



Analysing the Experience of Discrimination in Ireland

Evidence from the QNHS Equality Module 2010

Frances McGinnity, Dorothy Watson and Gillian Kingston

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**Analysing the Experience of Discrimination in Ireland:
Evidence from the QNHS Equality Module 2010**

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FOREWORD

Authoritative evidence on the nature and extent of discrimination and inequality in Ireland provides an essential foundation for the work of the Equality Authority. The Employment Equality Acts 1998 to 2011 and the Equal Status Acts 2000 to 2011 mandate the Authority to work towards the elimination of discrimination on nine specified grounds – gender, civil status, family status, sexual orientation, religion, age, disability, race and membership of the Traveller community – and to promote equality of opportunity.

This report, *‘Analysing the Experience of Discrimination in Ireland: Evidence from the QNHS Equality Module 2010’* provides a detailed analysis of a nationally representative survey on discrimination collected by the Central Statistics Office in late 2010. This survey collected data on the experience of discrimination in employment and in accessing services, the grounds on which discrimination occurred and the impact of discrimination on those experiencing it. The survey also investigated participants’ knowledge of their rights under equality legislation and what action they had taken to address discrimination against them.

Overall just under 12 per cent of the population in Ireland aged 18 years and over said that they had been discriminated against in the preceding two years. This report enhances our understanding of the survey findings by using statistical modelling to identify whether group characteristics – such as ethnicity or disability – are associated with discrimination when other characteristics are accounted for. The report also distinguishes discrimination with some or no impact from that with a serious or very serious impact, and conducts a detailed analysis of actions taken in response to discrimination.

On behalf of the Equality Authority I would like to thank the CSO which made this report possible by facilitating access to the data. I would also like to record our particular thanks to the authors – Frances McGinnity, Dorothy Watson and Gillian Kingston of the Economic and Social Research Institute – for their expert report. Thanks are also due to Laurence Bond, Head of Research at the Equality Authority, for his support to this project.

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Chief Executive Officer
The Equality Authority

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Research Aims and Approach

Discrimination undermines equality, and may have damaging consequences for the particular individuals involved. Monitoring the extent of discrimination is thus a very valuable exercise. However, discrimination is difficult to measure, as it is rarely observed directly. This report relies on the self-reported experiences of discrimination among the general population. It investigates discrimination using a large, representative sample of the population in Ireland using a special module of the *Quarterly National Household Survey* carried out by the Central Statistics Office (CSO) in 2010.

The survey asked individuals whether they had experienced discrimination in a number of social situations over the previous two years, and provides important baseline information on a number of key issues:

- The level of discrimination experienced.
- The social contexts in which discrimination occurs.
- The social characteristics of those who report discrimination.
- The perceived grounds of discrimination.
- The impact of discrimination and the responses taken.

The strengths of this data source lie in the quality and size of the sample; the diverse social groups who reported their experiences; the range of social situations covered; the information on the impact of discrimination and the actions taken. The chief weakness of the methodology is the subjective nature of the data: we are relying on people's interpretations of discrimination. The survey was designed by the CSO to minimise subjective variability by providing respondents with a clear definition of discrimination, delimiting the contexts and timeframe, and surveying the whole population, not just minority groups. While acknowledging that some subjective variation may remain, this report capitalises on the strength of the data, to provide a rich and comprehensive picture of the experience of discrimination in 2010. The fact that the survey was a repeat of an earlier survey in 2004 permits some comparisons of the experience of discrimination in an economic boom (2004) and recession (2010).

The report enhances our understanding of the headline figures provided in the CSO release on the *QNHS Equality Module* (CSO, 2011) by using statistical modelling to identify whether group characteristics are associated with discrimination when other characteristics are accounted for. The report also distinguishes discrimination with some or no impact from that with a serious or very serious impact, and conducts a detailed analysis of actions taken in response to discrimination.

The Experience of Discrimination: Key Findings

Overall, just under 12 per cent of the population in Ireland aged 18 years and over said that they had been discriminated against in the preceding two years (Table A). Of those potentially exposed to discrimination, 7 per cent reported discrimination while accessing services and 8 per cent reported work-related discrimination.

The study examines experiences of discrimination across nine social situations or domains, detailed in Table A. The highest rate of discrimination occurred in the two

work-related domains – looking for work and in the workplace – with between 5 and 6 per cent of those potentially exposed experiencing discrimination.

In services, the rate of discrimination varies from 3.4 per cent in obtaining housing or accommodation to less than 0.5 per cent in transport services (see Table A). In absolute numbers, banks and financial institutions proved the most common domain for perceived discrimination in services.

Table A: Incidence and Rates of Discrimination Across Domains

Experienced Discrimination	Experienced Discrimination (000s)	Eligible Population (000s)	Rate %
Any discrimination	389.7	3,334.0	11.7
Any Service-related discrimination	244.1	3,334.0	7.3
Any Work-related discrimination	187.3	2,392.0	7.8
While looking for work	83.9	1,425.1	5.9
In the workplace	118.0	2,239.4	5.3
Obtaining housing/accommodation	35.8	1,038.9	3.4
Using services of banks, insurance	82.0	3,334.0	2.5
In shops, pubs or restaurants	67.3	3,334.0	2.0
Accessing health services	44.0	3,184.0	1.4
In relation to education	16.6	1,315.8	1.3
Accessing other public services	39.6	3,324.3	1.2
Using transport services	13.6	3,317.9	0.4

Note: The data have been reweighted to reflect population totals. The rates are calculated as a proportion of the eligible population, i.e. excluding those who say the question is not applicable to them.

The survey also collected information on the grounds on which respondents felt they were discriminated against. Of the nine grounds covered by equality legislation, nationality/ethnicity was the most common ground cited (22 per cent) followed by age (16 per cent). Over one-third of respondents who experienced discrimination could not clearly assign it to one of the equality grounds.

Social Characteristics of Those at Risk of Discrimination

The survey includes information on the socio-demographic characteristics of those who report discrimination, allowing comparisons between different sub-groups, such as men and women, Irish national/non-Irish national and many others. While these characteristics cover many of the grounds on which discrimination is legally prohibited in Ireland, there are two important omissions, namely sexual orientation and membership of the Traveller community, as these are not separately identified in the survey data. As well as these characteristics related to the equality legislation, we also include a number of other factors we expect may be associated with discrimination, such as education, employment and housing tenure. For work-related discrimination we also consider some job characteristics. Respondents also reported whether discrimination had a serious impact on their lives. We use statistical modelling to identify whether a particular group characteristic is associated with experiencing discrimination, or experiencing discrimination that had a serious impact, when the differential effect of other characteristics is accounted for. Some of the main effects are summarised below.

Women and Men

Women are somewhat more likely to experience discrimination overall than men, although there are no indications that discrimination overall is more serious in its impact for women than men. It is in the area of work, particularly in the workplace that women are more likely to report experiencing discrimination: men and women do not differ in their reported risk of service-related discrimination overall. There is some variation in services, with women somewhat more likely to experience discrimination in health and education, and men in financial services.

Age Groups: Older and Younger People

The 45-64 year old group is more likely to report work-related discrimination, specifically in seeking work. They are also more likely to report that this work-related discrimination has a serious impact on their lives than the 25-44 year old reference group. They are not more likely to experience discrimination in service-related domains, however, and are less likely than those under 45 to experience discrimination in shops and pubs. Compared to the reference group, older people in Ireland (65+) are much less likely to report experiencing any discrimination, or discrimination that has a serious impact on their lives. The fact that older people are not at higher risk of discrimination in any service domains has been found before, and may in part reflect a reluctance of older people in Ireland to classify their experience as discriminatory (Russell *et al.*, 2010).

Family status

In many specific service domains, lone parents report somewhat higher rates of discrimination, but this is accounted for by education, housing tenure and other characteristics. The one exception is in accessing other public services, which includes social welfare services. Significantly, lone parents are also more likely to report that service-related discrimination has a serious impact on their lives. In terms of marital status, the separated/divorced group is also more likely than married people to report service-related discrimination, and also to report that discrimination overall has had a serious impact.

Minority Ethnic Groups and Non-Irish Nationals

People of Black ethnicity report much higher rates of discrimination at work, in seeking work, and in five of the seven service domains, even controlling for other characteristics. They are also much more likely to report discrimination that has a serious impact on their lives, both work-related discrimination and in service domains. Asians and Other ethnic groups report higher discrimination in some work and service domains, though to a lesser extent than the Black group.

Those of non-Irish nationality are more likely to experience discrimination in the workplace. They are also more likely to experience discrimination in seeking work, though this is accounted for by ethnicity and other factors. Non-Irish nationals are more likely to experience discrimination in shops, pubs and restaurants. They are somewhat more likely to experience discrimination in transport and other services, though once again, when we account for ethnicity this difference is not maintained.

People with Disabilities

There is a strong association between having a disability and reported discrimination. People with a disability report higher levels of discrimination in five of the seven service domains – shops/pubs, financial services, health, transport and other public services. Associations were particularly strong in health and transport. Unsurprisingly, those with a disability are much more likely than those without a disability to report

that service-related discrimination had a serious impact on their lives. People with a disability are not more likely to report work-related discrimination overall. However, if we hold other factors constant, they are more likely to experience work-related discrimination that has a serious impact on their lives.

Change Over Time in the Experience of Discrimination 2004-2010

As the 2010 survey repeats an earlier survey in 2004, we also conduct some analysis of how the experience of discrimination changed between the boom years of 2004 and the recession in 2010. Overall, we find relatively little change in the experience of discrimination - the overall rate, the domains where discrimination is experienced most often, the grounds, the actions taken. The findings are thus generally supportive of the idea that discrimination persists, that is that rates of discrimination are fairly stable over time, regardless of the economic circumstances. There are a few notable exceptions.

One exception is that while the overall rate fell slightly, there was a small rise in serious discrimination between 2004 and 2010. The percentage reporting that discrimination had a serious effect on their lives had increased from 25 per cent of those experiencing discrimination in 2004 to 32 per cent in 2010.

Another exception is discrimination among the Black minority ethnic group. This group were at risk of discrimination in 2004 in a range of domains. Their risk of discrimination had significantly increased by 2010, however. At the same time, there was a significant increase in the risk of serious discrimination for those in the Black ethnic group between 2004 and 2010.

By contrast the rate of reported discrimination of those with a disability has dropped between 2004 and 2010: people with a disability also experienced a drop in discrimination that had a serious impact on their lives. The risk of discrimination remains significantly higher for people with a disability than for those without a disability, but the gap had narrowed compared to 2004.

In terms of the variation between domains, there were relatively high but stable rates of discrimination in looking for work and a small rise in discrimination in the workplace between 2004 and 2010, but a fall in discrimination in services – for example in housing, and in particular using financial services. A final interesting change over time is the fall in the risk of serious discrimination for the unemployed. We interpret this by pointing out that the recession had drawn a larger group into unemployment and that many of them had better access to material, social and cultural resources than the smaller group who were unemployed in the boom years. The unemployed are still much more likely to experience serious discrimination than those who are employed in 2010, but the gap between the employed and unemployed had been larger in 2004.

Action Taken in Response to Discrimination

Two-fifths of those experiencing discrimination took some action in response. The most common form of action taken was verbal action. Only 10 per cent of those experiencing discrimination took official or legal action. Knowledge of rights is an important mediating factor in determining whether the person will take action in response to discrimination. Knowledge of rights, as in 2004, was strongly associated with education, and was lower among vulnerable groups including the youngest and oldest age groups, people of non-white ethnicity, non-Irish nationals and people with a disability. There has been a modest improvement in knowledge of rights since 2004, most marked amongst non-Irish nationals and those of minority ethnicity.

Policy Implications

The results of this study suggest that recruitment and the workplace, accommodation/housing and financial services are areas that may require particular monitoring for discriminatory practice. In terms of groups affected by discrimination, both the unemployed and inactive and in particular non-Irish nationals and ethnic minorities are particularly at risk of work-related discrimination. In service-related discrimination, it tends to be those with a disability, non-Irish nationals and ethnic minorities, and those in local authority housing who consistently experience discrimination. The results suggest that these groups need particular supports, and employers and service providers need to be aware of the potential dangers of discriminatory practices. This report shows that Black adults report a particularly high rate of discrimination in a range of domains, both work-related and in services, and that relative to White Irish adults; they are even more disadvantaged in 2010 than in 2004.

The finding that the group with the highest rate of discrimination are least likely to take action indicates the potential benefit of proactive third party interventions such as information campaigns, advocacy and legal supports, as well as initiatives by employers and service providers to implement good practice. The fact that the study finds knowledge of rights is also associated with taking action supports this strategy. The generally low level of formal action taken, where 10 per cent of those who were discriminated against took formal or legal action, underscores the value of continued monitoring of discrimination in population surveys of this nature. If one were relying on individuals to report discrimination to a relevant authority as a means of monitoring, much discrimination would go undetected, and the extent of discrimination in the population and the nature of the groups affected would be seriously underestimated.

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

Despite extensive legislation outlawing discrimination, there is now a significant body of evidence of discrimination and inequality in Ireland (see Bond, McGinnity and Russell, 2010). Not only does the presence of discrimination seriously undermine equality, it also may have damaging consequences for the individuals involved – in terms of mental and physical health, self-esteem and underperformance of members of the minority group (Al Ramiah *et al.*, 2010). Measuring and tracking the extent of discrimination is thus an extremely valuable exercise.

However, measuring discrimination accurately is challenging. Surveys of respondents' self-reported experiences of discrimination are one very important source of information in understanding and measuring discrimination. This project draws on data from a nationally representative survey on self-reports of discrimination in Ireland, carried out by the CSO in 2010. This report builds on the analysis in Russell *et al.* (2008), which examines the first Equality Module carried out by the CSO in 2004. The report also enhances our understanding of the headline figures provided in the CSO release on the *QNHS* Equality Module (CSO, 2011): it uses statistical modelling to identify whether group characteristics are associated with discrimination when other characteristics are accounted for; it conducts a detailed analysis of the perceived grounds for discrimination; it distinguishes discrimination with some or no impact from that with a serious or very serious impact and finally conducts a detailed analysis of actions taken in response to discrimination.

The primary aim of this report is to outline the situation in 2010. Yet the economic and social context is very much changed since 2004, so it is useful to consider whether and how patterns of the experience of discrimination have changed between the economic boom (2004) and recession (2010). Internationally there are few examples of consistent surveys of discrimination in boom and recession, so this allows us to contribute to the literature on how the experience of discrimination may change during the economic cycle.

1.2 Measurement of Discrimination

The extent to which inequality is due to discrimination is a matter of continuing controversy, making the accurate measurement of discrimination an important task, however challenging (Bond *et al.*, 2010). From the outset, measurement issues have been central to issues on gender equality in the labour market: the extension of equality legislation to other grounds poses new measurement challenges (Gregory 2010; Bond *et al.*, 2010). As discriminatory behaviour is rarely measured directly, researchers must infer its presence and consider whether the behaviour would have been different, had the person been a member of another group.

A number of methods have been used in previous research, though no single approach allows researchers to address all the measurement issues and each have their strengths and weaknesses (Darity and Mason, 1998; Pager and Shepherd, 2008). Probably the most common method used to measure discrimination is the statistical analysis of differential outcomes (see e.g. Barrett *et al.*, 2011; McGuinness *et al.*, 2009). Yet even where groups are carefully compared using advanced statistical techniques, it is often difficult to assess what component of the residual group difference is due to discrimination. Field experiments can provide powerful direct evidence of discrimination which is difficult to challenge, though these are often

limited to very specific situations, and results may be difficult to generalise (McGinnity and Lunn, 2011).

Assessing the attitudes of the general population towards minorities plays a useful role in understanding discrimination, but respondents may under-report negative attitudes, and attitudes are not always accurate predictors of discriminatory behaviour. Evidence from legal caseloads, like Equality Tribunals, is very valuable but limited to those with the information and resources to take a case, and is generally regarded as an underestimate of the true incidence of discrimination (Banks and Russell, 2011).

Survey data on self-reports of discrimination draw on the respondents' own experiences and their interpretation of events. The primary strengths of this methodology are its breadth and the representative nature of the results, and this method has played an important role in tracking change (and stability) over time (Blank *et al.*, 2004). This is particularly pertinent to this report, as we have two surveys with almost identical question wording and sampling strategy at two very different points in time. Surveys of discrimination or unfair treatment can also investigate a wide variety of situations and are not confined to a particular setting such as employment or housing, as experiments often are. This allows researchers to compare the experience of discrimination in different settings or 'domains', and investigate people's life experiences not typically covered by studies of discrimination, such as their experience of accessing public services, or in shops and restaurants.

General population surveys also have the advantage of collecting information across all sectors of society and not just among an identifiable minority group, like migrants, as is often the case (e.g. McGinnity *et al.*, 2006). This has two advantages. The results can be compared between minority and majority populations – migrant and non-migrant groups; those with a disability and without a disability. Second, groups whose experience may be less commonly investigated, like the under 25 years age group, may also be included.

The results of surveys conducted upon a nationally representative random sample of the population can be generalised to the wider population, which is not possible with some other approaches to investigating discrimination such as experimental studies, legal caseload analyses and qualitative studies. The large sample size of the *QNHS* also means that numerically small groups can be investigated. Two important exceptions to this are very small population groups covered under the Equality legislation – members of the Traveller community and those with minority sexual orientation. It was not possible to analyse these groups as they are not separately identified in the survey data (see Watson *et al.*, 2012 for a treatment of these using Census data).¹

A further advantage of this approach is that follow-up questions can be asked about respondents' reactions to the discriminatory experiences and the perceived consequences for the individual (Russell *et al.*, 2010). In addition, self-reports of discrimination are particularly valuable as previous research, both in Ireland and internationally, finds only a small proportion of people who experience discrimination actually report it to the relevant authorities (EUMC, 2006). Indeed, evidence suggests that it is a very select group that reports discrimination – those who are well-informed, well-resourced and highly motivated (Russell *et al.*, 2008).

¹ There are two issues with very small numbers in a survey like the *QNHS*. One is that with very small groups, individuals could be more easily identified, which compromises the confidentiality of the survey. The other is that if the numbers in a group are very small this raises concerns about how representative this group in the sample are of the population.

The subjective nature of self-reports is the chief weakness of this methodology, as there is no independent arbitrator to assess each case (Russell *et al.*, 2010). Self-reports of discrimination may be subject to incomplete information and bias. Discrimination may be under-reported because it is not observable to the respondent (e.g. an employer might discriminate against a job candidate who is a non-Irish national but the applicant will not know the reason that they have not been hired). Alternatively discrimination may be over-reported if, in an ambiguous situation, respondents falsely attribute their treatment to discrimination when it is in fact due to some other reason (not being hired could be due to poor performance at interview rather than discrimination).

Like other subjective indicators – life satisfaction, work-life balance – some element of reported discrimination may reflect the interaction between people’s experience (how they were treated) and their expectations (how they think they should be treated).² People’s expectations may adapt, based on their current or past experience. Different population groups may have different expectations of how they should be treated, based on their knowledge – for example knowledge of their equality rights – or their reference groups – the people they are comparing themselves with. Thus it is useful to investigate the relationship between people’s characteristics and their experience of discrimination, a task to which this survey is very well suited. Good questionnaire design, like that used in the Equality Module (discussed below), can also help minimise the subjectivity.

As with any reports of discrimination, it is also useful to interpret these findings in conjunction with findings from other sources, a process known as triangulation (Russell *et al.*, 2010). In general researchers have found self-reports of discrimination to be reasonably accurate when cross-validated against other data sources (Blank *et al.*, 2004).

The breadth of coverage of a population survey of multiple life domains makes it particularly important to control for differences in exposure to potential discrimination: a person may be in a shop or restaurant much more frequently than they apply for a job, which may not have happened at all in the period. One way of adjusting for this, at least in part, is to just analyse discrimination on the basis of ‘those at risk’, rather than the whole population, by excluding respondents who said ‘does not apply’. This is carried out throughout the report. It is much more significant for some domains than others.

A second issue arises in the context of the broad coverage of the population survey approach – the challenge of assessing discrimination across a range of very different domains. Some experiences of discrimination may be much more serious than others, in terms of having an impact on an individual’s life. We address this (in Chapter 4) in assessing the overall experience of discrimination by focusing on discrimination that had a serious impact on the person’s life, in addition to combining discrimination across domains. This in some way gets around the problem of equating rudeness at a local shop to being turned down for a job or house.

A third avenue we pursue is to investigate respondents’ own understanding of the reason they were discriminated against, known also as the ‘grounds’ for discrimination. Discrimination is complex, and people have multiple identities, so it is not always possible to ‘read off’ the reason for discrimination from the respondent’s characteristics. For instance, an older adult with a disability may attribute their failure to get a job, despite being well qualified, to either age or disability grounds, or both.

² For a discussion of the issue of expectations and objective situation relating to life satisfaction and work-life balance see Fahey *et al.*, 2003, McGinnity and Whelan, 2009, respectively.

1.3 Measuring discrimination using the Equality Module

The analyses in this project are based on the 2010 *Quarterly National Household Survey*, Equality Module, conducted in the fourth quarter of 2010. The *QNHS* is a nationally representative very large random sample of private households in Ireland, whose primary function is to collect data on labour market indicators (for further details see the Methodological Appendix).³ Special survey modules like this one are sometimes included in the survey, and results are matched with the main *QNHS* to allow respondents to be classified on the basis of personal characteristics like gender, age, education, family status, nationality and migration history, housing tenure and broad region, as well as employment status and occupation and sector if employed.

The Equality Module of the survey was completed by a sub-sample of the *QNHS*, approximately 16,800 individuals, all aged 18 years and over who were interviewed directly. Respondents were asked about the experience of discrimination across nine social situations or domains, two of these were work related and the remaining seven related to accessing services. For those who reported discrimination in any of these situations, follow-up questions were asked about the grounds on which they felt they were discriminated, the effect the experience had, and their response, so we can examine patterns of reporting to relevant authorities (see the Methodological Appendix for the full questionnaire)

The survey follows international best practice to minimise bias in the estimates of discrimination (see Blank *et al.*, 2004). Firstly, respondents were provided with an explicit definition of discrimination and a number of concrete examples of what is and is not considered discrimination (See Box 1.1).

Box 1.1: Definition of Discrimination on Equality Module (Prompt Card)

I am going to ask you some questions about your experiences of discrimination in Ireland. The focus of this section of the questionnaire is to collect data on discrimination as defined in Irish law. Under Irish law, discrimination takes place when one person or a group of persons is treated less favourably than others because of their gender, marital status, family status, age, disability, 'race'(skin colour or ethnic group), sexual orientation, religious belief, and/or membership of the Traveller Community.

When the term discrimination is used in this questionnaire it refers to this legal definition only.

If you believe you were treated less favourably than someone else but it was for another reason (e.g. your qualifications, being over an income limit or because you are further back in a queue for something), this is not considered discrimination under Irish law.

Secondly, the experience of discrimination is linked to specific social contexts or domains, for example 'obtaining housing or accommodation', or 'using the services of banks, insurance companies or financial institutions'.

Thirdly, the questions are time delimited – in this case confined to the two years preceding the interview. Relating the experience of discrimination to a particular time

³ In the course of revising population estimates based on the latest Census, there have been upward revisions to the estimates for immigration and the non-Irish population. The CSO has indicated that it intends to publish revised estimates derived from the *Quarterly National Household Survey*. Although this may have some implications for the composition of the non-Irish population, we anticipate only a very minor impact on the core topic of this report, the experience of discrimination of the different groups.

period and a particular incident has been shown to prompt recall of specific events, as opposed to a more subjective feeling of being poorly treated (Blank *et al.*, 2004).

Given the importance of question wording in this area, the fact that the questions are replicated from 2004 is very valuable for comparing these two surveys over time to track the experience of discrimination.

In addition to the specific questions on subjective experiences of discrimination, the module also includes some classificatory information not routinely collected in the QNHS. This included two questions on disability, detailed information on religious affiliation and a question on ethnicity. This information, and the very large sample size, permits analysis of the experience of relatively small social groups, and how the experiences of different social groups compare.

1.4 Previous Evidence on Discrimination

Previous research has found considerable differences in self-reports of discrimination depending on the country, the social situation being investigated and the framing of the questions. Often these studies are linked to particular types of discrimination, particularly on the basis of gender or race/ethnicity. Much of this research has been conducted in the US, though there have been some important cross-national European surveys in the past decade.

For example, in an important survey in the US on these issues, Kessler *et al.* (1999) investigate perceived discrimination across eleven domains, from promotion to medical care to financial services, across the respondent's whole lifetime. The rate of discrimination was highest in job hires (16 per cent), promotion (9 per cent) and lowest in medical care (3 per cent). A series of other surveys have asked African Americans and other racial minorities about their experiences with discrimination in the workplace, in their search for housing, and in other everyday experiences (Schuman *et al.*, 2001). One startling conclusion from this line of research is the frequency with which respondents report discrimination in these surveys (Pager and Shepherd, 2008).

A European-wide study on migrants' self-reports of racism and discrimination was conducted across 12 EU Member States including Ireland (EUMC, 2006). The questionnaire was replicated across countries, though the sampling strategies and migrant groups differed considerably. Overall, discrimination in the workplace or in seeking work was highest, though discrimination on the street and in public places was also one of the most common forms of discrimination in many countries. Reported discrimination in commercial transactions, particularly in access to housing, was also high, particularly in Southern European countries (*ibid*). In the Irish sample of non-EU migrants, discrimination was most commonly reported in the street or in public transport, followed by harassment at work and recruitment discrimination (McGinnity *et al.*, 2006).

A number of cross-national European surveys have included questions of the broader population on discrimination. In 2008 the Eurobarometer (an EU wide survey) focused on the perceptions, attitudes, knowledge and awareness of discrimination and inequality across the European Union. Analysis of the results found that discrimination based on ethnic origin is seen to be the most widespread form of discrimination in the EU (overall 62 per cent), followed by discrimination on the grounds of sexual orientation (51 per cent) and disability (45 per cent). In 2008 the European Social Survey undertook a special module about 'experiences and expressions of ageism'. The module asked respondents across Europe on their views on ageism and found that age discrimination is the most widely experienced form of discrimination across Europe for every age group.

In terms of discrimination in the workplace, analysis of the European Working conditions survey found that 5 per cent of those in employment felt they had been discriminated against 'at work' in the previous 12 months across a range of grounds. Almost 7 per cent of employees in Ireland reported discrimination at work in 2005, an increase from 1995 when the rate was 3 per cent (Russell *et al.*, 2010).

Russell *et al.* (2008) examined the subjective experience of discrimination across a range of domains and grounds, in their analysis of the first special module of the *Quarterly National Household Survey (QNHS)* on equality, conducted by the CSO (Quarter 4, 2004). The analyses found that overall 12.5 per cent of the adult population in Ireland said that they had been discriminated against in the preceding two years. Of the eligible population, 9 per cent of respondents reported discrimination accessing services, and 7 per cent reported work-related discrimination. The analyses show that disability is one of the strongest predictors of discrimination risk – people with disabilities were at higher risk across all domains except education. The authors also found that both ethnicity and nationality were linked to reports of experience of discrimination in any domain in the two years prior to the survey. Some 24 per cent of non-Irish nationals felt that they had been discriminated against over the two years preceding the survey, just over twice the rate for Irish nationals.

Another method of measurement of discrimination is field experiments. Field experiments blend experimental methods with field based research, relaxing certain controls over environmental influences to better simulate real-world interactions, providing a powerful means of isolating causal mechanisms (Pager and Shepherd, 2008). Many field experiments have tested discrimination on the basis of race or nationality. Testing over the past forty years in twelve countries by university researchers, independent research agencies and advocacy groups, confirms that racial discrimination is widespread and continuing – in recruitment, housing, credit markets, car sales, bars and restaurants (Pager and Shepherd, 2008). Significant levels of racial and ethnic discrimination have been detected by tests in Australia, Belgium, England, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, the Netherlands, Spain, Sweden and the USA (Rich 2012). Results are generally persistent for national/ethnic minorities across countries, and typically discrimination is higher towards non-white minorities in Western countries (Riach and Rich, 2002; Rich, 2010). Experiments have also been used to test discrimination on the basis of gender, age, family status and sexual orientation (Rich, 2010).

McGinnity *et al.* (2009) conducted the first field experiment measuring discrimination in Ireland. Candidates with Irish names were over twice as likely to be invited to interview for advertised jobs as candidates with identifiably non-Irish names, even though both submitted equivalent CVs. The authors did not find significant differences in the degree of discrimination faced by candidates with Asian, African or German names; all three were around half as likely to be invited to interview as Irish candidates. The results for this sample of jobs indicated strong discrimination against minority candidates and this applied broadly across all sectors and occupations.

In Ireland a body of evidence of inequalities using statistical analysis of outcomes on a range of grounds has been established (McGuinness *et al.*, 2009; Russell *et al.*, 2009; Barrett and Kelly, 2012; Watson *et al.*, 2012). Some studies also use multiple methods, combining self-reports of discrimination with an assessment of objective outcomes. In the US, Coleman *et al.* (2008) found that nearly all Black workers who report discrimination in work also show statistical evidence of wage discrimination. For an application of multiple methods to the Irish labour market see for example O'Connell and McGinnity (2008) and Kingston *et al.*, (forthcoming) on immigrants; Watson *et al.* (forthcoming) on people with disabilities.

Perceived discrimination has also been found to have negative outcomes. Self-reported discrimination has been linked to depression, anxiety and other negative health outcomes (Kessler *et al.*, 1999; Al Ramiah *et al.*, 2010). Perceived discrimination has also been linked to diminished effort in education and the labour market, which can exacerbate negative outcomes (Loury, 2002; Steele, 1997). In short, today's outcomes may affect incentives for tomorrow's behaviour (Al Ramiah *et al.*, 2010).

1.5 Changing Ireland 2004-2010: Policy and Labour Market Context

1.5.1 Equality Legislation and Policy

Ireland has relatively robust legislation on discrimination. The Employment Equality Acts 1998 to 2011 prohibit discrimination in the workplace and in vocational training, and the Equal Status Acts 2000 to 2011 prohibit discrimination in the provision of goods and services, accommodation and education on the grounds of gender, civil status, family status, age, race/nationality, religion, disability, sexual orientation or membership of the Community.⁴ Both Acts define discrimination as treating a person less favourably than another person is, has been, or would be treated in a comparable situation on any of the grounds specified. There are a considerable number of exemptions to both Equality Acts, in relation to specific services and groups.⁵

In terms of policies since 2004, there have been a number of strategic policy measures to enhance and promote equal opportunities in the workplace. These include the Forum on the Workplace of the Future (2005) and associated National Workplace Strategy; the establishment of the Mainstreaming Unit of the Equality Authority, to promote equality mainstreaming approaches in workplaces; and the Workplace Diversity Initiative, also operated by the Equality Authority (see Russell and McGinnity, 2011).

A number of policy measures have been introduced regarding migrants. The National Intercultural Health Strategy was introduced in 2007 and implemented in 2008; in 2010 the National Intercultural Education Strategy was introduced. Labour market policy has significantly changed since 2004, coinciding with a dramatic change in the size, structure and composition of the labour market. In 2004 the 'Habitual Residency Condition' (HRC) was implemented from the date of EU accession of 10 new member states, affecting all applicants for social welfare regardless of nationality. In order to qualify for assistance, applicants for social insurance or child benefit must show they are resident in Ireland and have a proven close link to Ireland.⁶ There is a substantial discretionary element in assessing the HRC, as the qualifying rules are vague (McGinnity *et al.*, 2011). For further information on integration policy, see the Annual Monitoring Reports on Integration 2010 and 2011 (McGinnity *et al.*, 2011, 2012).

⁴ In 2011 the ground of 'civil status' replaced 'marital status' in the legislation to also take account of same-sex Civil Partnerships.

⁵ For example, regarding the Equal Status Acts, in education, single sex schools are allowed: discrimination may also be permitted on the basis of religious affiliation in schools where it is essential to maintain the school's particular religious ethos. Financial service providers are allowed to treat people differently based on a number of equality grounds in the case of pensions and insurance and other matters relating to risk assessments, but only if the differences are based on actuarial or statistical data or other relevant factors. For details of provision and exemptions in the Equality Acts see www.equality.ie

⁶ Note the HRC also applies to Irish nationals, including returning emigrants, as well as non-Irish nationals.

Following EU enlargement in 2004, and the implementation of the new policy of meeting most Irish labour market demand from within the EU, the number of work permits issued by the Government dropped steadily. In 2007 and then again in 2009, due to the deepening economic recession, further restrictions were introduced to work permit conditions. The overriding labour market policy, which remains in place today, is to source all but the most highly skilled and/or hard to find workers from within the EEA.

