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Homotransphobia: Determinants, Impact and Policies

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Abstract

E' ormai molto cospicua la letteratura che evidenzia il grave impatto che la discriminazione omotransfobica, generalmente, ha sulle persone LGBT+ (D'Augelli, Pilkington, Hershberger, 2002; Almeida et al., 2009; Di Giacomo et al., 2018; Taylor et al., 2013).

Questa tesi si compone di tre saggi che trattano la discriminazione nei confronti delle minoranze sessuali e le relative politiche in inclusione messe in atto in tre diversi ambienti: nel mondo sportivo non agonistico, nell'educazione terziaria e negli ambienti lavorativi.

La prima sezione introduce i tre saggi e descrive i principali risultati di questa indagine.

Più dettagliatamente, il primo saggio analizza l'ambiente sportivo non-agonistico e popolare. Il suo scopo è duplice: esso intende analizzare le determinanti della percezione della discriminazione omotransfobica e esplorare, all'interno dell'analisi dei fattori dell'omotransfobia, la rilevanza della *Contact Theory* introdotta dal professor Gordon Allport nel 1954. Dalla nostra analisi empirica rileviamo che, tra le determinanti della percezione della discriminazione omo-transfobica, vi sono gli orientamenti sessuali bisex e omosex, e un elevato livello di istruzione, a comprova della tesi secondo la quale avere maggiori strumenti intellettuali e culturali aumenta la probabilità di percepire la discriminazione operata nei propri confronti. Inoltre troviamo evidenza del fatto che, tra i fattori connessi agli atteggiamenti omotransfobici, vi sono l'eterosessualità e l'appartenenza al sesso biologico maschile. In riferimento alla *Contact Theory*, i nostri risultati mostrano che il contatto con le persone LGBT+ tendenzialmente riduce la probabilità di porre in atto atteggiamenti discriminatori. Inoltre, essere coinvolti in progetti che mirano a mettere in contatto persone LGBT+ con persone non appartenenti alle minoranze sessuali riduce la probabilità di avere comportamenti omotransfobici.

Il secondo paper esplora l'omotransfobia e le politiche di inclusione rivolte alla popolazione LGBT+ in un altro ambiente: l'educazione terziaria. Questo studio fornisce il primo indice europeo di inclusione universitaria LGBT+, creato attraverso la logica fuzzy (Zadeh, 1965, 1988). Questo lavoro ha un duplice intento: da un lato quello di consentire alle università di valutare il loro grado di inclusione LGBT+ attraverso le diverse dimensioni di cui si compone l'indice, che consentono di comprendere quali aspetti migliorare per divenire meno escludenti; dall'altro lato quello di applicare il nostro indice alle 58 università pubbliche italiane, che hanno tutte preso parte alla survey permettendoci di misurare il loro livello di inclusione. Grazie al supporto di sei associazioni studentesche LGBT+ (o alleate), di quattro esperti e della Conferenza Nazionale degli Organismi di Parità delle Università, abbiamo potuto valutare l'efficacia di diverse pratiche di inclusione tenendone conto nella definizione del ranking.

Il terzo e ultimo saggio esamina, infine, l'ambiente lavorativo. Abbiamo analizzato l'impatto di alcune specifiche pratiche di gestione delle risorse umane sulla soddisfazione lavorativa e sulla percezione di diverse tipologie di discriminazione sofferta dai lavoratori. L'intento è quello di verificare se la loro adozione e la loro implementazione possano impattare positivamente sulle percezioni e sulle sensazioni dei lavoratori appartenenti a delle minoranze. Abbiamo, inoltre, esaminato il ruolo che gioca la percezione della discriminazione nella relazione tra le pratiche di gestione delle risorse umane e la soddisfazione lavorativa. In ultimo, ci siamo concentrate sulla relazione tra i predittori della discriminazione, la soddisfazione lavorativa e due specifiche variabili di moderazione, riscontrando che l'effetto negativo della percezione della discriminazione sulla soddisfazione risulta essere meno pronunciato se legato alla fiducia nel management e al supporto dei colleghi.

Ognuno dei tre saggi esplora, inoltre, le migliori pratiche d'inclusione rilevate nei tre ambienti analizzati e suggerisce interventi e politiche volte a migliorare il livello di inclusione degli ambienti sportivi, educativi e lavorativi.

Abstract

Nowadays, several studies demonstrate the serious impact of homotransphobic discrimination on LGBT+ people (D'Augelli, Pilkington, Hershberger, 2002; Almeida et al., 2009; Di Giacomo et al., 2018; Taylor et al., 2013).

This thesis consists of three essays on topics in sexual minorities discrimination and inclusion policies, in three different environments: non-agonistic sports, tertiary education and workplace. The first Section introduces the three essays and describes their main results.

The first essay analyses a non-agonistic popular sports environment. Its aim is twofold: firstly, it analyses the determinants of homotransphobic perceived discrimination; secondly, it explores, within the analysis of homotransphobia factors, the relevance of Allport's Contact Theory.

