the fear that migrants or other EU nationals (in the case of intra-EU mobility) can take over job places or take advantage of the national welfare benefits. It can take the form of jokes, subtle offenses and ironic statements.

Just to provide an example, some respondents reported that there is a perception among some Dutch people that Bulgarian people and other Eastern Europeans steal, cheat the social system and are responsible for all types of wrongdoings. The fear of westwards mobility of new EU citizens (advertised by local media and politicians in many EU countries as 'invasions' of people seeking to take profit from their national welfare systems caused the proliferation of prejudices and stereotypes. The stigma attached to Roma people is particularly pervasive: people perceived as 'Gypsy', independently if they belong to the Roma communities or not, are discriminated on a daily basis by non-Roma. Romanian and Bulgarian young people explained that they perceive being discriminated "as if they were Roma", when they move westwards. It goes without saying that this circumstances also exacerbate the existing tensions within countries, such as between Roma and non-Roma young people from some new EU countries.

The stereotypes attached to people belonging to certain nationalities force young people concerned to avoid mentioning their origin in order to be equally treated even for daily tasks.

Another phenomenon pointed out by some respondents is the intolerance towards young people coming from EU countries who were particularly affected by the economic crisis (Spain, Greece and Italy), since they are also massively moving abroad to have a second (or even a first chance) in the labor market. One respondent reported that the lady managing a restaurant in the UK did not want to employ Italians. The same might happen even when young people come from poor geographical areas in the same countries (e.g. being from the North of England in Great Britain): young people are pushed to hide their origin.

«MORE OFTEN IT IS 'SUBTLE RACISM' AND MICRO-AGGRESSIONS, OFTEN CAUSED BY IGNORANCE, I BELIEVE.»

People stare at me almost every time I speak Bosnian to someone or when I go to the mosque and I wear a headscarf, sometimes I also receive negative comments. Also at school people made fun of me because my parents don't speak good Slovenian.

I was called a 'brownie' because I have slightly coloured skin. More often it is 'subtle racism' and micro-aggressions, often caused by ignorance, I believe. Sometimes people ask me weird questions about my culture. One time someone asked me whether my background allows me to eat fries...

Interestingly, lifestyle was also brought to the surface as a source of discrimination. Some respondents, for instance, mentioned being sober as a ground for harassment. They reported that they were often laughed at, mocked, disrespected, interrogated for their decision not to drink alcohol. The assumption is that there are religious motivations behind this habit and people are suspicious about it. One respondent pointed out that young people who don't drink alcohol are often considered 'untrustworthy' (e.g. "I don't trust people I can't drink with!").

3.1.1.3. POLICING AND BORDER CONTROLS

Institutional discrimination by the police and border control officers is often referred to by many respondents. Some of them explain that coming to Europe with non-EU documents (e.g. from Macedonia and Kosovo) implies long border controls, that are often carried out in a rude manner. In the same way, people with non-European name/physical appearance are subject to tough border controls that last significantly more than other friends with whom they travel, even in the cases in which they hold documents of an EU country.

I have a friend who is Black and he got arrested in a shop and accused of stealing something, but it was not the case. This happened only because he's Black. There are spread prejudices against migrants.

Once flying from Copenhagen airport back to Estonia, I was treated rudely, as if I was 'a terrorist' by the checking assistant. I was finally given my boarding pass at the last minute, and I was assigned a seat alone at the very back of the half empty airplane.

I experienced discrimination at the Bulgarian/Greek border, when I was going to and coming back from Greece by bus. For sure I do not look like an average Bulgarian White person (maybe I do look like a Roma person). My flat-mate (Polish and White girl) and I travelled together. We both had only the identity card (mine is French) and no passport. Both times border police checked my ID outside the bus. The same happened to the American travellers in the bus. However, on the way back they asked to me only (and not to the Americans) to get off and I had to answer several questions asked by the border guard.

3.2. DISCRIMINATION IN THE COUNTRY OF ORIGIN: A PUSH FACTOR?

The survey sought to explore whether respondents who did not live in their country of origin at the moment of the survey, perceived being discriminated against in their country of origin and whether discrimination was a push factor for them.

Fig. 3 Country of Birth of participants (411)

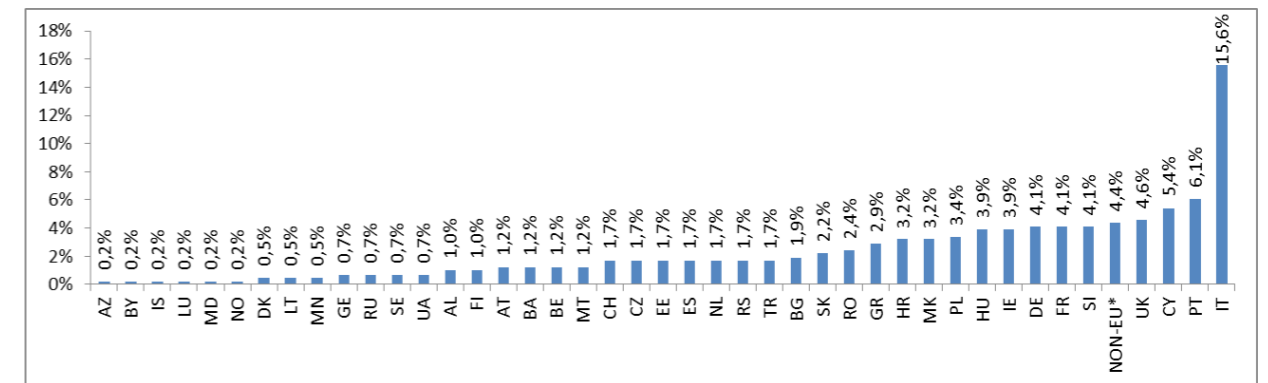
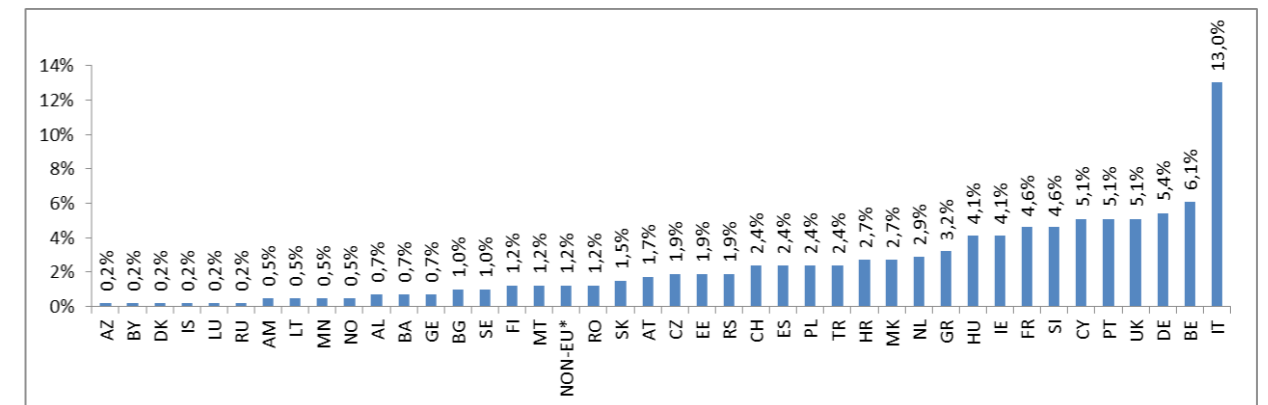


Fig. 4 Country where participants usually live at the moment of the survey (411)

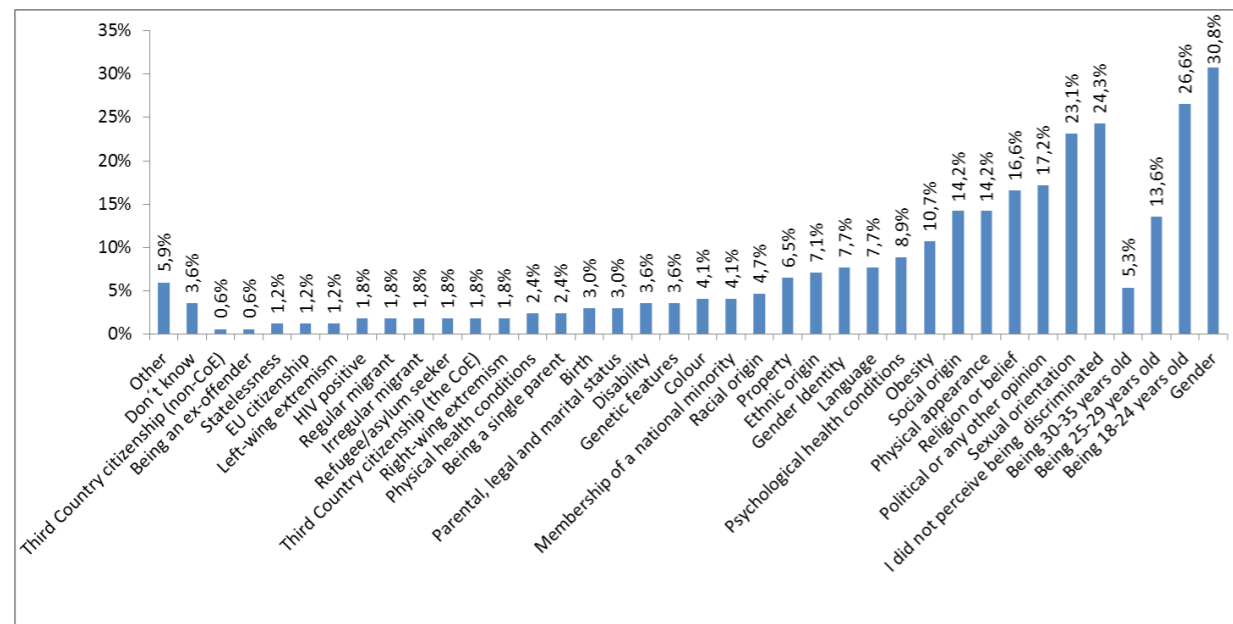


*NON-EU means outside the European (Euro-Asian) continent

10% of the 123 respondents answered that discrimination in their country of origin was the main push factor, while another 7.3% explained that discrimination was just one of the reasons why they decided to move. 24.3% declared that they did not perceive being discriminated in their country of origin. The most reported grounds of discrimination (169 respondents) are gender (30.8%), being young people (26.6% for being 18-24 years old; and 13.6% for being 25-29 years old), sexual orientation (23.1%), political or any other opinion (17.2%), religion or belief (16.6%), physical appearance (14%). According to 62% of the respondents, the discrimination on each ground occurred in a different occasion (multiple discrimination), whereas 11.7% declared it was intersectional discrimination and as many were the alleged cases of compound discrimination.

The answers elicited also that discrimination often does not happen just one time, but is recurring. 26.9% of respondents stated they were discriminated against or perceived being discriminated against at least one time or more than one time. 18.6% declared they were discriminated against or perceived being so more than 20 times.

Fig. 5 Perception of discrimination in the country of origin (169)



45 respondents gave as many examples of discrimination experienced in their country of origin.

Among the examples mentioned, age seems to be conceived as a ground of 'discrimination against 'youngsters' by adults, who have the power to take decision and have interest to maintain age-based hierarchies. Young respondents declare that their generation has no chances to get into fixed or long-term jobs, despite their qualifications in some EU countries such as Italy, Spain and Greece. They feel that they are denied chances in their countries of origin. In these countries, women's career opportunities are also constrained since women face a glass-ceiling and discrimination just because they are women (mothers or soon-to-be mothers).

The overlap of these grounds leads to multiple discrimination for many young women who are pushed to choose between family and work or are confined to certain jobs. **Many examples of discrimination based on sexual orientation and gender identity were mentioned by respondents and for some of them this kind of discrimination was a push factor.** Hate speech in public media, social media and public places pervade the societies of some countries more than others and many young people try to seek a better future where social barriers for LGBT are overcome. Some respondents report that they felt uncomfortable since early age by the way in which homosexuality was taught at school, i.e. as a disease or disorder. Not receiving legal recognition as gay couple is another push factor for many respondents.

Some respondents also highlighted that 'gender expectations' are much more rooted in some countries than others and felt that it was not possible to fight against them.

I have experienced discrimination by being perceived as female and as such being told that I could not do certain activities in a given occupation I held. Also, my opinion was often dismissed. In many cases I have also been overlooked in favour of male counterparts when men have had questions about specific things on which I possess detailed

knowledge. I have experienced homophobic, queer-phobic and trans-phobic language being hurled at me numerous times. I have had people physically assault me and be overtly sexual or touch me inappropriately without invitation.

Physical appearance and illness (physical or mental) were also reported as grounds of discrimination. Respondents mentioned being randomly insulted by strangers on the street, in the park and even in the gym because of their obesity. Some others were bullied, verbally and physically while they were at school for the same reason. As far as mental diseases are concerned, some respondents report that talking openly about bipolar disease or depression makes people see them differently and it is a taboo issue.

Belonging to a national, ethnic or religious minority often leads to exclusion of young people living in their country of origin. This happens also to second generations of migrants: despite the fact that they were born and grew up in one country, people enquire about their origin because they have a foreign last name or because of their skin colour. In the same way, belonging to an indigenous majority and to a minority social class (religious or colour) made one respondent say that he or she was like "a third class citizen in his or her own country". Roma young people are often the target of racist attacks both in their country of origin and in migration countries. **Political orientation was also mentioned as a frequent discrimination case in respondents' country of origin and included** swears and threats during elections from the opposite political party, being bullied by teachers and professors of a different political orientation or being excluded from university events.

Financial/social status is a transversal issue that exacerbates discrimination based on other grounds. In this perspective, unemployment and low income lead to blatant exclusions even from simple activities like school trips, leisure activities, social dinners and events.

3.3. PERCEIVED OR EXPERIENCED DISCRIMINATION IN SPECIFIC AREAS

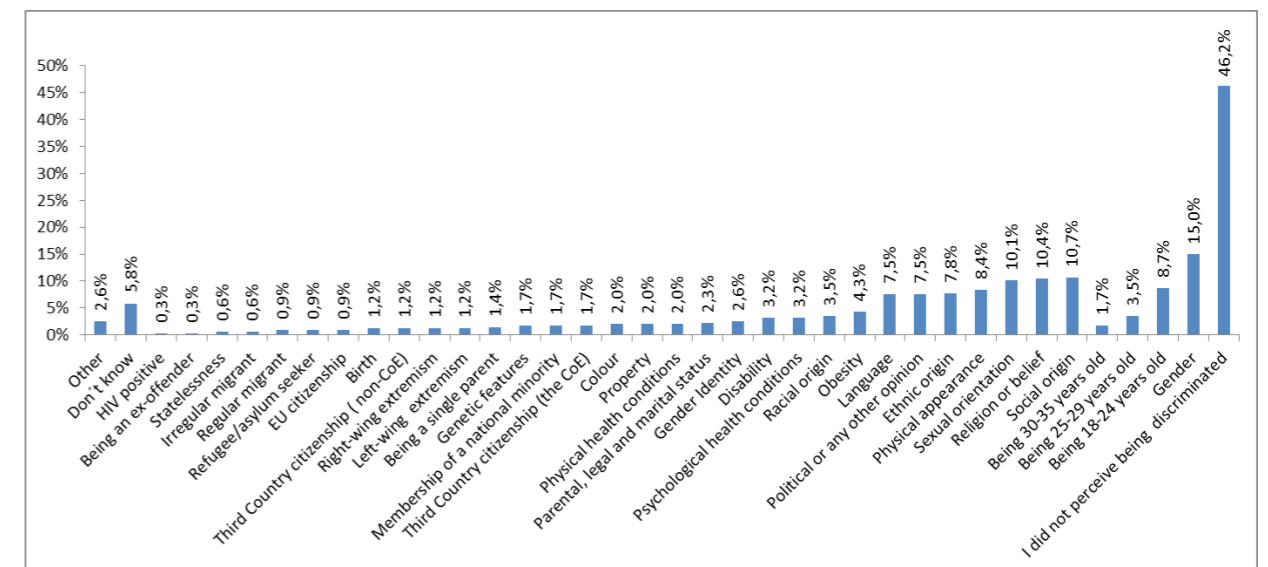
This part of the chapter aims to explore young people's experience of discrimination and harassment on the basis of one or more grounds in the last 10 years in the country where they live, in the following areas:

Education and recognition of degrees/qualifications/protected titles (par. 3.3.1.); access to a paid job and discrimination in the workplace (par. 3.3.2.); and access to services and goods (e.g. looking for flat/housing/accommodation; in the field of public or private healthcare; when trying to get bank services; at restaurants, cafés, pubs, bars; swimming pools, sport centers, fitness centers, ski facilities; shops, supermarkets, shopping centers) and access to justice (par. 3.3.3.).