In relation to Disability policy, the National Disability Strategy (2004) introduced a number of policy measures designed to promote inclusion and mainstreaming. The main outcomes of the strategy were the Disability Act 2005, the Education for Persons with Special Educational Needs (EPSEN) Act 2004, the Citizens Information Act 2007 (which included a commitment to implement a Personal Advocacy Service (PAS) for people with a disability), sectoral plans from six Government Departments and a multi-annual investment programme for disability support services. For further information on disability policy see Watson *et al.*, (forthcoming).

1.5.2 Labour Market and Population Change

One of the objectives of the 2010 Equality Module was to document and understand the nature of change in discrimination since 2004. The two snap-shots of discrimination were taken in remarkably different contexts. In 2004 employment was at a record high, earnings were rising rapidly and immigration was still increasing.

Between 2000 and 2007, the annual average growth in real GDP and real GNP was 5.6 per cent and 4.9 per cent, respectively. During this time period property prices in Ireland soared by a compound annual growth rate of 11 per cent. However, with the onset of the global financial crisis, the Irish property sector collapsed, with prices of residential properties falling by 47 per cent from their peak in September 2007 to December 2011. The resulting collapse of the construction and banking sectors meant that the Irish economy entered a very deep recession in 2008. Between 2008 and 2011 real GDP declined by 6.7 per cent, while real GNP declined by 11.9 per cent. By 2010 Ireland was in recession, employment had plummeted and public finances were under severe pressure, leading to severe cuts in public spending including cuts in the take-home pay of all public sector employees. Employees in the private sector faced job losses, wage cuts and increased taxes. In the public sector, employees suffered an effective wage cut, in the form of the public sector pension levy imposed from March 2009, increased taxes, and many were also likely to experience increased work intensity as a result of the embargo on public sector recruitment, as well as financial constraints (O'Connell *et al.*, 2010). The Irish property sector has collapsed, in late 2006/early 2007 house prices peaked and have subsequently been falling rapidly. Unemployment rates soared between 2004 and 2010; in Q4, 2004 the unemployment rate was relatively low at 4.4 per cent, by Q4 2010 this rose to 14.1 per cent.

In terms of migration, in the years following EU enlargement in 2004, there was a marked shift in the composition of the immigrant inflow to Ireland. There was a substantial increase in the inflow of nationals from the new EU Member States – from 34,000 in the twelve months to 2004 to 53,000 in 2007; inward migration peaked in 2006-2007. This is an important dimension of immigration to Ireland, since EU nationals enjoy an array of economic and social rights that in many respects approximate those of Irish citizens, and as such, are significant for the integration of immigrants in Irish society in general and the labour market in particular. The role of immigrants in meeting the demand for labour in the booming economy between 2004 and 2007 is clearly evident. The most recent official migration statistics confirm that since 2008 Ireland has entered a new phase of net emigration. Despite this, society

in Ireland was more diverse in terms of nationality in 2010 than in 2004, and the composition of the non-Irish population had also changed. The most recent Census in Ireland, *Census 2011*, indicates that the total number of non-Irish nationals has increased by 124,624 persons since 2006, or 29.7 per cent, from 419,733 to 544,357 persons (CSO, 2012a). In 2011 non-Irish nationals made up 11.9 per cent of the population in Ireland. Polish nationals were the largest group (2.7 per cent), followed by UK nationals (2.5 per cent).

In the labour market, female employment continued to grow between 2004 and 2008, and while employment levels have dropped since then the rate of decline has been greater for men. This has led to a continued rise in the female share of employment (Russell and McGinnity, 2011). There was also a continued increase in educational qualifications in the period (Russell and McGinnity, 2011).

According to the *QNHS* Equality Module data, the overall level of disability among people of working age is slightly lower in 2010 than it was in 2004 (7.6 per cent compared to 8.3 per cent in 2004). It is not possible to say whether this reflects a real change in the population or is a function of the change in question wording.⁷

1.5.3 Recession and the Experience of Discrimination

The recession creates challenges for the equality agenda, though as Hills *et al.* (2010) note, social groups may be differentially affected and the overall impact may be complex. On the one hand, discrimination may play more of a role when resources are scarce, favouring majority groups such as male, White Irish, non-disabled people. On the other hand, discrimination may be persistent over time.

What have previous studies found? Field experiments provide direct evidence of discrimination, but are typically conducted in different countries, with different minority groups, occupations and test types, so a boom/recession comparison is often not possible. However, the ILO studies, controlling for implementation of the experiment, find similar levels of net discrimination against Moroccans – using interview stage across all the countries and varying the times tested (Allassinio *et al.* 2004; Cediey and Foroni, 2008). Theories of discrimination would suggest that discrimination recruitment might rise in recession, as many more candidates apply for jobs, but there is certainly no evidence of higher discrimination in recession from experimental evidence. On balance in fact, a reasonable – if tentative – conclusion seems to be that the level of discrimination does not seem to vary with the economic cycle. Researchers who have utilised both self reports of discrimination and attitudes to migrants in the Netherlands have also found no clear recessionary effects in either the experience of discrimination or attitudes to migrants (Gisjberts and Dagevos, 2010).

Of course factors specific to the recession in Ireland may also be relevant. The sharp drop in employment in construction, a particularly male-dominated sector, may have resulted in greater challenges for men than for women in a reversal of the expected gender pattern. In addition, the composition of groups, in particular migrants, may affect change in the experience over time. Policy, either equality/discrimination policy as a whole, or policies towards particular groups, like those with disabilities, may also play a role.

⁷ In fact, the Census data suggest that the overall level of disability may have increased between 2006 and 2011. Again, however, because of changes in the question wording we cannot be sure that this reflects a real change or is due to changes in question wording (see CSO, 2012b p. 8 for further discussion).

As noted at the outset, the primary aim of this report is to look at 2010; change over time is a secondary aim, but here we develop some expectations as to how the experience of discrimination may have changed over time.

One possibility is that we observe no change in either groups of people or domains in experience of discrimination. Discrimination remains persistent across a range of groups and domains, and is not affected by policy or the economic and social context. An alternative view is that vulnerable groups/minorities will be hardest hit by recession. If this is the case, we would observe a rise in reported discrimination rates for minority groups, though this may vary according to the minority. Of course policies towards groups or in particular domains may reduce the risk of discrimination for some groups/ in some domains, and reported discrimination may fall for these groups/in these domains.

In addition, some domains are more vulnerable to economic change than others. For example the labour market, financial transactions and housing may have been particularly affected in Ireland. Theories of discrimination might predict that while discrimination might rise in the labour market in recession, a sharp fall in sales and financial transactions might be associated with lower discrimination in private services, as service providers struggle to remain profitable (see McGinnity and Lunn, 2011 for further discussion of taste-based and statistical discrimination theories).

Finally, discrimination may remain stable, but its impact may be more serious for those affected in more challenging economic circumstances.

1.6 Report Outline

The aim of this report is to provide a comprehensive picture of the experience of discrimination in 2010. In Chapter 2 we examine discrimination in nine domains – discrimination in the workplace, seeking work, in financial transactions, in obtaining housing, in shops, pubs or restaurants, in accessing health services, in relation to education, in access to other public services and in using transport services. We compare the experience of socio-demographic groups in the population, broadly following the grounds of the equality legislation for which we have data – gender, age groups, ethnicity/nationality, religion, disability, marital status, family status – as well as a number of other characteristics likely to be associated with the experience.

Chapter 3 looks at which of the grounds people say they have been discriminated against, and how closely this corresponds to their own personal characteristics, in terms of age, gender and ethnicity/nationality, disability. Chapter 4 considers the impact of discrimination in terms of its frequency and its impact on the lives of those who experienced it. Chapter 5 looks at the extent to which people respond to discrimination by some form of action, their knowledge of rights under Equality legislation, and whether knowledge of rights is linked to their propensity to take action.

The primary focus of this report is the survey year 2010, but where relevant, changes over time are reported and analysed in individual chapters. Change over time is summarised in the concluding Chapter 6, where we also draw together the findings of earlier chapters, and reflect on the policy implications.

2 WHERE DO PEOPLE EXPERIENCE DISCRIMINATION?

This chapter examines where reported discrimination occurs. Discrimination can occur in many different contexts and situations, and when assessing reported discrimination it is important to examine the context in which this discrimination occurred. The special module on Equality examines the subjective experience of discrimination across nine domains. This chapter investigates these nine domains – two work-related domains, the experience of discrimination at work, and whilst looking for work, and seven service domains, a range of public and private services. Through the analysis we examine whether discrimination is more common in certain domains: are some domains or situations more open to discrimination than others? Has the situation changed since 2004, when identical questions were asked? Are some groups more at risk of reporting discrimination in certain circumstances?

Respondents are asked to recall the experience of discrimination in the nine domains within the two years prior to the survey. This is a very broad range of social situations. Box 2.1 presents the questions that were asked.

Box 2.1: Questions on Domain of Reported Discrimination from Equality Module Questionnaire.

In the past *two* years, have you personally felt discriminated against...

1. in the workplace?
2. while looking for work?
3. in places like, shops, pubs, or restaurants?
4. using services of banks, insurance companies or other financial institutions?
5. in relation to education?
6. in respect of obtaining housing/accommodation?
7. in respect of accessing health services (e.g. getting access to a GP, access to hospital, access to specialist treatment)?
8. in respect of using transport services?
9. in respect of accessing other public services either at a local or national level?

Measuring subjective discrimination is not a straightforward task. It is not discrimination that is measured directly, but rather discrimination as perceived and reported by the respondent (Blank *et al.*, 2004) (see Chapter 1 for a discussion). The phrasing of some questions means they could be interpreted by the respondent to include discrimination not only by service providers but also by other service users. Similarly discrimination in the workplace could potentially be initiated by co-workers or customers as well as managers and employers. The subjective discrimination analysed here is also restricted to the domains of employment and access to services and, therefore, discrimination which occurs in other social situations is not included in the figures.

In Section 2.1 we present the overall risk of discrimination associated with different domains in 2010, and how this has changed since 2004. Section 2.2 introduces the multivariate regression modelling used throughout the report, to assess the relative association between discrimination and a series of socio-demographic characteristics. In Section 2.3 we look at work-related discrimination and in Section 2.4 we investigate reported discrimination in accessing private and public services, in both cases we analyse associations between the individuals' characteristics and their experience of discrimination.

2.1 Risk of Discrimination Associated With Different Domains

Table 2.1 shows the incidence and rates of discrimination across nine domains. The table also presents estimates of how many people reported subjective discrimination in thousands (000s).⁸ Overall, an estimated 389,700 persons or 11.7 per cent of the population reported experiencing any discrimination in at least one of the domains. At least 244,000 people (7.3 per cent) reported any service related discrimination in the previous two years; any work related discrimination was reported by just over 187,000 persons (7.8 per cent). It is important to note that there is overlap between the service and work related categories, a person could report discrimination in work and when accessing services – therefore the categories are not exclusive.

Table 2.1: Incidence and Rates of Discrimination across Domains

Experienced Discrimination	Experienced Discrimination (000s)	Eligible Population (000s)	Rate %
Any discrimination	389.7	3,334.0	11.7
Any Service-related discrimination	244.1	3,334.0	7.3
Any Work-related discrimination	187.3	2,392.0	7.8
While looking for work	83.9	1,425.1	5.9
In the workplace	118.0	2,239.4	5.3
Obtaining housing/accommodation	35.8	1,038.9	3.4
Using services of banks, insurance	82.0	3,334.0	2.5
In shops, pubs or restaurants	67.3	3,334.0	2.0
Accessing health services	44.0	3,184.0	1.4
In relation to education	16.6	1,315.8	1.3
Accessing other public services	39.6	3,324.3	1.2
Using transport services	13.6	3,317.9	0.4

Notes: Respondents could report discrimination in multiple domains. Figures are weighted to reflect the total population. The rates (%) are calculated as a proportion of the eligible population, i.e. we exclude those who say the question is not applicable to them (see discussion in text).

Table 2.1 shows highest rate of discrimination reported was in relation to looking for work.⁹ Almost 84,000 people (5.9 per cent) felt that they had been discriminated against whilst looking for work. Discrimination in the workplace was the next most reported domain with 5.3 per cent, almost 118,000 people, reporting discrimination in the workplace. Nearly 36,000 people or 3.4 per cent of the eligible population reported discrimination whilst looking for housing or accommodation, the eligible population is relatively low for this domain as many people had not sought housing or accommodation in the past two years. In relation to financial services 2.5 per cent of the population, or just over 82,000 persons, reported discrimination using banks, insurance and other financial companies. Almost 44,000 people (1.4 per cent of the population) reported experiencing discrimination when accessing health services. The rate of discrimination in accessing education – note this could include parents reporting access to education for their children – was low, at 1.3 per cent. The rates of discrimination reported in accessing other public services, at 1.2 per cent, and using transport services, at 0.4 per cent, were also low.

⁸ The estimates are based on a sample of the population so the figures have been multiplied or 'grossed up'/ weighted to estimate the true population figures.

⁹ Note this covers all those who were looking for work – job applicants who were unemployed and also those who were employed and applied for another job.

Respondents who felt that they had been discriminated against in work were asked to indicate whether this discrimination was in relation to pay, promotion, work conditions, bullying or harassment, lost job/made redundant (a new response for the 2010 survey) or 'Other' causes. The most common form of discrimination experienced in work was bullying or harassment (28.3 per cent), followed by work conditions (24.2 per cent), other conditions (22.4 per cent), lost job (10.6 per cent), promotion (8.7 per cent) and pay (5.8 per cent).

It is important to note that all analysis only applies to the eligible population and does not include those respondents who answered "not applicable" to one of the questions. For example, when we exclude those who have answered "not applicable" to discrimination whilst looking for work, as they did not work in the period, the eligible population falls from 3.3 million people to 1.4 million people.¹⁰ As Russell *et al.* (2008) discussed, when we exclude the "non applicable" group the eligible population rates lower, therefore allowing us to calculate a more accurate rate of discrimination. That said, we cannot rule out that some people simply said "no" to the questions on discrimination, without fully considering whether they were exposed to the risk or not.

Table 2.2: Incidence and Rates of Discrimination across Domains 2004 and 2010

Experienced Discrimination	Rate %		Change Over Time?
	2004	2010	
Any discrimination	12.5	11.7	Lower in 2010
Any Service-related discrimination	9.0	7.3	Lower in 2010
Any Work-related discrimination	7.2	7.8	No Change
While looking for work	5.8	5.9	No Change
In the workplace	4.8	5.3	No Change
Obtaining housing or accommodation	4.0	3.4	No Change
Using services of banks, insurance etc.	3.7	2.5	Lower in 2010
In shops, pubs or restaurants	2.6	2.0	Lower in 2010
Accessing health services	1.8	1.4	Lower in 2010
In relation to education	1.3	1.3	No Change
Accessing other public services	1.0	1.2	No Change
Using transport services	0.7	0.4	Lower in 2010

Note: Final column reports statistically significant change over time. Significance tests use weighted proportions and unweighted N of cases.

Table 2.2 presents the results for incidence and rates of discrimination in 2004 and 2010. As Russell *et al.* (2008) found, the reported rate of discrimination in 2004 was 12.5 per cent, this rate dropped to 11.7 per cent in 2010, this change over time is statistically significant. The drop in service-related discrimination was greater: the proportion reporting any service related discrimination was 9 per cent in 2004, and fell to 7.3 per cent in 2010, this change over time is significant. By contrast, the rate of any reported work related discrimination rose marginally by 0.6 per cent between 2004 and 2010, rising from 7.2 per cent in 2004 to 7.8 per cent in 2010, though the change is not statistically significant. When analysing discrimination in work domains in 2004 and 2010, we find that the reported rate of discrimination whilst looking for work was very similar in 2004 and 2010, and reported discrimination in the workplace rose by 0.5 per cent from 2004 to 2010, though the change was not statistically significant. In services, it is in private services where we see falls. The

¹⁰ The discrimination rate is calculated as the number experiencing discrimination (numerator) as a proportion of all 'at risk' (denominator). If we use the whole adult population as the denominator in domains such as housing the discrimination rate will be misleadingly low.

reported rate of discrimination when using banks and services dropped between 2004 and 2010, with 3.7 per cent reporting discrimination in this domain in 2004, compared with 2.5 per cent in 2010. This is the largest drop in reported discrimination in any domain between 2004 and 2010 and is statistically significant. This could be partly explained by the fact that people are using financial services less frequently in the period from the end of 2008-2010 - to apply for either house or car loans, or house or car insurance – and were thus less exposed to discrimination. There was certainly a rapid fall in car sales between 2008 and 2010, and also a rapid fall in borrowing and mortgage applications. It could also be that discrimination has fallen, as service providers struggle to remain profitable – a point we allude to in Chapter 1. In shops and pubs, transport and health services, the reported rate of discrimination dropped marginally between 2004 and 2010, and the differences are statistically significant. In education and housing there is no significant difference between the rates of discrimination in 2004 and 2010. And the rate of reported discrimination whilst accessing other public services also rose marginally by 0.2 per cent between 2004 and 2010: this change is not significant. Overall the rates for the two time frames are relatively similar, which demonstrates that regardless of the change in the economic climate between the two time periods, the rates of discrimination remain relatively stable over time. And of course we cannot rule that changes in these rates of discrimination are related to changes in the composition of the population which may be related to the experience.

2.2 Exploring the Experience of Discrimination Using Multivariate Modelling

Applying statistical models to data can be useful for identifying group differences in the risk of discrimination (Blank *et al.*, 2004). In Sections 2.3 and 2.4 we use regression analysis to analyse the risks of discrimination in different domains, for different groups of people, whilst holding other factors constant. Elsewhere in the report we use regression modelling to investigate the grounds for discrimination, how serious it is and actions taken in response.

Whilst reporting the average rate of discrimination across groups like men and women or different age groups is informative, it does not allow us to isolate the risk factors associated with discrimination. If we focus on group differences alone, the relative risk of one group may be determined in part by the composition of the group in terms of their vulnerability to other risk factors. Regression modelling allows us to look at the effect of membership of one demographic/social group on the risk of discrimination separately by holding all the other characteristics constant. In each case a subcategory within a group – for example White within ethnicity – is used as the reference group and the model estimates odds of being in one of the other subcategories (Black, Asian, Other in the case of ethnicity) relative to this reference group. In logistic regression modelling odds are estimated. If the odds of experiencing discrimination for any subgroup are greater than one, this group is more likely to experience discrimination than the reference category. By contrast, if the odds are less than one, the group are less likely to experience discrimination.

The models also allow us to determine whether the results are robust or ‘statistically significant’, i.e. whether we can be confident that the differences would not have been generated by chance, given the sample size in each case. In the analysis in this chapter the models estimate the risk of discrimination in each domain separately, for example financial services, in the workplace, in accessing other public services, as we are interested in whether different factors are associated with the risk of discrimination in each domain.

In this chapter we present a simplified version of the model results, which states simply whether the modelled risk for each subgroup is the same, higher, much higher, lower or much lower than the reference category. In some cases the model might indicate that the group differs from the reference group, but there are not enough people in the group to firmly establish this. In this case we say the modelled risk of discrimination is the ‘same’, as we do not have enough information to establish otherwise. In other chapters, the results are presented as charts, depicting the odds that are statistically significant. For more details on

the strength of the associations and the statistical significance of each, interested readers can refer to the Appendices at the end of each chapter.

Figure 2.1: Defining Subgroups in the Multivariate Models

Variable	Coding
Gender	Female =1 vs. male = 0
Age	Age 18-24 vs. 25-44 Age 45-64 vs. 25-44 Age 65+ vs. 25-44
Race/ethnicity	Black vs. White Asian vs. White Other vs. White
Nationality	Non-Irish national vs. Irish national
Religious Denomination	C. of Ireland vs. Catholic Other Christian vs. Catholic Islamic vs. Catholic Other religion vs. Catholic No religious denomination vs. Catholic
Disability	Has disability vs. no disability
Marital status	Single vs. married Widowed vs. married Separated vs. married
Family status	Couple & children vs. couple Lone parent vs. couple Non-family vs. couple
Level of Education	Lower 2 nd level or less vs. Upper 2 nd level Third Level vs. Upper 2 nd level
Employment Status	Unemployed vs. Employed Not in labour market vs. Employed
Migration	Migrated since 2008 vs. Always lived in Ireland or migrated before 2008
Housing	Local Authority Renter vs. homeowner Private renter vs. homeowner Rent-free vs. homeowner
Region	Border/Midlands/West vs. Dublin South & East vs. Dublin

In the analysis in this chapter the models estimate the risk of discrimination in each domain separately as the 'outcome' or dependent variable. The first group of independent or 'explanatory' variables include gender, age group, marital/family status, religion, nationality, and race/ethnicity. These reflect the characteristics of the person associated with the grounds mentioned in the equality legislation. One issue here is that it may be difficult to statistically distinguish some characteristics, for example nationality and ethnicity, because most ethnic minorities are also non-Irish nationals. In some cases we check the implications of different modelling strategies and report relevant results them in the text.

The models also control for other characteristics related to the resources people may have available, such as economic status, education, migration and housing tenure (see Figure 2.1). Unemployment is a general indicator of economic vulnerability and, to some extent, being inactive in the labour market indicates a similar lack of direct access to income from

wages or self-employment. We would expect level of education to be related to the person's knowledge of their entitlements and also to their level of competence and confidence in dealing with employers and service providers. People who have migrated to Ireland recently are likely to have fewer social contacts in Ireland, and be less aware of the nature of social and economic transactions, which may make them more vulnerable. We include a variable for having migrated to Ireland since 2008, approximately two years before the survey. Given the recent nature of migration in Ireland, this is likely to be related to the nationality variable so we check the sensitivity of the nationality results to this.

Housing tenure is a good general indicator of the resources a person may have available to enable them to avoid or cope with discrimination. Homeowners either own the home outright as an asset, hold some equity in the home, or, if they are purchasing the home, would have had to demonstrate an ability to afford the mortgage.¹¹ Local authority renters tend to be a particularly vulnerable group since the process of applying for local authority housing pre-selects on the basis of low income.¹² Private renters also tend to be less well resourced than homeowners: renting on the private market tends to be associated with an earlier stage of the life-cycle, with being single and childless. Those living in their accommodation rent-free are a very small group – only 1 per cent of the population. We also identify three regions – the reference category, Dublin; Border Midlands and West (BMW) and South and East region.¹³ For the work-related models we include sector, occupation, employment status, part-time status and union membership (see further details in Appendix Tables A2.1a and b).

2.3 Work-Related Discrimination

This section will analyse reported rates of discrimination in work, and whilst looking for work in the two years prior to the survey. This is done in two ways- firstly we present the average rate of discrimination experienced by the groups of interest, the 'raw' risk (see Table 2.3). Secondly, we present the results of two logistic regression models, showing whether the rates vary by subgroup once we control for compositional differences, as described in the previous section.

¹¹ Admittedly, homeownership is a less than ideal indicator of wealth in the current uncertain housing market where some mortgage holders may be in negative equity. Nevertheless, it is a useful indicator in the absence of alternative measures of wealth.

¹² Over time, local authority renters whose economic circumstances have improved have been in a position to purchase their accommodation through tenant purchase schemes. As a result, those who remain renting from the local authority tend to emerge as a disadvantaged group across several domains, including income, health, and poverty status

¹³ Dublin includes Dublin city and the counties of Fingal, Dun Laoghaire/Rathdown and South Dublin. The Border, Midlands and West (BMW) includes the counties of Donegal, Sligo, Leitrim, Cavan, Monaghan, Louth, Galway, Mayo, Roscommon, Laois, Offaly, Longford and Westmeath. The South and East region includes the counties of Cork, Kerry, Waterford, Wexford, Tipperary South, Clare, Limerick, Carlow, Kilkenny, Meath, Kildare and Wicklow.

Table 2.3: Experience of Discrimination At Work and When Looking for Work in the Last Two Years: Raw and Modelled Risk

		At Work		Seeking Work	
		Raw Risk	Modelled Risk	Raw Risk	Modelled Risk
Gender (REF MALE)	Male	4.4	Ref.	6.3	Ref.
	Woman	6.3	Higher	5.6	Same
Age (REF 25-44)	Under 25	4.8	Same	5.5	Same
	25-44	5.6	Ref.	4.9	Ref.
	45-64	5.4	Same	8.1	Higher
	65+	1.6	Much Lower	3	Same
Ethnicity (REF White)	White	5.0	Ref.	5.3	Ref.
	Black	23.4	Much higher	23.3	Much higher
	Asian	12.8	Same	8.5	Same
	Other Ethnicity	10.9	Same	17.6	Much higher
Nationality (REF Non-Irish)	Irish	4.6	Ref.	5.3	Ref.
	Non-Irish	9.9	Higher	8.7	Same
Religion (REF Catholic)	Catholic	4.8	Ref.	5.3	Ref.
	Church of Ireland	3.6	Same	8.7	Same
	Other Christian	10.8	Same	9.1	Same
	Islamic	12.5	Same	19.5	Same
	Other religion	8.1	Same	8.6	Same
	No religion	7.1	Same	8.5	Higher
Disability (REF No Disability)	No Disability	5.3	Ref.	5.7	Ref.
	Has disability	5.4	Same	8.2	Same
Marital status (REF married)	Married	5.1	Ref.	6.3	Ref.
	Single	5.5	Same	5.4	Same
	Separated/divorced	6.1	Same	8.6	Same
	Widowed	3.3	Same	2.7	Same
Family type (REF No Children)	No Children	4.9	Ref.	5.2	Ref.
	Couple with Children	5.6	Same	6.1	Same
	Lone parent	6.3	Same	6.4	Same
Education (REF Upper sec)	Primary	3.6	Same	7.8	Same
	Lower secondary	5.6	Same	8.2	Same
	Upper secondary	4.1	Ref.	5.3	Ref.
	Post secondary	6.0	Higher	5.5	Same
Emp. Status (REF Employed)	Employed	5.1	Ref.	2.7	Ref.
	Unemployed	7.4	Much higher	12.6	Much higher
	Inactive	4.5	Same	7.4	Much higher
Housing tenure (REF Home Owner)	Home Owner	4.8	Ref.	5.6	Ref.
	LA renter	6.9	Same	7.7	Same
	Other renter	6.4	Same	6.2	Same
	Rent-free	4.3	Same	7	Same
Migration (REF pre 2008)	Migrated pre-2008	4.6	Ref.	5.4	Ref.
	Migrated 2008/after	8.8	Same	11.5	Same
Region (REF Dublin)	Dublin	7.3	Ref.	6.7	Ref.
	BMW	5.0	Lower	4.8	Same
	South-East	4.2	Lower	3.9	Same

Note: "Modelled Risk" refers to relative risk of subcategories to discrimination when compared to the reference subcategory within group, when other characteristics are controlled (e.g. married respondents compared to single respondents). Much higher= more than twice the risk; Much Lower= less than half the risk compared to the reference group. Same= group does not differ significantly to reference group. Models are un-weighted following convention. Full model results are reported Appendix Table A2.1a and b. Models also control for job characteristics, see A2.1b for details.

For ease of presentation, in Table 2.3 the odds of experiencing discrimination are higher, much higher, same, lower or much lower (see Table A2.1 for full model results).¹⁴

Gender and Age

Women are more likely to consider that they have been discriminated against in the workplace: 6.3 per cent of women reported discrimination whilst at work, compared to 4.4 per cent of men. This difference remains when we control for socio-demographic characteristics: the modelled risk of experiencing discrimination at work for women was higher than the risk for men. In seeking work, the raw rate of reported discrimination is lower for women, but once we control for socio-demographic and job characteristics, the risk of discrimination seeking work is no different between men and women.

Age has some effects on work-related discrimination. Compared to the 25-44 age group, the 65 plus age group is at a much lower risk of discrimination in the workplace. Note this may be a small, select group in the labour market, as the average retirement age in Ireland is 65. In relation to looking for work, the 45-64 age group is more at risk of discrimination when looking for work, with a raw rate of 8.1 per cent. This group is 1.7 times more likely to experience discrimination than the reference category of age 25-44, even after controlling for other factors. Previous research has shown that older workers are less likely than younger workers to lose their jobs, but they take longer to find work when they become unemployed, especially in a recession (Johnson and Park, 2011).

Nationality and Ethnicity

The results show us that non-Irish nationals are more likely to experience discrimination at work, with an expected rate of 9.9 per cent compared to an expected rate of 3.5 per cent of Irish nationals. These results hold even when we control for compositional differences. Previous research (Russell *et al.*, 2008) has found that non-Irish nationals report higher rates of discrimination in the workplace. This may be due to a number of reasons, immigrants can have difficulties transferring their skills and qualifications to the Irish labour market, immigrants are more likely to report working in jobs below their skill level, and even highly skilled migrants tend to be in occupations below their skill level (Barrett 2006; Barrett and Duffy 2008; Barrett and Bergin; 2009; Turner, 2010). Non-Irish nationals are more likely to report discrimination in seeking work (8.7 per cent) than Irish nationals (5.3 per cent). However, once we control for ethnicity and other factors, we find no differences between Irish and non-Irish nationals in the experience of discrimination while looking for work.

When we analyse work-based discrimination among ethnic groups we find disparities between ethnic groups in terms of reported discrimination. Respondents of Black ethnicity face a much higher risk of being discriminated against at work and when looking for work (see Table 2.3). For example, Black respondents who have looked for work in the previous two years report a discrimination rate of 23.3 per cent. Even after controlling for other factors, they are 4.5 times more likely to experience discrimination than White respondents.

Religion and Disability

Religion is associated with discrimination when looking for work, though not with discrimination in the workplace. The model results show that respondents of 'no religion' are much more likely to experience discrimination when looking for work after controlling for their personal characteristics, such as education and age, and job characteristics, like sector and occupation. Whilst the 'Islam' group report a high raw rate of discrimination when looking for work (19.5 per cent), when we control for other factors this is not statistically significant. Other groups do not differ from Catholics.

¹⁴ It is important to note that the sample is smaller for the number of people who have sought work in the previous two years, compared with the number of people at work; therefore the sample for the analysis is smaller.

People with a disability are not more likely to report discrimination when at work or looking for work when all factors are held constant. People with a disability in the labour market are a select group whose degree of limitation is likely to be less than those with a disability who are unemployed or inactive.

Marital and Family Status

There are no significant differences in rates of reported discrimination due to marital status or family status. Lone parents report higher rates of discrimination both at work and in seeking work, but the models show that much of this difference is accounted for by other characteristics such as age, education or employment status.

Education, Employment Status and Other Factors

Respondents with post secondary level education (either third level or post-leaving certificate qualification) are more likely to experience discrimination in the workplace. It has been demonstrated in previous research that more highly educated people are more likely to report discrimination (McGinnity *et al.*, 2006). This could be due to a combination of reasons including that they are more knowledgeable of their rights, and may have higher expectations in terms of pay and promotion.

Unemployed respondents are more likely to report discrimination when looking for work; they are almost nine times more likely to have experienced discrimination than the employed reference group. The unemployed are more likely to report discrimination in the workplace too; this could be due to their unemployment status, as respondents are asked to recall discrimination in the previous two years respondents could perceive redundancy or losing their job as discrimination. Research has shown how employers can regard unemployment as a negative characteristic preferring to hire employed candidates. Longer durations of unemployment, are taken into consideration by recruiters (Atkinson *et al.*, 1996). The inactive group is also much more likely to report discrimination when looking for work; this group report a raw rate of 7.4 per cent discrimination when looking for work.

There are no significant differences in reported discrimination associated with housing tenure. Immigrants who migrated from 2008 and upwards do not report significant rates of discrimination when looking for work, or in the workplace.

In terms of region, respondents from the Border, Midlands and Western region, and the South and East are less likely to report discrimination in the workplace. Region does not have an effect when analysing discrimination when looking for work.

Industrial Sector and Occupation

We used multivariate modelling to examine the influence of organisational characteristics on the levels of work-related discrimination experienced by respondents. We performed sectoral and occupational analysis in order to test sectoral and occupational effects, as well as other job characteristics, when individual-level characteristics are taken into account (i.e. gender, age, etc.). When interpreting this analysis we found a weak effect, and found that there was little or no relationship between discrimination by occupation or sector. Those who work part-time were more likely to experience discrimination in looking for work; this was the only significant effect. This suggests that it is the composition of the socio-demographic groups within the labour market, rather than the sector or occupation, which is associated with the experience of discrimination. Results for the model are presented in Appendix Table A2.1.

2.4 Discrimination in Accessing Services

In this section we explore reports of discrimination in using seven different types of services, and how this varies according to the personal characteristics of those using them. Given the

variety of services considered – from shops and pubs to accessing housing – it is plausible that the risk factors for experiencing discrimination differ across services, so we consider them separately. As shown in Table 2.1, the risk of discrimination in using services varies from 3.4 per cent in looking for housing to 0.4 per cent in using transport services.