From the empirical analysis we found that, among the determinants of homotransphobic perceived discrimination, there are individuals' homosexual and bisexual orientation and a high level of education. Moreover, this study's results reveal that among the factors related to homotransphobic behaviours and attitudes there are heterosexual orientation and male biological sex. Related to Contact Theory, our outcomes show that contacts with LGBT+ people typically reduce the probability of being homotransphobic and that being involved in projects aimed to put in contact LGBT+ with non-LGBT+ people reduces prejudice and discriminant attitudes.

The second essay explores homotransphobia and policies inclusion in tertiary education. This study provides the first European index of LGBT+ inclusion for Universities, created using fuzzy logic techniques (Zadeh, 1965, 1988), that has a twofold aim: allow tertiary education institutions to assess their degree of gender inclusiveness with a shortcut assessment of the dimensions in LGBT+ inclusion that needs to be improved for reaching the aim of LGBT+ inclusion in tertiary education; Implement the proposed system to Italian universities that have promptly taken part to the survey thus making us in the condition to be able to show their achievements. With the support of six LGBT+ or ally students' union, of four experts and of the National Conference of Equality Organs, we were able to evaluate the efficacy of the different practices in place and taking into account other.

The third essay explores the workplace dimension, examining the impact of some HRM practices on workers' overall job satisfaction and the determinants of workers' perception of discrimination. The novelty of our study consists in the deepening of the relation between HRM practices and the employees' perception of (different types of) discrimination in workplace: a largely unexplored topic, until now. Its aim is to add value to existing literature by assessing the synergy effect between perception of discrimination and HRM practices on workers' job satisfaction, performing a mediation model based on probit regression analysis of some variables drawn from the sixth wave of European Working Condition Survey data, collected in 2015 (EWCS, 2015). We also provide a comparison of different types of discrimination, examining the moderating effect of the perception of discrimination on the relationship between HRM practices and employees' job satisfaction, assuming that the strength of the above relation is weaker for discriminated workers. Our findings highlight that HRM practices we analysed (except for autonomy of the work-group and job-intensity) have a positive impact on workers' job satisfaction and reduce perception of discrimination. Moreover, we find that the perception of every kind of discrimination have a negative impact on workers' job satisfaction. Our results also suggest that the perception of discrimination has a moderator role in the relation between HRM practices and job satisfaction.

Each essay also explores LGBT+ inclusion best practices and suggests policy implications aimed to improve the inclusiveness of sports environments, workplaces and universities.

Homotransphobia: Determinants, Impact and Policies

This work is inspired by several studies demonstrating the evident and undeniable homotransphobia which affects all our social and institutional environments. Even if, particularly in the last decade, many justice systems have started to regulate this specific discrimination, numerous scholars have continued to find that LGBT+ individuals are discriminated against in every-day life environments.

In light of these considerations, we decided to analyse, in three papers, three different dimensions of crucial importance in terms of the individual development and fulfilment: sport, educational and work environments.

Nevertheless, before getting to the hearth of this thesis, it is appropriate to clarify some aspects about the correct terminology and definitions to use when speaking about gender.

Specifically, the meanings of sexual orientation and gender identity will be examined, to which are connected further lemmas.

Sexual orientation defines the romantic, affective and sentimental attraction that an individual feels towards another individual. An individual's orientation can change over time, or remain the same all lifelong.

A person can be recognised as *homosexual* if attracted to people with the same biological/birth sex, as *heterosexual* if attracted to people with a different biological/birth sex and *bisexual* if attracted to people independently from their biological/birth sex. Traditional labels such as "gay", "lesbian", "bisexual" don't cover all the possible orientations (Ahmed, 2006).

Gender identity answers to the question "Which gender do I feel like? How do I perceive myself?" It is a personal synthesis of prescriptions and socio-cultural influences. Our own gender identity is also dependent in part from other people's perception of us, and from their feedback about it.

In most western cultures, gender identity is assigned at birth, according to biological sex. A person born female will be expected to feel the gender identity of a woman; a person born male will be expected to feel the gender identity of a man. But the perception of the gender identity of an individual can be different from the expectation derived by their biological sex. In this case the person can be defined *transgender* (Currah, 2006). Vice versa, a person whose gender identity matches his/her sex is called *cisgender*.

The term transgender is an umbrella term: *transsexual* people (who experience a detachment between their own biological sex and perceived gender identity and, as a consequence, may begin a process of transition), *gender queer* and *non-binary* people (who do not recognise themselves in the traditional gender dichotomy and have a mixed or a "third" gender identity), *bi-gender* people (who perceive themselves as part of both binary genders), *cross dresser* and *transvestite* (who adopt gender expression and dress code which differ from social norm), *gender fluid* people (who cross different gender identities freely), *gender variant* people (whose gender expression is different from what is normally expected by society) all belong in this category (Russo, Valerio, 2019).