In a nutshell, 53.8% experienced discrimination in the field of education; 50.5% in searching for a remunerated job; 42.4% at the workplace; 29.2% when looking for accommodation; 26.6% in healthcare; 26.0% in the attempt of recognition of their qualifications; 24.9% in restaurants, cafés or pubs; 24.7% when trying to get bank services; 24% at the cinema, theatre or clubs; 19.3% in sport centres; 22.8% in shops, supermarkets or shopping centres; 15.8% in accessing the justice or legal system.

3.3.1. EDUCATION AND RECOGNITION OF QUALIFICATIONS

Fig. 6 Perception of discrimination in the field of EDUCATION (346)



53.8% of respondents declared that they experienced discrimination in the education field in the last ten years. The main grounds are: gender (15%), sexual orientation (10.1%), religion or belief and social origin (10.4%), and then language, political or any other opinion, ethnic origin and physical appearance.

The fact that out of 171 respondents, more than half of them experienced discrimination at school by their schoolmates (67.8%) and/or teachers (58%) should make policy makers reflect on the pervasiveness of discriminatory practices since early age.

Several studies show that experiences of discrimination at early age impact young's people well-being, sense of belongingness and self-esteem, narrowing the possibilities for their future. Additionally, across Europe school and higher education systems seem to fail to grant equal treatment for all young people.⁴⁸

58.5% of respondents declared that discrimination occurred on each ground in different occasions (multiple discrimination), while 10.5% perceived that it was caused by the interplay between more than one ground (intersectional discrimination) and 7% believed that it occurred on the same occasion, but it was based on each ground separately (additive or compound discrimination).

34% of respondents declared that discrimination episodes

⁴⁸ Open Society Justice Initiative, 2013. Gleichberechtigung an deutschen Schulen fordern Available at: <http://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/sites/default/files/gleichberechtigung-an-deutschen-schulen-fordern-20131025.pdf> (31 December 2014).

occurred more than once and less than five times, while 15.9% declared that it happened between 6-10 times and the 15.3% more than 20 times.

As far as **intergenerational frictions** between teachers and students are concerned, some respondents perceive teachers to underrate young people's capabilities due to their age, maintaining that they are too young to understand life and the practical purposes of their studies.

On the other hand, being older than other students (because one continued school after dropping out or had to repeat one or more school years, or it took longer to finish university) is also seen as a factor that leads to discrimination in a few cases and decreases self-esteem. It is worth remembering that the duration of education might also depend on discriminatory practices towards young people belonging to minorities or targeted groups, which leads to a vicious circle of discrimination. In some cases, it is the underlying hostile atmosphere at school that did not put some respondents at ease with their colleagues and teachers.

The issue of gender still plays an important role (15% of respondents) in girls and young women's daily experience in the field of education.

In some cases this takes the form of gender role expectations since primary school about how a girl should behave (statements like "it is disgusting that girls look and act like boys") and about girls' capabilities (e.g. girls can 'learn' but 'they are not able to think') make girls believe that they cannot compete with male pupils and students, or that they should get married instead of wasting time on education. Some concrete examples were given: it can happen that the inputs and results of male students are valued much more than those of female colleagues, even if they are not better in quality; or that what women say in a male dominated environment is not taken seriously; that a female student is replaced in a research group with a male member, despite the quality of her work.

Discrimination against girls at school also implies that there are subjects 'for women' (kitchen classes) and 'for men' (e.g. mathematics) or that female students should rather attend business classes at the University than engineering classes. In general, it emerges that boys are more likely than girls to be encouraged to stay in or continue education and this situation worsens for girls coming from a working class or poor background. However, **gender role expectations** do not concern only girls. In fact boys are expected to conform to the norm of 'strong' and 'masculine' behaviours. This is more likely to happen during gym and sport classes, in connection with jokes on e.g. being a 'feminine teenage boy'. Both male and female respondents reported cases of sexual harassment, sexist behaviours and harassment on other grounds (e.g. for not corresponding to the feminine or masculine norm) by teachers and by peers. When these behaviours come from teachers and professors, the clear power imbalance can be intimidating and prevent the victim from reporting the case. In the case of violence among peers, it can also involve cyber-bullying.

Also, one case of **discrimination by association**⁴⁹ was mentioned, by one respondent, a daughter of a single mother with low financial possibilities. More in general, in some cultures being a child of divorced parents decreases equal treatment and good reputation.

The expectations of conformity to the heteronormative standard concern also issues related to **gender identity** (3.2% of respondents) and **sexual orientation** (10.1% of respondents), which were mentioned as a major cause of discrimination and harassment.

Homophobic and transphobic behaviours range from direct and harsh attacks to regular jokes and remarks from the teachers and students.

As a pupil, I was severely bullied in school roughly between 25 years ago and 15 years ago. This included teachers, above all sport teachers, mocking me for not doing things perceived as 'male' or for using 'feminine' flowered wallpaper.

The fact that such remarks come from teachers and professors, who have pedagogical duties towards pupils and students, was considered particularly disappointing by respondents. In fact, teachers and professors' homophobia legitimises harassment between peers. In some cases, lesbian and gay youngsters undergo physical violence by their peers, while in other ones they are looked at as 'needing to heal from psychological diseases'. These attitudes towards LGBT youth are sometimes supported by school books stating that homosexuality is a 'health disorder'. In general school books do not contain role models for LGBT youth.

In such scenarios, it seems that student unions officers are not always supportive or sympathetic with LGBT issues.

Findings show that the intersection 'LGBT youth' find themselves at risk of discrimination both by their non-LGBT youth and by their teachers and professors. At the same time many of these youngsters face discrimination also in other fields (in their family; or because of their social status) and this occurrence multiplies their experience of exclusion, as when they cannot afford school excursions.

Being forced to play football in school instead of doing gymnastics, because gymnastics is only for girls. Being dragged on my feet through the gym hall by my sports teacher to teach me to become a man. Sexism is a living and everyday problem.

Physical appearance (8.4% respondents), which is not covered by any EU and CoE piece of legislation as such, often figures among causes of discrimination and harassment in cases of obesity or, on the contrary, skinny body; of dark skin in a country where most people are White and blond (one respondent mentioned he or she was called 'monkey' by their peers; in other cases university professors asked to declare on the essay which nationality students are), or again, of cases where young people do not look masculine or feminine enough. These examples are not exhaustive and many others were quoted by respondents. These kinds

of discrimination, harassment, bullying are social barriers for many young people involved in intra-European mobility (for work or study), for Third-country nationals migrating to Europe, and for second generations living in Europe.

Financial and social status is reported as a barrier to young people's access to opportunity in the field of education, for example to afford school trips, school material (including books), intensive courses, enrolment in master programmes. In some cases, respondents mention their own family's financial status as a cause of being excluded and teased by schoolmates; in some other cases they felt humiliated for not having as nice clothes, flats, cars as other wealthier colleagues and felt looked down upon. Pupils and students coming from poor families who manage to break barriers in social upwards mobility (e.g. enter Gymnasium, prestigious Universities) run the risk to be treated as "outsiders who are in the wrong place", one respondent said. Some respondents mentioned that they felt 'alienated' by professors' linguistic codes used with students who come from their same social strata; one other felt intimidated when the teachers asked about the job of pupils' parents and the area of the city where they live. This is particularly true when young people come from homogenous neighbourhoods with high density of working class or migrants and from ghetto-like zones. The school-job transition is another delicate phase (source) in which the overlap between the lack of economic resources due to unemployment (above all in countries with a weak welfare system) leads to exclusion in several fields and hinders their opportunities to improve their skills (e.g. not having 10€ to enrol in the local library). Some respondents expressed the feeling that there is no higher education for poor youngsters. It was also suggested to strengthen the work with young people from diverse minority groups with fewer opportunities addressing discrimination/oppression through non-formal education. Some respondents expressed the concern that young people out of the education system will now lose out as the Erasmus programme seems to promote opportunities for 'more privileged' students in 'full time education' (funding gap-year). So the EU policy promotes the existence of an 'underclass'.

Physical or mental illness as well as disability figure among grounds that lead young people to isolation because of the lack of adequate support measures at school and at the university, even when they were asking for help. Some respondents mentioned that being left without any help to face their mental illness led to deeper depression and even to alcohol or drug abuse, failures at exams and drop out. Depression and therapy seem to be perceived as taboo issues even in the school environment, which lead to isolation of those concerned with these issues. With regard to disability, respondents listed many examples, such as prejudices attached to hearing impaired people's abilities or to disability in general (e.g. applications to university held up on ground of disability and the impossibility to submit essays anonymously, architectural barriers of school and university buildings hindering physically disabled people's access, just to mention some examples).

Religion, nationality, belonging to an ethnic minority and language are grounds of discrimination and harassment, which often intersect or overlap in the field of education. Low command of the language of the host country; stereotypes concerning efficiency and laziness or un/reliability attached to some nationalities (e.g. people coming from the Mediterranean area) or ethnic minorities; an untold hierarchy of nationalities within and outside Europe. Young people belonging to language minorities (e.g. Russian minorities in Estonia; Hungarian minority in Romania, etc.) or speaking a language confined to a limited territory of a country (e.g. Italian Swiss people) are also at risk of such unequal treatments.

One respondent explained how the fact of coming from a low social background and from a non French-speaking family limited her or his chances to learn correct linguistic expressions. She or he said that even her best French-native friends cannot easily understand the circumstances. Discrimination based on religion by teachers and peers was mentioned by Muslim respondents (e.g. Muslim girls wearing headscarf), but also by Christians and atheists, which overlaps and intersects with the fact of being from some particular countries.

When I first moved to Madrid coming from Morocco at the age of 13, my mother tried to register me in the school of our district at the beginning of the school year (September 1994). The director of the school registration justified the refusal by saying that it was late, but also explaining that some other Moroccan pupils were giving a lot of problems to the school. I spent a whole year without schooling, which caused me serious psychological problems and lack of self-confidence and was proud to learn Spanish on my own in three months.

When I was in middle school (11-13 years old) school mates picked on me because I was not a catholic and I did not attend the catholic religion classes at school (it was a laic, public school). Also, the teacher of religion told everyone that I belonged to a specific religion which has a negative connotation in my town, although I was an atheist. In addition, the school did not provide any alternative activity to the religion class, so in the meanwhile I was left alone doing nothing.

At the age of 12 years old, one teacher introduced the topic of discrimination as a course subject. The class was mixed (Paris suburbs type of classes) composed also by Portuguese, Spanish and other European pupils. Despite that, the teacher asked only to Black classmates if they had already been discriminated.

Besides, 7.5% of respondents maintain that political orientation, being involved in political organisations or student councils can put young people at risk of harassment by teachers and professors or unequal treatment by their peers.

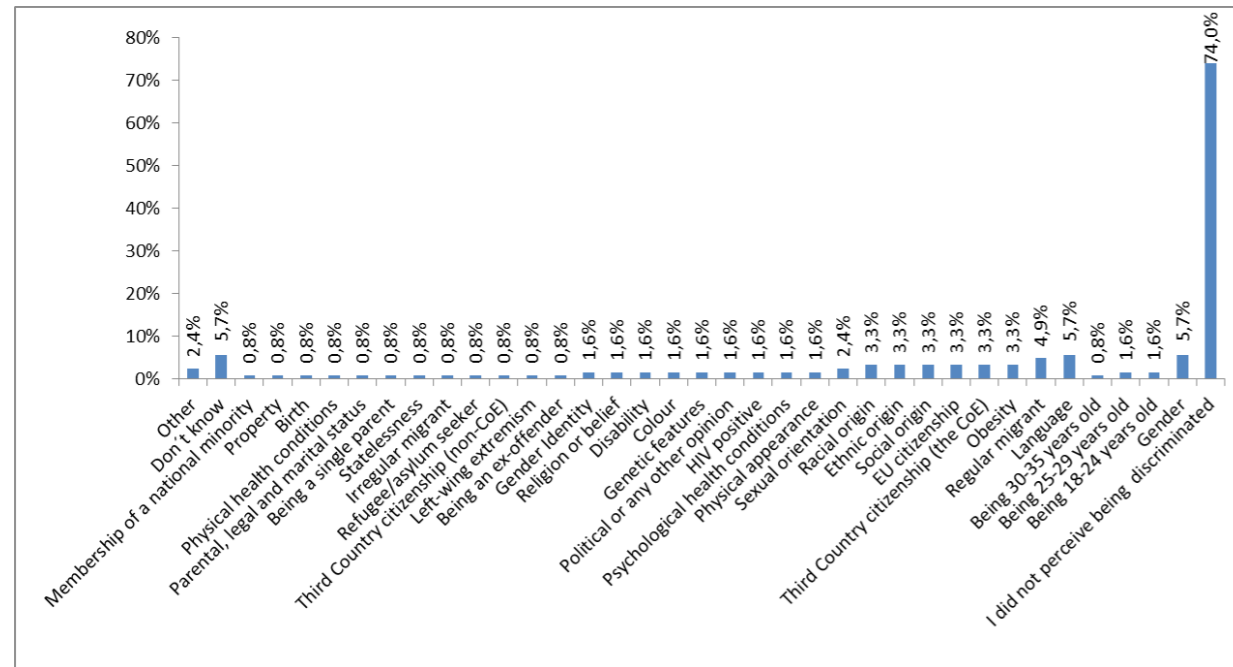
Many respondents were sceptical towards the education system in general, the curricula and the conditions for internships and grant applications as not able to accommodate most vulnerable youngsters (i.e. young people with physical and psychological health problems).

«...THIS INCLUDED TEACHERS, (...) MOCKING ME FOR NOT DOING THINGS PERCEIVED AS 'MALE' OR FOR USING 'FEMININE' FLOWERED WALLPAPER.»

«...I SPENT A WHOLE YEAR WITHOUT SCHOOLING, WHICH CAUSED ME SERIOUS PSYCHOLOGICAL PROBLEMS AND LACK OF SELF-CONFIDENCE ...»

49 Fundamental Rights Agency, 2010.Op. cit. .

Fig. 7 Perception of discrimination when trying to obtain the RECOGNITION of degrees/qualifications/protected titles in another country (123)



Perceptions or experiences of unequal treatment and harassment in the recognition of qualifications concern 26% of respondents. 5.7% of respondents did not know why their qualifications and titles were not recognised, while another 5.7% found it was because of the language and as many others because of their gender. Most examples provided by respondents concern the lack of recognition of titles and degrees in Cyprus: in one case Bachelor degrees from Greece and Italy were not recognised because they were not considered equivalent to the ones awarded by the University in Cyprus.