In presenting results we adopt a similar approach to that used in the previous section on work-related discrimination. Tables 2.4a and b present the group averages or raw figures and then for each subgroup, whether the risk of discrimination is higher or lower than the reference group, once we account for other socio-demographic characteristics. The detailed odds of experiencing discrimination are presented in Appendix Tables A2.1a and b, and A2.2a and b.

Housing and Accommodation

In services, the highest rate of discrimination, 3.4 per cent (approximately 35,000 persons) was reported in relation to housing. Of the population who had sought accommodation in the preceding two years, respondents of Black and Asian ethnic groups report a much higher risk of discrimination when accessing housing. For the Black group, who are more reliant than other non-Irish groups on local authority housing, this may be related to eligibility criteria for social housing support, which require that a person must have a long-term right to reside in the state.¹⁵ The inactive group have a higher risk of reporting discrimination when accessing housing, this may be because landlords often require an employer reference when applying for rented accommodation, and in order to qualify for a mortgage employment is usually required. Respondents in local authority housing are nearly five times more likely than homeowners to report discrimination in access to housing, respondents who are private renting are over five times more likely to report discrimination in this domain. Respondents who are separated also report a higher risk of discrimination in this domain. Overall, the non-Irish group is less likely to report discrimination in access to housing, though before accounting for ethnicity their risk is the same as Irish nationals.

Financial Institutions

In relation to accessing financial institutions, respondents of Black ethnicity reported a much higher risk of discrimination when accessing financial services. Women reported a lower risk of discrimination in financial services than men. Disabled respondents were more likely to report experiencing discrimination in access to financial services than those without a disability. The small number of separated respondents reported higher rates of discrimination in access to financial services than those who are married.

Shops, Restaurant and Pubs

Table 2.4a shows that respondents of Black ethnicity report a much higher risk of discrimination in shops, restaurants and pubs. Islamic respondents also reported a much higher rate of discrimination when accessing shops and restaurants. The non-Irish group was more likely to have experienced discrimination in this domain. People with a disability also reported a much higher risk of experiencing discrimination in shops, pubs and restaurants. A reason for this level of experience could be the difficulty experienced accessing shops, pubs or restaurants.

In terms of age, those aged age 65 plus reported a much lower risk of discrimination in this domain, and the age 45-64 group reported a lower risk, it is likely that this partly reflects the greater exposure of younger age groups to risks in this domain.¹⁶ The local authority housing group report a higher risk of discrimination in access to shops, pubs and restaurants, and

¹⁵ Evidence from these data suggest that around one-quarter of Black respondents live in social housing, compared to less than 5 per cent of other non-Irish ethnic groups.

¹⁶ We cannot control for frequency of exposure, for example.

private rented group also report a higher risk in this domain. The inactive group reported a higher risk of discrimination, as did respondents who are separated. Respondents from the South and East region, and Border, Midlands and West reported a lower risk of discrimination in shops, pubs and restaurants, compared with the reference group of Dublin residents. Overall, the picture is consistent and points to a wide range of disadvantaged groups experiencing discrimination when accessing shops, restaurants and pubs.

Health Services

People with disabilities were much more likely to report experiencing discrimination in accessing health services, Table A2.2a demonstrates that they are over three times more likely to report discrimination in this domain. Previous research has found that difficulties in accessing health services may delay a person's recovery from illness and affect their availability for work (Watson *et al.*, forthcoming). Respondents in local authority housing, the rent free group and the inactive group report a higher risk of experiencing discrimination when accessing health services. This could be due to their low income/medical card status; Ireland has a two tier medical health system for public and private patients (Layte *et al.*, 2007). Research has found that people of lower socio-economic status and those who are socially excluded suffer poorer health and therefore need more services. However, it is often the case that there are fewer services where the need is greatest and that the services which are provided are not appropriate to the needs of those they serve (Battel-Kirk and Purdy, 2007). Respondents of no religion also reported a higher risk of discrimination in accessing health services.

Education

The overall number of people who perceive discrimination in access to education is relatively low at 1.3 per cent of the eligible population. Respondents of Black ethnicity are much more likely to report discrimination in education. This reflects findings from previous research, including a study published by the Teachers' Union of Ireland (2010), which found that 28 per cent of teachers were aware of racist incidents that had occurred in their school or college during the previous month – children of Black ethnicity were identified as particularly vulnerable to such incidents.

In the model of discrimination in education, religion is found to have a significant influence on perceptions of discrimination. Respondents whose religion is Church of Ireland and 'Other' Christian, and those who are of 'Other' religion, or who are of No religion all report a much higher risk of discrimination in access to education. This may be related to the system of patronage in Ireland; over 90 per cent of primary schools in Ireland are controlled by the Catholic Church. Places for non denominational or other religion schools are limited; this may be a contributing reason as to why people of religion other than Catholic feel discriminated against in access to education. A report by the Advisory Group to the Forum on Patronage and Pluralism in the Primary Sector (Coolahan *et al.*, 2012) found an increasing need for the diversity of patronage of schools, so that the primary school system can adapt to the needs of a more diverse society.

Education levels also have an effect on perception of discrimination in the education domain; those with post secondary and/or third level education are more than twice as likely to report discrimination. This may be related to the length of time they have spent in the education system, as this group is more likely to be exposed. It has been demonstrated in previous research that more highly educated people are more likely to report discrimination (McGinnity *et al.*, 2006), this could be due to a combination of reasons including that they are more knowledgeable of their rights

The local authority housing group is more likely to report discrimination in access to education; this group is economically disadvantaged and may have difficulties accessing third-level education due to the costs. Region also has an effect on discrimination with

respondents from the South and East region being more likely to report discrimination in access to education.

Transport

The number of people who perceive discrimination in access to transport is particularly low, only 0.4 per cent of the applicable population reported discrimination in this domain. Black respondents reported a much higher risk of discrimination, and are over six times more likely than White respondents to report discrimination in this domain. Fanning *et al.* (2011) discuss evidence of racism on public transport in Ireland, as do McGinnity *et al.* (2006). Disability is strongly linked to discrimination in this domain, disabled people are more than three times as likely to experience discrimination compared with non-disabled people. Research by the National Disability Authority (2011) found that nearly one in four people with a disability encounter difficulties accessing public transport. Non-Irish nationals are more likely to report discrimination in transport, but this is accounted for by their ethnicity – after controlling for ethnicity they are no more likely to experience discrimination in transport.

Other Public Services

Of the population who had accessed other public services in the previous two years, 1.1 per cent of the population, approximately 39,600 persons, reported discrimination in this domain. Reports of discrimination in accessing other public services were higher among people with disabilities, lone parents, the unemployed and inactive. This may be in part because these groups are more exposed to other public services such as social welfare services. Non-Irish nationals also report higher odds of experiencing discrimination in public services, though this effect is not significant in the model when we include ethnicity.

On the other hand, the age 65 plus group reported a much lower risk of discrimination in this domain, this may be because they have less exposure to other public services. The 'rent free' group report a much higher risk of discrimination when accessing public services; however, it should be noted that this group accounts for only one per cent of the total population.

Table 2.4a: Models of Risk in Service Domains

	Shops/Pubs	Financial	Education	Housing	Health	Transport	Other Public Services
All (Average rate per cent)	2.0%	2.5%	1.3%	3.4%	1.4%	0.4%	1.2%
Male	Reference	Reference	Reference	Reference	Reference	Reference	Reference
Female	Same	Lower	Higher	Same	Same	Same	Same
Age 18-24 years	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same
Age 25-44 years	Reference	Reference	Reference	Reference	Reference	Reference	Reference
Age 45-64 years	Lower	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same
Age 65 plus	Much lower	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	Much lower
White	Reference	Reference	Reference	Reference	Reference	Reference	Reference
Black or Black Irish	Much higher	Much higher	Much higher	Much higher	Same	Much higher	Same
Asian or Asian Irish	Same	Same	Same	Much higher	Same	Same	Same
Other including mixed background	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same
Irish	Reference	Reference	Reference	Reference	Reference	Reference	Reference
Non-Irish	Higher	Same	Same	Lower	Same	Same	Same
Catholic	Reference	Reference	Reference	Reference	Reference	Reference	Reference
Church of Ireland	Same	Same	Much higher	Same	Same	Same	Same
Other Christian	Same	Same	Much higher	Same	Same	Same	Same
Islam	Much higher	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same
Other Religion	Much higher	Same	Much higher	Same	Same	Same	Same
No religion	Same	Same	Much higher	Same	Same	Higher	Same
No Disability	Reference	Reference	Reference	Reference	Reference	Reference	Reference
Disability	Higher	Higher	Same	Same	Much higher	Much higher	Higher

Note: Other variables controlled for are presented in Table 2.4b. "Modelled Risk" refers to relative risk of subcategories to discrimination when compared to the reference subcategory within group, when other characteristics are controlled (e.g. married respondents compared to single respondents). Much higher= more than twice the risk; Much lower= less than half the risk compared to the reference group. Same= group does not differ significantly to reference group. Models are un-weighted following convention. Full model results are reported Appendix Table A2.2a and A2.2b.

Table 2.4b Models of Risk in Service Domains

	Shops/Pubs	Financial	Education	Housing	Health	Transport	Other Public Services
Primary Education	Reference	Reference	Reference	Reference	Reference	Reference	Reference
Lower secondary education	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same
Upper secondary education	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same
Post-secondary/third level	Same	Same	Much higher	Same	Same	Same	Same
Employed	Reference	Reference	Reference	Reference	Reference	Reference	Reference
Unemployed	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	Higher
Inactive	Higher	Same	Higher	Higher	Higher	Same	Higher
Single	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same
Married	Reference	Reference	Reference	Reference	Reference	Reference	Reference
Separated	Higher	Higher	Same	Higher	Same	Same	Same
Widowed	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same
No child	Reference	Reference	Reference	Reference	Reference	Reference	Reference
Couple child	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same
Lone parent child	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	Higher
Dublin	Reference	Reference	Reference	Reference	Reference	Reference	Reference
Border, Midlands, West	Lower	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same
South and East	Lower	Same	Higher	Same	Same	Same	Same
Home owner	Reference	Reference	Reference	Reference	Reference	Reference	Reference
Local authority housing	Higher	Same	Higher	Much higher	Higher	Same	Same
Private renting	Higher	Same	Same	Much higher	Same	Same	Same
Rent free	Same	Same	Same	Same	Higher	Same	Much higher
Always Resident	Reference	Reference	Reference	Reference	Reference	Reference	Reference
Migrated 2008 onwards	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same

Note: Other variables controlled for are listed in Table 2.4b "Modelled Risk" refers to relative risk of subcategories to discrimination when compared to the reference subcategory within group, when other characteristics are controlled (e.g. married respondents compared to single respondents). Much higher= more than twice the risk; Much lower= less than half the risk compared to the reference group. Same= group does not differ significantly to reference group. Models are un-weighted following convention. Full model results are reported Appendix Tables A2.2 a & b.

2.5 Conclusions

This chapter examined the risk of discrimination across nine domains. It looked at two work-related domains – the experience of discrimination at work, and whilst looking for work. The risk of discrimination is also explored in accessing a range of public and private services. Using multivariate modelling allowed us to refine our understanding of the groups of discrimination most at risk as we could control for other characteristics.

When examining reported rates of discrimination certain caveats must be noted. When analysing reports of discrimination it must be noted that a higher reported risk of discrimination for certain groups could reflect a greater exposure of that group to that particular domain. For example the unemployed report a much higher rate of discrimination when looking for work, however this could reflect this groups greater exposure to this domain, as they are actively seeking work. It should also be noted that some groups may be more likely to interpret experiences as discriminatory. For example, respondents with post-leaving certificate/third-level education are more likely to report discrimination in the workplace, despite being more advantaged than other groups in objective measures.

Analysing the change in discrimination over time, the descriptive rates suggest that there has been a slight fall in the experience of discrimination in any domain between 2004 and 2010. This masks a fall in service-related discrimination and a slight rise in work-related discrimination, though the latter is not significant. The fall in the experience of service-related discrimination was particularly in the private services – financial services and shops, pubs and restaurants, which may in part be related to lower use of these in the population given recession, or also a fall in discrimination by service providers as profits fall, though a detailed analysis would require further investigation. Changes in the composition of the population may also account for some of the changes.

The analysis of work related discrimination showed some interesting differences between groups. Respondents of Black ethnicity face a much higher risk of being discriminated against at work and when looking for work compared to the White reference group. The results show us that non-Irish nationals are more likely to experience discrimination at work. Unemployed respondents are more likely to report discrimination when looking for work and report very high odds compared to the reference group, the unemployed group is more likely to report discrimination in the workplace too. The inactive; 'Other' ethnicity; 45-64 year age groups are also much more likely to report discrimination when looking for work. Women and post-secondary/third level respondents are more likely to feel that they have been discriminated against in the workplace. Overall, our analysis demonstrates that respondents of Black ethnicity are at the most risk of work related discrimination.

In our analysis of work related discrimination by sector and occupation we did not find strong effects. Those who work part time were more likely to experience discrimination in looking for work; this was the only significant effect for looking for work. In the workplace the self-employed are less likely to report discrimination. These model results suggest that it is the personal characteristics and composition of the work force rather than the sector or occupation that is likely to be associated with a higher rate of discrimination.

Discrimination in the seven domains reveals that some groups are particularly vulnerable to discrimination; Black respondents reported much higher rates of discrimination across five of the seven domains. In accessing housing, respondents reporting a higher risk of discrimination included those of Black and Asian ethnicity, inactive people, people in local authority housing and private renting. Respondents who are separated also report a higher risk of discrimination in this domain. In accessing financial services people of Black ethnicity, disabled people and separated people were more likely to report discrimination. In shops and restaurants respondents of Black ethnicity, Islamic respondents, the other religion group, non-Irish, people with a disability, the inactive group and separated people all

reported a higher risk of discrimination in this domain. People with disabilities, in local authority and private rented housing, and the inactive group, were much more likely to report experiencing discrimination in accessing health services

In relation to education respondents of Black ethnicity, those whose religion is Church of Ireland and 'Other' Christian, and those who are of 'Other' religion, or who are of 'No religion' and those with post secondary/third level education are all more likely to report a risk of discrimination in accessing education. The local authority housing group, females and respondents from the South and East region are more likely to report discrimination in access to education. In the transport domain, disabled respondents and respondents of Black ethnicity are more likely to experience discrimination. Reports of discrimination in accessing other public services were significantly higher among respondents with a disability, rent free respondents, lone parents, the unemployed and inactive. Overall again our results demonstrate that respondents of Black ethnicity report the highest risk of experience across all domains. Our results are consistent with previous analysis of discrimination (Russell *et al.*, 2008), and other Irish studies of these groups (Feldman *et al.*, 2008; Fanning *et al.*, 2011).

Appendix Table A2.1a: Likelihood of Experiencing Work-Related Discrimination

	In Work		Looking for Work	
	Odds	Sig	Odds	Sig
Female	1.50	0.00	0.98	0.86
Under 25	0.83	0.38	1.01	0.96
Age 45-64 years	1.14	0.22	1.72	0.00
Age 65 plus	0.50	0.05	0.70	0.34
Black or Black Irish	2.81	0.00	4.52	0.00
Asian or Asian Irish	1.46	0.27	1.51	0.37
Other Ethnicity	1.81	0.13	2.85	0.01
Non-Irish	1.68	0.00	1.36	0.11
Church of Ireland	0.93	0.83	1.00	0.99
Other Christian	1.16	0.48	1.03	0.92
Islam	1.17	0.75	1.63	0.31
Other Religion	0.75	0.33	1.02	0.96
No religion	1.22	0.27	1.58	0.03
Disabled	1.13	0.53	1.21	0.32
Single	1.16	0.27	1.01	0.98
Separated	1.19	0.34	1.13	0.57
Widowed	0.98	0.95	0.45	0.10
Couple child	1.10	0.42	0.97	0.85
Lone parent child	0.97	0.89	1.05	0.85
Primary	0.79	0.32	1.11	0.64
Lower Secondary	1.23	0.21	1.38	0.07
Post Secondary	1.40	0.00	1.13	0.40
Unemployed	1.86	0.01	8.72	0.00
Inactive	1.22	0.42	5.09	0.00
Local authority housing	1.02	0.90	0.92	0.65
Private renting	0.94	0.63	0.84	0.29
Rent free	1.07	0.88	1.14	0.77
Migrated 2008 onwards	0.70	0.32	1.70	0.08
Border, Midlands, West	0.73	0.01	0.78	0.12
South and East	0.64	0.00	0.82	0.16

Note: Other variables controlled for are presented in Table A2.1b.

Appendix Table A2.1b: Likelihood of Experiencing Work-Related Discrimination

	In Work		Looking for Work	
	Odds	Sig	Odds	Sig
Construction	0.94	0.87	0.81	0.72
Retail	1.30	0.24	1.33	0.50
Hotel	1.39	0.21	1.27	0.63
Transport	1.40	0.18	0.82	0.77
Financial	1.05	0.82	1.18	0.69
Public Administration	1.25	0.41	1.12	0.87
Education	0.81	0.42	0.90	0.83
Health	1.22	0.35	0.79	0.59
Other Services	1.43	0.16	1.00	1.00
Professionals	0.83	0.37	1.64	0.26
Technical Associate Professionals	1.08	0.73	1.24	0.69
Craft and Related	0.81	0.52	1.61	0.39
Clerical	0.90	0.62	1.12	0.81
Service and Sales	1.11	0.60	1.31	0.53
Plant and Machine	1.49	0.13	0.71	0.63
Other Occupations and Agriculture	0.91	0.73	1.04	0.94
Self-Employed	0.68	0.05	1.07	0.83
Part-time	0.97	0.82	2.07	0.00
Member	1.23	0.12	0.94	0.83
Constant	0.03	0.00	0.01	0.00

Note: Other variables controlled for are presented in Table A2.1a.

Appendix Table A2.2a Models of Risk of Discrimination in Service Domains

	Shops/Pubs		Financial		Education		Housing		Health		Transport		Other Services	
	Odds	Sig	Odds	Sig	Odds	Sig	Odds	Sig	Odds	Sig	Odds	Sig	Odds	Sig
Female	1.08	0.57	0.78	0.03	1.83	0.03	1.12	0.56	1.29	0.08	1.30	0.35	0.89	0.47
Under 25	1.47	0.11	0.97	0.90	0.43	0.10	1.13	0.64	0.49	0.13	1.19	0.77	0.65	0.33
Age 45-64 years	0.63	0.01	0.82	0.13	0.59	0.08	1.08	0.76	1.15	0.43	1.13	0.72	0.76	0.15
Age 65 plus	0.29	0.00	0.64	0.08	0.28	0.14	0.43	0.16	0.86	0.60	0.50	0.25	0.28	0.00
Black or Black Irish	3.25	0.00	3.52	0.00	2.93	0.03	5.34	0.00	1.03	0.97	6.07	0.00	2.18	0.08
Asian or Asian Irish	0.35	0.09	0.46	0.30	0.38	0.36	3.73	0.00	0.42	0.41	2.70	0.22	0.78	0.74
Other	1.59	0.21	1.96	0.15	0.93	0.93	1.82	0.30	0.43	0.43	1.50	0.71	2.02	0.21
Non-Irish	1.86	0.00	1.00	0.99	0.83	0.63	0.58	0.04	1.00	0.99	1.94	0.12	1.50	0.13
Church of Ireland	0.98	0.97	1.00	0.99	3.16	0.03	0.34	0.28	1.53	0.25	0.65	0.67	0.47	0.29
Other Christian	1.33	0.28	1.29	0.34	4.72	0.00	1.21	0.58	1.12	0.78	1.69	0.29	1.67	0.12
Islam	3.27	0.01	1.30	0.69	2.99	0.20	0.27	0.21	1.51	0.71	0.00	1.00	0.00	1.00
Other Religion	2.07	0.01	1.63	0.09	3.17	0.03	1.13	0.76	1.52	0.32	1.49	0.50	1.07	0.87
No religion	1.48	0.11	1.00	1.00	3.27	0.00	1.24	0.52	1.84	0.03	0.59	0.47	1.26	0.49
Disabled	2.27	0.00	2.01	0.00	1.50	0.29	1.37	0.26	3.12	0.00	3.12	0.00	2.20	0.00

Note: Other variables controlled for are presented in Table A2.2b.

Appendix Table A2.2b: Models of Risk of Discrimination in Service Domains

	Shops/Pubs		Financial		Education		Housing		Health		Transport		Other Services	
Lower secondary education	0.68	0.11	1.02	0.95	1.05	0.94	1.33	0.33	1.00	1.00	1.02	0.98	0.62	0.10
Upper secondary education	0.81	0.32	1.09	0.69	2.07	0.17	0.73	0.29	0.84	0.50	0.92	0.86	0.61	0.07
Post-secondary/ Third level	0.98	0.91	1.39	0.09	2.98	0.03	0.76	0.29	1.15	0.52	1.47	0.35	0.86	0.52
Unemployed	1.64	0.01	1.01	0.97	1.65	0.17	1.04	0.90	0.72	0.32	1.00	1.00	2.02	0.00
Inactive	1.79	0.00	0.92	0.54	2.59	0.00	1.49	0.05	1.66	0.00	1.80	0.06	1.60	0.01
Single	0.88	0.50	0.86	0.33	1.15	0.69	1.26	0.41	0.90	0.60	1.43	0.35	0.66	0.07
Separated	1.59	0.04	1.93	0.00	0.98	0.96	2.52	0.01	1.21	0.43	1.36	0.54	1.19	0.54
Widowed	1.36	0.28	1.10	0.70	3.13	0.09	0.82	0.80	0.60	0.08	2.10	0.14	1.35	0.35
Couple child	1.02	0.91	0.82	0.17	1.30	0.44	1.04	0.88	1.19	0.35	0.96	0.91	0.99	0.97
Lone parent child	0.98	0.94	1.33	0.23	1.09	0.83	1.40	0.20	1.55	0.12	0.65	0.47	1.98	0.02
Local authority	2.14	0.00	0.82	0.33	2.15	0.03	4.59	0.00	2.09	0.00	1.63	0.21	1.53	0.07
Private renting	1.60	0.01	0.83	0.29	0.91	0.77	5.67	0.00	1.51	0.06	1.47	0.31	1.23	0.39
Rent free	2.65	0.02	1.21	0.65	0.00	1.00	1.65	0.63	2.53	0.05	3.45	0.10	3.23	0.01
Migrated after 2008	0.43	0.07	1.08	0.87	2.23	0.18	1.15	0.73	0.34	0.29	0.00	1.00	0.22	0.14
BMW	0.70	0.03	1.15	0.34	1.74	0.14	1.27	0.35	1.34	0.12	0.85	0.63	0.92	0.67
South and East	0.68	0.01	0.94	0.67	2.22	0.01	1.35	0.20	1.07	0.70	0.71	0.26	0.73	0.08
Constant	0.01	0	0.03	0.00	0.00	0	0.01	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.00

Note: Other variables controlled for are presented in Table A2.2a.

3 GROUNDS FOR DISCRIMINATION

3.1 Introduction

For each domain in which they had experienced discrimination, respondents to the survey were asked *why* they thought they were discriminated against. Respondents were asked to select from a list of nine pre-coded categories, based on the Equality legislation: they were also allowed to select 'other' (see Box 3.1).

Box 3.1: Question(s) on Reason for Reports of Discrimination from Equality Module

Why do you think you were discriminated against – was it because of your
(Multiple responses allowed)

1. Gender
2. Marital status
3. Family status (e.g. pregnant or with children or other dependants)
4. Age
5. Disability
6. Race/ skin colour/ ethnic group/ nationality
7. Sexual orientation
8. Religious belief
9. Membership of the Traveller community
10. Other

Respondents were asked about the grounds for discrimination in each domain separately, and allowed to select multiple grounds for discrimination for each domain. Analysing these responses is the most direct source of information about the reasons for discrimination, although of course we are relying on the interpretation of the situation by the individual. In practice the numbers are so small in the categories 'sexual orientation', 'religious belief' and 'membership of the Traveller community' that these are combined with 'other' in the dataset and thus the analysis in this chapter, as it is not possible to distinguish them.

In this chapter we first present an overview of the grounds for discrimination reported in 2010, and how these have changed since 2004. We also investigate which grounds are most common in different social situations or domains. Investigating who experiences discrimination on what grounds gives a sense of how the grounds for discrimination relate to individual characteristics like gender and age. As a significant minority of grounds reported, over one-third, were 'other', we analyse this in more detail, in an attempt to unpack what people mean when they say 'other'.

3.2 Overview of the Reason or Grounds for Discrimination

Table 3.1 presents an overview of the grounds for discrimination in 2010. Of a total of 500,861 reports of discrimination in this module, at least one ground was reported for each, giving 530,839 grounds in total. See Table 3.1.¹⁷

¹⁷ These reports were made by 389,679 individuals. These figures are grossed up to population figures. The corresponding unweighted totals are: 2,377 reports of discrimination made by 1,856 individuals on 2,493 grounds.

Of the grounds identified by the Equality legislation, race/ethnicity/nationality is the most common ground in 2010, representing 22 per cent of all reported grounds. Age is the next most common ground, at 16 per cent of all reported grounds, followed by gender (8 per cent) and family (7 per cent). Disability and marital status account for a much smaller proportion of reported grounds (5 per cent and 3 per cent respectively).

Table 3.1: Ground of Discrimination as a proportion of all reported grounds

	2004	2010
	%	%
Race/ethnicity/nationality	16	22
Age	19	16
Gender	11	8
Family status	10	7
Disability	6	5
Marital status	4	3
Other*	32	39
Total	100	100

Note: Each individual may have experienced discrimination in more than one domain and may have reported more than one ground.*'Other' includes a very small number of cases reporting the grounds as religion, Travelling community and sexual orientation, as well as the 'other' ground. Base=all reported grounds of discrimination.

In fact by far the most frequently cited ground is 'Other': almost 40 per cent of all reported discrimination was associated with some reason other than one of the six equality grounds. Three grounds – 'sexual orientation', 'religious belief' and 'membership of the Traveller community – are included with other, and cannot be distinguished. However, the CSO estimate these together make up just 2 per cent of grounds (CSO, 2011). Note the 'Other' category may include those who think the reason for the discrimination they experienced may have been one of the Equality grounds but were not sure, effectively 'don't know'. The high proportion of 'other' suggests that some people find it difficult to classify their experience according to Equality grounds. In Section 3.4 we examine this ground in more depth.

If we classify the grounds cited in the 2004 survey in the same way, we find that while race/ethnicity/nationality is the most commonly cited equality ground in 2010, in 2004 age was the most commonly cited equality ground, at 19 per cent, followed by race/ethnicity/nationality (16 per cent). Gender and family status accounted for a greater proportion of the grounds in 2004 than in 2010. The 'other' ground accounted for a smaller proportion of grounds in 2004, though still one-third of all reported grounds.

Table 3.1 give an overview of the grounds for discrimination, as identified by the person experiencing the discrimination. Yet how do these grounds relate to the domains in which discrimination is experienced? As the question on the grounds for discrimination was asked immediately after the question on domain, we can relate the ground to the domain (see Figure 3.1a). The height of the bar relates to the proportion of all reported discrimination accounted for by this domain; the shading depicts the breakdown of all reported discrimination by the grounds given by the respondent.

As noted in Chapter 2, overall discrimination in 2010 was most prevalent at work, seeking work and in banks and financial institutions. Together these account for over half of all reported discrimination. The 'other' ground plays a strong role in discrimination at work, and also in banks and financial institutions, as well as

discrimination in accessing health services. The race/nationality ground plays a particularly strong role at work, but also seeking work, in shops and pubs, and in housing.¹⁸ Age is particularly important seeking work, presumably reflecting the difficulties younger people have in accessing employment in the current recession. Age is also important in banks and financial transactions.

Gender and family status are not as prominent as grounds cited for discrimination but where they are cited, gender is most likely to be associated with discrimination at work and in banks/financial transactions. Family status, where it is cited, is most likely to be cited in connection with discrimination at work and in housing.

The picture looks a little different when we consider 2004. Here, in the midst of an economic boom, discrimination seeking work was not so common, and discrimination in banks and financial transactions was more common, perhaps because of a high rate of exposure to financial transactions, in terms of seeking mortgages and car loans, car insurance (see Chapter 2 for a discussion). As in 2010, much reported discrimination on the 'Other' ground occurred at work, in banks/accessing financial services and in the health service, also seeking work. Age was more important as a ground than in 2010, as noted above, particularly in banks and financial transactions, though also seeking work. Race/ethnicity was important in many domains, though not as commonly cited in 2004 as in 2010. Discrimination on the basis of gender in 2004 was almost all either in the workplace or in banks and financial transactions: discrimination on the basis of family status was predominantly in housing, as in 2010.

¹⁸ A survey of racism and discrimination among non-EU migrants on the basis of race/nationality in 2005 found rates of harassment at work and recruitment discrimination were high compared to other domains, though refer to the period 'since coming to Ireland' rather than the past 2 years, as in this survey (McGinnity *et al.*, 2006). Discrimination on the basis of race/nationality in housing in the Irish racism survey was a little lower, relative to other domains, but high in many other European Countries, especially in Southern Europe (EUMC, 2006).

Figure 3.1a: Discrimination 2010 (Domain and Grounds)

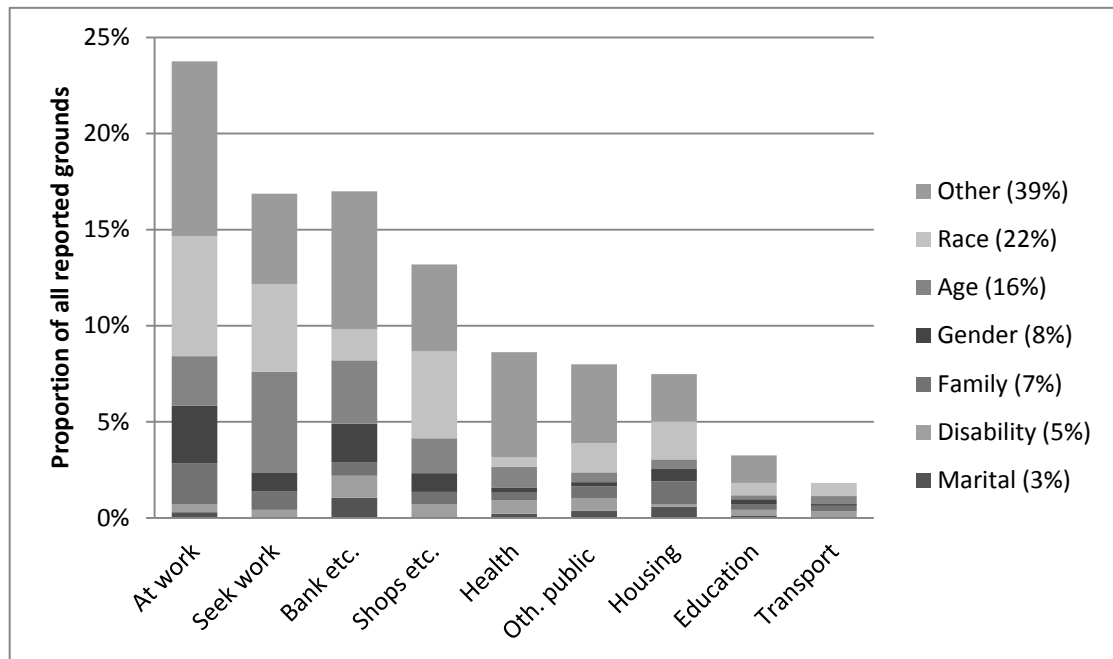
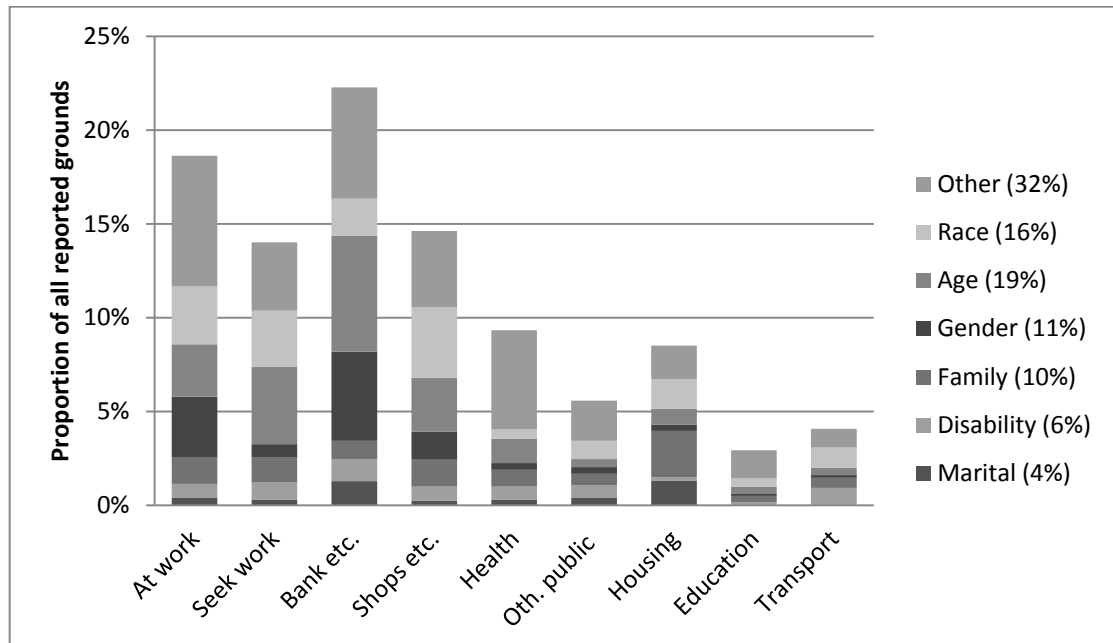


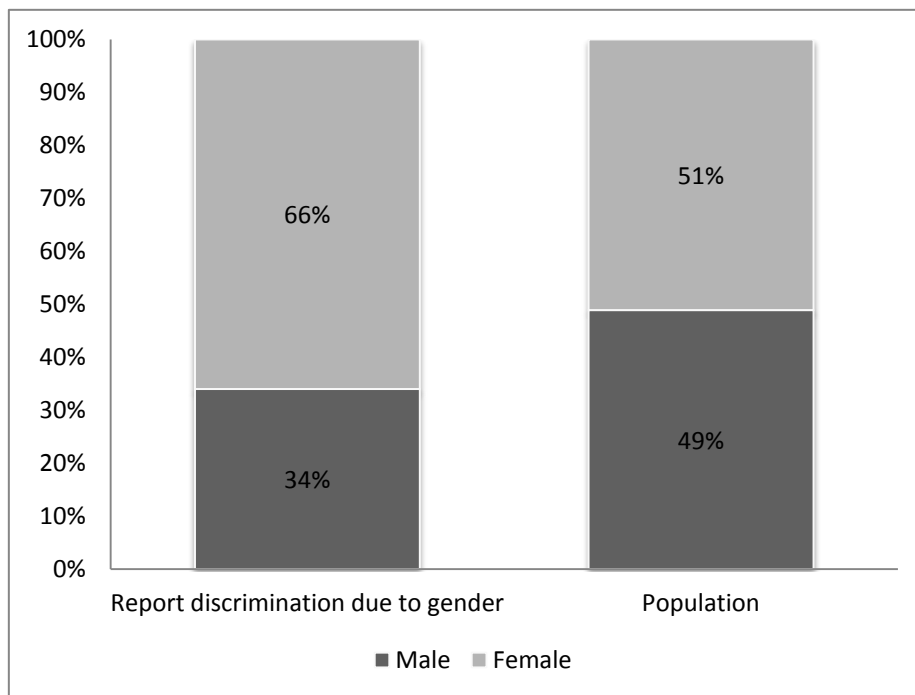
Figure 3.1b: Discrimination 2004 (Domain and Grounds)



3.3 Who Experiences Discrimination on What Grounds?

In this section we consider the characteristics of the individuals who report discrimination on the various grounds. By way of illustration, we select some equality grounds (gender, age, ethnicity, family status and disability) and examine the personal characteristics of those reporting discrimination.