In order to study correctly discriminations towards sexual minorities, it is crucial to keep in mind the fundamental distinction between sexual orientation and gender identity. These two aspects of the individual are not bond to one another: any sexual orientation can correspond to any gender identity and vice versa. Therefore, studies over sexual minorities, which include sexual orientations as well as gender identity, will enlighten a higher level of discriminations.

In this thesis we will also use the acronym *LGBT+*, which identifies: *lesbian* (a woman who feels sexual and/or romantic attraction towards individuals of her same gender), *gay* (a man who feels sexual and/or romantic attraction towards other men), *bisexual* people (see above) and *trans* people (term that will be used as a synonymous of transgender, namely as an umbrella term).

The term “+” is inclusive of all other countless gender and sexual minorities that would make the acronym too long for practical use.

As anticipated, his thesis consists of three essays on topics in sexual minorities’ discrimination and inclusion policies, in three different environments.

Each essay also explores LGBT+ inclusion best practices and suggests policy implications aimed to improve the inclusiveness of sports environments, workplaces and universities.

More specifically, the first essay examines the determinants of homotransphobic perceived discrimination in sport environment, exploring, through the analysis of factors of homotransphobia, the relevance of the Contact Theory (Allport, 1954). The originality of this paper rests upon the opportunity to use original micro data collected during a sports festival (Anti-Racism World Cup 2018 edition) aiming at fighting different types of discrimination in a country, Italy, that shows a relatively high degree of sexual orientation discrimination (FRA, 2013), together with the recent recurrence of ‘anti-gender’ movements limiting the opportunity of awareness raising policies against the discrimination of sexual minorities (Kuhar & Paternotte, 2017). Moreover, this study contributes to the existing literature in the following ways. Firstly, the analysis provides empirical evidence on the effect of Contact Theory on reducing homotransphobia, emphasizing the urgent need for more empirical research on this issue. Secondly, it contributes to the understanding of perception of LGBT+ discrimination. Thirdly, this is the first comprehensive analysis of the Italian popular sport sector that accounts for sexual minorities’ discrimination, an often neglected but crucial issue as sports (in particular non-agonistic sports) should be accessible to everyone.

The survey used has been designed to clarify the issues of sexual orientation and gender identity, successively connecting these variables to the perceived discrimination and to homotransphobic behaviour. To our knowledge, this is the first survey, in Italy, that allows using the sexual orientation and the gender identity of participants in the analysis of the probability to perceive discrimination or to have discriminatory attitudes.

From the empirical analysis we found that, among the determinants of homotransphobic perceived discrimination, there are the homosexual and bisexual orientations and a high level of education of the individual. Moreover, the results of this study reveal that, among the factors related to homotransphobic behaviours and attitudes, there are heterosexual orientation and male biological sex. Our findings are consistent with the research on heteronormative cultural and institutional factors supporting homotransphobia (Ferfolja, 2007; De Palma and Atkinson 2009).

In sport environments, the Contact Theory (Allport, 1954) has often been tested and verified in relation to ethnical prejudice (Chu, Griffey, 1985; Brown *et al.*, 2003; Lyras, Peachey, 2011). The research has seldom focused on intergroup contact between LGBT+ individuals in sports.

These factors contribute as well to the originality of this study in our field: the survey administered has also been designed to keep into consideration whether participants have LGBT+ friends or relatives. With this intention, an *ad-hoc* project (GoALL) devoted to increase the chance of meeting LGBT+ people and to reduce discriminatory behaviours, has been organized in the last Anti-Racism Cup and the 2018 survey allows controlling for participation to this special edition of the festival.

Our outcomes show that contacts with LGBT+ people typically reduce the probability of being homotransphobic and, consequentially, that being involved in anti-sexist programmes aimed to put in contact LGBT+ and non-LGBT+ people reduces prejudice and biased attitudes.

Evidence has also been found of a negative relation between a long history of participation in explicitly anti-racist festivals and the likelihood of enacting discriminatory behaviours.

The second essay is focused on educational environment. Starting with a brief description of the anti-discriminatory policies that have been adopted in tertiary education to contrast homotransphobia, this paper will try to advance by providing an index of LGBT+ inclusion for Universities that has a twofold aim: firstly, to allow tertiary education institutions to assess their

degree of gender inclusiveness with a shortcut assessment of the dimensions in LGBT+ inclusion that needs to be improved for reaching the aim of LGBT+ inclusion in tertiary education; secondly to implement the proposed system to Italian universities that have promptly taken part to the survey thus making us in the condition to be able to show their achievements with the support of LGBT+ or ally students' unions to judge the efficacy of the different practices in place and taking into account other.

In constructing the index we have taken into account also other LGBT+ inclusion indexes: Campus Pride Index and LGBT+ Inclusive Education Index (Avila, 2018; Garvey 2017; Garvey, Tailor, Rankin, 2015). However the LGBT+ inclusive university index that we propose here differs from the others since we base its measurement on fuzzy logic techniques (Zadeh, 1965, 1988) and we consider that it could be applied, with the appropriate modifications, to other kinds of discriminations as well as implemented in other environments. This is another confirmation to the originality of this paper.