The issue of the recognition of degrees is heavily interlinked with mobility and access to remunerated jobs abroad, an issue that policy makers should better harmonise across Europe.

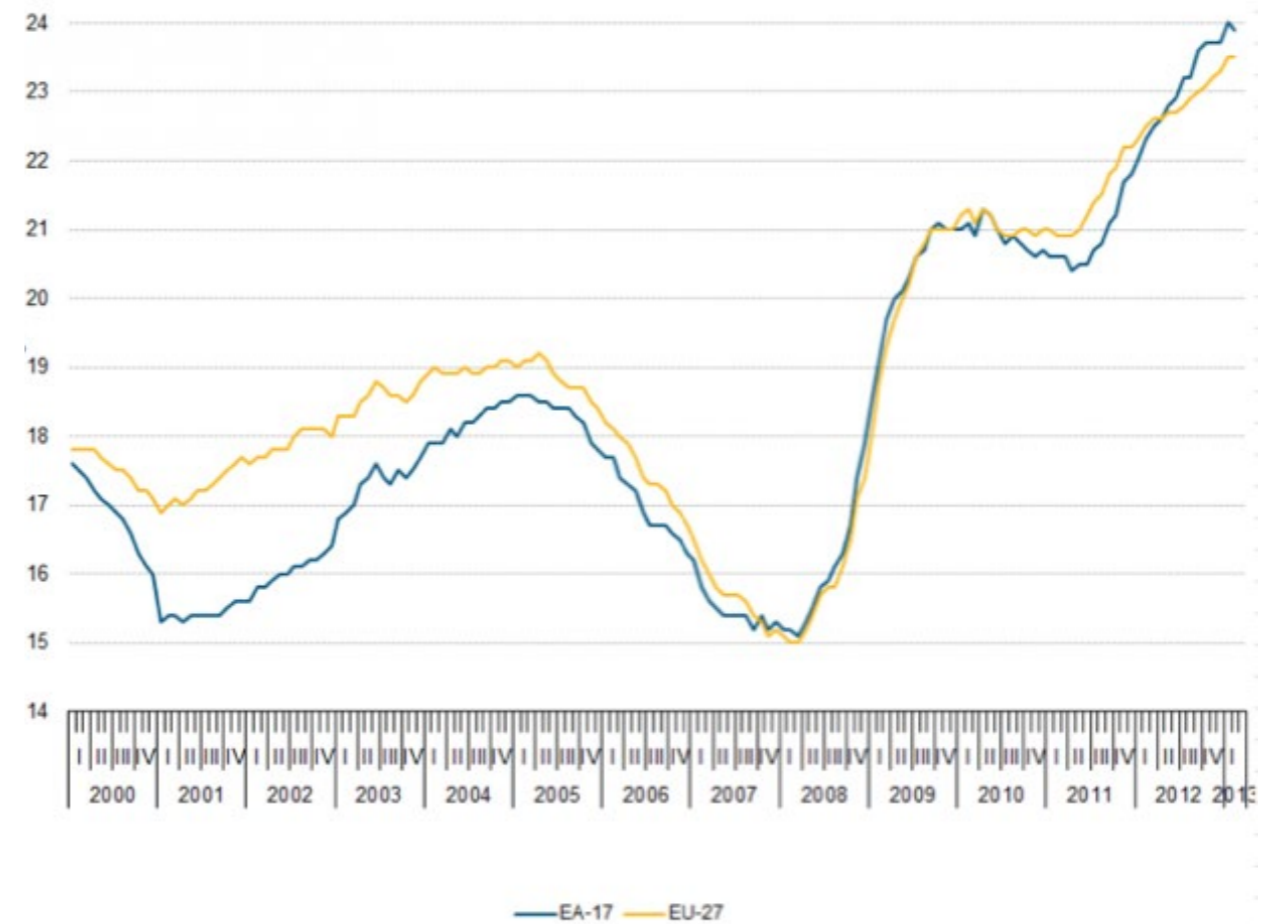
However the issue of degrees concerns also the reputation that some universities have if compared to others. Many respondents underlined that some employers don't even accept an application for a job, based on the university/college where the degree was obtained.

This is a rather unexplored area of discrimination that deserves more attention in future research.

3.3.2. ACCESS TO A PAID JOB AND DISCRIMINATION AT THE WORKPLACE

Studies show that high rates of youth unemployment prevent young people from accomplishing a full transition to adulthood. Youth unemployment has risen sharply in many European countries in the last years due to the economic crisis, making this transition even harder. In such a scenario, it is important to understand whether and how discrimination on one or more grounds impact on young people's chances to access the labour market and in the workplace.

Fig. 8 Rates of unemployment (Source Eurostat)

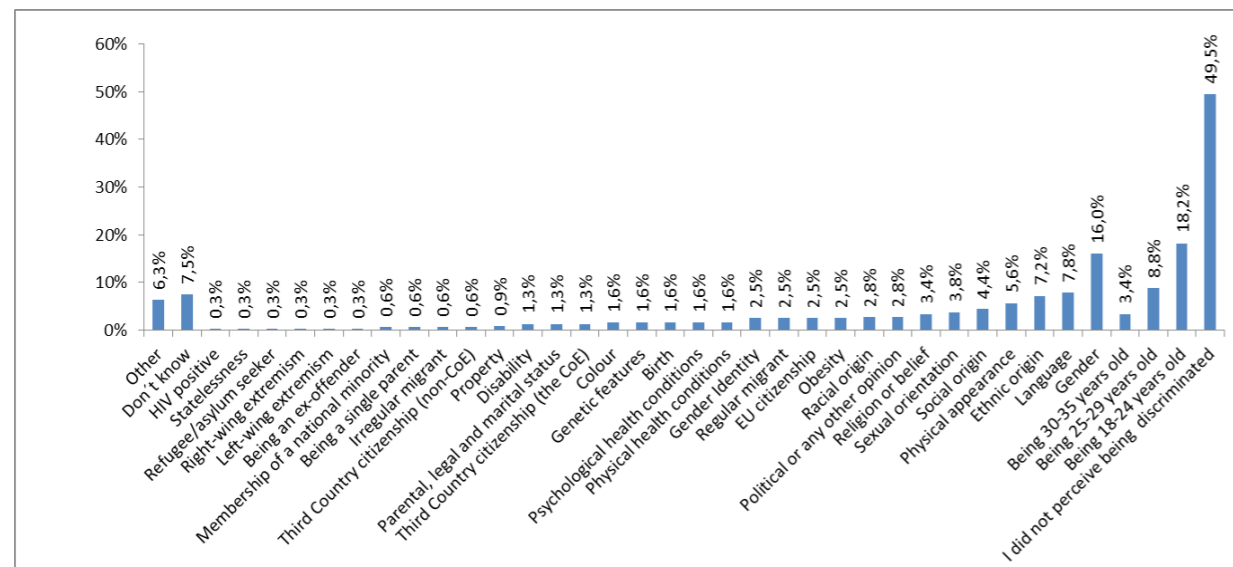


Youth unemployment rates, EU-28 and EA-18, seasonally adjusted, January 2000 - August 2014 (%)

Fig. 9 Youth unemployment figures, 2011-2013Q4 (%). (Source: Eurostat).

	Youth unemployment rate				Youth unemployment ratio		
	2011	2012	2013	2013Q4*	2011	2012	2013
EU-28	21.4	23.0	23.4	23.1	9.1	9.7	9.8
Euro area	20.8	23.1	24.0	23.8	8.7	9.5	9.8
Belgium	18.7	19.8	23.7	23.9	6.0	6.2	7.3
Bulgaria	25.0	28.1	28.4	28.1	7.4	8.5	8.4
Czech Republic	18.1	19.5	18.9	18.9	5.4	6.1	6.0
Denmark	14.3	14.0	13.0	12.8	9.6	9.1	8.1
Germany	8.6	8.1	7.9	7.9	4.5	4.1	4.0
Estonia	22.4	20.9	18.7	19.1	9.1	8.7	7.4
Ireland	29.1	30.4	26.8	25.5	12.1	12.3	10.6
Greece	44.4	55.3	58.3	57.3	13.0	16.1	16.6
Spain	46.2	52.9	55.5	54.9	19.0	20.6	20.8
France	22.6	24.4	24.8	23.7	8.4	8.9	9.0
Croatia	36.1	43.0	49.7	48.6	11.3	12.7	14.4
Italy	29.1	35.3	40.0	41.8	8.0	10.1	10.9
Cyprus	22.4	27.8	38.9	40.8	8.7	10.8	15.0
Latvia	31.0	28.5	23.2	23.9	11.6	11.5	9.1
Lithuania	32.6	26.7	21.9	20.6	9.2	7.8	6.9
Luxembourg	16.4	18.0	17.4	17.2	4.2	5.0	4.0
Hungary	26.1	28.1	27.2	24.8	6.4	7.3	7.4
Malta	13.8	14.2	13.5	13.5	7.1	7.2	7.0
Netherlands	7.6	9.5	11.0	11.4	5.3	6.6	7.7
Austria	8.3	8.7	9.2	9.9	5.0	5.2	5.4
Poland	25.8	26.5	27.3	27.2	8.6	8.9	9.1
Portugal	30.1	37.7	37.7	34.8	11.7	14.3	13.5
Romania	23.7	22.7	23.6		7.4	7.0	7.3
Slovenia	15.7	20.6	21.6	19.9	5.9	7.1	7.3
Slovakia	33.7	34.0	33.7	33.5	10.1	10.4	10.4
Finland	20.1	19.0	19.9	20.0	10.1	9.8	10.3
Sweden	22.8	23.7	23.4	22.6	12.1	12.4	12.8
United Kingdom	21.1	21.0	20.5	19.7	12.4	12.4	12.0

Fig. 10 Perception of discrimination when looking for a REMUNERATED JOB (319)



Findings show that 27.9% of respondents had never had a work contract at the time of the survey. 54% declared that they looked for a job but could not find any, while 10% were not even looking for a job anymore.

For 54.7% respondents, discrimination took place on each ground in different occasions (multiple discrimination), while for 18.7% of them it was caused by the interplay of more than one ground and for other 7.9% it occurred on the same occasion, but it was based on each ground separately (additive or compound discrimination).

Most discriminatory actions were done by the H.R. manager (31.3%) or by the owner of the firm (14.2%) and the employment agency (7.5%). It was also pointed out that the culture of specific organisations were discriminatory and did not accommodate diversity.

'Young age' is perceived as a discrimination ground by many respondents, both alone and in combination with other grounds. 18% perceived being discriminated on the basis of age (18-24 years), followed by gender (16%) and being 25-29 years old (8.8%). Ethnic origin and language are also spread among respondents (respectively 7.2% and 7.8%)

In many cases the addition of and intersection between discriminatory grounds complicate the experience of young people when trying to get a paid (or better remunerated) job or advance in their career.

More precisely, the transition from university, internships and unpaid work to a remunerated job is a challenging moment in the lives of many young people. The link between 'education' (vocational, university, formal and non-formal, etc.) and the labour market is weak and many unemployed respondents explained that they are either under-qualified (7.4%) or over-qualified (18.1%), but they often don't fit the needs of the job market. Having vocational degrees rather than a degree from so-defined prestigious schools or not having a degree in

some specific fields (i.e. law) hinder career chances. Moreover, according to some respondents, universities' reputation exert an influence on their chances of getting hired and getting a promotion. Financial/social status limits young people's possibility to enrol in high quality courses to develop missing skills to enter or to stay in the labor market as well as to afford unpaid traineeships.

Lack of experience is often perceived as a discriminatory ground by some respondents. It seems that, in order to get experience, they have to accept compromises in terms of unpaid or low paid internships and jobs. They feel that they cannot start an adult life, above all in those countries where there is less infrastructure and social benefits for unemployed young people.

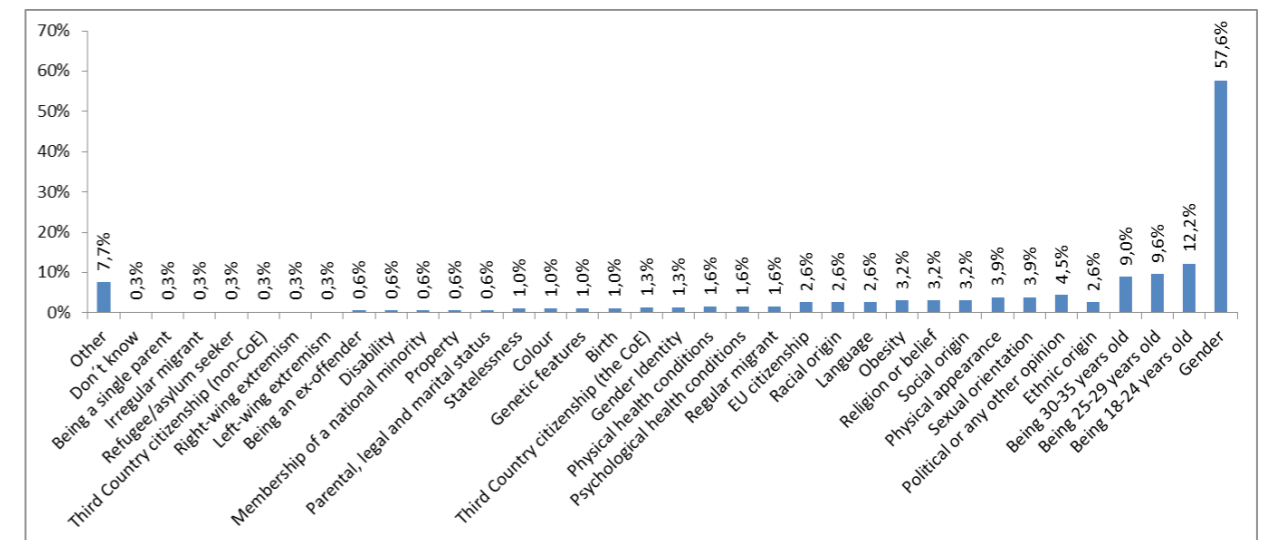
In general, today's labour market does not manage to accommodate the needs of young people, above all of those who started and finished university at a later age or want to change their kind of job.

I was young enough to participate in a competition for new graduates for a job, based on university marks, but I was penalised because I graduated after the age of 24 (not considering that the duration of my studies was regular, I simply enrolled later, after a period of work).

When applying for a job as librarian, I had to get a specific qualification (librarian license), which implied to do 6 months of volunteer work in the library that would allow me to access the exams for librarian. I could not acquire the qualification, because I could not afford to work 6 months for free. Moreover, the instrument is often misused and libraries have a constant flow of young people working for free, who don't get jobs in the end.

According to many respondents' being 'foreigner' decreases job chances, since employers often prefer hiring locals.

Fig. 11 Perception of discrimination at the WORKPLACE (311)



59.6% of respondents declared that discrimination occurred on each ground on different occasions (multiple discrimination), while 17.4% perceived it was caused by the interplay of more than one grounds and just 4.6% believed that it took place on the same occasion, but it was based on each ground separately (additive or compound discrimination). Discrimination in the workplace was done mainly by colleagues (25.9%) and by the employers (23.2%). Clients and beneficiaries of the work activities were also mentioned (8%). Many respondents made clear that they were discriminated against both by their colleagues and employers. Discrimination in the youth NGO sector has also surfaced.

Gender is considered the most widespread discrimination ground intersecting young respondents' life (57.6%), followed by being 18-24, 25-29 and 30-35 years old (respectively 12.2%, 9.6% and 9.0%).

'Young age' is - alone or in combination with other grounds - a factor limiting young people's possibilities to enter the job market, to get a promotion or higher pay.