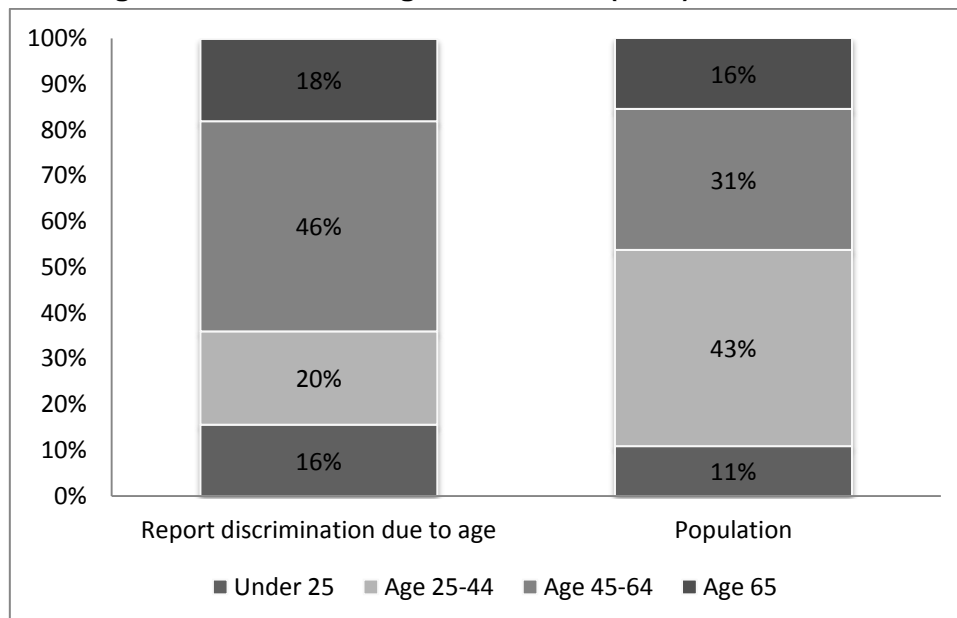
Figure 3.2: Gender Discrimination: Gender Composition (2010)



Note: Individuals could record multiple grounds.

Figure 3.2 shows that while two thirds of those who report gender discrimination are women, compared with half of the total population, one third are men. So while women are much more likely to report discrimination on the basis of gender than men, it is certainly not the case that all those reporting gender discrimination are women.

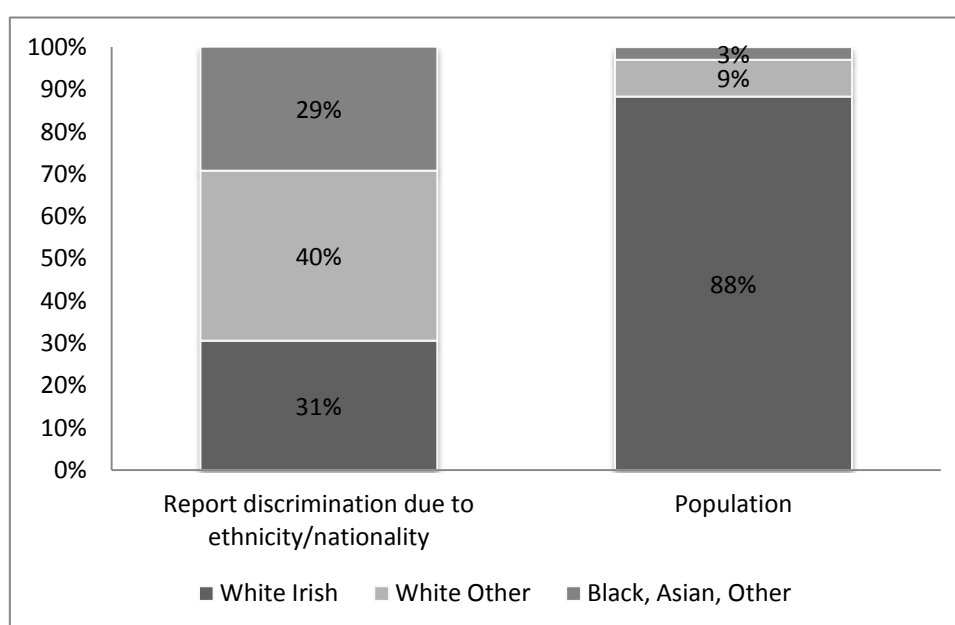
Figure 3.3: Age Discrimination: Age Breakdown (2010)



Note: Individuals could record multiple grounds.

What is striking when we consider age discrimination is that if we consider the age profile of adults attributing discrimination to this ground, both the under 25 year olds and the older age groups – 45-64 and age 65 plus – are over represented, vis-à-vis their proportion in the total population (Figure 3.3). Thus it is not just older people who report discrimination on the basis of age, nor is it predominantly the oldest age group (age 65 and over). Almost half of the reports of age discrimination come from the 45-64 year age group, who make up just over 30 per cent of the population. However, the picture has changed somewhat since 2004, when 35 per cent of those reporting age discrimination were under 25 years old (Russell *et al.*, 2008). Further investigation reveals that there has been a dramatic fall in the number of under 25s reporting discrimination in financial services between 2004 and 2010 (own analysis of pooled data, not shown).

Figure 3.4: Discrimination on the Basis of Ethnicity/Nationality: Ethnicity breakdown (2010)

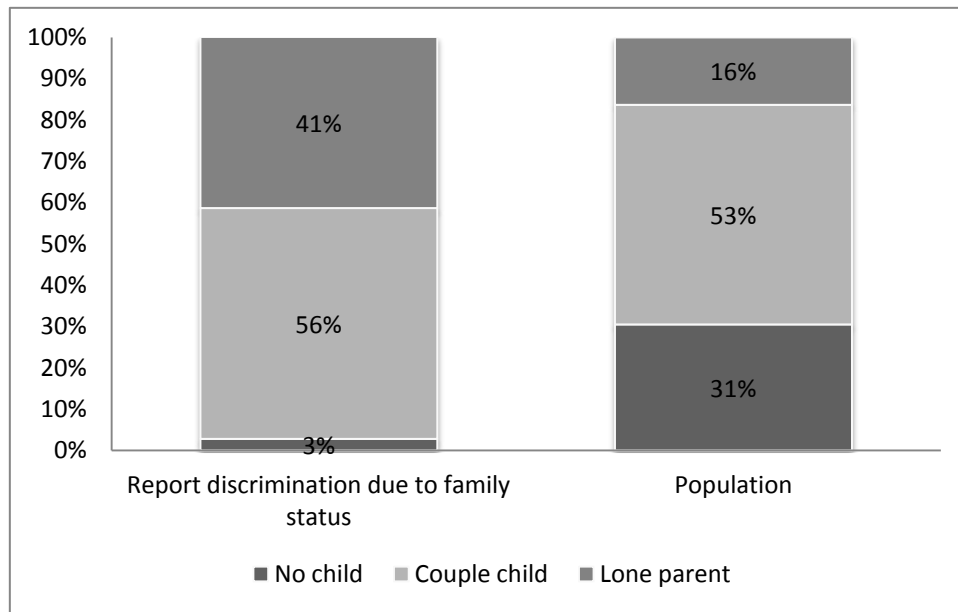


Note: Individuals could record multiple grounds.

The picture is a little different if we consider those reporting discrimination on the basis of ethnicity/nationality (Figure 3.4). Here, 30 per cent are Black, Asian and Other, those make up only 3 per cent of the total population.¹⁹ White, other (i.e. non-Irish) make up 40 per cent of those reporting discrimination due to ethnicity/nationality, though only 9 per cent of the population. While clearly under-represented, it is interesting that 30 per cent of those reporting discrimination on the basis of ethnicity/nationality are White Irish.

¹⁹ This proportion is slightly lower than the *Census 2011*, where preliminary results suggest that 4.2 per cent of the population are Black, Asian, Other (CSO, 2012c).

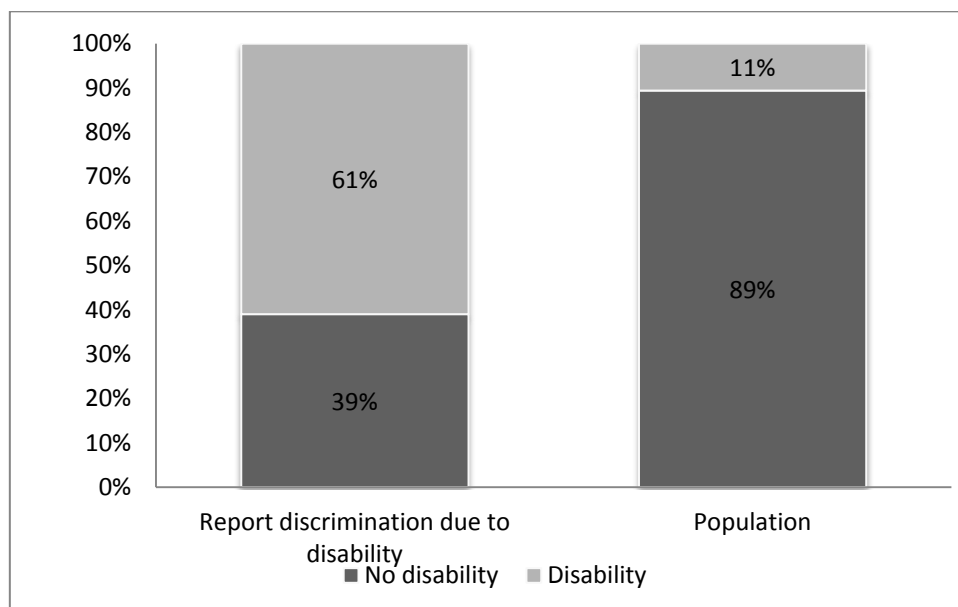
Figure 3.5: Discrimination on the Basis of Family Status, by Family Status



Note: Individuals could record multiple grounds.

Figure 3.5 shows that of all reports of discrimination due to family status, respondents with no children make up a very small per cent of these, and couples with children make up a similar proportion to their proportion in the whole population (somewhat over 50 per cent). Lone parents are overrepresented in those who report discrimination due to family status, accounting for just over 40 per cent of them, compared to 16 per cent in the total population.

Figure 3.6: Discrimination on the Basis of Disability by Disability Status (2010)



Note: Individuals could record multiple grounds.

As is clear from Figure 3.6, respondents with a disability are much more likely to report discrimination on the grounds of disability. Just over 60 per cent of those reporting discrimination on the grounds of disability had a disability. This compares to around 10 per cent of the adult population who report that they have a disability.

3.4 Multiple Grounds and the 'Other' Ground

As Table 3.1 shows, a large proportion of the grounds cited do not fall clearly into one of the six main grounds covered by the equality legislation: age, gender, race/nationality, disability, family status and marital status. The 'Other category', combined with membership of the Traveller community, sexual orientation and religious belief, accounts for 39 per cent of all grounds.²⁰ Discrimination on the 'Other' ground is particularly prevalent in health, where it accounts for 63 per cent of all reported grounds; in other public services (51 per cent of all grounds); also in Education (44 per cent), and in Banks/Financial Services (42 per cent) (see Figure 3.2a). What is this 'Other' ground likely to be?

As discussed in Chapter 1, following best practice, respondents were given a clear definition of discrimination, and instructed only to record discrimination when it fulfils this definition (see Box 1.1). The definition makes clear that it is unequal treatment based on group membership which constitutes discrimination. The instructions explicitly state that less favourable treatment on the basis of qualifications, being over an income limit or being further back in a queue for something does not constitute discrimination. However, there is no 'don't know' response possible to these questions, and in the CSO release on Equality Module it is noted that: 'Interviewers were allowed to record 'Other' as the ground for discrimination if the respondent could not decide which of the nine grounds in the legislation applied to their experience' (CSO, 2011). This implies that some of the 'Other' category refers to discrimination on the basis of equality grounds but the respondent could not decide, and some may refer to discrimination on the basis of other attributes not covered by the equality legislation. These latter factors might include social class, address or accent, which have been highlighted by research on discrimination using field experiments. Jackson (2009) draws attention to the role of class background in recruitment. Bertrand and Mullainathan (2004) highlight the role of address in recruitment discrimination: candidates are more likely to be called to interview when they live in the 'right' neighbourhood (Whiter, more educated, higher-income), even after controlling for their personal characteristics. Without further information, such as a prompt like 'Other, please specify', it is not possible to discern what the true reason for discrimination was, but we can compare the characteristics of those reporting discrimination on the basis of the Other ground and those reporting discrimination on the Equality grounds, using multivariate modelling.

Figure 3.7 presents the results of a model which compares the socio-demographic characteristics of those reporting discrimination on the 'Other' ground with those reporting discrimination on the basis of one of the six equality grounds, with those reporting no discrimination (see Appendix Table A3.1 for the full model).²¹ Summarising the results of this model we find that respondents of Black Ethnicity are much more likely to report discrimination on the basis of an Equality ground than White Irish. Non-Irish respondents are also more likely to report discrimination on the basis of an Equality ground than Irish. The unemployed are much more likely to report discrimination on any ground than the employed, but actually more likely to report discrimination on an Equality ground. This was not the case in 2004, where the

²⁰ Though note the latter three grounds make up only around 2 per cent of all grounds, a very small proportion of the 'Other' category.

²¹ See Section 2.2 for a full discussion of how these socio-demographic characteristics are measured.

unemployed were more likely to report discrimination on the ‘other ground’. This may reflect differences in the composition of the unemployed in boom (2004) and recession (2010). In the tight labour market in 2004, the unemployed were a more concentrated and disadvantaged group with lower education, health problems, and a range of other problems. By 2010, unemployment had spread farther up the disadvantage spectrum – taking in many skilled manual as well as semi-skilled manual and service workers.

Yet some groups are more likely to report experiencing discrimination on the ‘Other’ ground. Those with no religion are more likely to report discrimination on the other ground than Catholics – though note here that discrimination on the basis of religious belief is included with the ‘Other ground’, as it is provided in the micro-data, so this might explain this. Those with low education – primary education and lower secondary education are more likely to report discrimination on the ‘other’ ground than more highly educated counterparts. This suggests that attribution of discrimination to the ‘Other’ ground may be linked to a lack of familiarity with equality legislation (see Chapter 5 on how knowledge of rights tends to be higher among higher educated); or there may be an income/class component to discrimination, which is attributed to the ‘Other’ ground, as income and class are both closely related to education.

Figure 3.7: Odds of Reporting Discrimination on the ‘Other’ Ground and Equality Grounds



Source: Quarterly National Household Survey Module on Discrimination, 2010, analysis by authors. Base = Population aged 18 and over potentially exposed to discrimination in any domain. Significant odds ratios from Model in Appendix Table A3.1.

Both local authority renters and those with rent-free accommodation are more likely to report discrimination on the 'Other' ground than those who own their homes. This could either be linked to an income effect, as those in local authority rented accommodation are below an income threshold, or also discrimination due to the person's address. The kind of detailed information on location required to pursue this idea further is not available on this survey (for anonymity reasons). Finally, while detailed regional information is not available, using the NUTS 3 information we find that those who live in Border/Midlands/West area are more likely to experience discrimination on the Other ground, compared to those in Dublin. One explanation here is that those in more rural areas/smaller communities may be more likely to find out who got the job or received the service. As noted in McGinnity *et al.* (2009), many people do not realise that they have been discriminated against, but it could be that those living in rural areas are more likely to do so and thus report it.

Do grounds cluster together, like gender and family status? Of adults who experience discrimination in 2010 (circa 390,000), 11 per cent report experiencing discrimination on more than one ground, which is somewhat lower than in 2004 (16 per cent). Given that such a low proportion report multiple discrimination, it is not surprising that there are no positive correlations between grounds that are statistically significant.²² This suggests that there are no two grounds that are typically combined. Similarly, there is no one ground that tends to be reported with others (i.e. no positive correlation between the number of grounds and any one ground).

3.5 Summary

In this chapter we investigate in more depth the reasons or grounds identified by those who experienced discrimination. About 60 per cent of discrimination is attributed to one of six equality grounds in 2010, and 40 per cent is attributed to 'other'. 'Other' may include cases where the person was unsure of the equality ground, or where it was actually another ground. Of the grounds identified by the equality legislation, nationality/ethnicity was the most common ground, followed by age; then gender and family, with disability/marital accounting for a much lower proportion of grounds.

In terms of change since 2004, the most marked change is that nationality/ethnicity is now the most common equality ground identified by those who experienced discrimination: in 2004 age was the common equality ground cited. This could be related to migrants' experience of the recession in Ireland: previous research has found that immigrants have been harder hit in the Irish labour market (Barrett and Kelly, 2012; McGinnity *et al.*, 2012). It could also be related to the composition of migrants, which has changed considerably since 2004 (see Chapter 1). In any case, it is consistent with the idea that vulnerable groups will experience even more discrimination in recession. Age has fallen somewhat as a proportion of all grounds, and in particular the proportion of under 25s reporting discrimination on the basis of age has fallen, which we partly attribute to the fall in this group reporting discrimination in financial services.

In terms of the discrimination ground and how it is related to individual characteristics, the nationality/ethnicity ground is strongly related to ethnicity, with the majority of reports by either White, non-Irish respondents or Black/Asian/Other respondents being on this ground. Similarly, the disability ground is strongly related to having a disability. Those reporting discrimination on the gender ground are more likely to be women, but it is salient that one-third of them are men.

²² Pearson correlation, 2 tailed significance test using $p < 0.05$ as the threshold.

Because of the format of the questions of discrimination, beginning with a definition and listing the equality grounds specified in Irish legislation, we are justified in assuming that at least some of the 'Other' category refers to discrimination on the basis of equality grounds but the respondent could not decide which one. However, it is likely that some respondents may be including discrimination on the basis of grounds not covered by the equality legislation such as social class, address or accent.

Investigating the 'Other' ground we find that compared to those who report discrimination on the basis of an equality ground, those who report discrimination on the 'Other' ground are more likely to have low levels of education, to live in rented accommodation from a Local Authority and to be from the Border/Midlands/West region. We conclude that some of the 'Other' ground may be income-related, and some related to location or address, but further elaboration is not possible based on the data. What is clear is that a significant minority of people in Ireland find it difficult to classify their experience of discrimination according to Equality grounds from the legislation.

Table A3.1: Odds of experiencing Discrimination on the ‘Other’ Ground and Equality Grounds

		‘Other’ Ground v No Discrimination		Named Equality Ground v No Discrimination	
		Odds	Sig.	Odds	Sig.
Gender	Female	0.94	0.41	1.34	0.00
Age (Ref 25-44)	Age 18-24	0.96	0.79	1.10	0.54
	Age 45-64	0.85	0.11	1.17	0.11
	Age 65+	0.39	0.00	0.65	0.01
Ethnicity (Ref White)	Black	1.79	0.15	4.09	0.00
	Asian	0.97	0.95	1.25	0.37
	Other	1.28	0.57	1.60	0.07
Nationality	Non-Irish national	0.64	0.01	2.03	0.00
Religion (ref Catholic)	Church Of Ireland	1.11	0.68	0.94	0.77
	Other Christian	1.41	0.08	1.26	0.14
	Islam	1.41	0.55	1.59	0.16
	Other religion	0.91	0.74	1.40	0.05
	No religion	1.80	0.00	1.21	0.19
Disability	Has disability	1.88	0.00	1.69	0.00
Marital status (Ref married)	Single	0.88	0.21	1.14	0.15
	Separated	1.37	0.02	1.74	0.00
	Widow	0.71	0.08	1.14	0.42
Family (Ref no Children)	Couple with children	0.84	0.09	1.29	0.01
	Lone parent	1.21	0.25	1.55	0.00
Education (Ref Upper Secondary)	Primary	1.32	0.05	0.61	0.00
	Lower 2nd or less	1.30	0.04	0.99	0.94
	Post-secondary	1.30	0.01	1.25	0.01
ILO (Ref Employed)	Unemployed	1.93	0.00	2.47	0.00
	Inactive	1.07	0.45	1.06	0.49
Housing (ref=owner)	Local Auth. rent	1.43	0.00	1.20	0.14
	Private rent	1.35	0.01	1.29	0.01
	Rent-free	1.88	0.02	0.77	0.48
Migration	Since 2008	0.67	0.32	0.89	0.59
Region (Ref Dublin)	BMW	1.25	0.05	0.63	0.00
	South East	1.15	0.15	0.59	0.00

Source: Quarterly National Household Survey Module on Discrimination, 2010, analysis by authors. Base = Population aged 18 and over potentially exposed to discrimination in any domain.

4 THE OVERALL IMPACT OF DISCRIMINATION

4.1 Introduction

So far in this report, we have analysed discrimination in different domains separately, without attempting to bring all forms of discrimination together in a systematic way. To some extent, this must be done with caution, since the implications of discrimination in the different domains can vary. As we will see in this chapter, there are important differences between domains in the seriousness of the impact of discrimination on the individual. In this chapter we explore the impact of discrimination on the individual and the frequency with which it was experienced. We begin by examining the seriousness of discrimination in different domains and on different grounds, for 2010. Then we build the analysis towards a model of serious discrimination in any domain. In doing this, we allow the respondent's assessment that the discrimination had a 'serious' or 'very serious' impact on their lives to act as the common denominator for the assessment of discrimination across domains. We conclude the chapter with a series of models of the risk of serious discrimination in work-related domains, service-related domains and, finally, in any domain. Although the discussion is focused on the risk factors for serious discrimination, we also present the risk factors for any discrimination (regardless of whether the impact is serious or less serious). For the final model, we pool the data for 2004 and 2010 so that we can examine whether, when we control for the composition of the population, the risk of serious discrimination changed significantly between 2004 and 2010.

The key questions we address in this chapter are:

- How much of the discrimination reported by respondents had a serious impact on their lives?
- Does the seriousness of discrimination differ by the domain in which it occurs?
- Is there any link between the seriousness of the discrimination and the grounds to which the person attributes the discrimination?
- Are there particular groups with a higher risk of serious discrimination in the area of work and in the area of access to services?
- Has the risk of serious discrimination changed over time?

4.2 Measuring Seriousness and Frequency of Discrimination

We begin by examining the seriousness of the discrimination from the perspective of the individual who experienced it. On the 2010 questionnaire, the respondent was asked how seriously the discrimination affected their lives after each domain in which discrimination was reported. The response categories were 'Little or no effect', 'some effect', 'serious effect' and 'very serious effect'. The question on how seriously the person's life was affected by discrimination was asked differently in 2004. It was asked as a single question, following all the questions about whether discrimination was experienced in the different domains. Most people reporting discrimination in both years had experienced discrimination in only one domain (73 per cent in 2004 and 79 per cent in 2010).

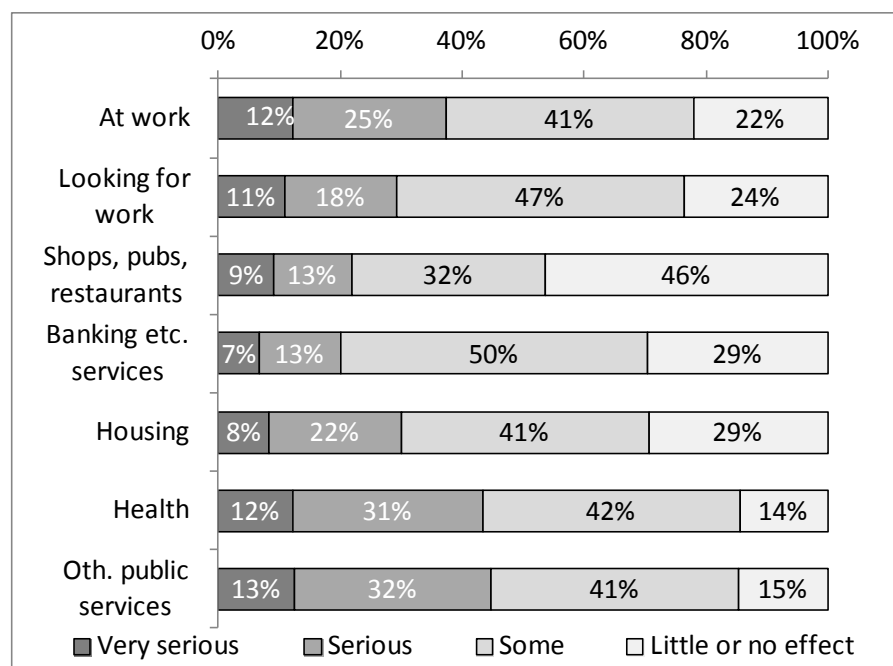
A similar strategy was adopted in asking about the frequency with which the person experienced discrimination in the two years. In 2010, the question about how often the person had experienced this type of discrimination was asked for each domain in

which the person experienced discrimination. In 2004, it was asked as a global item, covering all of the domains in which the person reported discrimination.

4.3 Seriousness and Frequency of Discrimination by Domain

We now consider whether there is an association between the seriousness of the impact of the discrimination and the domain in which it occurred. We can examine this in the 2010 data because the question about the seriousness of the discrimination was asked for each domain in which the person reported discrimination. Figure 4.1 shows the percentage of those experiencing discrimination in each domain who report that the discrimination has ‘little or no effect’, ‘some effect’, a ‘serious effect’ or a ‘very serious effect’ on their lives.

Figure 4.1: Seriousness of Impact of Discrimination by Domain, 2010



Source: Quarterly National Household Survey, Equality Module, RMF; analysis by authors.

Note: Education and Transport domains are not shown separately because of small number of cases.

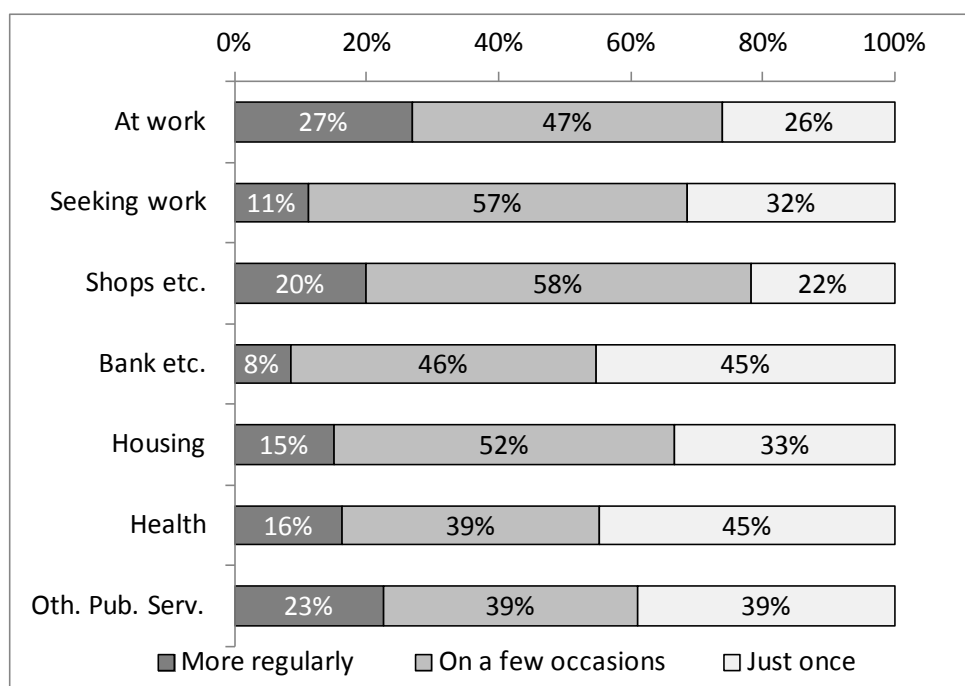
The most common category across domains is ‘some effect’, ranging from 32 per cent of those reporting discrimination in shops, pubs and restaurants to 50 per cent of those reporting discrimination in banking, insurance or financial services. However, perhaps the main message from Figure 4.1 is that discrimination in any domain can have a serious or very serious impact on the respondent’s life. The three domains which stand out as most likely to be associated with serious discrimination are access to public services (45 per cent ‘very serious’ or ‘serious’), health services (43 per cent) and discrimination in the workplace (37 per cent). Serious discrimination is less common than discrimination with a less serious impact in banking, insurance and financial services (20 per cent) and in shops, pubs and restaurants (22 per cent).

Figure 4.2 examines the frequency of discrimination by domain for those reporting discrimination in each domain. Again, in 2010, the questionnaire allows us to link the reported frequency to each domain as the question was asked with respect to each domain in which the person reported discrimination. Three categories of response were possible: ‘just once’, ‘on a few occasions’ and ‘more regularly’. The most common response across domains was that the discrimination occurred ‘on a few

occasions', ranging from 39 per cent for access to public services and health services to 58 per cent for shops, pubs and restaurants.

Discrimination that occurred 'more regularly' was most often associated with the workplace (27 per cent), with accessing public services (23 per cent) and, to a lesser extent, with shops, pubs and restaurants (20 per cent). 'More regular' discrimination was least common in banking, insurance and financial services (8 per cent), perhaps because direct interactions with these institutions are less frequent than interactions in the workplace or in shops, pubs and restaurants.

Figure 4.2: Frequency of Discrimination by Domain, 2010



Source: Quarterly National Household Survey, Equality Module, RMF. Analysis by authors.

Note: Education and Transport domains are not shown separately because of small number of cases.