Sexual minorities' inclusion's best practices, implemented by Italian universities and identified in this study, will be finally highlighted and promoted with the aim of suggesting and recommending guidelines helpful to fight homo-bi-transphobic discrimination.

Lastly, the third essay explores the workplace dimension, attempting to analyse the impact of some Human Resource Management (HRM) practices, from one hand, on workers' overall job satisfaction and, from the other hand, on perceived discrimination suffered on the ground of different characteristics, in order to verify if their adoption can reduce the negative feelings of those workers who belong to minority groups.

Moreover, we analyse the pivotal role played by the perception of discrimination in the relation between HRM practices and workers' job satisfaction: discriminated workers may be less likely to embrace positively the HRM practices implemented by the organization.

We performed a probit analysis of some variables drawn from the sixth wave of European Working Condition Survey data collected in 2015 (EWCS, 2015).

Our findings suggest that HRM practices we analysed (except for autonomy of the work-group and job-intensity) have a positive impact on workers' job satisfaction and reduce perception of discrimination. Moreover, we found that the perception of every kind of discrimination have a negative impact on discriminated workers' job satisfaction. Our results also suggest that the perception of discrimination has a moderator role in the relation between HRM practices and job satisfaction.

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Sexual orientation and gender identity discrimination. LGBT+ intergroup contact in a non-competitive sport environment.

Tullia Russo, Tindara Addabbo, Barbara Pistoresi

Abstract

The theoretical premise underlying this research consists of several studies that demonstrate the serious impact of homotransphobic discrimination on LGBT+ people. Lesbian, gay, bisexual and trans people are more likely to report discrimination and, consequently, stress-related disorders like depression, emotional distress until self-harm behaviour or suicidal ideation than heterocisgender individuals (Almeida *et al.*, 2009; Di Giacomo *et al.*, 2018).

The aim of this work is double. Firstly, it analyses the determinants of homotransphobic perceived discrimination in popular sport environment and, secondly, it explores, through the analysis of factors of homotransphobia, the relevance of the Contact Theory (Allport, 1954).

The novelty of this paper rests upon the opportunity to use original micro data collected during a sports festival (Anti-Racism World Cup 2018 edition) aiming at fighting different types of discrimination in a country, Italy, that shows a relatively high degree of sexual orientation discrimination (FRA, 2013), together with the recent recurrence of ‘anti-gender’ movements limiting the opportunity of awareness raising policies against the discrimination of sexual minorities (Kuhar & Paternotte, 2017). Moreover, this study contributes to the existing literature in the following ways. Firstly, the analysis provides empirical evidence on the effect of Contact Theory on reducing homotransphobia, emphasizing the urgent need for more empirical research on this issue. Secondly, it contributes to the understanding of perception of LGBT+ discrimination. Thirdly, this is the first comprehensive analysis of the Italian popular sport sector that accounts for sexual minorities’ discrimination, an often neglected but crucial issue as sports (in particular non-agonistic sports) should be accessible to everyone.

The survey used has been designed to clarify the issues of sexual orientation and gender identity, successively connecting these variables to the perceived discrimination and to homotransphobic behaviour. To our knowledge, this is the first survey, in Italy, that allows using the sexual orientation and the gender identity of participants in the analysis of the probability to perceive discrimination or to have discriminatory attitudes.

From the empirical analysis we found that, among the determinants of homotransphobic perceived discrimination, there are the homosexual and bisexual orientations and a high level of education of the individual. This last finding provides evidence that a more educated person is more likely to report perception of discrimination by reason of a greater consciousness of discriminatory actions and behaviours. Moreover, the results of this study reveal that, among the factors related to homotransphobic behaviours and attitudes, there are heterosexual orientation and male biological sex. These last findings are consistent with the research on heteronormative cultural and institutional factors supporting homotransphobia (Ferfolja, 2007; De Palma and Atkinson 2009).

In sport environments, the Contact Theory (Allport, 1954) has often been tested and verified in relation to ethnical prejudice (Chu, Griffey, 1985; Brown *et al.*, 2003; Lyras, Peachey, 2011). The research has seldom focused on intergroup contact between LGBT+ individuals in sports.

These factors contribute as well to the originality of this study in our field: the survey administered has also been designed to keep into consideration whether participants have LGBT+ friends or relatives. With this intention, an *ad-hoc* project (GoALL) devoted to increase the chance of meeting LGBT+ people and to reduce discriminatory behaviours, has been

organized in the last Anti-Racism Cup and the 2018 survey allows controlling for participation to this special edition of the festival.

Our outcomes show that contacts with LGBT+ people typically reduce the probability of being homotransphobic and, consequentially, that being involved in anti-sexist programmes aimed to put in contact LGBT+ and non-LGBT+ people, reduces prejudice and biased attitudes.

Evidence has also been found of a negative relation between a long history of participation in explicitly anti-racist festivals and the likelihood of enacting discriminatory behaviours.