- **YOUNG PEOPLE = NOT ABLE TO TAKE RESPONSIBILITY**

Respondents perceived that prospective employers do not take them seriously above all for positions involving responsibility. This is due mainly to their lack of experience, but it was reported even in the cases in which they do hold the required professional experience. For instance, one respondent explains that she or he could not access a job as a cashier because of his/her young age (under 21), even if she or he already had experiences in this sector. On other occasions, young people are often told that they are 'too young' for the position for which they applied, instead of being appreciated for having quickly finishing their studies. Institutional discrimination based on age seems to exist in various realities, including within NGOs. For instance, one respondent reports that in his or her NGO, board members insisted on setting the minimum age limit to stand for elections to become executive director of that NGO at 35. Another respondent reported that she or he was unable to apply for a position as government assistant during her or his third level studies because of her or his age. This limit was based on the assumption that a young person is parent-funded and would not allow her or him to apply on her or his own rights, disregarding the fact that some young people are independent, work and pay taxes.

- **ELDER PEOPLE = LOOK MORE PROFESSIONAL**

Some employers straightforwardly declare to prefer to appoint someone elder, irrespective of their actual experience, as they would 'look more professional'. In other cases employers declared that they avoid hiring someone young and over-educated. In general, some respondents have the impression that their qualifications are overlooked because of their young age. Young people's age and assumed inexperience are often used as an argument by employers to justify low pay. Interestingly, such data is confirmed both by young people under 21 (who are in the situation of being paid less) and by older ones who were refused a job because the employer wanted younger people for it in order to pay them less.

- **THE VICIOUS CIRCLE OF "HAVING NO EXPERIENCE"**

Young age and inexperience hinder young people's access to promotion or to permanent contracts.

Lack of 'experience' hinders young people's access to the jobs market or even to internships. It is often used as a 'currency of exchange' between prospective employers and youngsters: the possibility for young people to get experience and enter the labour market is considered and used as a form of remuneration. All in all, many respondents explain that **they are confronted with many challenges in the transition from an unpaid internship to a remunerated job.** In many cases, respondents felt that they were not taken seriously enough at job interviews because of age and this situation is exacerbated for young women.

This situation does not change very much **during the work experience**, where being considered 'too young' translates into receiving comments on the fact that it takes years to develop some skills; getting easy tasks that do not help in acquiring new skills; having less access to promotion and higher salary and being more exposed to exploitation and being underpaid. Many respondents perceived that they are not considered as fully capable and educated people by other co-workers, because of their age and inexperience, even if their colleagues had less knowledge than they had. They also perceive that their opinions are disregarded or are not taken seriously.

I am 29 and have to talk to high government officials for work (including Members of the National Parliament). I have often difficulties to reach them and on one occasion one beneficiary even asked if there was someone older he could talk to.

I work in a Human Rights NGO, in which adult and senior people (mainly retired) belong to the board and young people to the staff. The board is quite controlling and salaries are very low. There is no intergenerational dialogue when it comes to decision-making.

The intersection between age and gender, gender identity as well as sexual orientation place a heavy burden on young people's shoulders. Being female and male or being perceived as such, put people into boxes. The construction of gender roles and expectations pervades every area of the society: female bodies make women not eligible for physical

work (e.g. lifting heavy objects.), whereas male bodies are expected to be strong (even if many men lack physical strength); female bodies are often reified and sexualised: they are expected to be thin, attractive and beautiful. Despite the robust set of legislation tackling sexual harassment, this seems to be a daily reality for some respondents, which exists in speeches and jokes underlying sexual connotations when male managers or colleagues speak to female staff or even during interviews.

The intersection between gender and age is an example of how categories interplay to create thick barriers to enter and advance in the labour market. Salary differences existing between younger and older workers are exacerbated by the interplay between gender and age. Besides, being a young woman is interlinked also with the marital status and/or with the fact that women of a fertile age are thought to want to have children soon.

Young women are often asked whether they plan to have a family and children and, in that case, how many. In other cases, employers say outright that they unwillingly hire women who have young children or who want to get pregnant. In general it seems quite common for young women to receive comments by potential employers on how their wishes for maternity can be reconciled with their career. Parental status often leads to exclusion from specific aspects of the job, such as research groups, missions, promotions and roles involving responsibility. On the other hand, single women or

women who have no children perceive that employers expect them to work more than women who have children, without an adequate remuneration. One respondent without children states that she had fewer benefits at work since she was not a mother: in fact, at her workplace young parents have more flexible work time and they choose the time of vacations first, which is very positive, but should not discriminate against workers without children. The perception of unequal treatment based on having children or not creates frictions among young women.

Gender roles and expectations also lead to distinguishing jobs and positions for which women are less adequate than men, depending on the country taken into consideration. Among the examples mentioned by respondents are engineering, IT support ("a woman is too slow to understand how a computer works"), but also in law firms or enterprises. Once entered into the labour market, young female workers often face discrimination and harassment: some respondents report having been told that they are not old enough nor strong enough for certain tasks or having been addressed with inappropriate sexist language by male colleagues, managers or clients. Harassment seems widespread and includes putting female workers in uncomfortable situations, sending flirting text messages with sexual connotations or double meanings.

«...THEY CHOSE THE MAN BECAUSE THE WOMAN WOULD ONCE BE PREGNANT SO SHE WOULD BE ABSENT FROM THE OFFICE.»

I was offered the least salary because I was the youngest in the organisation. The person (male and elder than she) who had done the same job before me was paid significantly more.

In the law firm where I worked as a summer intern they were going to hire a lawyer. Two people applied, a man and a woman, who had the same qualifications and were equally good at their job. They chose the man because the woman would once be pregnant so she would be absent from the office.

The gender binary and the meanings attached to it seem to restrict opportunities. Just to provide an example, one respondent declares that he was denied a job as a trainer because of his perceived gender identity as male and no more men were needed in the project. Gender binary also overlooks those young people who do not identify themselves with either gender (either male or female). One respondent explains that it is often impossible to finalise some application forms because they lack gender neutral title (e.g. Mx) and require identifying as a binary gender and having a binary title. It goes without saying that transgenderism causes exclusion and discrimination, when prospective employers discover the past gender on applicants' documents, such as high school diploma etc. In a similar way, sexual orientation puts young people at risk of discrimination and harassment. One respondent states that, because of internalised homophobia, he does not feel at ease to compete in a male-dominated business world, that is why he confines himself to working in NGOs, that is very rewarding, dynamic, interesting, but precarious, characterised by low income and depends on one person's ability to get projects financed.

The survey shows that many issues occur in the workplace, such as blackmailing employees because of their sexual orientation, creating an intimidating atmosphere in which homosexual, lesbian and bisexual workers don't feel free to

speak about their relationships or partners as heterosexual colleagues do; homophobic and humiliating comments by co-workers, termination of the contract as a consequence of coming-out. Consequently, they avoid speaking about their holidays, free time and private life in order to hide their sexual orientation. Some respondents explain that they were treated unequally when their manager or employer found out their sexual orientation. This occurred even in human rights NGOs which were focused on such grounds as ethnic origin and religion. On another occasion their placement with children was interrupted, once the employer discovered their sexual orientation.

Some respondents stated that **physical appearance and attractiveness** do play a role in having access to a job. Profile pictures on C.V.s or application forms drive employers' attention to the physical appearance of applicants. For example, some respondents report having been told at job interviews that they wouldn't be hired because of their obesity. This and other characteristics (skin conditions such as acne) are recurrently reported as grounds of discrimination throughout the survey. This also raises the issue that some human resources managers lack sensitiveness and empathy with applicants and this may lead to disempowerment and frustration in young people.

On the contrary, one respondent decided to leave her job six months after she started, because she understood that she was chosen just for her good-looks.

During a job interview I had the feeling that I was not beautiful enough for the position of receptionist. I got the job and later I saw the documents of the HR manager (a man), who had indeed a form to fill in with one column dedicated to appearance, where he wrote remarks like "attractive woman for gentlemen". I also received comments by employers on the way I look, I dress. I have been told, during the job interview, that I was too fat to work there. On the job requirements they only said "presentable". There is a lot of discrimination against overweight people in my country and it makes it very difficult to find a job if a woman is not pretty and thin.

Mental health (depression) was mentioned as a ground of discrimination by some respondents. One respondent mentioned that he or she was fired from a temporary job immediately after his or her manager knew that he or she was taking anti-depression pills. The vicious circle between unemployment and depression needs to be taken seriously by policy-makers. Several studies show that unemployed people are most vulnerable to depression. At the same time depression figures among discrimination grounds that cause isolation of young workers and even the interruption of the job. The workplaces don't manage to accommodate the needs of people affected by psychological troubles. Besides, **long-term unemployment may be intertwined with and lead to mental illness.** In the UK, the Youth Index 2014, based on the answers of more than 2,160 young people aged 16 to 25 years, shows that 40% of jobless young people report they have faced symptoms like suicidal thoughts, feelings of self-loathing and panic attacks as a direct result of unemployment⁵⁰

⁵⁰ The Prince's Trust Macquaire, 2014. Youth Index 2014. Available at: http://www.princestrust.org.uk/pdf/YOUTH_INDEX_2014.pdf

Speaking about **age discrimination**, Sandra Fredman explains that *“the human and social costs of age discrimination, particularly when it leads to exclusion from the labor force, should not be under-estimated. Increased poverty, ill health, depression, as well as low self-esteem and social isolation, are themselves strong justifications for legal intervention”*⁵¹

It goes without saying that young people who are affected by discrimination based on age and mental diseases are stuck in a vicious circle of exclusion.

Many examples dealt with **nationality/minority/religion**.

After graduating from the Law Faculty, I wanted to start my internship in prosecution. I passed the first selection round and was admitted to the interview. The first question that I was asked concerned my nationality and ethnicity. Since I was born in Bosnia and I feel like a citizen of that country, my answer was that I was pleading as a citizen of Bosnia. Although I met all the criteria submissions, those who identified themselves as Serbs and Croats got the position of trainees, even if they had less points. When I asked for explanation, I was told that the policy must accommodate a number of Serbs, Croats and Bosnians and that a key criterion is to satisfy the national interest and not only success criteria.

On the same occasion, I also experienced discrimination on a different ground. I wanted to apply for a trainee position but I did not succeed because I was not a member of the political party that is leading in our town.

I have Arab features and I dress like a westerner. I am not offered job interviews for positions that I am perfectly suitable for because of my Arabic-sounding name appearing in my curriculum vitae, and perhaps my age. At the same time, when I walk through Arab-Turkish streets/areas in European cities, I am often insulted and looked at in a disdainful way because of my western style.

I accidentally bumped into a tall White man in a workplace canteen and he spilt his drink. I was with another non-White person like myself, both of us women. We apologised to him but he shouted that people like us were ruining the country and spoiling the EU. He then went off muttering “stupid women”.

One participant stressed the fact that European institutions also contribute to social reproduction. When it comes to studies, the applications for internships at the European Union often refer to the British/American degree system (major/minor subjects), which is very different from other ones (e.g. the French one).

The Human Resources manager told me that he wouldn't have hired people from Southern Europe if it wasn't for the willing of the boss. He argued that qualifications of Southern European are questionable (e.g. referring to the Italian education system).

Before getting the Spanish passport, one Moroccan respondent was repeatedly refused a job as a flight attendant because of his nationality, even though he or she had a work permit and was perfectly qualified for the job. Discrimination in the access to the jobs market does not concern only Third-country

nationals, but Europeans moving to other countries as well.

Religion is considered a discrimination ground for many youngsters. Religious symbols are often not accepted and this leads to a topical case of intersectional discrimination for Muslim girls wearing a headscarf in particular, because neither Muslim men, nor non-Muslim women wear a headscarf.

Language was mentioned as a widespread ground of discrimination: a foreign accent can decrease chances in the jobs market.

I am a Bulgarian living in the Netherlands since several months. I don't know the Dutch language, even if I am learning it. The lack of knowledge of the language is the key disadvantage stopping me for even applying for whatever kind of jobs, even those that do not really need a good command of the language or even internships.

Currently, I am almost a Master of Science student, I speak four languages, but if I apply for a job in the Netherlands, I usually do not even receive a reply saying that I was not selected. Moreover, when I declare where I come from, people's reaction is often disappointment as I look 'Western', as a Dutch lady once told me.

I was applying for a job at one university where my mother tongue is the official language. I had the perception that I was not given a job due to having a foreign name despite being English and discriminated due to having a northern accent.

When people hear my last name, they start asking me about my nationality and some don't believe that I am Russian. They keep asking me to confess my real nationality. On other occasions, prospective employers

also ask me about my family plans because they think it's risky to employ a female between the ages of 25 and 35.

I was working in a club and my task was to distribute flyers. A girl asked me something about the flyer, at which point I answered in Dutch. After further questions, I informed her that my Dutch was not so good yet. Afterwards, she said that I shouldn't work there since I did not speak Dutch.

In another occasion, during my student job I was offended in front of costumers for my education (other colleagues were permanent employees and had no high school diploma), especially when I did mistakes. I was even called 'Gypsy' due to my dark skin.

I studied sociology and with this degree I have big difficulties in finding a job. Usually I get a job in some NGOs that haven't any money and I can afford working there for short periods. Also, all the unemployment programs for young people in SI are designed for people below 30 years of age. Since I am over this age, but I am not yet old, I am not eligible for any support program.

I have been questioned in depth about my ability to work or carry out tasks due to my age, gender and impairment. Nasty and hateful comments on the internet about my sexuality and my political opinions.

I went for a job for which I was overqualified and I was told that my 'style' and 'background' did not fit with the department. A much less experienced White person was given the job. I

am always careful to mention race when I ask for feedback because I had the impression that as soon as one get labeled as a “non-White person who notices race discrimination”, then it is very hard to get a job in that place in the future.

Discrimination occurs usually in crucial moments of young people's careers: when they hope to get a promotion or when they want to get a permanent position.

In these two moments, the intersection between age, gender and other grounds (above all disability and nationality) becomes a barrier that is difficult to be overcome.

I was not chosen to present my work on numerous occasions due to my appearance. My opinions are not taken into account due to my age and gender.

Since I am young person coming from Eastern Europe, I am regarded as less smart, less capable, less important. Same goes when I am regarded as woman and young. And as woman, occasional stupid comments and remarks are done that are on the verge of being sexist.

Other White people with same or less experience get permanent posts while I was passed over. I have finally taken courage to file a grievance and won the appeal stating that I was discriminated against.

3.3.3. ACCESS TO SERVICES AND GOODS. ACCESS TO JUSTICE

This paragraph will sum up the findings about discrimination occurring outside education and the job market.

The EU antidiscrimination legislation in these areas protects people from discrimination on a restricted list of grounds (race, ethnic origin and, partially, gender). The importance to step up efforts to further research and evidence-based policies on how multiple discrimination works in these areas can be easily understood by trying to answer to the following questions:

Imagine that a Muslim woman is discriminated against because of her particular situation (the intersection between being a Muslim (religion) and woman (gender)). In the workplace her situation would be fully covered because both Directive 2000/78/EC (religion) and Directive 2006/54/EC (gender) tackle discrimination in the workplace. But.... 'Quid iuris' if discrimination happens in the field of the access to housing (covered just by Directive 2004/113/EC on gender, but not by Directive 2000/78/EC)? The case could be litigated or reported only on the basis of gender. However it might occur that this problem does not affect all women, but just a subset of women (Muslim women); nor Muslim men. The fragmentation of law would leave the particular condition of certain sub-sets of people, located at particular intersections, without or with lower protection.

Also, imagine that a young Roma gay is discriminated against in the housing field because he is gay (the landlord wants to rent the flat just to straight people) and he has difficulties in accessing the labour market because he is Roma. The stigma towards Roma people in Europe is so rooted that the law seems to be ineffective in tackling anti-Roma discrimination, despite the National Roma Integration Strategies.⁵² At the same time, discrimination based on sexual harassment is banned only in the field of employment and occupation under today's EU law.