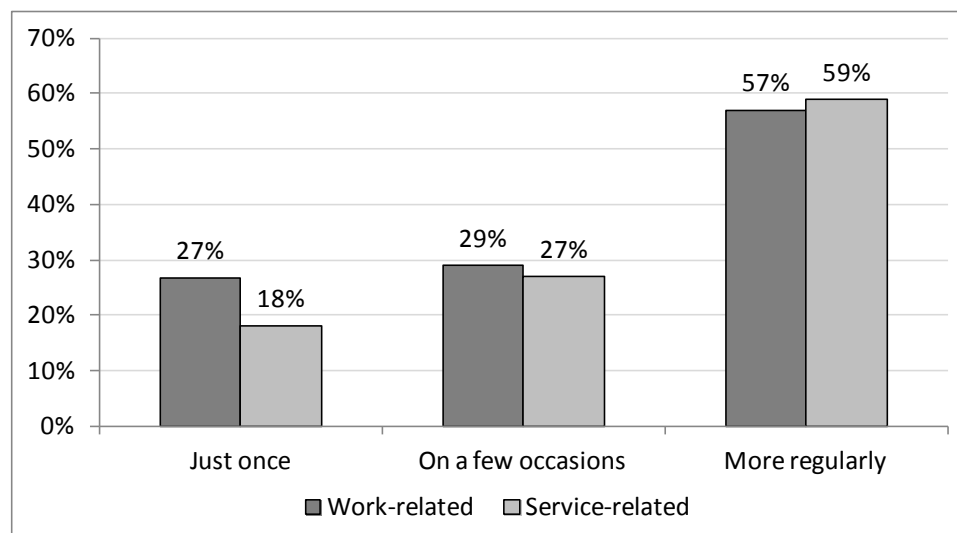
As we might expect, discrimination that occurs more frequently is likely to have more serious consequences. Figure 4.3 below shows the percentage reporting that discrimination had a 'serious' or 'very serious' effect by the frequency with which discrimination was experienced in work-related and service-related domains. In combining the specific domains into the work-related and service-related groups, we take the highest level of reported frequency and the highest level of reported seriousness across the specific domains in the two broad groups.

There is a clear increase in the percentage reporting serious effects as the frequency of the discrimination increases. In the case of work-related discrimination, serious effects were reported for 27 per cent of discrimination occurring 'just once', 29 per cent of discrimination occurring 'on a few occasions' and 57 per cent of discrimination occurring 'more regularly'. The increase is even sharper for service-related discrimination, ranging from 18 per cent reporting serious effects from discrimination that occurred 'just once' to 59 per cent reporting serious effects from discrimination that occurred 'more regularly'. Note however that even single incidents of discrimination – especially those that are work-related – can have serious effects on the individual.

Domains associated with a high probability that discrimination will have a serious effect do not necessarily account for the biggest proportion of serious discrimination.

This is because, as we saw in Chapter 2, the prevalence of discrimination differs by domain. This means that although discrimination that does occur in a domain may be very likely to have serious effects, this domain might only account for a small proportion of all serious discrimination. This issue is of importance in targeting discrimination as it would be desirable to focus attention on domains which account for a large fraction of the discrimination that seriously affects the lives of those experiencing it.

Figure 4.3: Per Cent Reporting Serious Discrimination by Frequency, 2010



Source: Quarterly National Household Survey, Equality Module, RMF; analysis by authors.

Table 4.1 shows how likely it is that serious discrimination will be experienced in each domain in 2010. Looking at the first column of the table, we can see that the risk that discrimination, where it occurs, will have a serious effect is higher in the three domains noted above: public services, health and in the workplace. However, when we take account of differences between these domains in the risk that discrimination will occur in the first place, we see that overall serious discrimination is most likely to occur in the workplace (2.0 per cent) or at work (1.6 per cent), followed by the domain of housing (1.0 per cent) (see Table 4.1, column 2). Although discrimination in accessing health or other public services are likely to have serious effects on the individual when they do occur, discrimination is less likely to be experienced in these domains (see Table 2.1).

Table 4.1: Risk that Discrimination Will Have Serious Effect by Domain, 2010

	A. Where Discrimination occurs in this Domain, % of cases where it has a Serious Effect	B. Of all persons exposed to discrimination, % of cases where Discrimination with a Serious Effect occurs
	%	%
At work	37	2.0
Looking for work	29	1.7
Shops, etc.	22	0.4
Bank etc.	20	0.5
Housing	30	1.0
Health	43	0.6
Public services	45	0.5

Source: Quarterly National Household Survey, Equality Module, RMF; analysis by authors. Base for Column A = individuals experiencing discrimination in each domain. Base for column B=Individuals at risk of discrimination in each domain.

Note: Education and Transport domains are not shown separately because of small number of cases.

4.4 Seriousness of Discrimination in any Domain, 2004 and 2010

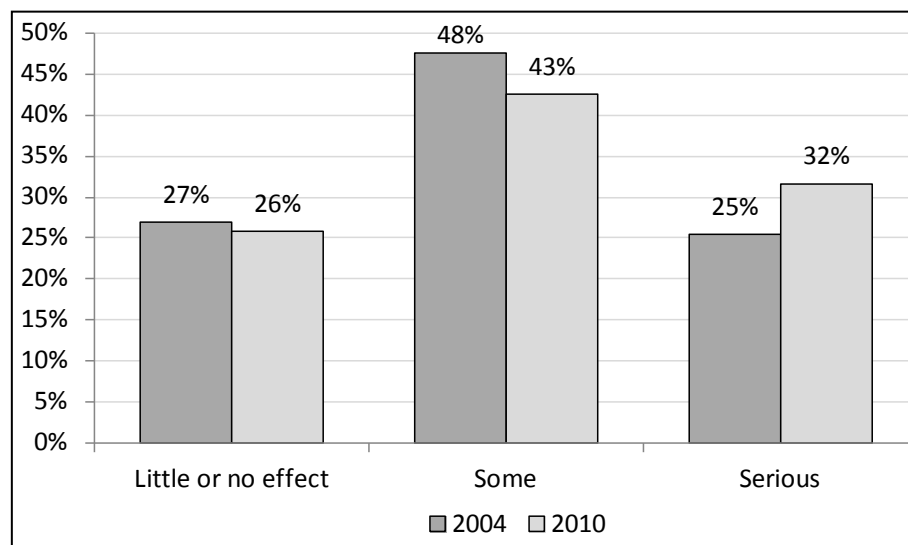
As noted above, the question on how seriously the person's life was affected by discrimination was asked differently in 2004. It was asked as a single question, following all the questions about whether discrimination was experienced in the different domains. This means that in order to compare the 2010 and 2004 figures we need to aggregate the 2010 data across domains. We do this by taking the highest level of seriousness across domains in cases where the person reported discrimination in more than one domain.²³

Figure 4.4 shows the percentage of those experiencing discrimination in any domain who reported that it had 'little or no effect', 'some effect' or a serious effect (either 'very serious' or 'serious') on their lives in 2004 and in 2010. Of those reporting any discrimination, there is little difference in the percentages reporting discrimination that had 'little or no effect' between 2004 and 2010 (26 per cent to 27 per cent). However, the percentage reporting that the discrimination had a serious effect on their lives had increased significantly from 25 per cent to 32 per cent. Expressed as a percentage of the total population, the increase was from 3.2 per cent of the population reporting serious discrimination in 2004 to 3.7 per cent in 2010. While the change appears smaller expressed as a percentage of the total population, it still represents a statistically significant increase in the percentage of the population reporting serious discrimination.²⁴ Between 2004 and 2010, then, there was an increase in discrimination that had a serious impact on those experiencing it. The magnitude of this change is small when considered as a percentage of the population but is more substantial when considered as a proportion of all of those experiencing discrimination.

²³ As noted above, most people reporting discrimination in both years have experienced discrimination in only one domain (73 per cent in 2004 and 79 per cent in 2010).

²⁴ To check whether the difference might be an artefact of the recording of multiple measures of seriousness in 2010 for those experiencing discrimination in multiple domains, we compared the reported seriousness for the subgroup that experienced discrimination in only one domain. The percentage reporting serious discrimination remained significantly higher in 2010 (29 per cent versus 23 per cent in 2004 among those reporting discrimination in only one domain).

Figure 4.4: Percentage Reporting Discrimination had a ‘Serious Effect’, ‘Some Effect’ or ‘Little or No Effect’ on their Lives, 2004 and 2010



Source: Quarterly National Household Survey, Equality Module, RMF; analysis by authors. Base=those reporting discrimination in any domain.

4.5 Models of the Effects of Discrimination

Are there differences between groups in the risk of serious discrimination? While the overall prevalence of discrimination for a particular group may be high, it could be that the discrimination is associated with less serious effects on the person’s life. This might occur because the discrimination occurs in a domain where discrimination is less likely to have serious effects. Another reason that the effect of discrimination may be less serious is that the person may have other resources to deal with the effects or to take appropriate action in response. Examples of such resources include the support of family and friends, of union representatives, work colleagues and professional acquaintances.

The full set of variables included in the models is the same as those used in previous chapters (see Section 2.2 for a detailed discussion). The models include gender, age group, marital and family status, religion, nationality, and race/ethnicity. These reflect the characteristics of the person associated with the grounds mentioned in the equality legislation. We do not have identifiers for membership of the Travelling Community or sexual orientation, however, so we are not able to comment on these.

We analyse separate models for work-related discrimination and service related discrimination before analysing a combined model of serious discrimination in any domain. We use multinomial logistic regression models to look at the impact of respondent characteristics on a three-category variable:

1. Did not experience discrimination.
2. Experienced discrimination, but it had ‘little or no effect’ or ‘some effect’.
3. Experienced discrimination that has a ‘serious’ or ‘very serious’ effect.

The sample is limited to those who were potentially exposed to the type of discrimination being examined (work-related or service-related or any domain). The model for work-related discrimination is limited to the population who were either at work or seeking work at some time in the two-year reference period and we further limit it to persons up to age 64. The models for service-related discrimination and for

discrimination in any domain include virtually the whole population of persons age 18 and over. For comparison, we also show the models for experiencing any discrimination in the relevant domain (work-related, service-related or any domain). The full models are shown in Appendix Tables A4.1 to A4.4.

4.5.1 Model for Seriousness of Work-Related Discrimination

Figure 4.5 shows the significant odds ratios for any work-related discrimination and for serious work-related discrimination. An odds ratio less than one indicates a lower risk than the reference category while an odds ratio greater than one indicates a higher risk than the reference category. The chart displays the odds ratios on a logarithmic scale but reports the actual odds ratio. The logarithmic scale display is used to give a more accurate picture of the relative sizes of effects less than one and effects greater than one. For example, the logarithmic scale would display an odds ratio of 0.5 (half the odds) with a similar sized bar, though in the opposite direction, to the bar displaying an odds ratio of two (twice the odds). The chart displays both the odds of discrimination with a 'serious' effect (the dark coloured bar) and the odds of any work-related discrimination (the light coloured bar).

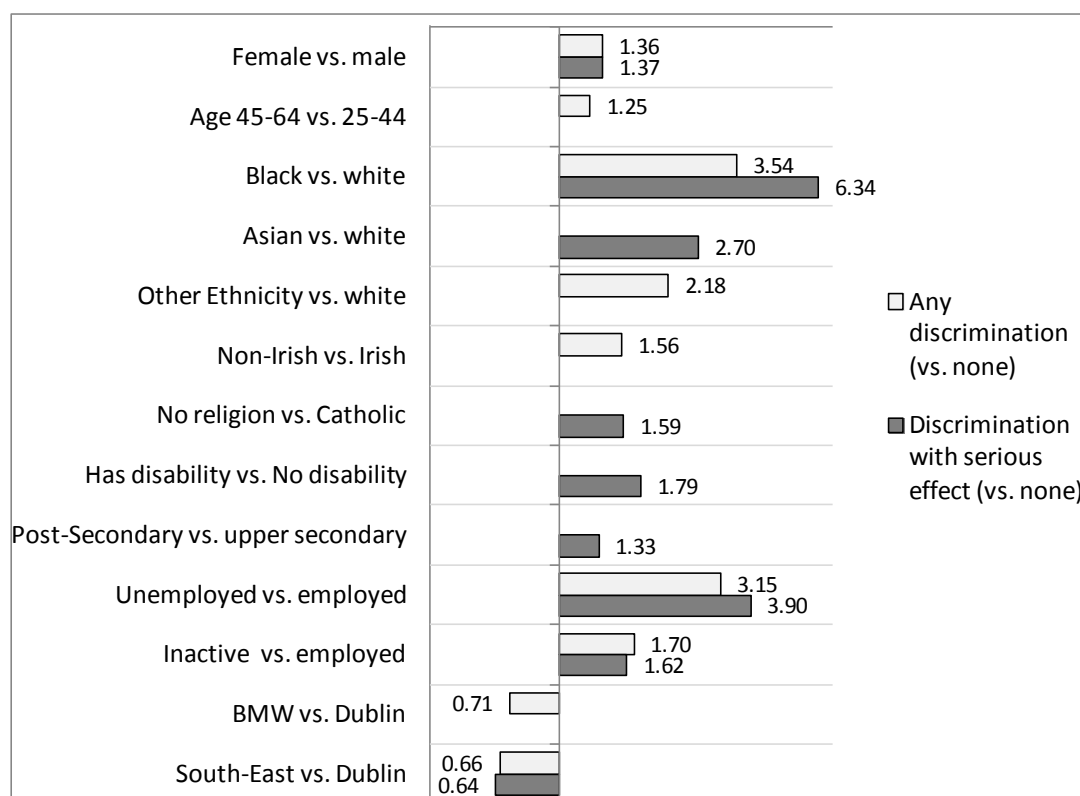
Turning first to the characteristics which might place the person at risk of discrimination according to the grounds covered by equality legislation, we see significant differences in the risk of serious work-related discrimination by gender, race-ethnicity, disability and religion. The strongest patterns are associated with race/ethnicity. The odds of experiencing serious work-related discrimination are over six times higher for people of Black ethnicity compared to Whites (6.34) and are 2.7 times higher for Asian adults compared to Whites. This is a very strong effect of race-ethnicity.

The odds of serious work-related discrimination are over 1.3 times higher for women than for men and are 1.8 times higher for people with a disability compared to people without a disability. Those belonging to no religious denomination face a higher risk of serious work-related discrimination than Catholics (1.6).

When we compare the factors associated with serious work-related discrimination and *any* work-related discrimination, we see that the patterns tend to be stronger for serious work-related discrimination. For example, the odds of any work-related discrimination were 3.5 for those of Black ethnicity compared to Whites. The odds of serious work-related discrimination were nearly twice as high (6.3). In the case of people with a disability, there is no overall increase in risk of experiencing work-related discrimination compared to those without a disability, but the odds of experiencing serious work-related discrimination are 1.8 times higher for people with a disability.

There are also some groups at higher risk work-related discrimination overall, but who are not at higher risk of discrimination that has a serious effect. This is the case for non-Irish nationals (odds ratio 1.56 for any discrimination compared to Irish nationals) and people of 'Other' ethnicity (odds ratio of 2.2 compared to Whites). Non-Irish nationals and people of 'Other' ethnic background – a category which includes those of mixed ethnic background – are at higher risk of work-related discrimination that has a less serious effect on the lives of the person affected (See Appendix Table A4.1).

Figure 4.5: Odds of Any Work-related Discrimination and of Serious Work-Related Discrimination Among People of Working Age, 2010



Source: Quarterly National Household Survey, Equality Module, RMF, 2010; analysis by authors. Results based on a multinomial regression model for discrimination with serious effects and a logistic regression model for any discrimination – see Appendix Table A4.1. Base is people aged 18-64 who were potentially exposed to work-related discrimination. Only statistically significant ($p < .05$) differences are shown in the chart.

Turning now to the characteristics that we expect to be associated with access to resources, we see that the most significant increase in the risk of serious-work-related discrimination is associated with unemployment. The odds of experiencing serious work-related discrimination are nearly four times higher for the unemployed compared to those in employment. Those who are not active in the labour market *also* have a higher risk than the employed, but the increased odds are not as marked (odds ratio of 1.6). In most cases, the work-related discrimination experienced by those who are unemployed or inactive would be discrimination in seeking work rather than discrimination in the workplace.²⁵

Paradoxically, those with education beyond second level are at higher risk of serious discrimination (odds ratio is 1.3) compared to those who have completed second level. This pattern was not evident for overall risk of work-related discrimination, nor was it evident in Chapter 2 for overall risk of discrimination in the workplace or in seeking work. This finding of an association between education and reported discrimination levels is not unique to this context, however, as discussed in Chapter 1. It may reflect a better understanding of entitlements leading to a greater willingness to identify treatment as discriminatory.

²⁵ Note that since the reference period for the discrimination is the previous two years, some of the unemployed and those who are inactive may have been at work in that period and experienced discrimination in the workplace as well as being exposed to discrimination in seeking work.

There are some differences in work-related discrimination by region. Serious work-related discrimination is less common in the South and East region than in Dublin (odds ratio 0.64). Overall, work-related discrimination is also less common in the Border, Midlands and Western region (odds ratio of 0.71) than in Dublin.

We conducted some additional checks to find out whether there were significant differences by occupation or industrial sector or employment status (self-employed or employee) in the risk of work-related discrimination. This could only be done for discrimination in the workplace, as information on occupation, sector and employment status is not available for those not in employment. None of the additional variables (industrial sector, occupation or employment status) was significantly associated with the risk of serious discrimination in the workplace. There were some significant patterns for less serious discrimination: the odds were higher in the transport sector than in manufacturing (1.9) and the odds were considerably lower (0.11) for the self-employed with employees than for employees.

4.5.2 Model for Serious Service-Related Discrimination

Figure 4.6 shows the significant odds ratios for the model of serious service-related discrimination (the dark bars in the chart) and for any service-related discrimination (the light-coloured bars). Virtually all adults are included in this model, since almost everybody is exposed to the potential for discriminatory treatment in accessing services in at least one of the domains covered.

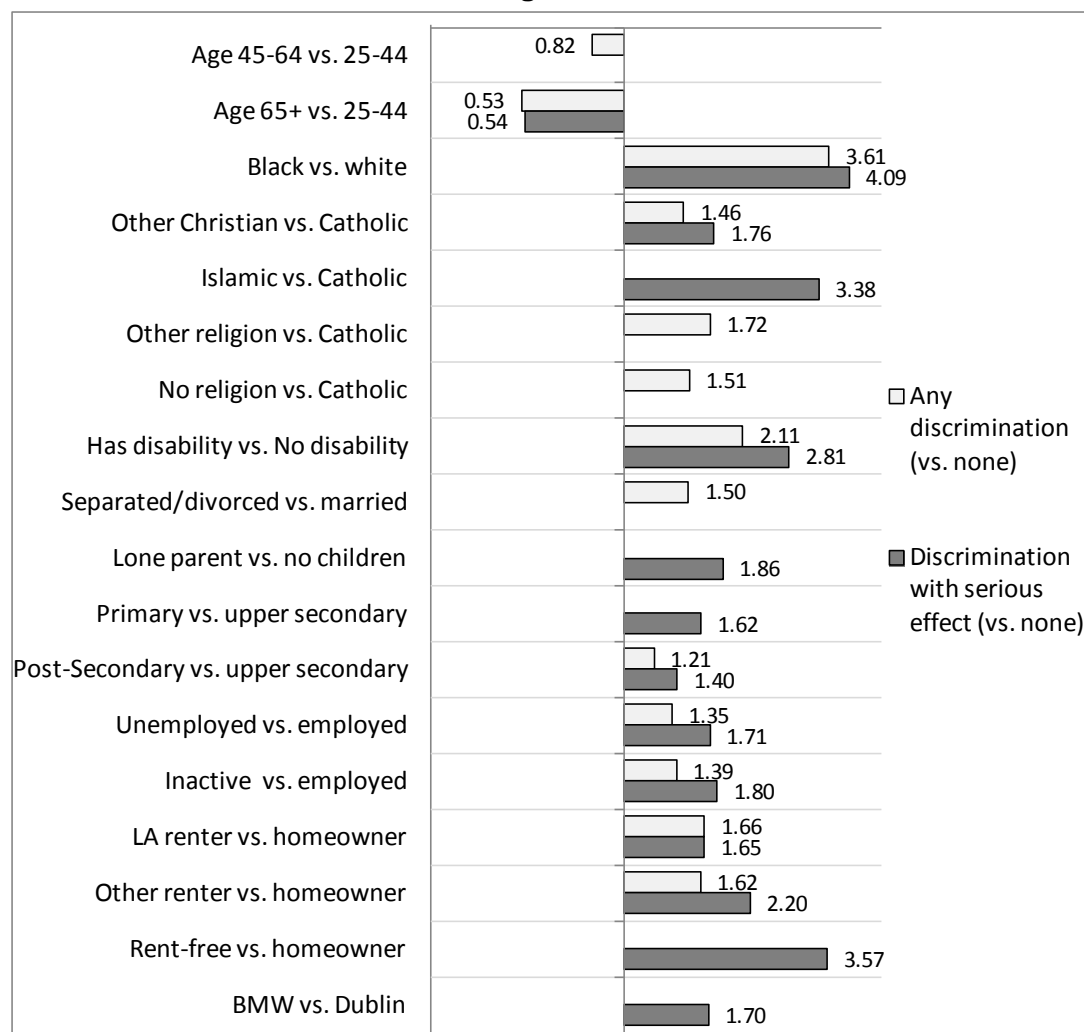
As before, the chart displays the odds ratios on a logarithmic scale but shows the actual odds ratios for experiencing discrimination with a serious effect.

Turning first to the characteristics associated with the equality grounds, we again see significant differences in the risk of serious service-related discrimination by disability, religion, and race-ethnicity, but not by gender or marital status. In addition, we see some significant differences by age group and family status – neither of which was significantly associated with serious work-related discrimination.

As we observed above in the case of work-related discrimination, the strongest patterns are associated with race/ethnicity. The odds of experiencing serious service-related discrimination are four times higher for people of Black ethnicity compared to Whites (4.0). For serious service-related discrimination we observe a strong pattern by religion – something that was not evident for serious work-related discrimination. The odds of serious service-related discrimination are 3.4 times higher for members of the Islamic faith than for Catholics. Unlike work-related discrimination, adults of Asian ethnic origin do not have a significantly higher risk of experiencing serious service-related discrimination.

Comparing the factors associated with serious service-related discrimination (the dark-coloured bar in the chart) to those associated with all service-related discrimination (whether serious or not), we see that the patterns by race, religion, disability and family status tend to be stronger for serious service-related discrimination. Some groups report significantly higher rates of service-related discrimination overall, but do not report higher levels of serious service-related discrimination. These include members of other (non-Christian) religious denominations and those belonging to no religious denomination when compared to Catholics. These groups are more likely to experience less serious service-related discrimination (See Appendix Table A4.2).

Figure 4.6: Odds of Any Service-related Discrimination and of Service-Related Discrimination with Serious Effect, Age 18 and Over, 2010



Source: Quarterly National Household Survey, Equality Module, RMF, 2010; analysis by authors. Results based on a multinomial regression model (for serious service-related discrimination) and a logistic regression model (for any service-related discrimination) – see Appendix Table A4.2. Base is people age 18 and over who were potentially exposed to any service-related discrimination. Only statistically significant ($p \leq .05$) differences are shown in the chart.

Unlike work-related discrimination where we saw that the risk of serious discrimination is higher for women than for men, there is no gender difference in the risk of service-related discrimination. There are some differences by age group and family status, however. The odds are lower (about half as high) for older adults (age 65 and over) than for adults aged 25 to 44. Lone parents experience higher odds of serious service-related discrimination than households with no children (odds ratio of 1.9).

The odds of serious service-related discrimination are 2.8 times as high for people with a disability as for people with no disability.

As well as the higher risk of serious service-related discrimination experienced by Islamic adults, members of other Christian denominations (other than Catholic or Church of Ireland) also face a higher risk than Catholics (odds ratio 1.76).

Turning now to the characteristics that we expect to be associated with access to resources, we see that the strongest risk of serious service-related discrimination is

associated with living in rent-free accommodation compared to homeowners (odds ratio 3.6).

In the case of work-related discrimination, we observed an increase in reports of serious work-related discrimination for those with education beyond second level. Education is also important to the risk of service-related discrimination. The reference group for the education measure is those who have completed upper second level education, the equivalent of Leaving Certificate level. Compared to this group, those with primary education have a higher risk of serious service-related discrimination (odds ratio 1.6). This could be understood in terms of the association between low levels of education and vulnerability in dealing with service agencies and firms. However, those with third level education are also at higher risk of serious service-related discrimination (odds ratio is 1.4) compared to those who have completed second level. As noted earlier, this may reflect a greater understanding of entitlements leading to a willingness to identify treatment as discriminatory.

We find an association between serious service-related discrimination and economic status, but the pattern for unemployment is not as strong as in the case of work-related discrimination. The unemployed have 1.7 times the odds of experiencing serious service-related discrimination compared to the employed. Those who are not active in the labour market also have a higher risk (odds ratio of 1.8 compared to the employed).

Housing tenure was not significantly associated with work-related discrimination. However, we noted above the higher risk of serious service-related discrimination faced by those living in their accommodation rent-free. In addition, both local authority renters (odds ratio 1.7) and, particularly, private renters (odds ratio 2.2) are more likely than homeowners to have experienced serious service-related discrimination.

There are some differences in serious service-related discrimination by region, but in the opposite direction to those observed for work-related discrimination. Serious service-related discrimination is more common in the Border, Midlands and Western region than in Dublin (odds ratio 1.7). The South and East region does not differ significantly from Dublin in the odds of serious service-related discrimination.

4.5.3 Model for Risk of Discrimination in Any Domain in 2010

At this point, we focus on the overall risk discrimination and of serious discrimination in 2010. Virtually all adults age 18 and over are included in this model, since almost everybody is exposed to the potential for discriminatory treatment in at least one of the areas covered. As noted earlier, for the 2010 data we take the highest level of seriousness for those individuals reporting discrimination in more than one domain.²⁶

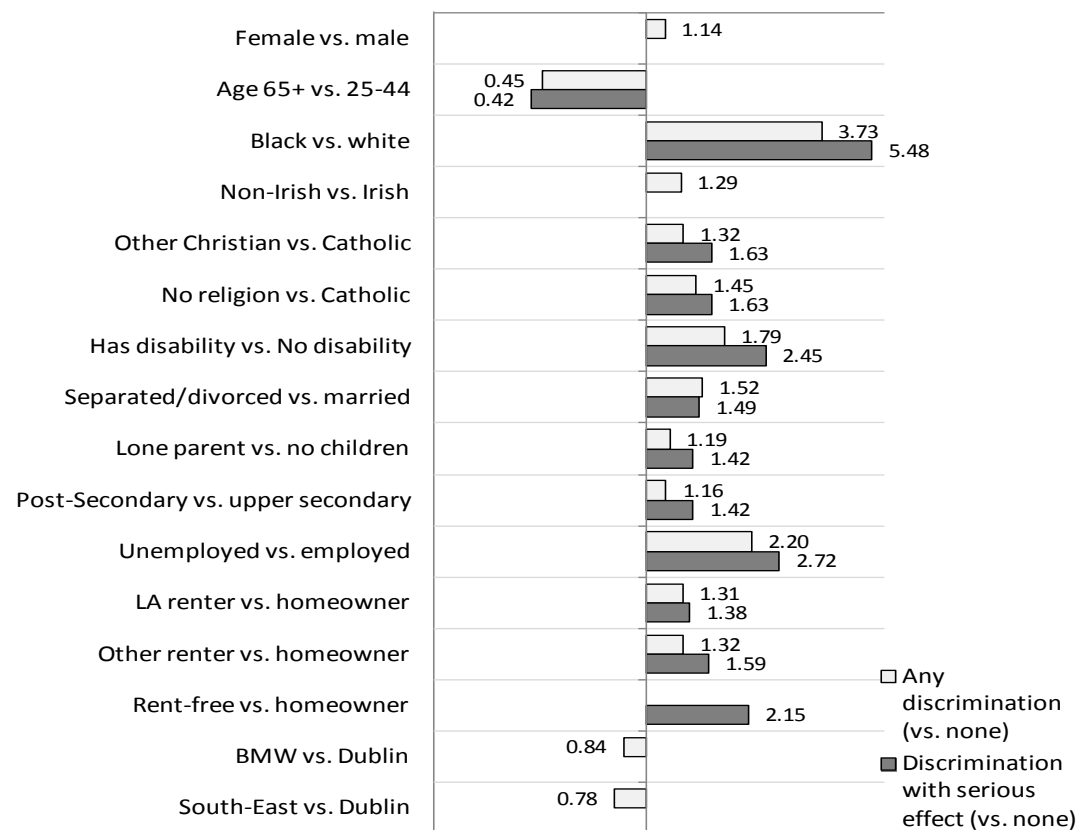
The significant effects for serious discrimination and for any discrimination are shown in Figure 4.7. As before, the chart displays the odds ratios on a logarithmic scale but shows the actual odds ratios for experiencing discrimination with a serious effect. The odds ratios for 'any' discrimination is shown with the light-coloured bar and the odds ratios for discrimination with a 'serious' effect is shown with the dark-coloured bar.

Beginning with the characteristics related to equality grounds, we see significant differences in the risk of serious discrimination by age group, race/ethnicity, religion, disability and marital/family status, but there are no significant differences in the risk of serious discrimination by gender or nationality.

²⁶ About 21 per cent of those experiencing discrimination in 2010 report discrimination in more than one domain.

The strongest effect is for race-ethnicity. People of Black ethnic origin have 5.5 times the odds of serious discrimination compared to Whites. The next strongest effect was for age and disability. In general, older adults have less than half the odds of experiencing serious discrimination compared to adults in the 25 to 44 age group. Part of this difference is because younger adults are exposed to discrimination in more domains (such as education, work and housing). Part of the difference is also explained by the fact that we have controlled for disability status, which is more common among older adults. People with a disability have 2.5 times the odds of experiencing serious discrimination compared to people without a disability.

Figure 4.7: Odds of Any Discrimination (any domain) and of Discrimination with Serious Effect, Age 18 and Over, 2010



Source: Quarterly National Household Survey, Equality Modules, RMF, 2010; analysis by authors. Results based on a multinomial regression model for serious discrimination and logistic regression model for any discrimination – see Appendix Table A4.3. Base is people age 18 and over who were potentially exposed to any discrimination. Only statistically significant ($p \leq .05$) differences are shown in the chart.

Several religious groups are more likely than Catholics to experience serious discrimination, including other Christian religions (other than Catholic and Church of Ireland, odds ratio is 1.6) and those belonging to no religious denomination (odds ratio is 1.6). In terms of marital and family status, the odds are higher for separated or divorced adults than for those who are married (1.5) and for lone parents than for couples with children (1.4).

Other characteristics of the individual which are likely to be associated with access to resources are also associated with the risk of serious discrimination. The strongest patterns here are the increased odds of serious discrimination associated with unemployment (2.7) and with living in rent-free accommodation (odds ratio of 2.15 compared to homeowners). The odds are also somewhat higher for local authority/social housing renters (1.4) and those renting privately (1.5).

Paradoxically, the odds of reporting serious discrimination are higher for those who have third level education (1.4) than those with full second level education. This effect may reflect a greater awareness of rights and entitlements so that people are more likely to attribute their treatment to discrimination than to some other cause.

Turning to a comparison of the overall risk of discrimination (whether serious or less serious) to the risk of serious discrimination in 2010, we see that the pattern tends to be stronger for serious discrimination. For example, those of Black ethnicity have 5.5 times the odds of serious discrimination but only 3.7 times the odds of discrimination overall (when less serious discrimination is also included). On the other hand, there are a number of significant differences in the risk of discrimination overall that we do not observe for serious discrimination. This happens because certain groups are at higher risk of less serious discrimination but not at higher risk of serious discrimination: women, non-Irish nationals, those living outside of Dublin (See Appendix Table A4.3).

4.6 Change in Risk of Serious Discrimination Between 2004 and 2010

The final model to be discussed in this chapter examines whether there is a significant change in the risk of experiencing serious discrimination between 2004 and 2010. We are particularly interested in whether there was a change in the risk of serious discrimination for groups identified by criteria included in Irish equality legislation. We also examine whether there was a change in the impact of unemployment. Because the unemployment rate increased so much between 2004 and 2010, we would expect that many of those drawn into unemployment in the recession would be better resourced (both materially and culturally) than the smaller group who were unemployed in 2004. Therefore, we would expect to see less serious discrimination among the unemployed in 2010 than in 2004. The full model is shown in Appendix Table A4.4. We will focus the discussion on the risk of serious discrimination versus no discrimination.

Table 4.2 shows the pattern in risk of serious discrimination by group membership in 2004 and 2010. As we saw earlier in the 2010 data, the odds of serious discrimination are much higher for those of Black ethnicity and people with a disability. The odds are also higher than for Catholics for other Christians (apart from Catholics and members of the Church of Ireland) and those with no religions. The odds are higher than for married people for those who are separated or divorced and higher than for childless adults for lone parents. The odds of experiencing discrimination with a serious effect are considerably lower for adults age 65 and over than for younger adults. There is no significant relationship between serious discrimination and gender, being under age 25 compared to age 25-44, between Asians and Whites, between Other ethnic groups and Whites, by nationality, between Islamic people and Catholics, between members of other non-Christian religions and Catholics, between single or widowed people and married people and between couples with children and childless adults.