Key words: *LGBT+ discrimination, contact theory, homotransphobia determinants, popular sports environment.*

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Introduction

Several studies underline the serious impact of homotransphobic discrimination on lesbian, gay, bisexual and trans people (LGBT+ people). They are more likely to report discrimination and, consequently, stress-related disorders like depression, emotional distress until self-harm behaviour or suicidal ideation than hetero-cisgender individuals (Almeida et al., 2009; Di Giacomo et al., 2018). This work contributes to this literature investigating sexual orientation and gender identity discrimination in a specific context: the popular sport.

Despite homotransphobia results in decline in sports environments (Anderson, Bullingham, 2015; Anderson, Magrath, Bullingham, 2016), the heterosexual male domination is an element that makes them exclusionary for sexual minorities, unless the teams are openly gay-trans-friendly (Travers, 2006). A recent study conducted on three Italian football teams by Scandurra *et al.* (2017), through semi-structured focus groups and adopting the framework of Anderson's Inclusive Masculinity Theory, confirms that finding. In particular, athletes are found to feel trapped in gendered norms and beliefs which reiterate strict concepts of adequate behaviours and attitudes for male and female players (Metcalf, 2018).

Assuming that the heteronormative culture prevails in many environments (Almeida *et al.*, 2009; Di Giacomo *et al.*, 2018; DePalma and Atkinson, 2009), and that the world of non-agonistic sport is one of them (Krane, 2001, 2014), we analyse the determinants of homotransphobic perceived discrimination in popular sport environment and, we explore, through the analysis of factors of homotransphobia, the relevance of the Contact Theory (Allport, 1954).

In order to offer more elements for a better understanding of homotransphobic discrimination in sports and to suggest effective policies to control and restrict this phenomenon, in 2017 we designed and organized an international anti-sexist project (the GoALL project), which took place in the sportive-cultural festival *Anti-racist World Cup*, organized by UISP (Italian Union Sport for All) since 1997. The principal aim of our project was to put LGBT+ members of football teams in contact with the usual festival participants. The following year, during the Anti-racist World Cup 2018 edition, questionnaires were distributed to all participants concerning their personal involvement in the GoALL project, their experienced discriminations, homotransphobic attitudes, friendship with sexual minorities and other discrimination issues.

Subsequently, we collected data and, through a probit analysis, we evaluated the antisexist project impact and the incidence of personal contact with LGBT+ people on the homotransphobic attitude of participants of the Anti-racist World Cup. Allport's thesis (1954) was confirmed by findings of our study.

This research originally contributes to the existing literature in the following ways. Firstly, the analysis provides empirical evidence on the effect of Contact Theory on reducing homotransphobia, emphasizing the urgent need for more empirical research on this issue and suggesting efficient anti-discriminatory policies. In fact, in sport environments, the Contact Theory (Allport, 1954) has often been tested and verified in relation to ethnical prejudice (Chu, Griffey, 1985; Brown *et al.*, 2003; Lyras, Peachey, 2011) but rarely the research has focused on LGBT+ intergroup contacts.

Secondly, it contributes to the understanding of perception of LGBT+ discrimination in sports environments. Thirdly, this is the first comprehensive analysis of the Italian popular sport sector that accounts for sexual minorities' discrimination, an often neglected but crucial issue as sports (in particular non-agonistic sports) should be accessible to everyone.

Finally, the paper rests upon the opportunity to use a source of micro data collected during a sportive and cultural festival aiming at fighting different types of discrimination in a country showing a relatively high degree of homotransphobic discrimination, if compared to 2013 Fundamental Rights Agency (FRA) findings. In Fact, Italy is in the first place in the FRA ranking of European Countries discriminating people by their gender identity¹.

Sexual orientation and gender identity are never directly questioned in Italian surveys, or they are not made available as a choice (if asked) for investigating upon this form of discrimination. Hence, the survey used in this study allows us to clarify the issue of sexual orientation and gender identity, being then able to link this variable to the perceived discrimination and to homotransphobic attitudes, underlining the crucial relevance of these variables in future research.

The paper is structured as follows. Section 1 highlights the main studies on homotransphobia and its determinants, in order to provide the theoretical background. In Section 2, we discuss the relation between sport and sexuality. In Section 3, the Contact Theory and its potentially positive effects on intergroup acceptance are shown and detailed. Section 4 focuses on a description of Anti-racist World Cup and the GoALL project. In Section 5, we expose our methodology, data analysis and techniques. Moreover, we specify the four Allport's conditions for ideal intergroup contact we met in Anti-racist World Cup Event. Section 6 outlines the findings of our analysis. Section 7 concludes with a discussion of the results and the policy implications.

The variables used in the empirical analysis are presented in the Appendix.

¹ Three-quarters of Italian respondents (75%) revealed that they are not open about their sexual orientation with any immediate superior/head of department (against a European average of 58%) and more than half (51%) of respondents are not open with work colleagues or schoolmates (against a European average of 16%) (FRA, 2013).

1. Homotransphobia, determinants and consequences: a theoretical premise.

In analysing homotransphobic attitudes, an emerging body of research has begun to explore factors increasing the likelihood of discriminatory behaviours.