Of course in implementing the EU antidiscrimination Directives, national governments could go much beyond the minimum core provided for by the Directives, but this has not happened in many States so far.

The areas taken into consideration in this survey are: access to a flat/housing/accommodation; field of public and private healthcare; access to bank services; access to cinema, theatre, clubs; access to restaurants, cafes, pubs; shops, supermarkets, shopping centres, etc.; swimming pools, sport centres, fitness centres, ski facilities; access to justice or legal services.

A caveat is needed before analysing the findings. The vast majority (about 70% or more) of respondents declared that they had not experienced discrimination in most of these fields. So the following data concerns a smaller number of respondents. Since the sample of the survey is randomised and small-scale, the survey suggests to follow up these findings with in-depth research. Taking into account also the data collected under the third section of the questionnaire (Section C. Perceptions on discrimination against young people in your country, questions 105130, see par. 2.2. in chapter 2 and par. 3.4. in this chapter), in which high percentages of respondents suggest what target groups they considered more at risk of discrimination in their own country (even if they never experienced discrimination in such fields).

51 Fredman, S., 2011. Op.cit., p. 104.

52 The Strategies for Roma integration can be accessed at: http://ec.europa.eu/justice/discrimination/roma/index_en.htm

«...I HAD THE PERCEPTION THAT I WAS NOT GIVEN A JOB DUE TO HAVING A FOREIGN NAME...»

IN A NUTSHELL

Being 18-24 years old was considered as a discrimination ground per se in almost all fields. Other most cited grounds of discrimination experienced by young respondents were **ethnic origin, social origin, gender, sexual orientation** and **physical appearance (obesity** was explicitly mentioned in relation to discrimination occurring in shops, supermarkets, shopping centres as well as swimming pools, sport centres, fitness centres, ski facilities, etc.).

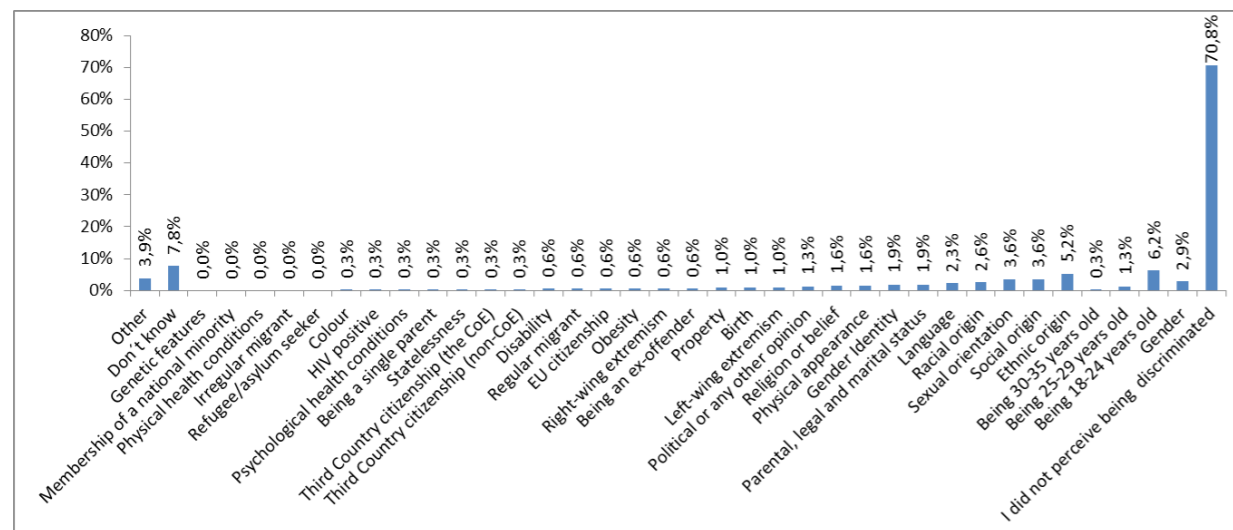
On a more specific note, **when looking for a flat/housing/accommodation**, 70.8% did not feel that they were discriminated against, while the rest of respondents did feel discriminated against on the following grounds: being 18-24 years old (6.2%), ethnic origin (5.2%), social origin (3.6%) and sexual orientation (3.6%). In the field of **public and private healthcare**, 73.4% of respondents declared they hadn't been discriminated against, whereas the rest felt discriminated against on the basis of sexual orientation (5.2%) gender, social origin (same rate with 3.6%), gender identity and age between 18 and 24 years old (same rate, 3.3%). **When trying to get bank services**, 75.3% hadn't experienced discrimination, while 7.3% of respondents perceived being discriminated against for being aged 18-24 and another 2.7% because of their age between 25-29 years old, or because of their ethnic origin (3%). **In accessing the cinema, theatre, clubs** etc., 75.8% had not perceived that they were discriminated against, whereas 5.1% of respondents did because of their gender, 4.7% on the basis of physical appearance, 4.4% because of sexual orientation and 3.4% because they were 18-24 years old. When **accessing restaurants, cafes, pubs** etc., 75.1% had not experienced discrimination, while many respondents perceived being discriminated on the following grounds: gender (6.4%), language (5.1%), sexual orientation (5.1%), ethnic origin (4%) and social origin (3.4%). 77.2% who had no experience or perception of discrimination declared that they hadn't experienced discrimination in **shops, supermarket, shopping centres**, etc., while other respondents did on the following grounds: physical appearance (5.1%), ethnic origin (5.1%), being 18-24 years old (4.8%), language (4.1%), social origin (4.1%), gender (3.4%) and obesity (3.4%).

When it comes to **swimming pools, sport centres, fitness centres, ski facilities**, etc. most respondents declared that they hadn't experienced any discrimination (80.7%). However, 4.1% felt discriminated against because of their physical appearance and 3.7% because of obesity. Other grounds are: gender (3.4%), ethnic origin (2.4%) and social origin (2%).

84.2% did not perceive being discriminated against when **accessing justice or legal services**. The most cited grounds are gender, social origin and ethnic origin (with the same rate, 2.4%).

Interestingly, when asked whether and to whom they would report cases of discrimination in the case they were discriminated against, young respondents would rather ask NGOs and trade unions (38.3%) as well as the police (30.7%) for help, rather than Equality Bodies (19.7%), lawyers (16.2%) and mediators (10.3%). **It is worth mentioning that 27.2% of respondents would not report the case of discrimination.**

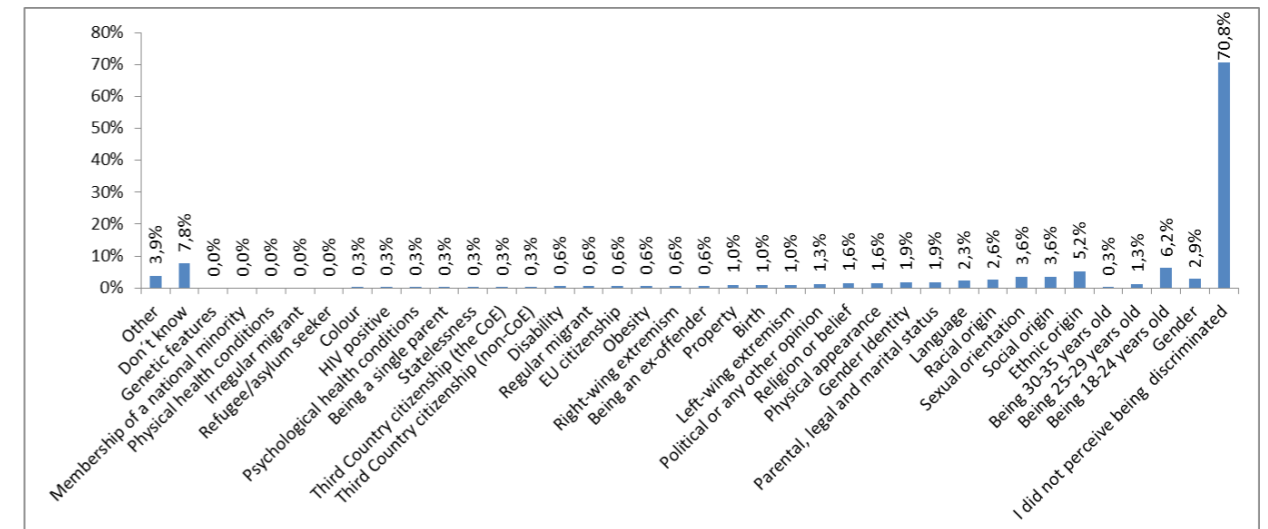
Fig 12 If you were a victim of discrimination or harassment, to whom would you report it or ask support and advice? (N=290)



3.3.3.1. ACCOMMODATION, HEALTHCARE AND BANK SERVICES

In this paragraph, data concerning accommodation, healthcare and access to bank services are described, i.e. three main areas at the core of young people's lives.

Fig. 13 Perception of discrimination when looking for a FLAT/HOUSING/ACCOMMODATION (N=308)



When looking for a flat/housing/accommodation, most cases of discrimination (6.2%) occurred on the basis of age - being 18-24 years old -, ethnic origin (5.2%), social origin (3.6%) and sexual orientation (3.6%). 52.9% of respondents declared that discrimination occurred on each ground on different occasions (multiple discrimination), while 19.1% perceived it was caused by the interplay of more than one ground and 5.1% believed it occurred on the same occasion, but it was based on each ground separately (additive or compound discrimination).

Discrimination was mainly done by the landlord who was living in the same accommodation (59.1%), by a house rental agency (27.3%) or by a room-mate (24.2%). In some other cases by the coordinator who selects people for dormitories or by the owner of a hotel. Most discriminations occurred between one and five times (64.6%). 31 respondents also gave 33 examples of discrimination or harassment that occurred in the field of housing and accommodation.

Respondents reported that they were discriminated against because of their young **age**, mainly because they were not trusted and were considered unreliable tenants. In some cases the landlords explicitly said that they wanted to rent to young professionals over 30 or to married couples. They also reported that landlords often rent illegally to young people because many of them cannot afford high rents. In this way the owners avoid high state taxes - which are too high in some states. Differential treatment also consisted in landlords entering the rented flat without warning or permission from the young people living there, which they would not have done had the tenants been older or a family.

Financial/social status intersects young age in several ways. Young people's low income and lack of steady jobs, make landlords and renting agencies very suspicious towards them even if they have a good record of keeping up with rent and

can get references by previous landlords to confirm this.

A landlady refused to rent me an apartment because I did not belong to the upper class (although I proved I would be able to pay the rent). Her words were: "Good families live in this building!". In addition, she asked repeatedly if I was a foreigner and hardly believed I was Italian, possibly because someone gave her that mistaken piece of information.

On a more general note, the lack of accessible housing and landlords unwilling to make adaptations result in the fact that many young people cannot afford housing. In the same way, the fact that young single people or young couple without children are not entitled to social renting was heavily criticised in the survey, because it prevents them from planning to have family in secure and permanent housing.

Sexual orientation and gender identity were mentioned as discrimination grounds by some respondents, both in the case in which young LGBT people want to rent a flat and in the case in which they look for room-mates who are straight.

It was difficult to find someone to live with us (we are 3 trans* people in my flat and were looking for a 4th flatmate).

Many people don't want to live with trans* people

«THE LANDLORD CLEARLY SAID THAT HE WILL NOT RENT A FLAT TO 'FAGGOTS' (HIS WORDS)»

Most examples concern **nationality, belonging to a minority and religion.** Young foreign people (students, interns, jobseekers) are often asked to pay higher rent and deposits. Language is

often a barrier when contracts are written only in the language of the host country. In other cases racial and ethnic origin are the only reason why landlords don't want to rent their flat to foreigners.

We were told that the house was no longer on the market but, after inquiring, the housing agency told us it was due to our ethnicity: the landlord didn't want Black people in his house.

However, prejudices are also widespread among young people. Some respondents reported that they perceived being discriminated against by people of their own age when they were looking for shared flats with other young people. It also emerged that offices administrating university flats and dormitories in some countries 'unofficially' segregate foreign students (mainly non-EU nationals) at the outskirts of the city and in 'foreign students'-only buildings.

I always got negative answers by young people, most of them, from some EU member states. When I was saying that I come from the Balkans, the next question was always: 'There is a war, right?' After that, the conversation would have finished very fast, and I would have never received a reply.

Even if I was the earner in my household, when looking for houses and flats to rent the estate agents looked only at my White male partner and spoke exclusively to him.

They looked shocked when they discovered that I speak and have opinions and even pay money.

When searching for a flat in Paris and mentioning you are Greek, most of the owners/agencies would close down on you the phone. They presupposed that I wouldn't have the money to pay.

When I was looking for accommodation in an European country, the conversation on the phone with the landlord was cut as soon as I answered that I was Moroccan to the question about my background.

When looking for a room to rent, a landlord told me he doesn't understand why foreigners are in Slovenia, that it is a shame that I don't speak fluently the language, that I should go back to my country and that he will never allow a foreigner to enter his property.

domestic abuse and rape. According to some respondents, psychological disorders or physical diseases or disabilities make doctors take the issue (or the risk) of being harassed and raped as 'less serious' and 'exaggerated' by their vulnerability and fear.

As in many other areas of life, **obesity** emerges as a major ground for discrimination even by the medical staff.

«I WAS TEASED AND MISTREATED BECAUSE OF BEING OVERWEIGHT BY DOCTORS AND NURSES.»

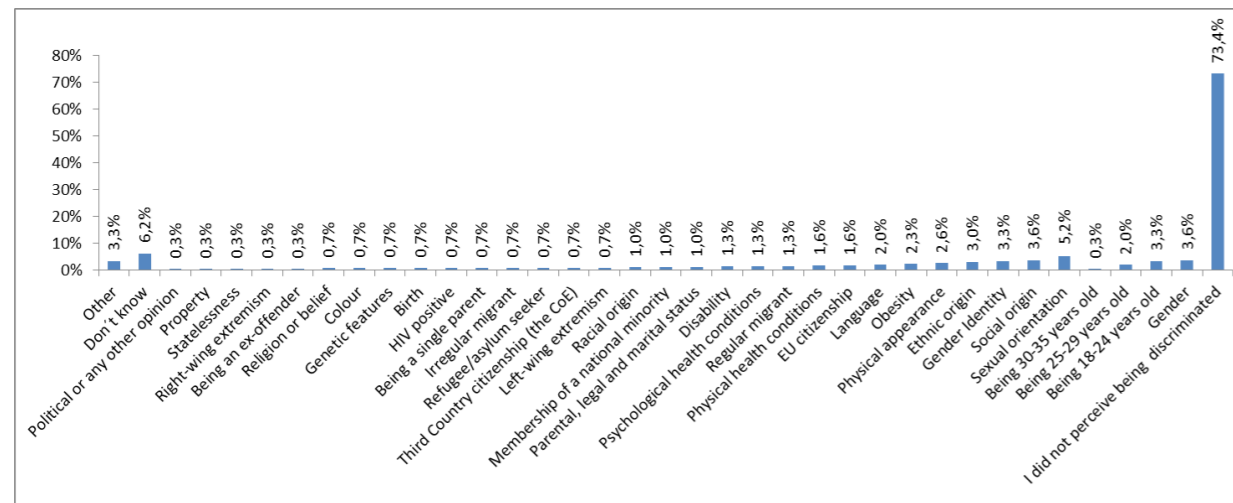
I have been misdiagnosed several times because the doctors only see me as 'the fat person' and they blame everything on the fact that I am fat. A few times doctors have refused to examine me, telling me to diet and exercise to lose some weight. I almost died because of that negligence.