Turning to whether there was a significant change in the pattern of risk between 2004 and 2010, there were three groups for whom we observe a significant change in the period. The risk increased significantly for those of Black ethnicity compared to Whites (from odds of 2.23 to 5.25). The risk decreased significantly for people with a disability (from odds of 4.3 to 2.5). The third group for whom we observe a significant change is the unemployed. Although this is not a group protected by equality legislation, we include them in the table because we expected to see a change in the risk of discrimination associated with unemployment in the period. The risk of serious discrimination associated with unemployment has fallen considerably between 2004 and 2010 (from odds of 4.4 to odds of 2.7). The risk remains higher for the

unemployed, but has narrowed by 2010 compared to 2004. This is the sort of pattern we anticipated on the basis that the recession is likely to have drawn a broader group into unemployment – many of whom may have better resources than the relatively small group who were unemployed in 2004.

Table 4.2: Change Between 2004 and 2010 in Risk of Serious Discrimination in Any Domain

	Serious Discrimination	
	Overall Pattern	Change between 2004 and 2010
Female vs. male	No difference	No change
Under 25 vs. 25-44	No difference	No change
Age 45-64 vs. 25-44	Lower	No change
Age 65+ vs. 25-44	Much lower	No change
Black vs. White	Much higher	Big increase in odds: 2.2 to 5.3.
Asian vs. White	No difference	No change
Other Ethnicity vs. White	No difference	No change
Non-Irish vs. Irish	No difference	No change
Church of Ireland vs. Catholic	No difference	No change
Other Christian vs. Catholic	Higher	No change
Islamic vs. Catholic	No difference	No change
Other religion vs. Catholic	No difference	No change
No religion vs. Catholic	Higher	No change
Has disability vs. No disability	Much higher	Big fall in odds (4.3 to 2.5)
Single vs. married	No difference	No change
Widowed vs. married	No difference	No change
Separated/divorced vs. married	Higher	No change
Couple with children vs. no children	No difference	No change
Lone parent vs. no children	Higher	No change
Unemployed	Much higher	Big fall in odds (4.4 to 2.7)

Source: Quarterly National Household Survey, Equality Modules, RMF, 2004 and 2010; analysis by authors. Results based on a multinomial regression model for serious discrimination on pooled data for 2004 and 2010, with interactions between group membership and year – see Appendix Table A4.4. Base is people age 18 and over who were potentially exposed to any discrimination. 'Higher' = significant odds ratio less than 2.0; 'Much higher' indicates significant odds ratio ≥ 2.0 .

4.7 Summary

In this chapter, we examined the impact of discrimination on the lives of those affected. The analysis is based on self-reports of the seriousness of impact. The percentage reporting that discrimination had a serious effect on their lives had increased significantly from 25 per cent of those experiencing discrimination in 2004 to 32 per cent in 2010. Considered as a percentage of the population as a whole, the change was small in magnitude (from 3.2 per cent in 2004 to 3.7 per cent in 2010), but it is statistically significant.

Discrimination in any domain can have a serious or very serious impact on the person's life, but the likelihood that the discrimination will have a serious effect is greater in accessing public services (45 per cent), accessing health services (43 per cent) and discrimination in the workplace (34 per cent). In general, discrimination that is experienced more frequently is more likely to have a serious impact. Discrimination in the workplace and in accessing public services was more likely than discrimination in other domains to be experienced 'regularly'. The serious impact of discrimination in

accessing health services, on the other hand, occurs despite the fact that it is less likely than average to have happened 'regularly'.

We explored variations across groups in the risks of work-related and service-related discrimination in 2010. Race, particularly the contrast between those of Black and White ethnic background, stood out as being associated with a higher risk of both serious work-related (odds ratio 6.3) and serious service-related (odds ratio 4.1) discrimination. Religion (Islamic compared to Catholic, odds ratio 3.4) and disability (odds ratio 2.8) were also associated with a substantially higher risk of serious service-related discrimination. As well as having a very high risk of serious service-related discrimination (odds ratio 2.81), people with a disability had a high risk of serious work-related discrimination (1.8).

Combining all domains (both work-related and service-related), we saw that the highest risk of serious discrimination overall in 2010 was experienced by those of Black ethnic origin (odds ratio of 5.5 compared to whites), followed at some distance by people with a disability (odds ratio of 2.5). Older adults had a lower risk of serious discrimination than younger adults (odds ratio 0.42). There were also significant differences by religion and marital/family status, but these were smaller in magnitude.

As well as being associated with characteristics related to the equality grounds, the risk of serious discrimination was associated with characteristics that reflected the individual's access to resources, both material and cultural. The risk of serious discrimination was much higher among the unemployed (odds ratio 2.7) and those living in rent-free accommodation (odds ratio 2.15). The risk was higher for renters. The risk was also higher for those with third level education, perhaps reflecting their greater access to information and greater tendency to attribute unfair treatment to discrimination. There was no difference in the risk of serious discrimination between men and women, between non-Irish nationals and Irish nationals, between single and married people, between couples with children and childless adults; between Catholics, members of the Church of Ireland, Islamic religions and other non-Christian religions; between Whites and those of either Asian or Other ethnicity.

In the final model, we brought together the data from 2004 and 2010 to examine whether there was a change in the risk of serious discrimination between 2004 and 2010 for groups protected by Irish equality legislation. There were three groups for whom there was a substantial change in the risk of serious discrimination: the risk increased substantially for those of Black ethnicity and decreased substantially for people with a disability and the unemployed. We anticipated a fall in the risk of serious discrimination associated with unemployment as the recession drew into unemployment groups who had better access to material and cultural resources than the small group of unemployed in the boom years around 2004.

In the chapter we also considered the overall risk of discrimination (whether serious or less serious). In general we saw that the associations with characteristics of the individual tended not to be as strong for overall discrimination as for serious discrimination. For instance, there was a bigger gap between those of Black and White ethnicity in serious discrimination than in discrimination with a less serious effect. Similarly, having a disability, being a lone parent and belonging to certain religious minorities was associated with a larger increase in serious discrimination than with discrimination overall. On the other hand, some groups, including women, non-Irish nationals and those living outside of Dublin, had a somewhat higher risk of discrimination overall because of a greater risk of less serious discrimination.

The overall message from the analysis of the impact of discrimination is that the relative stability or slight decline in the overall risk of discrimination between 2004 and 2010 masks an increase in the risk of *serious* discrimination. This increase in risk of serious discrimination was particularly acute for people of Black ethnicity. There

was a fall in the risk of serious discrimination for people with a disability. At the same time, the changes in the composition of the population, particularly the rise in unemployment, has meant that the impact of discrimination during the recession of 2010 has more serious consequences than in the growth period of 2004.

Appendix Table A4.1: (a) Odds of experiencing Work-related Discrimination with Some or Serious Effect vs. No discrimination and (b) Odds of experiencing any Work-related Discrimination vs. No discrimination, 2010

		(a) Some or Serious effect				(b) Any Effect	
		Some effect		Serious effect			
		Odds	Sig	Odds	Sig	Odds	Sig
Gender	Men	Ref.		Ref.		Ref.	
	Woman	1.36	0.00	1.37	0.02	1.36	0.00
Age	Under 25	1.05	0.79	0.67	0.20	0.94	0.68
	25-44	Ref.		Ref.		Ref.	
	45-64	1.23	0.06	1.28	0.08	1.25	0.01
Ethnicity	White	Ref.		Ref.		Ref.	
	Black	2.66	0.00	6.55	0.00	3.56	0.00
	Asian	1.07	0.85	2.79	0.02	1.45	0.21
	Other Ethnicity	2.16	0.02	1.86	0.33	2.19	0.01
Nationality	Irish	Ref.		Ref.		Ref.	
	Non-Irish	2.04	0.00	0.79	0.32	1.53	0.00
Religion	Catholic	Ref.		Ref.		Ref.	
	Church of Ireland	1.09	0.77	0.52	0.26	0.90	0.70
	Other Christian	1.03	0.88	1.43	0.19	1.17	0.37
	Islamic	1.67	0.22	0.31	0.27	1.20	0.64
	Other religion	0.86	0.58	0.68	0.37	0.81	0.36
	No religion	1.15	0.45	1.58	0.04	1.31	0.06
Disability	No Disability	Ref.		Ref.		Ref.	
	Has disability	0.83	0.36	1.79	0.01	1.16	0.33
Marital Status	Married	Ref.		Ref.		Ref.	
	Single	1.15	0.30	1.13	0.51	1.14	0.23
	Widowed	0.88	0.73	0.54	0.31	0.77	0.42
	Separated/divorced	1.12	0.57	1.54	0.07	1.27	0.12
Family type	No Children	Ref.		Ref.		Ref.	
	Couple with children	1.04	0.75	1.05	0.79	1.05	0.64
	Lone parent	1.14	0.39	0.72	0.14	0.98	0.85
Level of Education	Primary	0.85	0.39	0.87	0.61	0.85	0.32
	Lower secondary	1.14	0.34	1.21	0.34	1.16	0.21
	Upper Secondary	Ref.		Ref.		Ref.	
	Post-Secondary	0.92	0.44	1.42	0.02	1.07	0.43
	Education missing	0.97	0.92	2.01	0.04	1.22	0.35
Economic Status	Employed	Ref.		Ref.		Ref.	
	Unemployed	2.77	0.00	3.94	0.00	3.16	0.00
	Inactive	1.74	0.00	1.64	0.00	1.71	0.00
Housing Tenure	Home Owner	Ref.		Ref.		Ref.	
	LA renter	0.86	0.41	1.30	0.23	1.01	0.96
	Other renter	0.92	0.51	1.00	0.98	0.95	0.63
	Rent-free	0.95	0.92	1.82	0.21	1.25	0.52
Migration	Resident pre 2008	Ref.		Ref.		Ref.	
	Migrated 2008 or later	1.17	0.57	0.86	0.76	1.08	0.75
Region	Dublin	Ref.		Ref.		Ref.	
	BMW	0.65	0.00	0.79	0.15	0.70	0.00
	South-East	0.67	0.00	0.64	0.00	0.66	0.00
Nagelkerke R-square		0.071				0.064	

N cases= 10,569 for work-related discrimination (Age 18-64); 'Ref.' Indicates reference category. Model (a) is based on a Multinomial Logistic regression model of some/serious work-related discrimination and model (b) is based on a logistic regression model of any work-related discrimination in 2010.

Appendix Table A4.2: (a) Odds of Experiencing Service-related Discrimination with Some or Serious effect vs. No Discrimination and (b) Odds of Experiencing any Service-related Discrimination vs. No Discrimination, 2010

		(a) Some or Serious effect				(b) Any effect	
		Some effect		Serious effect			
		Odds	Sig	Odds	Sig	Odds	Sig
Gender	Male	Ref.		Ref.		Ref.	
	Woman	1.16	0.07	0.87	0.24	1.07	0.35
Age	Under 25	1.18	0.30	0.84	0.52	1.08	0.58
	25-44	Ref.		Ref.		Ref.	
	45-64	0.85	0.10	0.90	0.44	0.87	0.07
Ethnicity	White	Ref.		Ref.		Ref.	
	Black	3.43	0.00	4.14	0.00	3.66	0.00
	Asian	0.96	0.90	0.78	0.65	0.93	0.81
	Other Ethnicity	2.00	0.01	0.38	0.21	1.50	0.13
Nationality	Irish	Ref.		Ref.		Ref.	
	Non-Irish	1.39	0.01	0.82	0.37	1.20	0.10
Religion	Catholic	Ref.		Ref.		Ref.	
	Church of Ireland	1.07	0.76	1.00	1.00	1.05	0.81
	Other Christian	1.37	0.07	1.76	0.03	1.45	0.01
	Islamic	1.11	0.81	3.35	0.03	1.45	0.29
	Other religion	1.79	0.00	1.73	0.08	1.77	0.00
	No religion	1.49	0.01	1.55	0.06	1.51	0.00
Disability	No Disability	Ref.		Ref.		Ref.	
	Has disability	1.75	0.00	2.78	0.00	2.08	0.00
Marital Status	Married	Ref.		Ref.		Ref.	
	Single	0.96	0.71	0.79	0.18	0.92	0.35
	Widowed	0.99	0.96	0.68	0.15	0.90	0.46
	Separated/divorced	1.52	0.00	1.40	0.10	1.51	0.00
Family type	No Children	Ref.		Ref.		Ref.	
	Couple children	0.99	0.93	1.08	0.64	1.02	0.86
	Lone parent	1.02	0.89	1.90	0.00	1.23	0.04
Level of Education	Primary	0.71	0.03	1.62	0.01	0.98	0.89
	Lower secondary	0.99	0.96	1.13	0.54	1.03	0.80
	Upper Secondary	Ref.		Ref.		Ref.	
	Post-Secondary	1.13	0.20	1.39	0.03	1.20	0.03
	Education missing	0.63	0.00	0.62	0.03	0.62	0.00
Economic Status	Employed	Ref.		Ref.		Ref.	
	Unemployed	1.23	0.11	1.70	0.01	1.35	0.01
	Inactive	1.21	0.04	1.75	0.00	1.34	0.00
Housing Tenure	Home Owner	Ref.		Ref.		Ref.	
	LA renter	1.73	0.00	1.68	0.00	1.69	0.00
	Other renter	1.46	0.00	2.27	0.00	1.67	0.00
	Rent-free	1.04	0.92	3.56	0.00	1.67	0.06
Migration	Resident pre-2008	Ref.		Ref.		Ref.	
	Migrated post-2008	0.71	0.22	1.00	0.99	0.77	0.29
Region	Dublin	Ref.		Ref.		Ref.	
	BMW	0.81	0.04	1.72	0.00	1.01	0.88
	South and East	0.85	0.08	1.19	0.27	0.93	0.34
Nagelkerke R-square		0.065				0.06	

N cases= 16,807 for service-related discrimination (age 18 and over). Model (a) is based on a Multinomial Logistic regression model of some/serious service-related discrimination and model (b) is based on a logistic regression model of any service-related discrimination in 2010.

Appendix Table A4.3: (a) Odds of Experiencing Discrimination with Some or Serious effect vs. No Discrimination and (b) Odds of Experiencing Any Discrimination vs. No discrimination, 2010.

		(a) Some/Serious Effect				(b) Any Effect	
		Some Effect		Serious Effect			
		Odds	Sig	Odds	Sig	Odds	Sig
Gender	Male	Ref.		Ref.		Ref.	
	Woman	1.19	0.01	1.06	0.55	1.14	0.02
Age	Under 25	1.08	0.55	0.76	0.19	0.98	0.86
	25-44	Ref.		Ref.		Ref.	
	46-64	0.94	0.46	1.02	0.84	0.97	0.62
	65+	0.47	0.00	0.42	0.00	0.45	0.00
Ethnicity	White	Ref.		Ref.		Ref.	
	Black	3.08	0.00	5.48	0.00	3.73	0.00
	Asian	1.01	0.98	1.60	0.19	1.16	0.50
	Other Ethnicity	1.73	0.03	0.70	0.51	1.46	0.11
Nationality	Irish	Ref.		Ref.		Ref.	
	Non-Irish	1.55	0.00	0.83	0.25	1.29	0.01
Religion	Catholic	Ref.		Ref.		Ref.	
	Church of Ireland	1.13	0.54	0.74	0.37	1.01	0.96
	Other Christian	1.19	0.25	1.63	0.02	1.32	0.03
	Islamic	1.59	0.17	1.75	0.26	1.60	0.12
	Other religion	1.33	0.10	1.18	0.54	1.29	0.10
	No religion	1.36	0.01	1.63	0.00	1.45	0.00
Disability	No Disability	Ref.		Ref.		Ref.	
	Has disability	1.48	0.00	2.45	0.00	1.79	0.00
Marital status	Married	Ref.		Ref.		Ref.	
	Single	1.04	0.65	0.95	0.68	1.01	0.86
	Widowed	1.00	0.97	0.70	0.14	0.90	0.44
	Separated/divorced	1.51	0.00	1.49	0.02	1.52	0.00
Family type	No Children	Ref.		Ref.		Ref.	
	Couple with children	1.02	0.84	1.06	0.65	1.03	0.67
	Lone parent	1.10	0.37	1.42	0.01	1.19	0.05
Level of education	Primary	0.69	0.00	1.17	0.32	0.84	0.10
	Lower secondary	1.03	0.79	1.06	0.67	1.04	0.68
	Upper Secondary	Ref.		Ref.		Ref.	
	Post-Secondary	1.05	0.53	1.42	0.00	1.16	0.02
Economic Status	Employed	Ref.		Ref.		Ref.	
	Unemployed	1.97	0.00	2.72	0.00	2.20	0.00
	Inactive	1.03	0.75	1.17	0.16	1.07	0.30
Housing tenure	Home Owner	Ref.		Ref.		Ref.	
	LA renter	1.28	0.03	1.38	0.03	1.31	0.00
	Other renter	1.20	0.05	1.59	0.00	1.32	0.00
	Rent-free	1.09	0.79	2.15	0.02	1.40	0.15
Region	Dublin	Ref.		Ref.		Ref.	
	BMW	0.72	0.00	1.14	0.27	0.84	0.01
	South-East	0.76	0.00	0.85	0.16	0.78	0.00
Nagelkerke R-square		0.072				0.071	

N cases = 16,807 (age 18 and over). Model (a) is based on a Multinomial Logistic regression model of some/serious service-related discrimination and model (b) is based on a logistic regression model of any service-related discrimination in 2010.

Appendix Table A4.4: Pooled 2004 & 2010 model. (a) Odds of Experiencing Discrimination with Some or Serious Effect vs. No Discrimination and (b) Odds of Experiencing Any Discrimination vs. No Discrimination, 2004 and 2010

		(a) Some or Serious effect				(b) Any Effect	
		Some Effect		Serious Effect			
		Odds	Sig	Odds	Sig	Odds	Sig
Gender (Ref. Male)	Woman	1.07	0.20	1.13	0.16	1.08	0.09
Age (Ref. 25-44)	Under 25	1.34	0.00	0.88	0.41	1.22	0.01
	46-64	0.71	0.00	0.79	0.02	0.73	0.00
	65+	0.49	0.00	0.27	0.00	0.42	0.00
Ethnicity (Ref. White)	Black	1.88	0.00	2.23	0.02	1.95	0.00
	Asian	0.95	0.83	1.29	0.55	1.02	0.94
	Other Ethnicity	1.24	0.29	1.21	0.60	1.23	0.27
Nationality (Ref Irish)	Non-Irish	1.45	0.00	1.13	0.46	1.37	0.00
Religion (Ref. Catholic)	Church of Ireland	1.23	0.17	0.92	0.77	1.15	0.31
	Other Christian	1.78	0.00	1.86	0.00	1.80	0.00
	Islamic	1.42	0.26	0.95	0.92	1.30	0.36
	Other religion	1.89	0.00	1.34	0.22	1.75	0.00
	No religion	1.76	0.00	1.75	0.00	1.76	0.00
Disability (Ref. None)	Has disability	2.54	0.00	4.29	0.00	2.95	0.00
Marital status (Ref. Married)	Single	1.25	0.00	1.17	0.19	1.23	0.00
	Widowed	0.99	0.92	1.06	0.75	1.00	0.97
	Separated/divorced	1.73	0.00	1.64	0.00	1.71	0.00
Family type (Ref. No children)	Couple with children	1.32	0.00	1.21	0.09	1.29	0.00
	Lone parent	1.38	0.00	1.68	0.00	1.46	0.00
Level of Education (Ref. Upper Secondary)	Primary	0.90	0.14	1.02	0.80	0.94	0.32
	Lower secondary	0.99	0.80	0.95	0.61	0.98	0.63
	Post-Secondary	1.16	0.00	1.33	0.00	1.21	0.00
Economic Status (Ref. Employed)	Unemployed	2.48	0.00	4.37	0.00	2.93	0.00
	Inactive	1.02	0.65	1.16	0.04	1.06	0.15
Housing tenure (Ref. Home owner)	LA renter	1.22	0.01	1.45	0.00	1.28	0.00
	Other renter	1.30	0.00	1.60	0.00	1.38	0.00
	Rent-free	1.06	0.76	1.42	0.17	1.15	0.36
Region (Ref. Dublin)	BMW	0.74	0.00	0.85	0.03	0.77	0.00
	South-East	0.73	0.00	0.76	0.00	0.74	0.00
Year (Ref 2004)	2010	0.94	0.62	1.37	0.10	1.04	0.72
2010	Female	1.11	0.20	0.93	0.57	1.06	0.42
Interactions	Under age 25	0.82	0.19	0.85	0.54	0.81	0.12
	Age 45-64	1.33	0.00	1.31	0.05	1.33	0.00
	Age 65 and over	1.04	0.82	1.47	0.13	1.11	0.43
	Black ethnicity	1.64	0.12	2.37	0.05	1.90	0.02
	Asian ethnicity	1.03	0.93	1.22	0.72	1.12	0.73
	Other ethnicity	1.37	0.33	0.58	0.41	1.17	0.60
	Non-Irish national	1.03	0.84	0.73	0.17	0.92	0.50
	Church of Ireland	0.92	0.71	0.80	0.62	0.88	0.54
	Other Christian	0.66	0.03	0.86	0.57	0.72	0.05
	Islamic	1.10	0.84	1.78	0.44	1.21	0.64
	Other religion	0.70	0.10	0.87	0.70	0.73	0.10
	No Religion	0.76	0.09	0.90	0.64	0.81	0.13
	Has disability	0.58	0.00	0.58	0.00	0.61	0.00
	Single	0.83	0.11	0.81	0.22	0.82	0.05
	Widowed	1.00	0.99	0.66	0.17	0.90	0.51
	Separated/divorced	0.86	0.36	0.91	0.68	0.89	0.37
Couple & children	0.79	0.03	0.87	0.39	0.81	0.02	
Lone parent	0.82	0.12	0.82	0.27	0.83	0.08	
Unemployed	0.81	0.14	0.63	0.01	0.76	0.03	
Nagelkerke R-square		0.083				0.086	

N cases= 41,389 (age 18 and over, pooled 2004 and 2010 data). Model (a) is based on a Multinomial Logistic regression model of some/serious discrimination and model (b) is based on a logistic regression model of any discrimination.

5 RESPONSE TO DISCRIMINATION

5.1 Introduction

Part of the equality strategy is to ensure that people are aware of their rights under equality legislation. If people know their rights, we might expect them to be more likely to take action in response to discrimination. Although an increase in the percentage of people who take action in response to discrimination would be a good indicator of the success of the public information element of an equality strategy, there might be reasons why people do not act over which agencies promoting equality have no control. In a recession, in particular, people may be concerned about losing their jobs or concerned about their standing in relation to applications to banks, financial institutions or to social welfare.

In this chapter, we examine the extent to which people respond to discrimination by taking some form of action. We examine the overall propensity to take action, asking whether this has changed since 2004. We then go on to examine people's knowledge of their rights under equality legislation. Even if people do not feel confident enough to take action in response to discrimination, we might expect that their knowledge would have improved in the 2004-2010 period.

Since we are focusing in this chapter on a subgroup of the population – those who experienced discrimination – we need to pay careful attention to whether any differences we observe in the sample are statistically significant. As noted earlier in this report, the number of cases available for analysis in 2010 is smaller than in 2004. This means that when we report results for subgroups of those who experienced discrimination – particularly minorities such as racial and ethnic groups – the number of cases may be too small to produce reliable results. Therefore, we will need to pay more attention to statistical significance in this chapter than in earlier chapters where we took the entire population as the base for the analysis.

5.2 Action Taken in Response to Discrimination

Respondents to the *QNHS* surveys who had experienced any discrimination were asked whether they had taken any action in response.²⁷ The response categories were 'Yes, verbally', 'Yes, in writing', 'Yes, made an official complaint' 'Yes, taken legal action' and 'No, have not taken any action'. The numbers taking legal action or making an official complaint are quite small, so these are combined in the following discussion. Figure 5.1 shows the percentage of men and women experiencing discrimination who took some action in response. What is most striking in the figure is the stability of the pattern between 2004 and 2010.

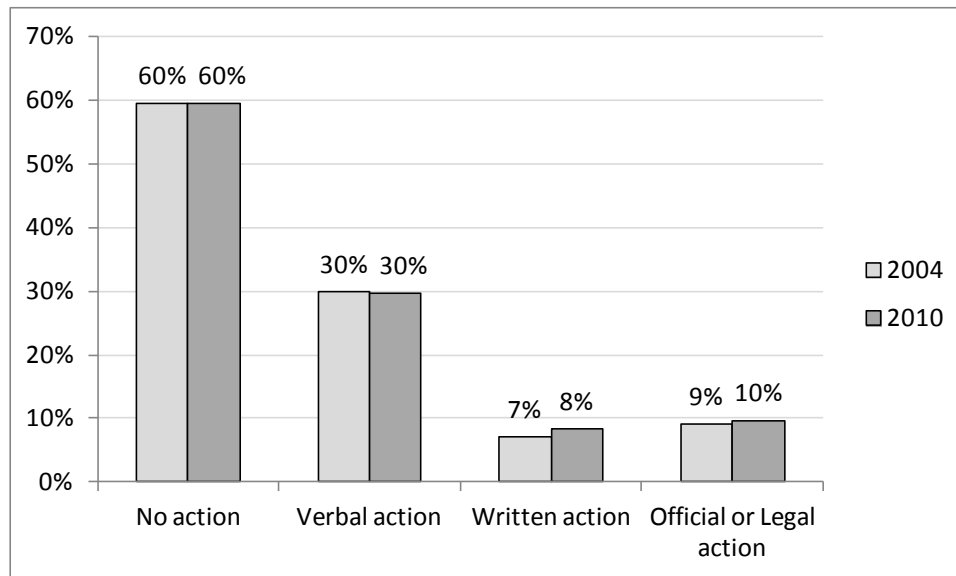
There is virtually no difference over time in the percentage taking verbal action (30 per cent), written action (7 to 8 per cent), official or legal action (9 to 10 per cent). Overall, 40 per cent of those experiencing discrimination in both years took some action in response and this was most commonly verbal action.

Fewer than one in ten of those who experienced discrimination took official or legal action. The very small percentage of people taking any official or legal action suggests that the cases coming before the Equality Tribunal are no more than the tip of the iceberg. This has not changed since 2004 and it reinforces the importance of

²⁷ The wording was "May I ask what action, if any, did you take in reaction to discrimination you have experienced. In particular have you complained verbally, in writing, made an official complaint or taken legal action?".

collecting nationally representative information on people's experiences in order to understand the impact of discrimination on people's lives.

Figure 5.1: Percentage Taking Action in Response to Discrimination by Year



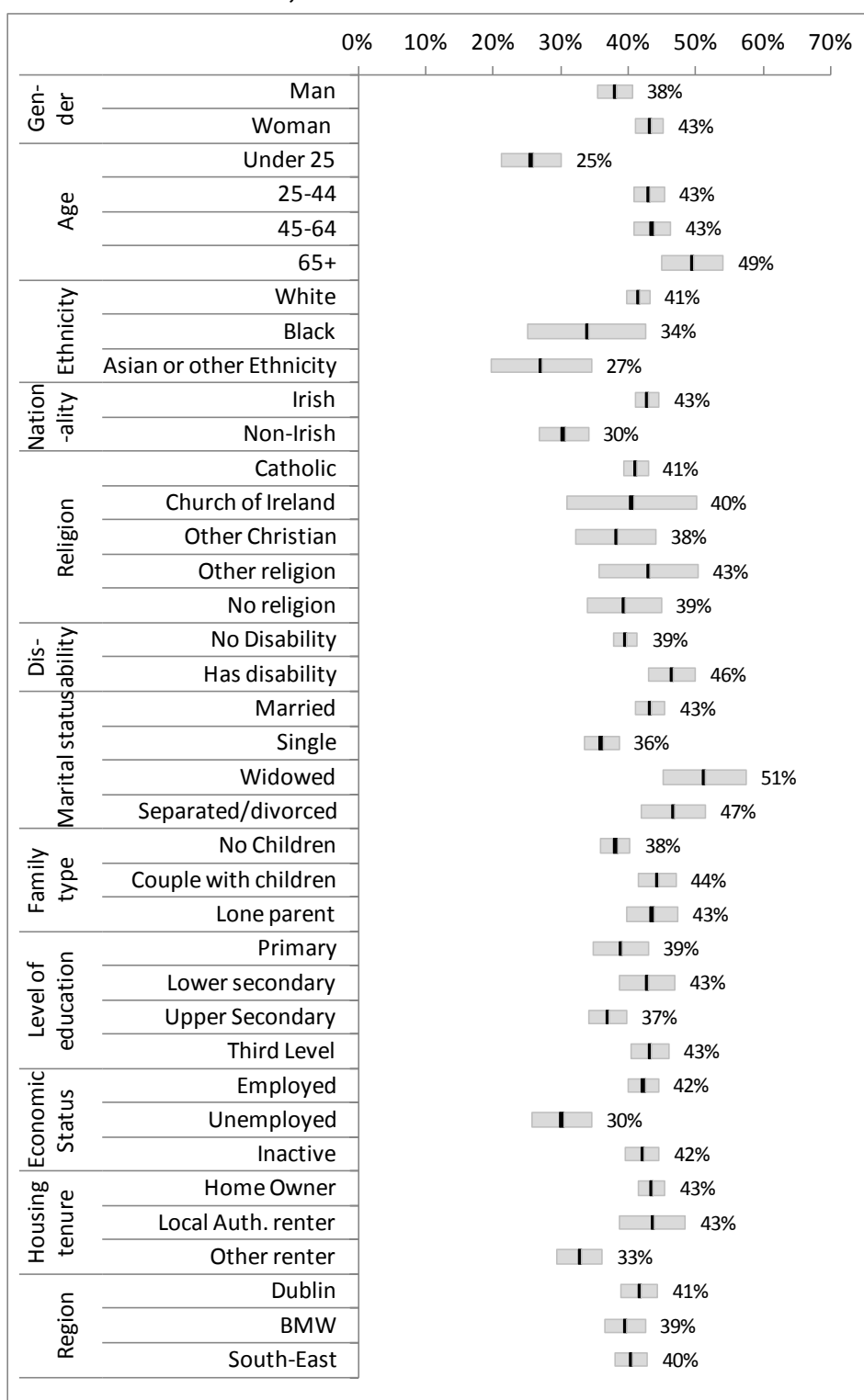
Source: Quarterly National Household Survey Module on Discrimination, 2004 and 2010, analysis by authors. Note: number of cases for 2004 =2,843 and for 2010 =1,856. Percentages need not add to 100 since people may have taken more than one form of action. Differences between 2004 and 2010 are not statistically significant at $p \leq .05$.

5.3 Action Taken by Different Socio-economic Groups

Are some socio-demographic groups more likely than others to take action in response to discrimination? This is explored in Figure 5.2. As the sample size in 2010 is rather small when we are focusing on people who have experienced discrimination, we present the results for the different groups using the pooled 2004-2010 data.²⁸ Figure 5.2 shows the results as a symbol which represents the estimated per cent taking action (the dark line) and the 95 per cent confidence interval around the estimate (shown by the light grey bar in the chart). Where the sample size is smaller (for example, for people of Black ethnicity), the confidence interval is wider. This allows us to see at a glance which results are statistically significant. For instance, we can see that 25 per cent of those under age 25 take some action in response to discrimination. The margin of error is relatively wide for this percentage (plus or minus 4 per cent) so that the confidence interval ranges from about 21 per cent to about 29 per cent. Nevertheless, the rate of taking action is significantly lower than for adults age 25 to 44, which is estimated at 43 per cent with a confidence interval ranging from 41 per cent to 45 per cent. On the other hand, since the confidence intervals for White and Black ethnicity overlap, we cannot be sure that Black adults are less likely than White adults to take action in response to discrimination. The difference is not statistically significant because of the small sample size for Black adults who have experienced discrimination.

²⁸ In order not to have the estimates dominated by the 2004 data, which has a larger sample, each of the years is given equal weight in the analysis which is conducted on weighted data. The margins of error and confidence intervals are calculated on the actual number of cases.

Figure 5.2: Socio-demographic Differences in Percentage Taking Action in Response to Discrimination, Pooled 2004 and 2010 Data



Source: Quarterly National Household Survey Module on Discrimination, 2004 and 2010, analysis by authors. Base = people who have experienced discrimination in any domain.

There are a number of significant differences in the likelihood of taking action by gender, age, ethnicity, nationality, disability, marital status, family status, education, economic status and tenure.

With a few exceptions, those whose position is likely to be more secure are more likely to take action in response to discrimination. We would expect that access to resources and to the support of a family or friendship network would be important in influencing whether action is taken. In addition, people who are likely to be more confident in dealing with officials and those who are more comfortable with the language and culture might be expected to be more likely to take action.