First of all, a consistent finding is that young males are more likely homotransphobic than females (Horn, 2006; Poteat, Espelage and Koenig, 2009).

Phoenix, Frosh and Pattman, in 2003 led a qualitative analysis of data from an interview-based study of masculinity. They conducted 45 group interviews with groups usually of 4–6 young volunteers (11–14 year old) attending twelve London schools. Thirty of these group interviews were with boys, and nine interviews were with mixed groups of boys and girls. Findings suggested that homotransphobic behaviour generally occurs within male peer groups because of their cultural need to underline their own masculinity in order to avoid being discriminated by others. The male need for conformity within the cultural ideal of masculinity is confirmed by many other studies.

In 2001, Plummer published his research on male homophobic attitudes, realized by interviewing 30 men coming from different countries and education backgrounds, between 1995 and 1997. In order to capture various backgrounds, diverse recruitment methods were used, such as newspaper advertising and public announcements boards. Respondents were selected to guarantee that there was no overlap between their schooling. Interviewees reported that homophobic behaviours contributed to socialisation within their peer group during their youth.

Peer groups are social contexts in which group behavioural rules are established and perpetuated (Eder & Nenga, 2003). These studies suggest that social expectations, cultural gender roles and peer groups could contribute to the dissemination and maintenance of homotransphobic attitudes during growth.

Moreover, Parrot, Adams and Zeichner (2002) underlined the relationship between hypermasculinity, “anti-women aggression” and “anti-gay aggression” in their study conducted by administering a questionnaire battery to Greek heterosexual men (N= 385). They found the coexistence of misogyny and homophobia in hetero-cis males with heightened levels of masculinity because of their fear of feeling threatened by individuals whom they perceived to have feminine characteristics (e.g. women and gay men).

Also, the relationship between homophobia, sexual orientation and gender identity is complex. It is obviously expected that a homosexual or a bisexual person cannot be homophobic (and that a trans person cannot be transphobic) but Meyer and Dean (1998) defined a particular minority stress process called *Internalized Homophobia*, which represents “the gay person’s direction of negative social attitudes toward the self” (Meyer and Dean, 1998, p. 161)². Sometimes, indeed, discrimination experienced by LGB people can lead them to reject their own sexual orientation and to become homophobic.

Another relevant predictor of homotransphobia is the acquaintance of people belonging to sexual minorities. Collier, Bos and Sandfort (2012) investigated how contact with LGBT+ people might affect homotransphobic behaviours in teenagers, in order to verify Allport’s Contact Theory. They analysed data collected in 2008 in Amsterdam, Netherlands. The respondents were 456 Dutch people, aged 12 to 15, who declared being heterosexual. Their multilevel analysis underlined that contact with LGBT+ people was positively correlated to more positive attitudes towards lesbian, gay, bisexual and trans people.

Determinants of homotransphobic attitudes range from biological sex to sexual orientation and gender identity characteristics, to socio-cultural factors. That is why it is extremely important to include these variables into this kind of research.

² A recent extension of *Minority Stress Model* (Meyer, 2003) – the *Psychological Mediation Framework* (Hatzenbuehler, 2009) – has made it possible to evaluate Internalized Transphobia (see Scandurra *et al.*, 2018).

Analysing the consequences of homotransphobia, increasing evidence indicates that LGBT+ people are more likely to report perception of discrimination and consequential emotional distress and mental health issues than cisgender and heterosexual people.

A relevant study, conducted by Conron, Mimiaga and Landers (2010), aggregated data from the 2001-2008 Massachusetts Behavioural Risk Factor Surveillance survey (N= 67.359) to verify correlations between health, sexual orientation and gender identity, using a multivariate logistic regression. The researchers designed one of the first studies able to submit estimates of numerous foremost US health indicators by both sexual orientation and gender identity, showing that, compared with heterosexual and cisgender people, LGBT+ people were more likely to report victimization, more obstacles to health care, seclusion, suicidal thoughts, anxiety, drug assumption, smoking and HIV testing.

Burgess *et al.* (2008) analysed data from a cross-sectional strata-cluster survey of adults in Minnesota, the Survey of the Health of Adults, the Population and the Environment (SHAPE) (Hennepin County Community Health Department and Bloomington Division of Public Health, 2003), in order to conduct telephone interviews to those respondents who reported their sexual orientation (N=7.884). This study revealed that LGBT+ individuals were more likely to report having experienced more discrimination and suffered worse mental health compared to their cisheterosexual counterpart.

Furthermore, not only the consequences of discrimination are really serious, as the aforementioned studies have demonstrated, but also that environments where LGBT+ are not discriminated are very rare.

In 2013, the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA) led the very first EU-wide online survey to establish an exact picture of lesbian, gay, bisexual and trans people's lives (FRA, 2014). The research was conducted on a sample of 93.079 European LGBT+ adults (aged 18 and up), investigating their experiences as individuals belonging to sexual minorities, in various contexts and different countries. It was found that European schools are hostile environments for an upsetting number of LGBT+ students, the overwhelming majority of whom regularly suffers homotransphobic discrimination. Therefore, many LGBT+ students reported a worsened performance, they avoid school activities, feel stressed and threatened, abandon school.