A doctor didn't want to examine what was wrong with me (I had dizziness) because he thought it was all because of my obesity.

In a similar way, young disabled people declared that they face obstacles to having their health problems investigated because of their disability. It is as if disability absorbed all issues related to health.

As far as marital status is concerned, in rare cases, it also plays a role in some conservative environments: for example, the fact of giving birth outside marriage may lead doctors to suggesting abortion as a solution even if the pregnant young woman never mentioned this option.

Fig. 14 Perception of discrimination in the field of PUBLIC or PRIVATE HEALTHCARE (N=305)



In the field of **public and private healthcare**, 73.4% declared they hadn't been discriminated against, whereas the rest felt discriminated against on the basis of sexual orientation (5.2%) gender, social origin (same rate with 3.6%) and gender identity and age between 18 and 24 years old (same rate, 3.3%). 55.6% of respondents declared that discrimination occurred on each ground on different occasions (multiple discrimination), while 22.2% perceived that it was caused by the interplay of more than one grounds and 9.5% believed that it occurred on the same occasion, but it was based on each ground separately (additive or compound discrimination). People mainly felt discriminated against by doctors (60.7%), by administrative personnel (47.5%) and nurses (47.5%). Also, according to 62.9% of respondents, discrimination occurred between once and 5 times, while for 6.5% of all respondents it occurred very frequently (more than 20 times). 29 respondents gave many examples of discrimination or harassment.

Respondents explained that issues like nationality, minority and religion have an impact on the way in which patients are treated by medical staff. Allegedly, native patients are perceived as being given priority assistance and better treatment than those that are foreign.

Many examples concerned sexual orientation and gender identity. For example more than one respondent affirmed

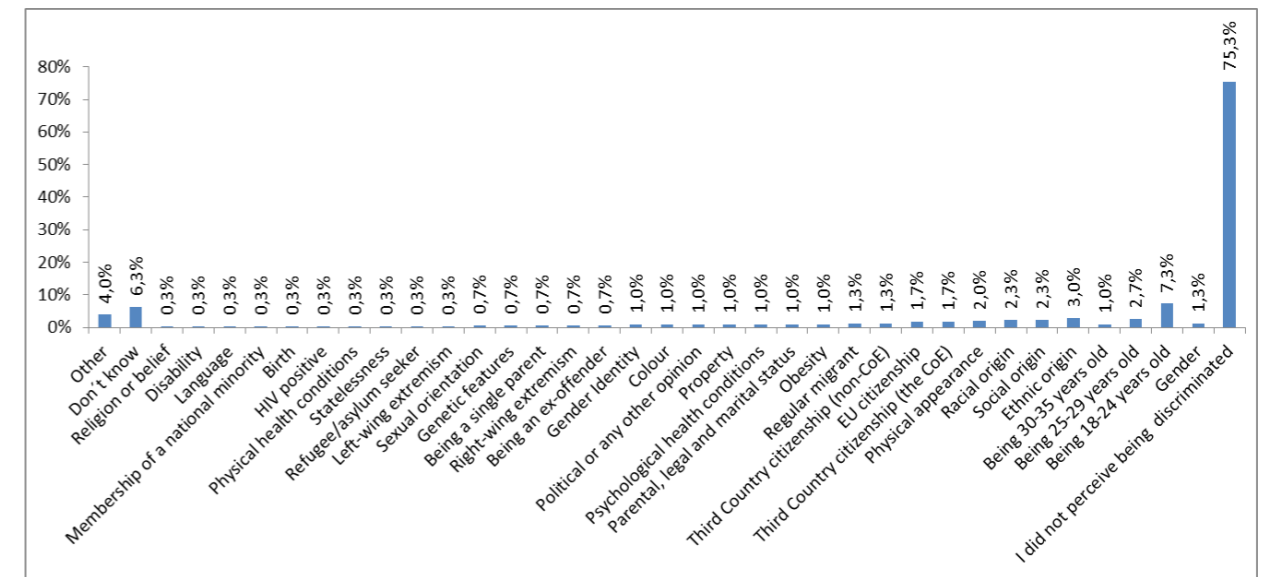
that blood donations from gay and bisexual men were not accepted in some hospitals. In other cases, doctors asked to do an extra exam after knowing that one person was bisexual assuming that bisexual people are 'promiscuous' or rejected gynaecological exams to a declared lesbian girl 'until she has a proper sexual intercourse'.

Each time I have been for a sexual health screening, which I believe to be an important check-up for any sexually active person, I have health staff ridicule my choice to be tested as they see me as a lesbian and do not understand the associated risks and the diverse sexual practices that do not reduce risk. I have felt discouraged from such testing.

Transsexuals and transgenders are also often asked inappropriate and unnecessarily intrusive questions about their sexuality or moral discourses (in some cases also shortly before the surgery) or verbally assaulted and triggered by doctors (being told that "such people shouldn't be allowed to reproduce"). In other cases, transgender people are forced into "coming out" because there is no possibility of registering their social data (social name and gender), when they are different from official data. In this case, there is no way to preserve their private sphere on this point.

The intersection between either psychological health or physical health or disability) and gender raises important issues, when it comes to protection from sexual harassment,

Fig. 15 Perception of discrimination when trying to get BANK SERVICES (N=300)



When trying to get bank services, 75.3% hadn't experienced discrimination, while 7.3% of respondents perceived being discriminated against for being aged 18-24 and another 2.7% because of their age between 25-29 years old, or because of their ethnic origin (3%).

46.7% of respondents declared that discrimination occurred on each ground on different occasions (multiple discrimination), while 21.7% perceived it was caused by the interplay of more than one grounds and 5% believed that it occurred on the same occasion, but it was based on each ground separately (additive or compound discrimination). 74.1% of respondents declared that discrimination took place between one and five times. **In the field of bank services, most discrimination cases involved bank employees.** However throughout the survey several answers to open questions criticised the bank system itself, above all with regard to the difficulty for low paid young people to access bank loans to buy a flat and to the fees and extras charged once young people turn 25, no matter if they are already working or not. In the same way, young women applying for a loan can be confronted with comments by bank officials regarding possible pregnancies, the need to stop working and ultimately the impossibility to repay the money. **Several respondents express their concern for the challenges faced in the bank sector,**

due to their low income and unstable financial situation.

I am not able to receive a credit card without at least being well off.

We were not able to get housing loan as we are both employed for temporary and we don't have other property (even though we are able to pay a high rent for quite some time).

One respondent also mentioned that health issues should be hidden when asking for a loan, otherwise banks would not concede it.

These sentences show that most vulnerable young people (single women, unemployed or precarious workers, young people with health problems) are less likely to get loans.

Some respondents also declared that bank officers give priority to people who have a better social status. Interestingly, this has also been confirmed by one respondent who admitted to receiving better service due to his or her property means:

People in the bank change their behaviour towards me when I let them know my qualifications or job ambitions. It's 'positive discrimination', but still shows how people's minds are formatted to treat better those who seem to aim for better grounds or who have more property means.

Looking at more specific cases of discrimination, as far as **gender identity is concerned**, banks usually refuse to acknowledge non-binary people, except in very limited cases where 'Mx' can be chosen instead of 'Ms' and 'Mr'.

The main barriers encountered by young people were based on their nationality (even within the European Union) and language when they move abroad. The fact of being young and foreign multiply the discriminatory effect.

3.3.3.2. IT IS NOT JUST 'FUN' AND 'SHOPPING'

This part jointly analyses data on discrimination occurring in four areas: at the cinema, theatre, clubs; in cafes, restaurants, pubs; in shops, supermarkets and shopping centres, and at swimming pools, sport centres, fitness centres, ski facilities. For accessibility's sake, findings about discrimination in these different areas will be jointly analysed since there were many common patterns in the data.

Fig. 16 Perception of discrimination at the CINEMA, THEATRE, CLUBS, ETC. (N=297)

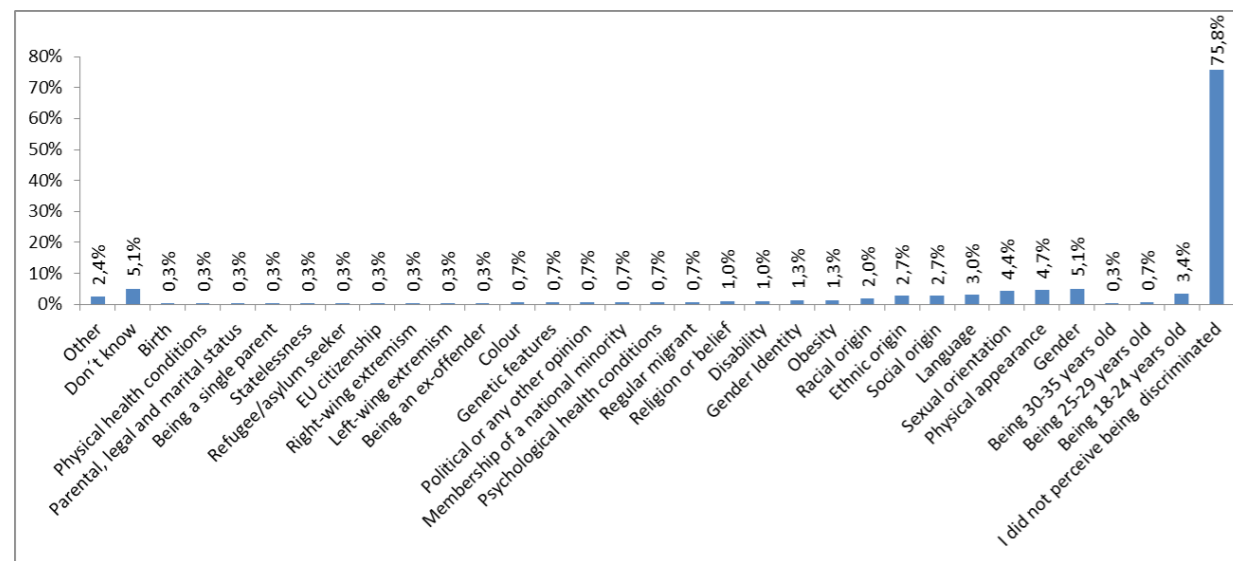
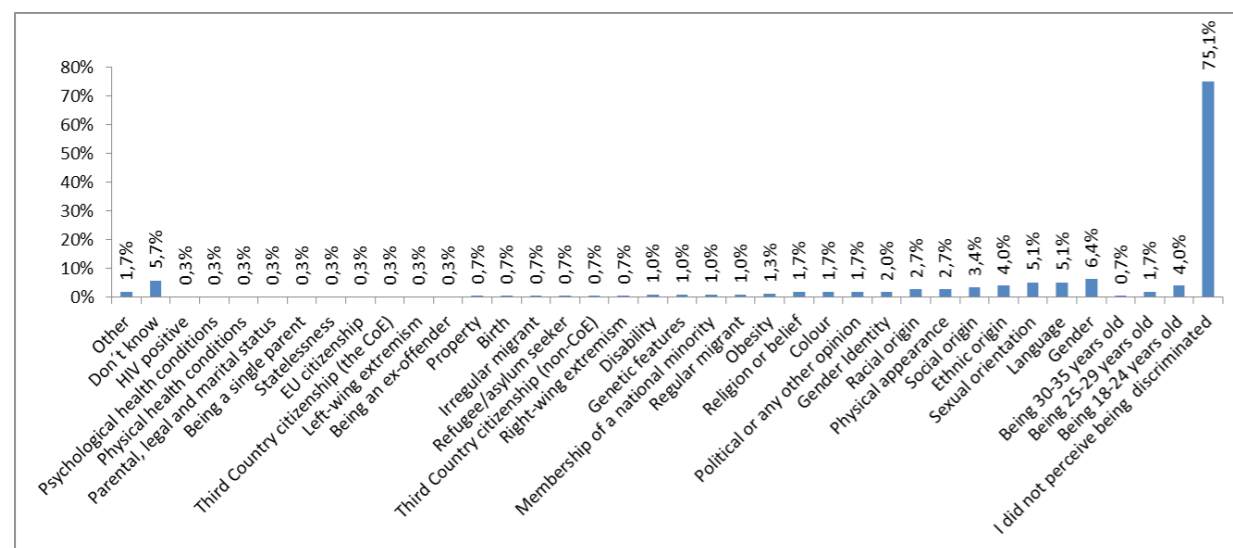


Fig. 17 Perception of discrimination at CAFES, RESTAURANTS, PUBS, etc. (N=297)



Being an EU citizen in another EU country feels like neither the current country nor the country of origin is willing to make an effort or take cases under their responsibility.

I was told that new bank accounts for Romanian citizens are limited, and I should come back at a later time, when they are available.

Fig. 18 Perception of discrimination in SHOPS, SUPERMARKETS, SHOPPING CENTRES, etc... (N=294)

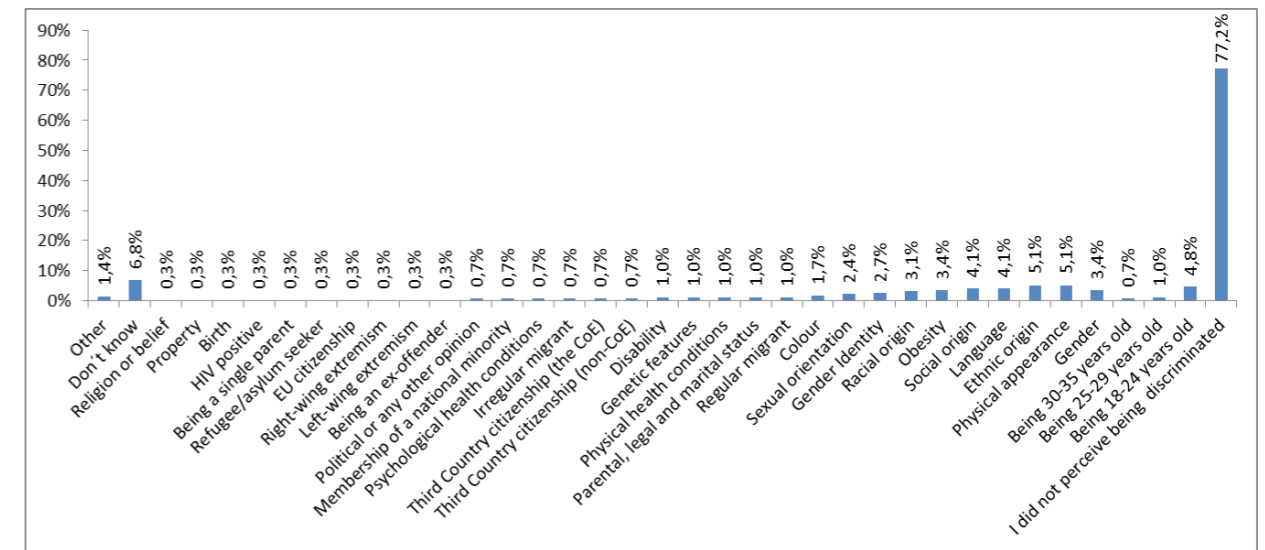
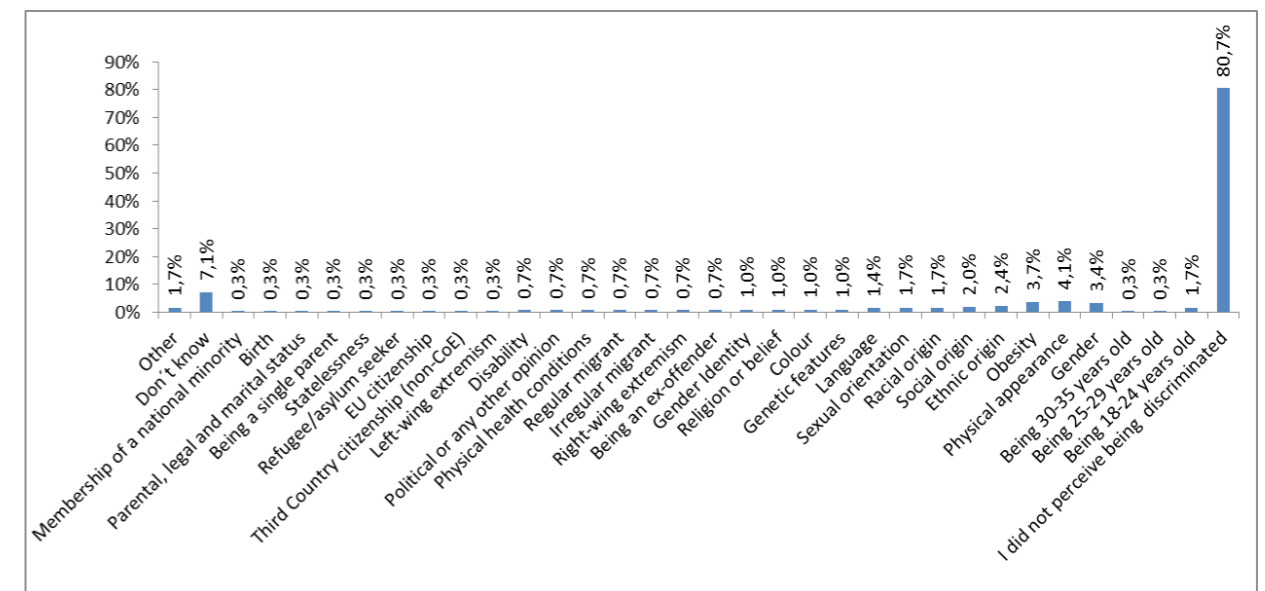


Fig. 19 Perception of discrimination at SWIMMING POOLS, SPORT CENTERS, FITNESS CENTERS, SKI FACILITIES, etc (N=296)



A high rate of respondents answered that they had never felt discriminated against in these areas.