This is the case for the patterns by age, ethnicity, nationality, education, economic status and family status. Young adults (age under 25) are less likely than older adults to take action. The rate is also significantly lower for Asian and Other ethnic groups compared to White adults; non-Irish nationals compared to Irish nationals; people with second level education compared to people with third level education; the unemployed compared to those at work or outside the labour market; single adults compared to those who are married, separated or widowed and lower for adults who are not part of a family than for couples with children.

There are two exceptions to this general association between security and taking action in response to discrimination: people with a disability and women. People with a disability who have experienced discrimination are more likely than those without a disability to take action. Women are more likely than men to take action in response to discrimination. These differences may be due to differences in knowledge of rights and we explore this issue in sections 5.8 and 5.9, below.

5.4 Change in Propensity To Take Action

We checked whether the changes over time were statistically significant for any of the sub-groups shown in Figure 5.2. In general, the small sample size when we focus on those who have experienced any discrimination means that a difference would need to be very substantial before we could be confident that it is statistically significant. Only two groups significantly increased their rate of taking action in response to discrimination between 2004 and 2010 (See Appendix Table A5.1). Non-Irish nationals were significantly more likely to take action in 2010 than in 2004. In 2004, just over one-quarter of non-Irish nationals took action in response to discrimination. This had increased to one third by 2010. The figure remains lower than the percentage of Irish nationals taking action, however (42 per cent). People of Black ethnicity were also more likely to take action in 2010 than in 2004, but the number of cases is too small to report an exact estimate for each year.²⁹

The other significant change was a fall in the propensity of adults in the 45-64 age group to report discrimination (from 47 per cent to 41 per cent). Apart from these groups, there were no significant changes between 2004 and 2010. Overall, then there was little change between 2004 and 2010 in the propensity to take action in response to discrimination.

5.5 Action Taken by Domain in which Discrimination Occurred

Are there differences in the propensity to take action by the domain in which the discrimination occurred? We focus on those who experienced discrimination in only one domain, since it is not possible to identify the domain which prompted the action if a person experienced discrimination in more than one domain. This amounts to three-quarters of those who experienced discrimination in the two years.

As in the previous section, we begin by presenting the results for the pooled 2004-2010 dataset in order to maximise the number of cases available for the comparison

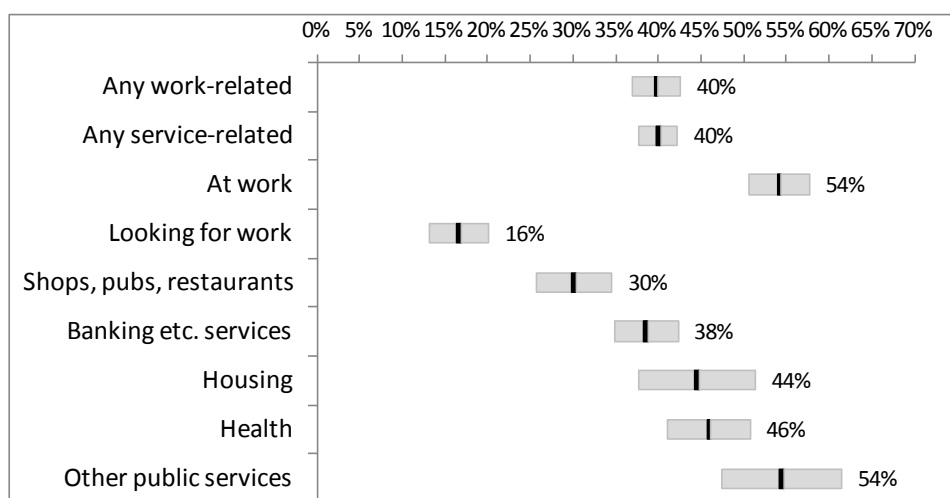
²⁹ There were fewer than 100 cases in each of the years so the exact figures cannot be reported for confidentiality reasons.

across domains. We then follow this with a test for any significant change within domains between 2004 and 2010.

As Figure 5.3 shows, there is no difference overall in the propensity to take action between the broad work-related and service-related domains, with about 40 per cent of people taking action in response to discrimination in either one. When we look at the more detailed domains, however, we see some substantial differences. Within the work-related area, people are much more likely to take action in response to discrimination in the workplace (54 per cent) than in response to discrimination in seeking work (16 per cent). This difference is likely to reflect the fact that somebody who is in a job is likely to have more invested in how they are treated by that particular employer than somebody who is seeking work.

We also show the results for several of the detailed service domains. The number of cases was too small to show the figures separately for the education and transport domains. Across the remaining service domains, we see that someone who has experienced discrimination is less likely to take action if the discrimination occurred in shops/pubs/restaurants than in other services. Again, the strength of the connection to the service-provider is likely to be important. There is generally a greater choice of shops, pubs and restaurants than of options for housing, health or banking services. In the service area, people are most likely to take action if discrimination occurred in gaining access to public services. The figure here (54 per cent) is significantly higher than for shops, pubs and restaurants and higher than for banking, insurance and financial services. The reason for the greater propensity to take action may relate to the fact that many services are available only through the state (such as social welfare payments), and the state has in recent years adopted customer charters which include a procedure for formally appealing decisions.

Figure 5.3: Differences in Percentage Taking Action in Response to Discrimination by Domain (Pooled 2004 and 2010 Data)



Source: Quarterly National Household Survey Module on Discrimination, 2004 and 2010, analysis by authors. Base = people who have experienced discrimination in one domain only. There are too few cases to show separately the results for discrimination related to education and transport.

We tested whether there was any significant change between 2004 and 2010 in the propensity to take action by domain. None of the differences between 2004 and 2010 were statistically significant.

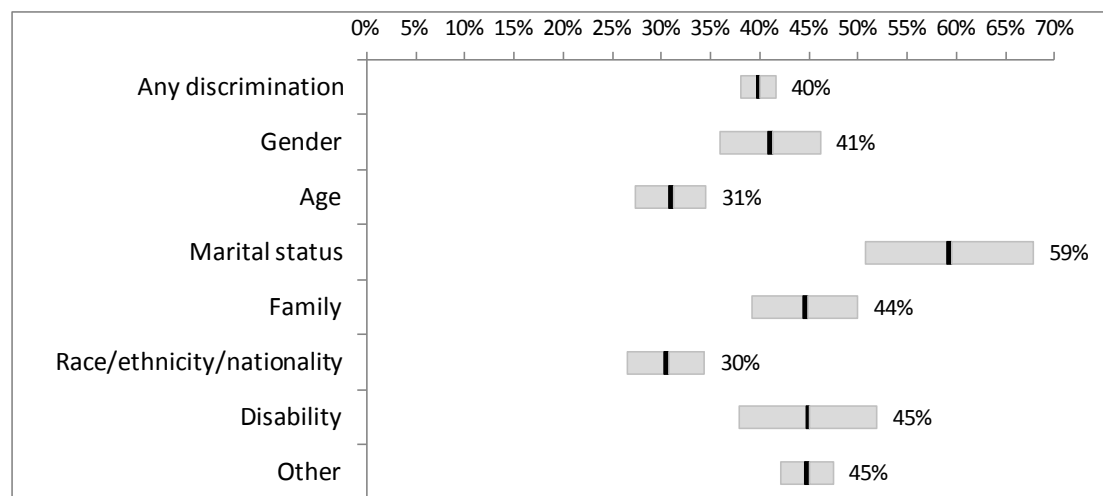
5.6 Action Taken and Grounds for Discrimination

Does the ground on which discrimination occurs matter in terms of whether the person is likely to take action? We can see from Figure 5.4 that it matters a great deal. We focus on those who attribute the discrimination to only one ground. This amounts to 86 per cent of those who experienced discrimination in the two years. As in the previous section, we begin by presenting the results for the pooled 2004-2010 dataset in order to maximise the number of cases available for the comparison across domains. We then follow this with a test for any significant change between 2004 and 2010 in the propensity to take action by ground.

Taking action in response to discrimination is much more likely in response to discrimination on the basis of marital status (59 per cent). Although the number of people experiencing discrimination on this ground is relatively low (hence, the wide confidence interval around the estimate in Figure 5.4), these people are significantly more likely to take action than those experiencing discrimination on any of the other grounds.

Action is much less likely if the discrimination is attributed to age (31 per cent) or to race, ethnic group or nationality (30 per cent). About 41-45 per cent of people who attribute the discrimination to gender, family status, disability or other grounds take action in response. Those who attribute the discrimination to these grounds do not differ significantly from one another in the likelihood of taking action.

Figure 5.4: Percentage Taking Action in Response to Discrimination According to Grounds for Discrimination (Pooled 2004 and 2010 Data)



Source: Quarterly National Household Survey Module on Discrimination, 2004 and 2010, analysis by authors. Base = people who have experienced discrimination on one ground only (multiple grounds excluded). There are too few cases to show the results for discrimination related to Education and discrimination related to Transport, but these are included in the overall figures for 'any service-related' discrimination.

In Table 5.1 we show the results of the tests to check whether there was a change in the association between grounds and taking action between 2004 and 2010. We see from the table those experiencing discrimination on the grounds of race, ethnic group or nationality are more likely to take action in 2010 than they were in 2004 (34 per cent vs. 25 per cent). Those attributing discrimination to 'other grounds' are less likely to take action in 2010 (42 per cent vs. 48 per cent). There was no change in the period for those who attribute the discrimination to gender, age, marital status, family status or disability.

Table 5.1: Differences in Percentage taking Action in Response to Discrimination by Grounds of Discrimination in 2004 and 2010

Ground	Per cent taking Action		Is the 2010-2004 difference statistically significant?	Number of cases	
	2004 %	2010 %		2004	2010
Gender	39	43	No	264	126
Age	31	31	No	454	267
Marital status	*	*	No	<100	<100
Family	41	49	No	242	120
Race/ethnicity/nationality	25	34	Yes	282	310
Disability	40	*	No	138	<100
Other	48	42	Yes	959	700

Source: Quarterly National Household Survey Module on Discrimination, 2004 and 2010, analysis by authors. Base = people who have experienced discrimination in one domain only. "*" indicates that number of cases less than 100 in 2010 for disability ground and in both years for marital status ground, so figures not reported.

Between 2004 and 2010, then, those who attribute the discrimination to race, ethnicity or nationality are significantly more likely to take action in response to the discrimination. Since many of these people are likely to have migrated to Ireland during the boom years, this increased propensity to take action may reflect a greater familiarity with their protections under Irish equality legislation, associated with the duration of their residence in Ireland. Their propensity to take action remains below the average for people who have experienced discrimination, however.

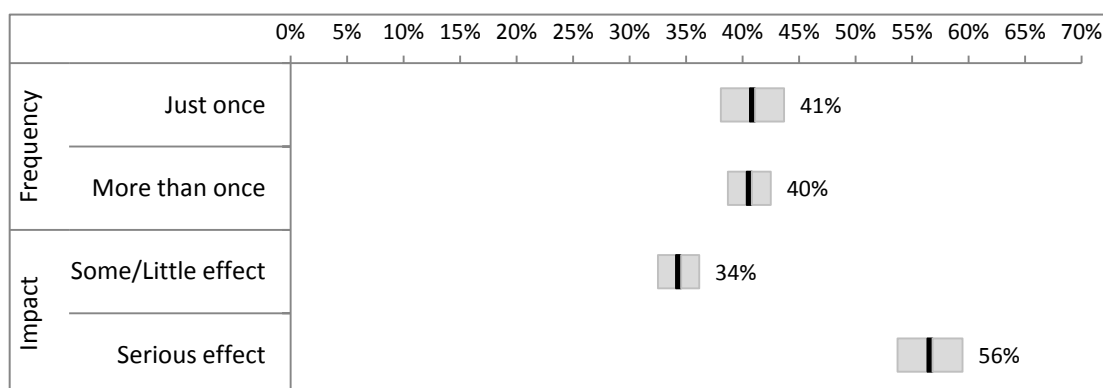
5.7 Action Taken by Frequency and Impact of Discrimination

Figure 5.5 shows the percentage of people taking action in response to discrimination by the frequency with which they experienced discrimination and their assessment of how seriously the discrimination affected their lives. Again, we pool the data for 2004 and 2010 for our initial exploration of this question. In the case of frequency, we distinguish between those who experienced discrimination just once and those experiencing discrimination more than once. As can be seen in Figure 5.5, there is no difference in the propensity to take action based on this distinction in the frequency of discrimination.

On the other hand, the impact of the discrimination makes a big difference. We distinguish in Figure 5.5 between those who say the discrimination had a 'little effect' or 'some' effect on them, on the one hand, and those who say the discrimination had a 'serious' or 'very serious' effect on their lives, on the other. Those who are seriously affected by the discrimination are much more likely to take action: 56 per cent compared to 34 per cent for those not seriously affected.

As before, we checked whether there was any change over time in the propensity to take action based on the frequency or seriousness of the discrimination. The differences between 2004 and 2010 were not statistically significant. There was no increase or decrease since 2004 in the tendency to take action on the basis of more serious or more frequent discrimination.

Figure 5.5: Percentage Taking Action in Response to Discrimination by Frequency and Impact of Discrimination (Pooled 2004 and 2010 Data)



Source: Quarterly National Household Survey Module on Discrimination, 2004 and 2010, analysis by authors. Base = people who have experienced discrimination in any domain.

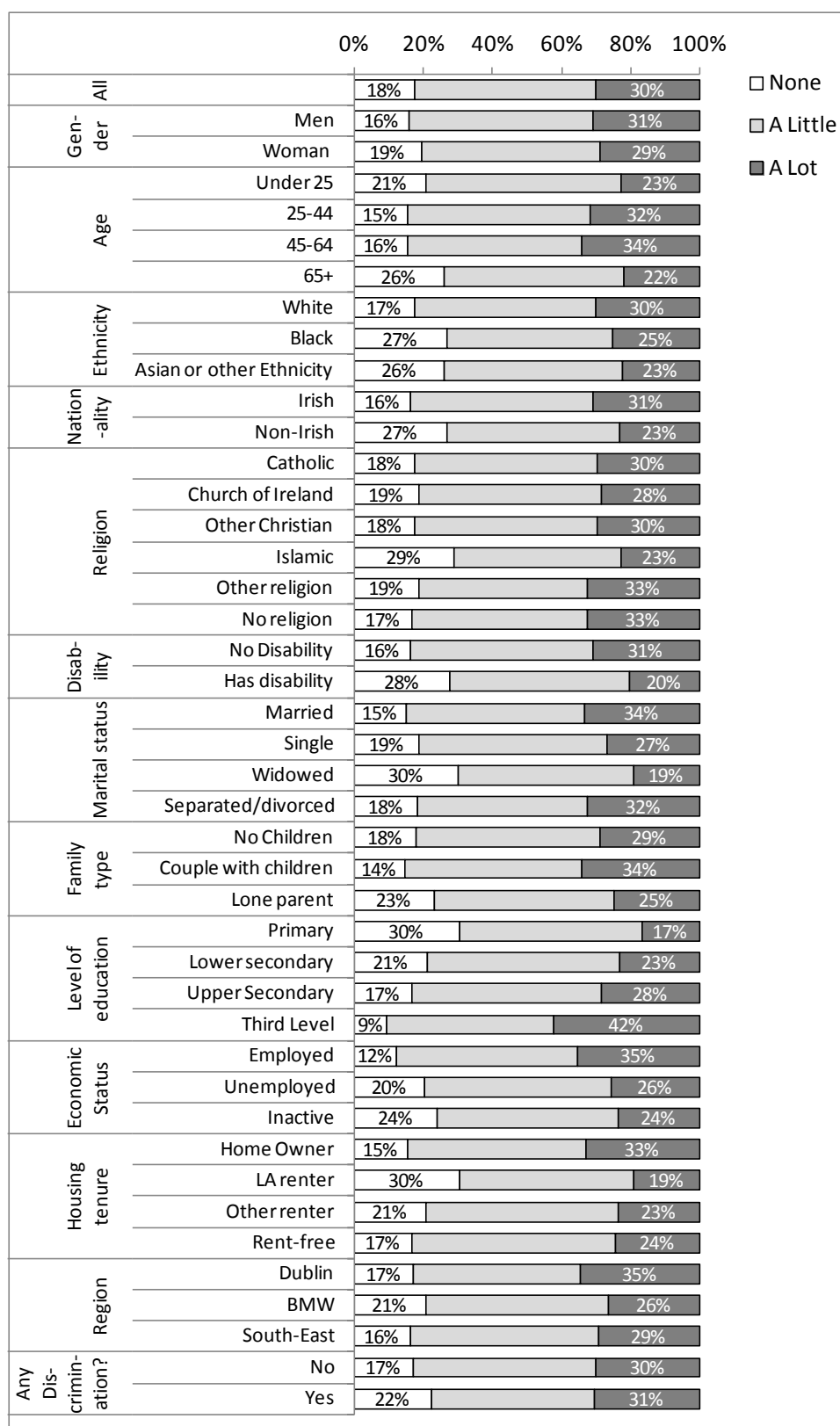
5.8 Knowledge of Rights under Irish Equality Law

As noted above, we would expect those who are familiar with their rights and protections under Irish Equality Legislation to be more likely to take action in response to discrimination. This has implications for taking informal action as well as for taking more formal or legal action. Knowing that discrimination is legally prohibited is likely to give someone the confidence to raise the issue verbally and informally as well as taking more formal actions. Respondents were asked “Do you know your rights under Irish equality law?” and could answer: “no understanding”, “understand a little” or “understand a lot”. This question was put to all respondents, not just those who had experienced discrimination. Figure 5.6 shows how social groups differed in terms of their knowledge of their rights in 2010.

Compared to 2004, there was a modest improvement in knowledge of rights. In 2004, 28 per cent of people knew ‘a lot’ about their rights under Irish law and 20 per cent had ‘no understanding’ of their rights (Russell *et al.*, 2008, Figure 5.9). The percentage of people who know ‘a lot’ had increased to 30 per cent by 2010 and the percentage with no knowledge had dropped to 18 per cent.

We can see in Figure 5.6 that the strongest difference among the socio-demographic groups is by level of education. Only 17 per cent of those with primary level education (or less) know a lot about their rights, rising to 42 per cent among those with third level education.

Figure 5.6: Knowledge of Rights under Irish Law, 2010



Source: Quarterly National Household Survey Module on Discrimination, 2010, analysis by authors. Base = Total population age 18 and over.

Levels of knowledge are lower among several vulnerable groups. Fewer than one in four of the following groups know 'a lot' about their rights: the youngest and oldest age groups (under 25 and over 65), people of Asian or Other minority ethnicity, non-Irish nationals, those belonging to the Islamic religious denomination, people with a disability, widowed adults, those with primary or lower levels of education, people inactive in the labour market and those renting their accommodation or occupying it rent-free. On the other hand, 35 per cent or more of the following groups know a lot about their rights: those with third level education, employed people and those living in Dublin.

There is little difference in knowledge of rights, however, between those who experienced discrimination (31 per cent know 'a lot') and those who did not experience discrimination (30 per cent know 'a lot'). The difference is more substantial at the other end of the knowledge scale. A higher percentage of people who experienced discrimination claim to know nothing about their rights: 22 per cent. This compares to a figure of 17 per cent among people who did *not* experience discrimination.

Compared to 2004, there was a modest increase in knowledge for most socio-demographic groups. The improvement in knowledge was more marked for non-Irish nationals, members of non-Christian religions and minority ethnic groups (Appendix Table A5.2). There was no significant change, however, by level of education, or for younger adults, lone parents, single adults and people renting accommodation.

5.9 Knowledge of Rights and Taking Action

We would expect that those who know their rights under Irish equality legislation would be more likely to take action. We saw above that those with higher levels of education are particularly likely to know their rights, while non-Irish nationals are less likely to know their rights. How much of the difference in the propensity to take action in response to discrimination is associated with differences between groups in the level of knowledge of their rights? We investigate this question by means of an analysis of the pooled 2004-2010 data. The base for the analysis is the population who had experienced discrimination in any domain. As well as knowledge of rights, the model includes gender, age, disability, marital status, family status, religion, nationality, ethnicity, education, economic status, housing tenure, region and year (2004 or 2010). We also include an indicator of the seriousness of the discrimination (the discrimination had a serious or very serious impact on the person's life) and the frequency of discrimination (it occurred 'more regularly'). We draw a distinction between taking 'non-official' action (action which may be verbal or written but is neither official nor legal) and action that is official or legal. This is important because all of our knowledge of actions taken in response to discrimination coming from administrative sources will be based on the relatively small number of cases where official or legal action is taken.

The full model is shown in Appendix Table A5.3. Figure 5.7 shows the significant odds ratios from this model.³⁰ The odds ratios show how much more (or less) likely the named group is to take action in response to discrimination than the reference group. An odds ratio greater than one indicates that a group is more likely than the reference group to take action. An odds ratio less than one indicates that a group is less likely than the reference group to take action. For instance, the odds ratio of .51 for adults under 25 compared to those aged 25 to 44 indicates that the odds of taking

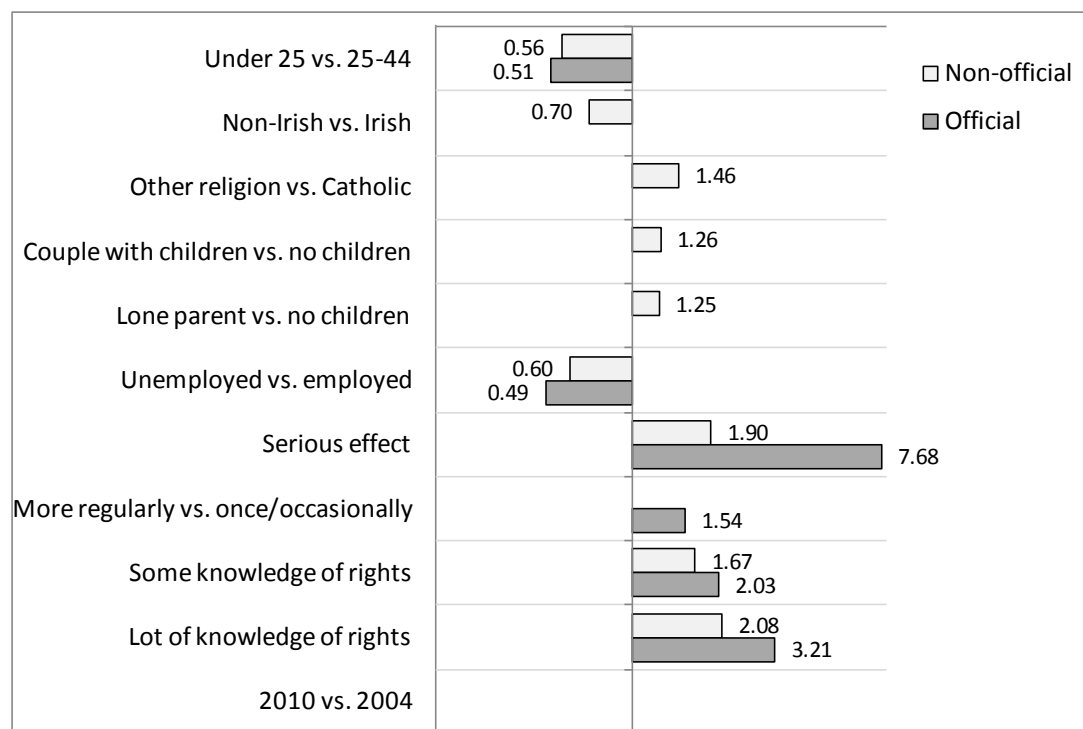
³⁰ The scale used on the horizontal axis of Figure 5.7 is a logarithmic scale, and the axes intersect at 1 (the neutral point). This allows a more accurate representation of the relative importance of significant effects greater than and less than one.

action for young adults are only 51 per cent as high as the odds of taking action for the reference age group.

The first thing to note in the figure is that knowledge of rights is very important in explaining why some people take action. The odds of taking action are more than twice as high for those who know 'a lot' about their rights under Irish equality legislation compared to those who know nothing about their rights. The relationship is even stronger when we focus on taking official or legal action (odds are more than three times higher). Even a little knowledge increases the likelihood that someone experiencing discrimination will take action: the odds ratio is 1.67 for taking non-official action and 2.1 for taking official or legal action.

The other very strong effect in the model is associated with the seriousness of the discrimination. The odds of taking official or legal action are over seven times higher among those whose lives were affected 'seriously' or 'very seriously' by the discrimination. The odds of taking non-official action are also somewhat higher for the seriously affected group (1.9). The odds of taking official or legal action are also increased if the discrimination was experienced more regularly, though the pattern is not as strong as for the seriousness of the discrimination. The odds ratio is 1.5 times higher for those who experienced discrimination more regularly compared to those who experienced discrimination just once or occasionally.

Figure 5.7: Odds of Taking Action (non-official or official/legal versus no action) in Response to Discrimination



Source: Quarterly National Household Survey Module on Discrimination, 2004 and 2010, analysis by authors. Base = Population experiencing discrimination in any domain, 2004 and 2010. Significant odds ratios from Model in Appendix Table A5.3.

As noted above, young adults (under age 25) are considerably less likely than those aged 25-44 to take action. This is also a substantial difference: the odds that younger adults will take official or legal action are about half the odds for adults in the 25-44 age group and the odds ratio is only slightly higher for non-official action. This is not due to differences in knowledge of rights, which are controlled in the model, but may

be related to other aspects of their lives such as feeling in a more secure position socially and economically.

The other patterns related to the groups distinguished by equality grounds are not as strong, and only affect taking non-official action. The odds of taking non-official action are somewhat higher for members of other (non-Christian) religions than Catholics (1.5) and are slightly higher for parents than for childless adults (1.25 to 1.26).

With knowledge of rights controlled, we might understand the lower propensity to take action of several groups in terms of their position being less secure. This is the case for younger adults, as we saw above, and also for the unemployed. The odds of taking official or legal action are only 0.49 for the unemployed compared to the employed and the odds of taking non-official action are also somewhat lower.

It is worth noting that most of the characteristics of the individual were not significantly associated with the propensity to take action once knowledge of rights was controlled. There was no significant difference by gender, by disability, between the other religious denominations (apart from the other non-Christian group), by marital status, by nationality or by race/ethnicity. Although we saw differences by level of education in Figure 5.2, when we control for knowledge of rights, these differences are no longer statistically significant. Apart from the lower likelihood that the unemployed will take action, there were no other significant differences by economic status. There were no significant differences by housing tenure or region. Finally, there was no difference between 2004 and 2010 in the propensity to take action in response to discrimination.

5.10 Summary

In this chapter we examined action taken in response to discrimination and investigated the way in which knowledge of rights under Irish equality legislation can have an impact on the likelihood of someone taking action.

There was virtually no change between 2004 and 2010 in the probability that someone will take action in response to discrimination. In both years, about 40 per cent of those experiencing discrimination took some action in response. The most common form of action taken was verbal action (25 to 26 per cent).

There was only a very modest improvement between 2004 and 2010 in knowledge of rights under Irish equality legislation. The percentage of people who know 'a lot' about their rights increased from 28 per cent in 2004 to 30 per cent in 2010. In the same period, the percentage with no knowledge of their rights had fallen from 20 per cent to 18 per cent.

Knowledge of rights was strongly associated with education and levels of knowledge were lower among several vulnerable groups, including minority ethnic groups, non-Irish nationals and people with a disability. The improvement in knowledge between 2004 and 2010 was more marked among non-Irish nationals and minority ethnic groups, however.

Knowledge of rights proved to be highly important to whether or not someone will take action in response to discrimination, even controlling for other factors. Those with 'a lot' of knowledge of their rights are more than three times as likely as those with no knowledge to take official or legal action in response to discrimination. When we control for differences in knowledge and for other characteristics, those affected more seriously by the discrimination are more than seven times as likely to take official or legal action.

A number of groups remain significantly less likely to take official or legal action in response to discrimination, including younger adults and the unemployed. When we

control for knowledge of rights and other characteristics, there is no significant difference in the propensity to take action by gender, race or ethnic group, marital status, housing tenure or region. When these characteristics were controlled, the difference in propensity to take action between 2004 and 2010 remained non-significant.

Appendix Table A5.1: Testing for Significant Change between 2004 and 2010 in Probability of Taking Action in Response to Discrimination

		Per Cent Taking Action		Is the Change Over Time Significant?	Number of Cases	
		2004 %	2010 %		2004	2010
Gender	Male	37	38	No	1,044	696
	Woman	43	43	No	1,799	1,160
Age	Under 25	27	23	No	294	117
	25-44	42	43	No	1,369	914
	45-64	47	41	Yes	852	649
	65+	48	51	No	328	176
Ethnicity	White	41	41	No	2,703	1,729
	Black	*	*	Yes	54	66
	Asian or Other Ethnicity	*	29	No	85	61
Nationality	Irish	43	42	No	2,485	1,525
	Non-Irish	26	33	Yes	358	331
Religion	Catholic	42	40	No	2,244	1,465
	Church of Ireland	*	*	No	66	41
	Other Christian	37	39	No	163	119
	Islamic	*	*	No	21	21
	Other religion	38	49	No	120	68
	No religion	36	43	No	206	132
Disability	No Disability	39	40	No	2,228	1,589
	Has disability	48	43	No	615	267
Marital status	Married	45	41	No	1,369	953
	Single	34	37	No	1,013	611
	Widowed	48	*	No	184	89
	Separated/divorced	48	45	No	277	203
Family type	No Children	37	39	No	1,474	975
	Couple with children	46	42	No	896	599
	Lone parent	45	42	No	470	282
Level of education	Primary	41	35	No	442	160
	Lower secondary	43	42	No	397	241
	Upper Secondary	37	36	No	825	586
	Third Level	42	44	No	782	635
Economic Status	Employed	41	43	No	1,512	873
	Unemployed	29	30	No	172	297
	Inactive	42	42	No	1,159	686
Housing tenure	Home Owner	44	42	No	1,886	1,176
	LA renter	39	47	No	223	216
	Other renter	31	34	No	455	431
	Rent-free	*	*	No	30	22
Region	Dublin	42	41	No	1,039	460
	BMW	39	39	No	721	503
	South-East	40	41	No	1,083	893

Source: Quarterly National Household Survey Module on Discrimination, 2004 and 2010, analysis by authors.

*' indicated that the number of cases is too small to report an exact figure.

Appendix Table A5.2: Testing for Significant Change between 2004 and 2010 in Percentage who know ‘a lot’ about their rights under Irish Equality Legislation

		2010	N	2004	N	Change	Sig. at
		A lot	cases	A lot	cases	%	p<=.05?
		%		%			
All		28	24,594	30	16,781	2	Yes
Gender	Men	29	9,351	31	6,569	2	Yes
	Woman	26	15,243	29	10,212	3	Yes
Age	Under 25	23	1,591	23	851	-1	No
	25-44	30	9,467	32	6,898	2	Yes
	45-64	31	8,425	34	5,665	3	Yes
	65+	19	5,111	22	3,367	3	Yes
Ethnicity	White	28	24,131	30	16,360	2	Yes
	Black	9	128	25	138	16	Yes
	Asian or other	14	327	23	275	9	Yes
Nationality	Irish	28	23,087	31	15,145	2	Yes
	Non-Irish	18	1,507	23	1,636	5	Yes
Religion	Catholic	27	21,585	30	14,561	3	Yes
	Church of Ireland	34	601	28	406	-5	No
	Other Christian	27	713	30	546	3	No
	Islamic	9	76	23	68	14	Yes
	Other religion	25	504	33	362	8	Yes
	No religion	34	887	33	747	-1	No
Disability	No Disability	29	21,171	31	14,780	2	Yes
	Has disability	18	3,423	20	2,001	3	Yes
Marital status	Married	31	13,894	34	9,323	2	Yes
	Single	25	6,866	27	4,868	1	no
	Widowed	16	2,398	19	1,419	3	Yes
	Separated/divorced	28	1,436	32	1,171	5	Yes
Family Type	No Children	27	13,540	29	9,679	2	Yes
	Couple with children	32	8,356	34	5,264	3	Yes
	Lone parent	22	2,691	25	1,838	2	No
Level of Education	Primary	16	3,583	17	1,432	1	No
	Lower secondary	23	3,461	23	1,943	0	No
	Upper Secondary	29	6,815	28	4,905	0	No
	Third Level	42	5,276	42	4,794	1	No
Economic Status	Employed	33	13,034	35	8,176	3	Yes
	Unemployed	22	560	26	1,350	4	No
	Inactive	20	11,000	24	7,255	4	Yes
Housing Tenure	Home Owner	29	18,784	33	12,708	4	Yes
	LA renter	17	1,244	19	1,342	2	No
	Other renter	21	2,094	23	2,477	2	No
	Rent-free	34	267	24	170	-10	Yes
Region	Dublin	30	6,847	35	3,502	4	Yes
	BMW	24	7,140	26	4,624	2	Yes
	South-East	28	10,607	29	8,655	2	Yes
Any Discrim?	No	28	21,727	30	14,922	2	Yes
	Yes	26	2,843	31	1,853	4	Yes

Source: Quarterly National Household Survey Module on Discrimination, 2004 and 2010, analysis by authors.