Moreover, it was found that one in five (20%) LGBT+ respondents felt discriminated in work environments or looking for a job, in the 12 months preceding the survey, because of their sexual orientation and/or their gender identity. Their openness about being LGBT+ at work resulted in more negative comments, attitudes or unequal treatment than those who hide being LGBT+.

One in five (19 %) LGBT+ respondents who played a sport in the year before the research reported feeling discriminated against because of their sexual orientation or gender identity. The percentages are higher among transgender people and gay men than lesbians and bisexuals.

LGBT+ people are also seriously discriminated in accessing various goods and services available to the public, particularly in accessing health services.

Distinguishing between sexual orientation and gender identity and in line with other studies, FRA research also shows that trans people are more discriminated than lesbian, gay and bisexual people.

2. Sport, sexuality and diversity

The process of building one's own identity, especially during adolescence, is full of relationships where the individual seeks approval and consent. These relationships do not exist only in the scholastic and family panorama: non-formal education contexts have an important role in youth development and they are a real need, particularly for teenagers (Valerio, Claysset, Valerio, 2017). Many environments significantly influence young people and foster their growth. Among them, there are sport environments (Tramma, 2015).

Moreover, researchers commonly indicate that sport practice can be used to encourage positive growth and teach core values. More precisely, sport practice is linked with many universal markers of development such as identity construction, self-knowledge, inventiveness, sociability, creativity, empathy, teamwork ability (Hansen, Larson, Dworkin, 2003).

For the purpose of this paper, it is crucial to underline that sport, sexuality and diversity are strictly connected to each other because of sport practice focusing on body and being based on binary (male and female) biological categories (Talbot, *et al.*, 2016; Harper, *et al.*, 2018; Messner, 2011; Caudwell, 2007). Trans and intersex people challenge the social constructs of masculinity and femininity that regulate access to sports, as well as women which play "masculine" sports. The debate on gender/sex verification tests and on the regulation of hyperandrogenism in female athletes is open and heated.

The body is the main focus in sports contexts: it is trained, shown, observed and judged. Therefore, sport can represent an environment in which people are urged to expose it. That's why many people drop out of it, considering also the high level of discrimination and stereotypes about femininity and masculinity that often inhibit a free identity development (Goffman, 2003). Nevertheless, in a sports context that is free from social stigma (as non-competitive and popular sporting events may be), bodies can be an effective instrument of emancipation and liberation, and might enforce the educational function of sports practices. This is the reason why we decided to focus on popular sport: a context without rules or arbitrators, theoretically more gender-inclusive than competitive sports, which should be the testing ground for the development and the growth of different athletes, without any kind of discrimination. We also decided to focus on popular sport because of the lack of literature if compared to the large number of studies on gender issues in competitive sports.

Focusing on sport environments' inclusion, a further important point consists in awareness and knowledge about gender and sexual issues. A research conducted in 2017 on a sample of 181 Italian Motor Science university students, compared to 169 students attending Psychology, Medicine, and Sociology, underscored the way sexual orientation and gender identity are experienced by athletes depending on their level of knowledge about sexual and gender diversity. Amodeo *et al.* (2017) found that Motor Science students had higher levels of homophobic and transphobic attitudes than their counterpart, because the latter were more informed about LGBT+ issues and had more contacts with homosexual, bisexual and transgender individuals. Starting from these assumptions, in this study we analyse the effects of LGBT+ intergroup contacts on the homotransphobic attitudes of participants of a non-competitive sport event: the *Anti-Racist World Cup*.

3. The Contact Theory

An emerging body of research has begun to explore the impact of LGBT+ intergroup contacts on prejudice towards outgroups in sport environments, particularly in non-traditional sport practices increasingly used as a vehicle for integration and social changes. The “sport-for-development” field has expanded recently with thousands of projects aimed to social inclusion, socialization, intercultural exchanges, psycho-physical wellbeing (Lyras, 2010; Kidd, 2013; Houlihan, White, 2003). The *Anti-racist World Cup* (the event we chose to examine) is one of these.

The Contact Theory (Allport, 1954) suggests that intergroup contact could decrease prejudice toward outgroups. Research has largely supported this finding in terms of decreasing homotransphobia. In their study on bystanders’ intervention in peer-familiarity context concerning LGBT+ discrimination, Dessel, Goodman and Woodford (2017) showed, through a multi regression analysis, that heterosexual U.S. students (N= 1.616) were more likely to intervene when they had LGBT+ friends. Another relevant study, conducted by Walch *et al.* (2012), compared the impact of exposure to a trans speaker panel versus a conventional lecture on transphobia, by using a randomized crossover design. Findings showed a further decrease of transphobia while listening to trans lecturers than to traditional ones.

In sport environments, the contact hypothesis has often been tested and verified in relation to ethnical integration but very rarely research has focused on LGBT+ intergroup contacts in sport.