24.2% did perceive being discriminated against at the cinema, theatre and clubs; 24.9% in restaurants, cafes and pubs; 22.8% in shops, supermarket and shopping centres. 19.3% at swimming pools, sport centres, fitness centres and ski facilities. Also, in these areas the following data concerns a small number of respondents, but their answers are instructive to grasp how discrimination works in young people's lives and to point out areas for further research and policy intervention (see par. 3.3.3).

Physical appearance (including obesity), social origin, gender and ethnic origin are among most cited grounds of discrimination in almost all of these four areas. Language is a major ground of discrimination in restaurants, cafes, pubs as well as in shops, supermarkets and shopping centres. Being 18-24 years old is a relevant cause of discrimination also in shops, supermarkets and shopping centres and, additionally, at the cinema, theatre and clubs.

In most cases discrimination occurred on each ground on a different occasion (so defined 'multiple discrimination'), while in a lower number of cases it was based on the interplay between more grounds (intersectional discrimination). The area where the rates between cases of multiple and intersectional discrimination were almost similar was in swimming pools, sport centres, fitness centres and ski facilities.

According to respondents, perpetrators of discrimination at the cinema, theatre, clubs, etc. were entrance guards/bouncers (34.4%), other visitors (28.1%) or employees (18.8%), while at restaurants, cafes, pubs and bars people were mainly discriminated against by employees (60%). In shops/supermarkets/shopping centres, etc. the majority of cases of discrimination (71.4%) involved employees at the front desk who have direct contact with clients. In contrast with other areas, discrimination experienced in swimming pools, sport centres, fitness centres, facilities, etc... was mainly due to other users (40.9%), followed by employees

(31.8%). In all cases a high rate of respondents experienced discrimination between one and five times in these places (respectively 50.1%, 41.4%, 39.6% and 40.5%).

In all areas, **physical appearance** emerged as a major factor of discrimination. According to respondents, in clubs the examples reported by respondents in the open questions concerned the colour of the skin, appropriate dress-code, meeting the standards of the clubs. Also, some respondents claimed that many clubs do not accommodate needs of young people who do not drink alcohol (limited selection of soft drinks in contrast to the wide range of alcoholic cocktails). Fatness emerges as a discrimination ground in restaurants, cafés, pubs, bars as well as in shops, supermarkets and shopping-centres. Respondents also claim that they were harassed because of their obesity several times by shop-assistants overreacting against them because they did not sell oversized clothes. In other occasions even if shop assistants had not been asked for information, they spontaneously told them that they didn't carry their size and they should better look somewhere else. Some respondents report that they were laughed at when asking for bigger sizes of clothes.

I can't enter a fast-food restaurant without people snickering or quietly insulting me... because I'm a fat person. They judge me, thinking that all I eat is fast-food, even if this was a once-a-year occasion.

I have been a client in several gyms and fitness centres with the goal of losing weight and becoming healthier. I have heard a couple of workers mock me because I was fat, while I was running on the treadmill. Other clients have also stared at me and snickered simply because I was the only fat person there.

Being perceived as a 'poor' person (based on clothes or other criteria) was also reported as a ground of discrimination, which intersects with the fact of being a young student, intern or unemployed. For example, even not being dressed up when going shopping in some "fancy" shops or department stores led to being treated differently and with less attention than other customers.

Besides, many places fail to accommodate the needs of disabled young people, who therefore are prevented from having access to discos, pubs and restaurants.

Some respondents pointed out that they were not victims of discrimination but were struck by the **sexism** that pervades movies, plays, performances as well as rules in cinema and theatres, which are still mostly male dominated places where men seem to define the topics, point of views presented and the presentation of what and how 'men' and 'women' ought to be. The same impression was shared by a couple of respondents in the field of sport, which is perceived as a "male dominated environment where you are either unwelcome or feel that you may become a victim or harassment" in some countries.

Gender roles and expectations also play a role in restaurants, cafés and bars, e.g. when girls or women drink or eat alone they are more at risk of being bothered by unknown men, looked at by other people who are in a group or even badly served by the staff working in restaurants or pubs. More in

general, it was stressed that in most places toilets are either exclusively female or male and this affects all people who do not perceive themselves as belonging to either 'male' or 'female' gender. The same happens in shops where there are male and female dressing rooms or in sport centres, swimming pools, etc. where facilities are divided into men's and women's locker rooms, toilets.

It happens regularly, when I go to a restaurant with a male person, that only that person is addressed, not me.

Also, apart from so defined **LGBT**-friendly places, sexual orientation and gender identity are main causes of discrimination. Discriminatory acts range from young people being asked to show I.D. to ascertain their gender to being attacked verbally and even physically on the basis of being perceived as trans* and/or non-heterosexual identity. Couples of the same sex are often excluded from reductions and special offers for couples (e.g. on Valentine's day movies) or are prevented simply from expressing their feelings in public. Some of them were approached by the owner of the restaurant or pub or the employee of a swimming pool who asked them to 'act normal' and not to cuddle in public, while opposite-sex couples were not addressed when showing a display of affection.

My boyfriend and I were called names and thrown popcorn against by other visitors just for holding hands.

My partner and I were being asked to leave a club because we kissed each other.

In shops, verbal abuse against lesbians may occur when they would try on clothes from the men's section or entering a ladies changing room when they are perceived as lesbians.

Belonging to a **migrant group, national, religious or linguistic minority** is perceived as a cause of discrimination both by staff employed in theatres, cinema and clubs and by other visitors. This concerns both EU nationals and non-EU nationals. Muslim young men have been particularly targeted after 9.11.

In places open to the public (e.g. controls at the entry of pubs and discos). One respondent mentioned that he was stopped by the police on various occasions after terror events in 2002, 2003, 2006 in order to show what he had in his backpack or bag. As far as Muslim young women are concerned, the headscarf has often been a ground of discrimination in accessing places, which is clearly an infringement of the EU law.

The lack of knowledge of the local language or even a 'foreign' accent generates unpleasant reactions or unequal, rude and unfriendly treatments against them by the owners.

I went to a theatre in my country where only British people go and English was the main language used. When they heard us talking Greek, they were 'stalking' us until we left.

I was treated very badly because of being part of a language minority.

Everyone stops being friendly as soon as they hear me speaking Russian to my friends, even though I speak Estonian to the staff. I have no accent in Estonian and I hold a C2 language certificate.

«EMPLOYEES AT RESTAURANTS HAVE GIVEN ME MOCKING STARES WHEN I ORDERED DESSERT OR SOMETHING HIGH IN CALORIES BECAUSE I AM A FAT PERSON.»

I was in Vilnius during my 10 months Erasmus programme at University and some bouncers of some clubs didn't let me or my foreign friends in, just because we were not Lithuanians.

In a shop I saw something and wanted to buy it, but the staff pretended that "what I saw was not what I should buy". It was obvious that I was not welcome in there.

Sometimes shop assistants in some shops pretended not to hear me even if I tried to speak Dutch.

Sometimes I feel as if shop assistants pay much more attention to me/my family when walking around in (expensive) shops, especially if we speak Farsi (which we don't do that often in public, but still), as if they feel that we are more likely to steal something. Maybe they do it unconsciously, that might be the case.

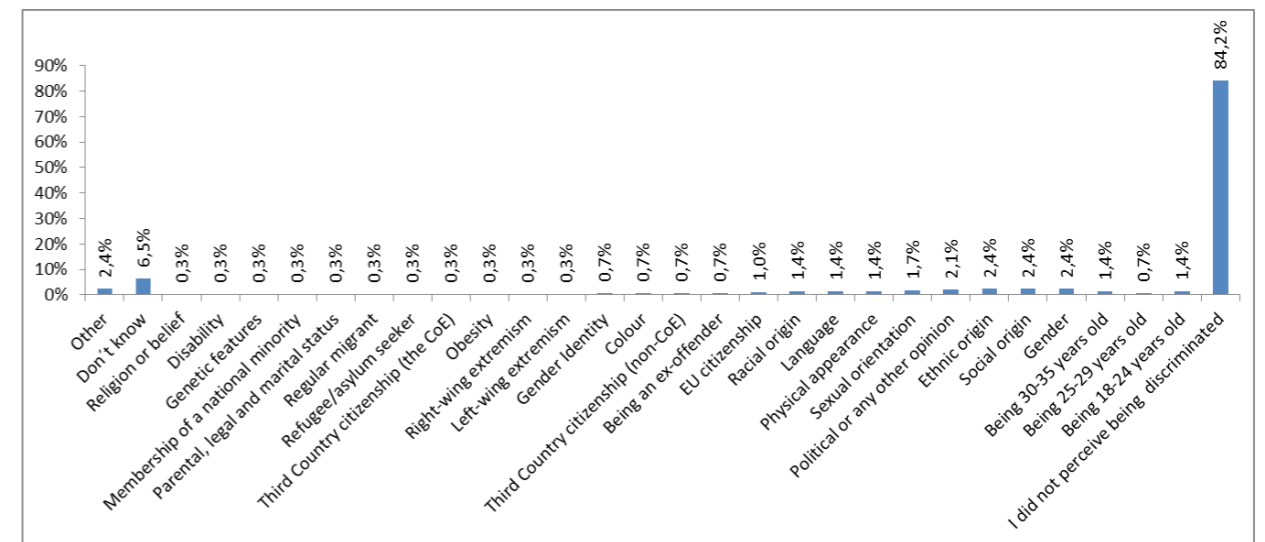
Being mixed race it happened that someone would follow me rather than other clients. Also telling me the price of

things like I had no money to pay for them...like "you know that thing costs a lot".

At the sport centre of my university, I was told by the gym trainer at the badminton class that she didn't want to see me like this (pointing at my headscarf) the week after. I asked why, she replied "for hygienic and security reasons". I wore a short and sport-like headscarf the week after, she refused to let me go inside and said in front of about 30 people that if I wanted to cover my hair so badly, I should rather wear a bandana. I refused to leave and she called the security who came and therefore I left. While leaving the security guy told me that he was Muslim too but he was just doing his job. I wrote to the president of my university who replied that the fact had nothing to do with religion but it was for security reasons that I was 'so nicely' asked to leave. I was told later that this professor is a 'so-called feminist' who looks down at Muslim women.

3.3.3.3. ACCESS TO JUSTICE

Fig. 20 Perception of discrimination in accessing JUSTICE or LEGAL SERVICES (N=292)



84.2% of respondents **did not perceive being discriminated** against, when **accessing justice or legal services**. The most cited grounds are gender, social origin and ethnic origin (with the same rate, 2.4%).

46.7% of respondents declared that discrimination occurred on each ground on different occasions (multiple discrimination), while 23.3% perceived it was caused by the interplay of more than one grounds and 10% believed it occurred on the same occasion, but it was based on each ground separately (additive or compound discrimination). People mainly felt discriminated against by the police. However this question had a very low rate of answers and should be considered with caution.

3.4. PERCEIVED DISCRIMINATED GROUPS AMONG YOUNG PEOPLE

The third section of the questionnaire (Section C. Perceptions on discrimination against young people in your country, questions 105130) inquired into the perception of respondents about their peers at risk of discrimination in the country where they lived at the moment of the survey.

Most characteristics are linked to physical appearances (who are perceived as being 'Roma', 'asylum seeker', etc.

Since the survey may not have reached the most vulnerable young people (par. 3 in this Chapter) and was based on a random sample with a high probability of getting answers from young people who had never been victims of discrimination themselves, it was useful to get information from them about discrimination affecting their peers. The perception that young people hold about who, among their peers, is more likely to be at risk of discrimination provides additional information on the attitudes widespread across Europe. For this reason it is also interesting to compare data collected on respondents' personal experience of discrimination in different areas and their perception about groups that are most discriminated against (or most at risk of discrimination) in the country where they live. This analysis can be found in the executive summary at the beginning of this report (in the section 'Snapshots from the survey. Grounds and areas of discrimination').

In brief, three main discrimination grounds surface from respondents' answers: **gender identity, Roma ethnic origin as well as residence and national status** (respectively being an irregular migrant and being refugee/asylum seeker). The data related to **social status** converge with those concerning respondents' personal experience of discrimination: this ground is considered a barrier to accessing a bank account and jobs in a case of comparable qualifications and expertise (mainly due to the belief that good connections and a better social network may support easier access to the job market). **The answers to the open questions provided in the questionnaire describe how some of these grounds interplay and make social barriers even higher for many youngsters, as several studies (par. 1.2.) and NGOs show.**⁵³

In more detail, when asked about the most discriminated groups of young people (age 18-35) in a country where they live, 72.1% chose transgender or transsexual, 55.7% young Roma, 46.4% young gay, lesbian or bisexual and young refugee or asylum seeker. A very similar order of vulnerable groups of young people resulted when it comes to the most discriminated group **in a case of comparable qualifications and expertise:**

Roma (72.0%), refugee/asylum seeker (71.5%), young poor person (69.5%), young irregular person (64.9%) and young stateless person (62%). Asked about their perception about discrimination **when renting a flat**, young people see Roma (68.6%), transgender or transsexual (63.0%), refugee or asylum seeker (59.6%) as the most vulnerable. The same groups were listed in a case of **discrimination in hospitals** (35.4%, 32.1%, 28.6%). **Opening a bank account** brought a somewhat different list: refugee/asylum seeker (43.5%), irregular person (42.1%), Roma (32.1%), and a poor person (30.1%). **Having a meal at a restaurant** would put the following groups at risk of discrimination in the respondents' country of residence: Roma (43.8%), transgender or transsexual (30.8%) and refugee/asylum seeker (28.6%). According to the opinion of the respondents approaching **a reception desk at a "fancy" hotel** could bring discrimination to the following groups: Roma (45%), refugee/asylum seeker (37.6%) and transgender/transsexual (30.9%). Discrimination at the **sport centre** again brings slightly different 'top-list': transgender/transsexual (43.6%), Roma (36.2%) and young HIV-positive people (31.4%). Similarly respondents perceived that **hiring a taxi** could cause discrimination against Roma (44.4%), transgender/transsexual (42%), disabled (32.8%) and refugee/asylum seeker (32.1%). **Waiting for a bus** could put at risk young Roma (32.5%), transgender/transsexual (29.7%), disabled (18.3%), Muslim (17.1%) and refugee/asylum seeker (16.5%). According to the perception of the respondents, the following

groups are **the least likely to be voted for at political elections:** Roma (74.6%), refugee/asylum seeker (75%), transgender/transsexual (64%), irregular person (62.2%) and stateless person (53.7%). Gender is considered as the most frequent basis for discrimination or harassment across many of these grounds.