Appendix Table A5.3: Odds of Taking Action in Response to Discrimination, from Logistic Regression Models on Pooled 2004-2010 Data

		A. Any Action vs. No Action		B. Non-Official Action vs. No Action		C. Official Action vs. No Action	
		Odds	Sig	Odds	Sig	Odds	Sig
Gender	Men	Ref.		Ref.		Ref.	
	Women	1.12	0.10	1.15	0.05	0.99	0.95
Age	Under 25	0.55	0.00	0.56	0.00	0.51	0.01
	25-44	Ref.		Ref.		Ref.	
	46-64	0.91	0.23	0.86	0.08	1.11	0.45
	65+	1.31	0.06	1.26	0.13	1.58	0.06
Ethnicity	White	Ref.		Ref.		Ref.	
	Black	0.89	0.63	0.86	0.56	1.01	0.98
	Asian	0.84	0.56	0.88	0.69	0.68	0.51
	Other Ethnicity	0.82	0.48	0.85	0.58	0.68	0.55
Nationality	Irish	Ref.		Ref.		Ref.	
	Non-Irish	0.70	0.00	0.70	0.01	0.68	0.09
Religion	Catholic	Ref.		Ref.		Ref.	
	Church of Ireland	1.20	0.38	1.39	0.12	0.46	0.15
	Other Christian	1.12	0.44	1.20	0.24	0.83	0.50
	Islamic	0.83	0.64	0.78	0.58	0.99	0.99
	Other religion	1.51	0.02	1.46	0.04	1.70	0.06
	No religion	1.12	0.39	1.21	0.15	0.78	0.30
Disability	No Disability	Ref.		Ref.		Ref.	
	Has disability	1.07	0.45	1.10	0.28	0.94	0.64
Marital status	Married	Ref.		Ref.		Ref.	
	Single	1.03	0.77	1.05	0.62	0.95	0.76
	Widowed	1.18	0.30	1.23	0.21	0.99	0.98
	Separated/divorced	1.15	0.27	1.13	0.36	1.19	0.41
Family type	No Children	Ref.		Ref.		Ref.	
	Couple with children	1.21	0.03	1.26	0.02	1.05	0.73
	Lone parent	1.23	0.05	1.25	0.04	1.19	0.32
Level of Education	Primary	0.98	0.83	0.96	0.76	1.04	0.84
	Lower secondary	1.26	0.02	1.23	0.06	1.36	0.08
	Upper Secondary	Ref.		Ref.		Ref.	
	Post-Secondary	1.06	0.51	1.03	0.77	1.20	0.21
Economic Status	Employed	Ref.		Ref.		Ref.	
	Unemployed	0.57	0.00	0.60	0.00	0.49	0.00
	Inactive	0.88	0.11	0.86	0.06	0.99	0.96
Housing Tenure	Home Owner	Ref.		Ref.		Ref.	
	LA renter	1.07	0.56	1.06	0.63	1.08	0.68
	Other renter	0.88	0.20	0.88	0.20	0.89	0.51
	Rent-free	1.16	0.63	1.24	0.49	0.84	0.76
Region	Dublin	Ref.		Ref.		Ref.	
	BMW	1.01	0.94	1.03	0.74	0.93	0.63
	South and East	0.99	0.84	0.99	0.90	0.97	0.80
Impact	Little/Some effect	Ref.		Ref.		Ref.	
	Serious Effect	2.66	0.00	1.90	0.00	7.68	0.00
Frequency	Once/a few occasions	Ref.		Ref.		Ref.	
	More regularly	1.15	0.11	1.031	0.75	1.54	0.00
Knowledge of Rights	None	Ref.		Ref.		Ref.	
	Some knowledge	1.73	0.00	1.67	0.00	2.03	0.00
	A lot of knowledge	2.28	0.00	2.08	0.00	3.21	0.00
Year	2004	Ref.		Ref.		Ref.	
	2010	0.91	0.15	0.92	0.23	0.88	0.26
Nagelkerke R-squared		0.122		0.161			

Source: Quarterly National Household Survey Module on Discrimination, 2004 and 2010, analysis by authors. Base=those experiencing discrimination in any domain, N cases=4,696.

6 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The aim of this report was to investigate the experience of discrimination in Ireland in 2010, using a large, representative sub-sample of the population in Ireland from the Quarterly National Household Survey. As discussed in Chapter 1, the strengths of this data source lie in the quality and size of the sample, the range of life situations or domains covered, the wide range of social groups who reported their experiences, the questions on the impact of discrimination and the actions taken. The chief weakness of the methodology is the subjective nature of the data, the fact that we are relying on people's interpretation of any given treatment as discrimination. While acknowledging this weakness, this report capitalises on the strength of the data, to provide a rich and comprehensive picture of the experience of discrimination. The fact that the survey was a repeat of an earlier survey in 2004 permits some comparisons of the experience of discrimination in an economic boom (2004) and recession (2010).

Rather than summarise each of the chapters in turn, Section 6.1 of this conclusion summarises some key findings by social group, combining the findings on the domains and grounds with the chapter on the impact or seriousness of discrimination to give an overview. In Section 6.2 we summarise the main findings from Chapter 5, on action taken in response to discrimination, Section 6.3 looks at change over time, in light of some broad expectations articulated in Chapter 1. Section 6.4 discusses some policy implications arising from this report.

6.1 Main Findings

Overall 11.7 per cent of the Irish population said that they have been discriminated against in the preceding two years in at least one of the nine situations outlined; 7.3 per cent of respondents reported discrimination accessing services and just under 8 per cent of the relevant population reported work-related discrimination. The rate of reported discrimination was highest in recruitment (5.9 per cent), followed by in the workplace (5.3 per cent).

Across the services domains examined, rates of subjective discrimination were highest in housing and in financial services. However, it should be noted that while the rates in service and work domains take account of levels of usage in a very broad way, by excluding those who did not access the service or participate in employment/job search over the preceding two years, this does not control for the very different patterns of usage that still remain. For example, most people are likely to go to the shops on a much more frequent basis than they visit health services or apply for a job.

The research shows that the likelihood of reporting discrimination is influenced by gender; age; family status; marital status; race/ethnicity; nationality; disability; religion; employment status; educational level; housing tenure and, in some instances, region. The first eight of these characteristics are covered by Irish anti-discrimination legislation, whereas the latter four are risk factors against which citizens are not formally protected. Two other grounds covered by Equality Legislation – sexual orientation and membership of the Traveller community – could not be examined due to data limitations in the survey.

In the analysis of work-related discrimination we investigate whether the experience of discrimination varies by occupation and sector and other significant job characteristics. Aside from the fact that those who work part-time are more at risk of discrimination while looking for work (even controlling for gender and family status), and the self-employed are less likely to report discrimination in work, we find little or

no association between discrimination and the type of job. This suggests that it is individual characteristics rather than the sector or occupation which is associated with self-reports of discrimination.

Women/Men

Women report higher rates of work-related discrimination than men, specifically in the workplace, but men and women do not differ in their rates of service-rated discrimination overall. Women are also more likely to experience serious work-related discrimination than men. There are few differences in report of service-related discrimination between women and men. The exceptions are in education and health, where women are somewhat more likely to experience discrimination compared with men; and in financial services, where women are somewhat less likely to report discrimination compared with men.

Older/Younger People

Compared to 25-44 year olds the 45-64 age group is also less likely to experience discrimination in shops and public services. However, this group (45-64 year olds) are more likely to experience discrimination looking for work. This is consistent with other research, documenting that while older workers are less likely to lose their jobs, they are more likely to experience difficulties finding work if they do become unemployed (Johnson and Park, 2011).

The over 65 age group is less likely to experience discrimination in the workplace, perhaps reflecting some selectivity in terms of those remaining at work after the typical retirement age. This group is also less likely to report discrimination in shops, pubs and restaurants, and in other public services than the reference group aged 25-44. In terms of impact, adults aged 65 and over are less likely to report discrimination that had a serious impact on their lives. The lower average rate of discrimination reported by older adults may reflect in part a reluctance of this group to classify their experience as discrimination (see Russell *et al.*, 2008).

We find no difference between 18-24 year olds and 25-44 year olds in individual domains, when other factors (such as education) are taken into account. A somewhat surprising finding in the earlier study (Russell *et al.*, 2008) was the high rate of discrimination reported by under 25s, particularly in services. In Chapter 3, we note that discrimination on the basis of age has fallen somewhat as the ground for discrimination identified by the respondent, and also the profile of those experiencing discrimination on the basis of age has shifted somewhat to the 45-64 age group, compared to 2004.

Lone Parents and Separated Adults

Lone parents are more likely to experience discrimination in the workplace than those with no children, but this difference is accounted for by their educational, work situation and other characteristics. This is also the case in services: in many service domains the 'raw' rate of discrimination is higher for lone parents, but these differences are accounted for by factors like employment status, education and housing tenure. That said, lone parents are more likely than childless adults to experience discrimination accessing other public services, and to experience serious service related discrimination. The separated group is more likely to report discrimination in shops/pubs, financial services and housing.

Minority Ethnicity

Minority ethnicity had strong associations with both serious work-related and serious service-related discrimination. People of Black ethnicity had 6.6 times the odds of experiencing serious work-related discrimination, compared to Whites, and the odds ratio was 2.8 for Asians. In terms of service related discrimination, Black respondents were four times more likely than White respondents to experience service related discrimination that has a serious impact on their lives. People of Black ethnicity report a much higher risk of discrimination when accessing financial services, and in shops, restaurants and pubs, in accessing education, housing and transport. Adults of Asian ethnicity were more likely to report discrimination in the housing domain.

People of Black ethnic origin were the only group to report a significant increase in discrimination between 2004 and 2010. The odds of reporting discrimination that had a serious effect on the person's life increased from 2.2 in 2004 to 5.3 in 2010 for Blacks compared to Whites.

Non-Irish Nationals

Non-Irish nationals reported experiencing higher rates of discrimination than Irish nationals in the labour market. They also report higher rates of discrimination seeking work, though this is accounted for by ethnicity. This group also reported higher rates of discrimination in shops, restaurants and pubs. It could also be that a further distinction of this category would find differences between national groups – but this was beyond the scope of this report. When we take account of other characteristics, including ethnicity, non-Irish nationals are no more likely than Irish nationals to experience discrimination that has a serious effect on their lives, though they are more likely to report discrimination with a less serious impact.

Minority Religions

Religion is found to be associated with discrimination when looking for work. The model results show that respondents of 'no religion' are much more likely to experience discrimination when looking for work after controlling for their personal characteristics. In some services, notably in education, respondents of minority religion face a higher risk of discrimination. Respondents whose religion is Church of Ireland and 'Other' Christian, and those who are of 'Other' religion, or who are of 'no religion' all report a much higher risk of discrimination in access to education – either access to education for themselves or their children. In relation to services, Islamic respondents, and 'Other religion' respondents reported a much higher rate of discrimination when accessing shops and restaurants, and respondents of no religion reported a higher risk of discrimination in accessing health services.

People with Disabilities

Having a disability is found to be strongly associated with experiencing discrimination, though to a lesser extent than in 2004. Whilst people with a disability are not more likely to report discrimination when at work or looking for work when all factors are held constant, they are more likely to experience work-related discrimination that has a serious impact on their lives (odds ratio of 1.79 compared to those with no disability).

Respondents with a disability also reported a higher risk of discrimination in five out of the seven services – shops/pubs, financial, health, transport and other public services. Associations were particularly strong in health and transport. The odds of experiencing service-rated discrimination that has a serious impact on the person's life are 2.8 times higher for people with a disability. This group was the only one of the groups identified in Irish equality legislation for whom we observed a significant

decline in discrimination between 2004 and 2010. The odds of experiencing serious discrimination, compared to those with no disability, fell from 4.3 in 2004 to 2.5 in 2010.

Other Groups

The unemployed are four times more likely to report serious work-related discrimination than the employed. This group is more likely to report discrimination when looking for work and in the workplace. The inactive group is also more likely to experience discrimination when looking for work. Both the unemployed and the inactive are also more likely to experience serious service-related discrimination than the employed. The inactive group is more likely to experience discrimination in shops/pubs, education, housing, health and other public services.

Those renting – local authority/private renting – as well as those in rent-free accommodation were more likely than homeowners to experience serious service related discrimination. Those in local authority housing are more likely than homeowners to report discrimination in access to housing, in shops/pubs, education and health services. People who are private renting are more likely to report discrimination in relation to housing and shops/pubs. Adults who live in ‘rent free’ housing were more likely to experience discrimination in health services, and were much more likely to report discrimination in access to other public services.

Adults with post-secondary level education (either third level or post-leaving certificate qualification) are more likely to experience discrimination in the workplace, and in relation to education.

6.2 Action Taken in Response to Discrimination

In Chapter 5, we report that 40 per cent of those experiencing discrimination took some action in response. The most common form of action taken was verbal action: only 10 per cent of those experiencing discrimination took official or legal action. Knowledge of rights is an important mediating factor in determining whether the person will take action in response to discrimination. This suggests that knowledge gives people the confidence and information to enable them to take action.

Around 30 per cent of people knew ‘a lot’ about their rights, 18 per cent had no knowledge of their rights under Irish equality legislation. Knowledge of rights, as in 2004, was strongly associated with education and was lower among vulnerable groups including the youngest and oldest age groups, people of minority ethnicity, non-Irish nationals and people with a disability. As well as being high among those with third level education, knowledge of rights was also high – over 35 per cent – among the employed and those living in Dublin. There has been a modest rise in knowledge of rights since 2004: this has been most marked among non-Irish nationals and those of minority ethnicity.

6.3 Change in the Experience of Discrimination 2004-2010

In Chapter 1 we discuss how the experience of discrimination may have changed between the boom years of 2004 and the recession in 2010, discussing some competing expectations of the nature of this change. Here we briefly discuss some of the changes in the light of these expectations.

Overall, we find remarkably little change in overall experience of discrimination, in terms of the overall rate, the domains where discrimination is experienced most often, the grounds and the actions taken. The findings are thus generally supportive of the ‘persistence of discrimination’, that is that rates of discrimination are stable

over time, regardless of the economic circumstances. There are a few notable exceptions.

One exception is that while the overall rate of discrimination fell slightly, there was a rise in serious discrimination between 2004 and 2010 (see Chapter 4). The percentage reporting that discrimination had a serious effect on their lives had increased significantly from 25 per cent of those experiencing discrimination in 2004 to 32 per cent in 2010. Considered as a percentage of the population as a whole, the change was small in magnitude (from 3.2 per cent in 2004 to 3.7 per cent in 2010), but it is statistically significant. This gives some credence to the idea that the impact of discrimination, say in the workplace or in accessing public services, may be more serious in recession. A more detailed exploration of this issue would require further research.

An alternative expectation was that vulnerable groups or minorities will be hardest hit by a recession, and even more likely to report discrimination in 2010 than 2004. This is not supported by the findings for many minorities, that is they may be more likely to experience discrimination than their 'majority' counterparts, but not to a greater extent than in 2010 than in 2004. It does apply to the Black minority ethnic group. This group were at risk of discrimination in 2004 in a range of domains, but to an even greater extent in 2010. At the same time, there was a significant increase in the risk of serious discrimination – discrimination that had a serious impact on their lives – for those in the Black ethnic group between 2004 and 2010.

In Section 1.5 we discussed the idea that policies towards groups or in particular domains may reduce the risk of discrimination for some groups/in some domains, and reported discrimination may fall for these groups/in these domains. This is partly supported in the case of those with disability. The rate of reported discrimination of the disabled group has dropped between 2004 and 2010. People with a disability also experienced a drop in discrimination that had a serious impact on their lives. The period after 2004 represented a time of intense policy attention to the situation of people with a disability and it looks as though this focus may have brought about real improvements in people's lives. Nevertheless, in 2010 those with a disability remained at higher risk of discrimination than those without a disability

In terms of the expectation that some domains are more vulnerable to economic change than others, like the labour market, financial services and housing, the evidence is mixed. There were relatively high but stable rates of discrimination in looking for work and a small rise in discrimination in the workplace between 2004 and 2010, but there was a fall in discrimination in housing, and in particular using financial services. We interpret the fall in financial services as partly linked to the lower use of these services during the recession – fewer applications for loans, and fewer insurance applications, thus lower exposure to discrimination. It could also be that service providers are less likely to discriminate as they struggle to remain profitable. But these explanations would require further research to be substantiated.

A final interesting change over time is the fall in the risk of serious discrimination for the unemployed (Chapter 4). We interpret this by pointing out that by 2010 the recession had drawn into unemployment groups who had better access to material and cultural resources than the very small, select group of unemployed in the boom years of 2004. The unemployed are still almost three times more likely to experience serious discrimination than those who are employed in 2010, but the gap between the employed and unemployed in the experience of discrimination was larger in 2004.

6.4 Implications for Equality Policy

This study outlines the scale and distribution of discrimination experienced in Ireland. It highlights particular social groups and social institutions/context in which levels of discrimination experienced are high. In some cases the 'raw' rate of discrimination among social groups is high, but this is accounted for by their educational qualifications, labour market status or other characteristics.

The results suggest that recruitment and the workplace, accommodation/housing and financial services are areas that may require particular monitoring for discriminatory practice. In terms of groups affected by discrimination, both the unemployed and inactive and in particular non-Irish nationals and ethnic minorities are particularly at risk of work-related discrimination. In service-related discrimination, it tends to be those with a disability, non-Irish nationals and ethnic minorities, the inactive, and those in local authority housing who are more likely to experience discrimination, and these results suggest that these groups need particular supports, and employers and service providers need to be aware of the potential dangers of discriminatory practices. However, the results also highlight the considerable variation across domains in the characteristics of those experiencing discrimination.

This report shows that Black respondents report a particularly high rate of discrimination in a range of domains, both work-related and in services. Relative to White Irish respondents, they are even more disadvantaged than in 2004. Looking at objective labour market outcomes, Kingston *et al.* (forthcoming) also find that Black respondents have the highest rate of unemployment and the lowest rate of employment. O'Connell and McGinnity (2008) previously argued that this disadvantage may be related to the fact that some of this group are refugees and may have spent an extended period of time out of the labour market, and this may have a strong negative impact on employment prospects. It is thus important that vulnerable ethnic groups are integrated into labour market programmes. It could also be that with increased time living in Ireland, Black respondents are becoming marginalised.

The finding that the most highly discriminated against groups are the least likely to take action indicates the potential benefit of proactive third party interventions such as information campaigns, advocacy and legal supports, and initiatives by employers and service providers to implement good practice. The fact that the study finds that knowledge of rights is also associated with taking action supports this strategy.

That said the generally low level of action taken, where 40 per cent of those who were discriminated against took action, most of it verbal, underscores the value of continued monitoring of discrimination in general population surveys of this nature. This evidence suggests that 10 per cent of those experiencing discrimination take official or legal action. If one were relying on individuals to report discrimination to a relevant authority as a means of monitoring, much discrimination would go undetected, and the extent of discrimination in the population would be seriously underestimated. In addition, the profile of those experiencing discrimination would be distorted, since some vulnerable groups such as the unemployed are less likely to take action in response to discrimination. Levels of knowledge of rights and entitlements – a prerequisite for taking action – are higher among certain relatively privileged groups, such as those with higher levels of education and the employed. Without surveys such as this our knowledge of the extent of discrimination among groups such as the unemployed and those with lower levels of education would be very seriously limited.

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METHODOLOGICAL APPENDIX ON EQUALITY MODULE

The Quarterly National Household Survey

The data used in the current report was collected by means of the Quarterly National Household Survey (QNHS). Each quarter the Central Statistics Office (CSO) produces a Quarterly National Household Survey (QNHS), the main objective of which is to provide estimates on short-term indicators of the labour market. Additionally, however, special survey modules are included for the collection of data on social topics. In the fourth quarter of 2004 the Quarterly National Household Survey (QNHS) included a Module on Equality, an extra set of questions was asked of approximately 24,600 QNHS respondents. This sub-sample was aged 18 years and over and was interviewed directly. In the fourth quarter of 2010 a module on the topic of equality and discrimination among people was, again, included in the QNHS, and an extra set of questions was asked of approximately 16,800 respondents. The module was a repeat of the module asked in the fourth quarter of 2004 with some additions to the questionnaire.

This module provides the basis for our analysis here. We also draw on additional data from the main QNHS, which was kindly matched to the module data by the CSO specifically for this project. The QNHS is continuous and targets all private households in the State. The total sample target per 13-week quarter is 39,000 households. Note that from January 2009 the reference periods for the QNHS changed to cover the year on a calendar rather than seasonal basis.³¹

Households are asked to take part in the survey for five consecutive quarters before being replaced.³² In each quarter one fifth of the households surveyed are replaced and the QNHS sample involves an overlap of 80 per cent between consecutive quarters and 20 per cent between the same quarter in consecutive years.

The QNHS is the second largest statistical project undertaken by the Central Statistics Office after the *Census*. Participation is voluntary, however, the response rate is high (approximately 85 per cent over the past few years). The survey results are weighted to agree with population estimates broken down by age, sex and region. Although the QNHS provides generally high quality information there are some challenges involved in capturing minority groups on this type of survey. Data are not released on certain groups unless the sample is sufficiently large to be properly representative. Respondents to the Equality Module questionnaire were asked to indicate whether they were members of the Traveller Community but the number of respondents who answered affirmatively is too small to allow separate analysis of this group, instead they have been subsumed into the “White ethnicity” category. Respondents were not asked about their sexual orientation so we cannot interrogate the data from this perspective either.

³¹ The reference quarters since 2009, including the 2010 Equality survey, are: Q1-January to March, Q2-April to June, Q3-July to September and Q4-October to December. Prior to 2009, and for the 2004 Equality survey, the quarters were calendar quarters: Winter – December to February; Spring – March to May; Summer – June to August; Autumn – September to November.

³² ‘Replacement’ households are chosen from the same small area or block. Blocks arise from the two-stage sample design used for the QNHS. In the first stage a sample of 2,600 blocks (or small areas) are selected at county level to proportionately represent eight strata reflecting population density. Each block is selected to contain, on average, 75 dwellings and the sample of blocks is fixed for a period of about five years.

Module on Equality - Questionnaire for Q4 2010

[Introduction (prompt card for use with discrimination questions):

PERM_EQ

I am going to ask you some questions about your experiences of discrimination in Ireland. The focus of this section of the questionnaire is to collect data on discrimination as defined in Irish law. Under Irish law, discrimination takes place when one person or a group of persons is treated less favourably than others because of their *gender, marital status, family status, age, disability, 'race'(skin colour or ethnic group), sexual orientation, religious belief, and/or membership of the Traveller Community.*

DISCRIM_1

IF PERM_EQ IS NOT REFUSED

In the past two years, have you personally felt discriminated against in the workplace?

1. Yes
2. No
3. Not applicable (don't work, haven't been working in the past two years)
4. Don't know

WHY_1

IF DISCRIM_1=1

Why do you think you were discriminated against – was it because of your

1. gender
2. marital status
3. family status (e.g. pregnant or with children or other dependants)
4. age
5. disability
6. race/ skin colour/ ethnic group/ nationality
7. sexual orientation
8. religious belief
9. membership of the Traveller community
10. other

DOMAIN_1

IF DISCRIM_1=1

Which of the following best describes the focus of the discrimination you experienced at work in the last two years?

1. Pay
2. Promotion
3. Work conditions

4. Bullying or harassment
5. Lost job / made redundant
6. Other

FREQ_1

IF DISCRIM_1=1

How often did you experience discrimination at work in the last two years?

1. Just once
2. On a few occasions
3. More regularly

SERIOUS_1

IF DISCRIM_1=1

How serious was the effect of this discrimination on your life?

1. Little or no effect(s)
2. Some effect(s)
3. Serious effect(s)
4. Very serious effect(s)

DISCRIM_2

IF PERM_EQ IS NOT REFUSED

In the past two years, have you personally felt discriminated against while looking for work?

1. Yes
2. No
3. Not applicable (haven't been looking for a job in the last two years)
4. Don't know

WHY_2

IF DISCRIM_2=1

Why do you think you were discriminated against – was it because of your

1. gender
2. marital status
3. family status (e.g. pregnant or with children or other dependants)
4. age
5. disability
6. race/ skin colour/ ethnic group/ nationality
7. sexual orientation
8. religious belief
9. membership of the Traveller community
10. other

FREQ_2

IF DISCRIM_2=1

How often have you experienced discrimination, while looking for work in the last two years?

1. Just once

2. On a few occasions
3. More regularly

SERIOUS_2

IF DISCRIM_2=1

How serious was the effect of this discrimination on your life?

1. Little or no effect(s)
2. Some effect(s)
3. Serious effect(s)
4. Very serious effect(s)

DISCRIM_3

IF PERM_EQ IS NOT REFUSED

In the past two years, have you personally felt discriminated against in places like, shops, pubs, or restaurants?

1. Yes
2. No
3. Don't know

WHY_3

IF DISCRIM_3=1

Why do you think you were discriminated against – was it because of your

1. gender
2. marital status
3. family status (e.g. pregnant or with children or other dependants)
4. age
5. disability
6. race/ skin colour/ ethnic group/ nationality
7. sexual orientation
8. religious belief
9. membership of the Traveller community
10. other

FREQ_3

IF DISCRIM_3=1

How often have you experienced discrimination in places like shops, pubs, or restaurants?

1. Just once
2. On a few occasions
3. More regularly

SERIOUS_3

IF DISCRIM_3=1

How serious was the effect of this discrimination on your life?

1. Little or no effect(s)
2. Some effect(s)
3. Serious effect(s)
4. Very serious effect(s)

DISCRIM_4

IF PERM_EQ IS NOT REFUSED

In the past two years, have you personally felt discriminated against using services of banks, insurance companies or other financial institutions?

1. Yes
2. No
3. Don't know

WHY_4

IF DISCRIM_4=1

Why do you think you were discriminated against – was it because of your

1. gender
2. marital status
3. family status (e.g. pregnant or with children or other dependants)
4. age
5. disability
6. race/ skin colour/ ethnic group/ nationality
7. sexual orientation
8. religious belief
9. membership of the Traveller community
10. other

FREQ_4

IF DISCRIM_4=1

How often have you experienced discrimination **while using services of banks, insurance companies or other financial institutions** in the last two years?

1. Just once
2. On a few occasions
3. More regularly

SERIOUS_4

IF DISCRIM_4=1

How serious was the effect of this discrimination on your life?

1. Little or no effect(s)
2. Some effect(s)
3. Serious effect(s)
4. Very serious effect(s)

DISCRIM_5

IF PERM_EQ IS NOT REFUSED

In the past two years, have you personally felt discriminated against in relation to education?

1. Yes
2. No
3. Not applicable (e.g. not involved in education in the last two years)
4. Don't know

WHY_5

IF DISCRIM_5=1

Why do you think you were discriminated against – was it because of your

1. gender
2. marital status
3. family status (e.g. pregnant or with children or other dependants)
4. age
5. disability
6. race/ skin colour/ ethnic group/ nationality
7. sexual orientation
8. religious belief
9. membership of the Traveller community
10. other

FREQ_5

IF DISCRIM_5=1

How often have you experienced discrimination **in relation to education** in the last two years?

1. Just once
2. On a few occasions
3. More regularly

SERIOUS_5

IF DISCRIM_5=1

How serious was the effect of this discrimination on your life?

1. Little or no effect(s)
2. Some effect(s)
3. Serious effect(s)
4. Very serious effect(s)

DISCRIM_6

IF PERM_EQ IS NOT REFUSED

In the past two years, have you personally felt discriminated against while you were looking for housing or accommodation?

1. Yes
2. No
3. Not applicable (e.g. not involved in looking for housing/accommodation in the last two years)
4. Don't know

WHY_6

IF DISCRIM_6=1

Why do you think you were discriminated against – was it because of your

1. gender
2. marital status
3. family status (e.g. pregnant or with children or other dependants)
4. age
5. disability
6. race/ skin colour/ ethnic group/ nationality
7. sexual orientation
8. religious belief
9. membership of the Traveller community
10. other

FREQ_6

IF DISCRIM_6=1

How often have you experienced discrimination **while looking for housing or accommodation** in the last two years?

1. Just once
2. On a few occasions
3. More regularly

SERIOUS_6

IF DISCRIM_6=1

How serious was the effect of this discrimination on your life?

1. Little or no effect(s)
2. Some effect(s)
3. Serious effect(s)
4. Very serious effect(s)

DISCRIM_7

IF PERM_EQ IS NOT REFUSED

In the past two years, have you personally felt discriminated against while accessing health services (e.g. getting access to a GP, access to hospital, access to specialist treatment)?

1. Yes
2. No
3. Not applicable
4. Don't know

WHY_7*IF DISCRIM_7=1*

Why do you think you were discriminated against – was it because of your

1. gender
2. marital status
3. family status (e.g. pregnant or with children or other dependants)
4. age
5. disability
6. race/ skin colour/ ethnic group/ nationality
7. sexual orientation
8. religious belief
9. membership of the Traveller community
10. other

FREQ_7*IF DISCRIM_7=1*

How often have you experienced discrimination **while accessing health services** in the last two years (**e.g. getting access to a GP, access to hospital, access to specialist treatment**)?

1. Just once
2. On a few occasions
3. More regularly

SERIOUS_7*IF DISCRIM_7=1*

How serious was the effect of this discrimination on your life?

1. Little or no effect(s)
2. Some effect(s)
3. Serious effect(s)
4. Very serious effect(s)

DISCRIM_8*IF PERM_EQ IS NOT REFUSED*

In the past two years, have you personally felt discriminated against using transport services?

1. Yes
2. No
3. Don't know

WHY_8*IF DISCRIM_8=1*

Why do you think you were discriminated against – was it because of your

1. gender
2. marital status
3. family status (e.g. pregnant or with children or other dependants)
4. age
5. disability
6. race/ skin colour/ ethnic group/ nationality
7. sexual orientation
8. religious belief
9. membership of the Traveller community
10. other

FREQ_8

IF DISCRIM_8=1

How often have you experienced discrimination **while using transport services** in the last two years?

1. Just once
2. On a few occasions
3. More regularly

SERIOUS_8

IF DISCRIM_8=1

How serious was the effect of this discrimination on your life?

1. Little or no effect(s)
2. Some effect(s)
3. Serious effect(s)
4. Very serious effect(s)

DISCRIM_9

IF PERM_EQ IS NOT REFUSED

In the past two years, have you personally felt discriminated against accessing other public services either at a local or national level?

1. Yes
2. No
3. Don't know

WHY_9

IF DISCRIM_9=1

Why do you think you were discriminated against – was it because of your

1. gender
2. marital status
3. family status (e.g. pregnant or with children or other dependants)
4. age
5. disability
6. race/ skin colour/ ethnic group/ nationality

7. sexual orientation
8. religious belief
9. membership of the Traveller community
10. other

FREQ_9

IF DISCRIM_9=1

How often have you experienced discrimination **while accessing other public services either at a local or national level** in the last two years?

1. Just once
2. On a few occasions
3. More regularly

SERIOUS_9

IF DISCRIM_9=1

How serious was the effect of this discrimination on your life?

1. Little or no effect(s)
2. Some effect(s)
3. Serious effect(s)
4. Very serious effect(s)

ACTION

IF DISCRIM_1=1 OR DISCRIM_2=1 OR DISCRIM_3=1 OR DISCRIM_4=1 OR DISCRIM_5=1 OR DISCRIM_6=1 OR DISCRIM_7=1 OR DISCRIM_8=1 OR DISCRIM_9=1

May I ask what action, if any, did you take in reaction to discrimination you have experienced. In particular have you complained verbally, in writing, made an official complaint or taken legal action?

1. Yes, verbally
2. Yes, in writing
3. Yes, made an official complaint
4. Yes, taken legal action
5. No, have not taken any action.

RIGHTS

IF PERM_EQ IS NOT REFUSED

Do you know your rights under Irish equality law?

1. No understanding
2. Understand a little
3. Understand a lot

ETHNIC

IF PERM_EQ IS NOT REFUSED

What is your ethnic group?

- A. White
 - 1. Irish
 - 2. Irish Traveller
 - 3. Any other White background
- B. Black or Black Irish
 - 1. African
 - 2. Any other Black background
- C. Asian or Asian Irish
 - 1. Chinese
 - 2. Any other Asian background
- D. Other, including mixed background

RELIGION

IF PERM_EQ IS NOT REFUSED

What is your religion?

- 1. Roman Catholic
- 2. Church of Ireland
- 3. Other Christian
- 4. Islam
- 5. Jewish
- 6. Other
- 7. No religion



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