Despite the small number of participants in this explorative survey, the data collected mirror many findings of pieces of large-scale research and surveys. Just to provide some examples, in the European Union people belonging to Roma communities are widely perceived as at risk of discrimination in the Special Eurobarometer of 2012.⁵⁴ Roma young people and women are disparately impacted by social exclusion and marginalisation. For this reason also the Council of Europe has issued the Roma Youth Action Plan,⁵⁵ based on the guidelines drafted by Roma youngsters at the Roma Youth Conference in Strasbourg in 2011, in order to foster Roma young people's equal opportunities.⁵⁶

The stigma towards Roma people in Europe is so deeply embedded in many countries, that the antidiscrimination law seems to be ineffective to tackle anti-Roma discrimination, despite the efforts stepped up to tackle them at European level (both European Union and Council of Europe).

Similarly, transgender/transsexual young people are also considered as belonging to groups easily targeted by discrimination, according to the findings of the aforementioned Special Eurobarometer. With regard to refugees and asylum seekers, both the European Union and national governments strengthen the wall of 'Fortress Europe', with operations like Triton⁵⁷ and legislation restricting the access to asylum. A recent study of the UNCHR and the Council of Europe addresses the challenges faced by unaccompanied or separated young refugees and asylum seekers when they turn 18 and face a change of legal regime.⁵⁸ In many countries, these young people are victims of direct and institutional discrimination in school, in the access to documents, in the participation in cultural and social life and in the access to the labour market. Prejudices and discrimination against these targeted groups are deeply rooted in the social and legal constructs of our societies, for example in the ways in which they are *performed* by the society and enforced in schools with children, youngsters and at all life stages.

The spectrum of people targeted by discrimination is even wider than one might expect, because discrimination can actually be against people who do not indeed have certain characteristics, but just because they are perceived as Roma, transgender or refugees (discrimination by perception) or linked and associated with them (discrimination by association). In such a scenario, it is an issue of both formal and substantive equality (and dignity...) to breaking the stereotypes and tackling all forms of discrimination affecting young people who are Roma, transgender, etc...

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⁵³ For Roma young people from Kosovo who are 'tolerated' in Germany, see Roma Center Göttingen e.V., available at: <http://www.roma-center.de/>; Ara Art, NGO for the rights of Roma LGBT, available at: <https://www.facebook.com/pages/ARA-ART-os/319810101493613>.

⁵⁴ European Union, 2012. Special Eurobarometer. Op. cit. ; you can compare with the European Union, 2007. Special Eurobarometer 296.Op. cit..

⁵⁵ Council of Europe, 2012. Roma Youth Action Plan. Available at: <http://enter.coe.int/roma/Roma-Youth-Action-Plan/About-the-Roma-Youth-Action-Plan> (accessed 28 June 2014).

⁵⁶ See at: http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/youth/default_en.asp (accessed 28 June 2014).

⁵⁷ European Commission, 2014. Press Release. Available at: http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_MEMO-14-609_en.htm (accessed 28 June 2014).

⁵⁸ UNCHR and CoE, 2014. Unaccompanied and separated asylum-seeking and refugee children turning eighteen: what to celebrate? Available at: http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/youth/Source/Resources/Documents/2014_UNHCR_and_Council_of_Europe_Report_Transition_Adulthood.pdf (accessed 28 June 2014).

3.5. AWARENESS OF EXISTING LEGISLATION, LEGAL DEFINITIONS AND POLICY

Discrimination and multiple discrimination can be better tackled when young people know what their rights are and what advocacy or lobby action they have to embark on to have gaps in the law and policy filled in. For this reason, it is important to bring antidiscrimination law and policy to the attention of young people, youth NGOs and people working with them also in rural or peripheral areas. Youth NGOs play a significant role in multiplying the knowledge on antidiscrimination law and calling to action for its implementation and amelioration. In the European Union, the antidiscrimination directives state that Member States should consider NGOs “which have, in accordance with their national law and practice, a legitimate interest in contributing to the fight against discrimination” (art. 11, Directive 2000/43/EC; art. 14, Directive 2000/78/EC; art. 11 Directive 2004/113/EC; art. 22 Directive 2006/54/EC) on the grounds protected by law with a view to promoting the principle of equal treatment, as relevant partners and entertain a dialogue with them. Also, all antidiscrimination directives call on States to “take care that the provisions adopted pursuant to this Directive, together with the relevant provisions already in force, are brought to the attention of the persons concerned by all appropriate means throughout their territory” (art. 10, Directive 2000/43/EC; art. 12, Directive 2000/78/EC; art. 15 Directive 2004/113/EC; art. 30 Directive 2006/54/EC). In non-EU countries, the European Convention of Human Rights (ECHR) is the main binding document providing antidiscrimination protection, together with the Revised Social Charter (and, more recently, with the so defined Istanbul Convention, see par. 1.3.), even if it was only with the EU antidiscrimination law that a debate on multiple discrimination flourished. The data of the online explorative survey show that information on relevant aspects of the legislation and its implementation has not yet reached many respondents living in the European Union’s countries. It is interesting to learn that the 45.5% of respondents believe that the national law in the country where they live prohibits multiple discrimination (also in countries where this is not the case), and 40.9% do not know what the situation is in that respect, while the same percentage (45.5%) thinks that the EU law prohibits multiple discrimination and a higher number (50.6%) are not sure about it. It is also worth mentioning that only 5.6% of respondents are aware of whether there is a national policy (apart from the national law) that tackles multiple discrimination against young people and very low number of young people (3.3%) are familiar with such policy at the EU level. Moreover, just 45.7% of young people are aware of existence of Equality Body in a country where they live and 36.4% are familiar with organisations that provide help to young discriminated people. As a conclusion, it can be said that despite a relatively high occurrence of discrimination among young people living in Europe their awareness of protective mechanisms is quite low and there is still the need to fill in this gap and promote knowledge about human rights standards among people living in Europe (within and beyond the European Union).

More information needs to be disseminated about the concept of ‘multiple discrimination’, how it works, which legal and policy instruments can be used at national and European level. As far as the concept of ‘multiple discrimination’ is concerned, it is still not very well-known and young people may find it difficult to identify whether they were discriminated against on more than one ground or not. One should not forget that multiple discrimination is, first of all, ‘discrimination’. For this reason it can be ‘direct’ and ‘indirect’, as well as harassment. This aspect is very important for the aim of this explorative survey and for its possible follow-up, because there might be discrepancies between legal, policy and case-law understandings and the “perception” of multiple (direct, indirect, etc.) discrimination experienced by young people. Young people need to be addressed in a youth-friendly way. In this sense, there is some good practice trying to explain what multiple discrimination and intersectionality are without using jargonistic terms and expressions.

04

Reflections and recommendations for further research and evidence-based policy

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This chapter presents the insights gained from analysing the data collected through the on-line explorative survey on multiple discrimination affecting young people. The survey shows that the current generation of young people is a kaleidoscope in terms of biographies, mobility trajectories, kinds and levels of education. In different ways, many youngsters find it difficult to find stable employment, to access credit, to rent a house, to complete their transition to adult life: a whole trend that has been intensified by the global financial crisis.

The survey tries to capture which grounds of young people's identity prevent them from accessing opportunities on an equal footing and whether and how grounds intersect and add to each other. Findings show that all forms of multiple discrimination are spread in at least half of respondents' lives. They also show that there is a certain interconnectedness among sectors where discrimination occurs and, often, among grounds of discrimination.

The respondents in this survey are generally highly educated and they are often mobile inside their countries and abroad. The survey did not manage to reach young people with no internet access and without knowledge of English. Therefore, it is urgently important to get a clear idea of how young people with fewer skills and possibilities are impacted by multiple discrimination. There are some recurrent patterns of discrimination (including multiple discrimination) in different sectors and this implies that the issue is widespread. Some grounds of discrimination are covered by today's antidiscrimination legislation, whereas many others are not and leave victims of discrimination on one or more grounds without or with weak protection. The interconnectedness between sectors also raises the issue that a prolonged stay in in the internship 'limbo', precarious or low paid jobs hinders access to house renting, bank loans, etc. Not being able to plan for the future with a stable income to rely on has serious consequences for young people, who are forced to postpone the start of an adult life. Some young people can count on their families but young people who belong to low income or marginalised families will lose out and stay trapped in a vicious circle of exclusion.

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4.1. REFLECTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

In order to disclose the adequate solutions and evidence-based policy to tackle multiple discrimination affecting young people across Europe, there are a several topics that need to be further investigated.

As far as the subjective scope of antidiscrimination law and policy is concerned, for instance, it is necessary to delve into particular cases of multiple discrimination affecting youth, including both the grounds protected by the current legislation and those which are not protected.

The survey elicits that young respondents are more at risk of discrimination when their age intersects or adds to gender, sexual orientation, physical appearance and obesity, psychological health conditions, ethnic origin, social origin and political or other opinion. Additionally, when asked to mention whom in their countries would be more at risk of discrimination in their countries, some 'intersections' of grounds are particularly harmful in various sectors. Respondents mention Roma young people, young Muslim, young transgender/transsexuals, young refugees and stateless people, young HIV-positive people and young ex-offenders, disabled young people and further intersections among the grounds suggested in the survey. When it comes to the perception of the target groups that are less likely to get a promotion, young women are ranked first, while the fact of being poor is considered a relevant barrier in young people's lives.

There is also the need to gather knowledge on how discrimination on one or more grounds occurs in such areas as the access to bank loans, to health, to justice, to housing, and to documents; on the role of discrimination on one or more grounds as a push factor in migration/mobility processes as well as on the discrimination faced by young people when moving to another part of the country or abroad. The interplay of different grounds should be further explored also in the transition from education to employment, which is particularly challenging for most vulnerable young people.

On a methodological note, when researching on youth, it is absolutely essential to explore how other identity grounds interplay with age and among each other in young people's lives. This will give a much better picture of the barriers that young people face and bring overlooked situations to the surface.

At the end of the survey, respondents had the chance to make suggestions and recommendations for further law, policy and other initiatives.

4.2. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER LAW AND POLICY INITIATIVES

This online explorative survey is an attempt to show that the traditional approach to tackling discrimination as mutually exclusive and isolated (in separated groups, policies, pieces of law, different advocacy groups pursuing their own battles and agendas at the local, European, and international level) does not effectively support all young people. In fact, discrimination can occur on different grounds separately, but grounds can also intersect and compound. The separation and even competition between different advocacy groups and policies have proved to nullify the particular stances of the most vulnerable ones within each group. This is what Kimberly Crenshaw calls “political intersectionality”, which “highlights the fact that women of colour (author’s Note: the same can be said of other communities, such as Roma women, Roma LGBT, etc. within the Roma communities) are situated within at least two subordinated groups that frequently pursue conflicting political agendas”.⁵⁹ The data show that **young people are a kaleidoscope** in terms of biographies, mobility trajectories, kinds and levels of education. In different ways, many youngsters find it difficult to find stable employment, to access credit, to rent a house, to complete their transition to adult life: a whole trend that has been intensified by the global financial crisis. Findings show that all forms of multiple discrimination are widespread in at least half of respondents’ life. They also show that there is a **certain interconnectedness among sectors where discrimination occurs** and, often, among grounds of discrimination. The respondents to this survey are generally highly educated and they are often mobile inside their countries and abroad. Therefore, **it is urgently necessary to get a clearer idea of how policy and law might support young people with less opportunities**. Besides, there are some recurrent patterns of discrimination (including multiple discrimination) in different sectors and this implies that the issue is widespread. Some grounds of discrimination are covered by today’s antidiscrimination legislation, whereas many others are not and leave victims of discrimination on one or more grounds without or with a weak protection. The interconnectedness between sectors also raises the issue that prolonged stay in the internship ‘limbo’, precarious or low paid jobs hinder access to house renting, bank loans, etc. Not being able to plan for the future with a stable income to rely on has serious consequences for young people, who are forced to postpone the start of an adult life.

Age intersects, adds to and multiplies discrimination based on many grounds which, jointly with structural and institutional barriers, prevent many young people from enjoying equal opportunities and substantive equality.

The answers to open-ended questions in the survey offered the opportunity to respondents to give examples of the multiple barriers they face in their daily life because of their identity. The first barrier to overcome is the low or **lack of knowledge about the legal and policy meaning of ‘discrimination’, ‘harassment’, multiple / intersectional discrimination and intersectionality and about the legal and policy instruments that are provided by national governments and European institutions.** It is important to fill the gap between the perception of discrimination and the legal/policy term of discrimination, in order to have a “law in action” and not just “in the books”.

Discrimination is often very internalised by young people, above all by those who were discriminated against as children and grow up with a sense of disempowerment and anger. Many young people do not belong to NGOs and live in rural or isolated areas, where they have less access to resources to tackle multiple discrimination. Many answers to the survey show that the **harmonisation of antidiscrimination law** is considered as a matter of justice towards ‘all’ young people.

On a more specific note, the following
RECOMMENDATIONS
can be drafted:

- **To monitor practices of discrimination even in the countries where Equality Bodies are established.**
- **To actually enforce the existing antidiscrimination law and policy, in a way that can benefit ‘all young people’.**
- **To broaden up the list of antidiscrimination grounds.**
- **To have regular and detailed checks on all institutions about their attitudes and policies towards ‘all’ young people.**
- **To put antidiscrimination legislation and policy in a global perspective and integrate the needs of non-EU nationals moving to Europe.**
- **To spread information about current antidiscrimination law, including multiple discrimination, as recommended by the EU antidiscrimination Directives. In order to reach people across Europe, information should be user-friendly also in the form of information sheets/app for youth groups and educational establishments.**
- **To think “out of the box” and, when tackling discrimination, address issues and grounds which are normally not spoken about, like access to housing, to loans, or young couple without children, single people who face life alone, health issues and precarious jobs.**
- **To make it easier for people to lodge complaints about discrimination.**
- **To make sanctions effective and proportionate to the discrimination case.**
- **To ban racist parties from standing in EU and national elections.**
- **To sensitise police on antidiscrimination and anti-racism particularly in relation to their stop-and-search activities on non-White or Roma people.**
- **To train school staff on discrimination on one or more grounds, so that they can implement prevention programs that suit all young people.**
- **To put a ceiling on men’s pay in any institution with a gender pay gap.**
- **To ensure quality education for all young people, independent of their background.**
- **To make sure that ‘all’ young people are seen as a resource for their countries and that their real identities, life and stories are taken into account.**
- **To share case studies on young people’s experiences of multiple discrimination in a youth friendly format.**
- **To develop empathy in the education system so that young pupils are not humiliated because of their identities.**
- **To increase awareness about multiple discrimination, starting at a very young age, as well as prevention of discrimination on one or more grounds. To introduce anti-racist, anti-sexist and anti-homophobic education as a compulsory curriculum subject from age 5 in all primary schools, to be taught alongside literacy.**

⁵⁹ Crenshaw, K., 1991. Op.cit.

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