Chu and Griffey (1985) analysed the attitudes of secondary school students and student athletes of New York City (N=1.082) finding that long term changes in prejudice occurred as a result of membership of interracial sports teams.

By examining the structure of policies protecting LGBT+ athletes among a convenience sample of heterosexual students involved in intercollegiate sports (N = 290), Atteberry-Ash, Woodford and Center (2018) realized one of few studies on LGBT+ intergroup contacts effects in the sports environment, demonstrating, through a multivariate analysis, that knowing an LGBT+ athlete can reduce probability of homotransphobic attitudes in sport environments.

Despite the positive effects of intergroup contact, it can moderate bias only when groups are afforded the chance to engage in contact through meeting and confronting in a “safe place” where a sincere mutual understanding is concretely possible (Turner *et al.*, 1987; Turner, Brown, 2008).

In fact, several factors can make LGBT+ intergroup contacts complicated. For instance, prejudice can discourage members of sexual minorities from revealing that they are LGBT+; hiding one’s sexual orientation can therefore reduce the occurrence of contact; moreover, psychological factors and institutional obstacles can reduce the anti-discriminatory effects of intergroup contacts (Hoffarth, Hodson, 2019). That is why a “safe place” is crucial in order to reduce bias and discriminatory attitudes: outside of a secure environment, where institutions operate to encourage the meeting and the cooperation between groups formed by different people, fear of being discriminated (and others psychological factors) reduce the likelihood of openness and positive contact.

Allport (1954) argued that positive effects of intergroup contact can occur when four key conditions define the situation: intergroup cooperation, equal group status within the context, common aims and authority support.

INTERGROUP COOPERATION

There is significant evidence that intergroup cooperation reduces prejudice between groups (Slavin, 1985; Sherif, 1966; Brewer and Miller, 1996; Jonson *et al.*,1984).

Gaertner *et al.* (1999) examined two fundamental elements of intergroup cooperation: the interaction between group members and the sharing of a common fate, finding that when both of these occur, negative behaviours between intergroup are less likely to happen.

EQUAL STATUS

This is a vague and inconsistently defined concept and it has been adopted in different ways (Cagle 1973; Riordan 1978). The meta-analytic review conducted by Tropp and Pettigrew (2006) finds that the relationship between contact and prejudice would be stronger among members of majority status groups than among members of minority status groups. Anyway, research considers crucial that groups assume and recognize equal status (that could mean similar academic backgrounds, social status or experiences) in the context in order to reduce prejudice (Riordan & Ruggiero 1980; Tropp, Pettigrew, 2005; Seidl, Friend, 2002).

COMMON GOALS

Bias reduction through intergroup contact requires a common aim (Pettigrew *et al.*, 2011; Gaertner *et al.*, 2000). On this regard Allport asserted:

“Only the type of contact that leads people to do things together is likely to result in changed attitudes. The principle is clearly illustrated in the multi-ethnic athletic team. Here the goal is all important; the ethnic composition of the team is irrelevant. It is the cooperative striving for the goal that engenders solidarity” (Allport, 1954, p.264).

SUPPORT OF AUTHORITY (OR CUSTOMS)

With institutional support or explicit social punishments, intergroup contact obtains faster, more positive effects (Pettigrew, 1998; Pettigrew, Tropp, 2006). Several studies have underscored support of authority or customs relevance in different contexts, such as prisons, religious orders, work environments (Landis *et al* 1984; Morrison and Herlihy 1992; Parker 1968).

Some researchers add “Friendship Potential” as a fifth condition (Pettigrew, Tropp, 2006), suggesting that the possibility of a lasting friendship can sustain the positive effects of intergroup contacts.

The most relevant peculiarity of our study, which distinguishes it from the others, concerns the context in which the research was conducted: the Anti-Racist World Cup is a sports environment where all Allport’s conditions (including the fifth) are fulfilled. If the quality of the contact, not just the quantity, is crucial in reducing intergroup bias, as Eller and Abrams suggested in 2003, the findings of this study can be further supported by numerous projects born from the collaboration of different groups who met during the festival, which underline long-term relationships³.

³ One of these projects is the *Dimondi Tournament*: an Italian itinerant football non-competitive tournament that every year involves, since 2015, at least fifteen extremely different teams with the aim of strengthening relationships, building a network, fighting discriminations and reducing prejudices.

4. Sport for Development: the Anti-Racist World Cup UISP Festival

As shown in Section 1, there is evidence of the existence of sexual orientation and gender identity discrimination in sports environments. In this third section we introduce the *Anti-racist World Cup* (www.mondialiantirazzisti.org), a sporting cultural festival that was born with the precise aim of contrasting all sorts of discrimination.

It was organized for the first time in 1997, within the Ultras Project, by UISP Emilia Romagna, a national association that works for the inclusion of all kinds of people in sports environments. Emilia Romagna is a Northern Region of Italy, characterized by an administration which is particularly aware of social policies and is a member of the National Network of Public Administration against Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity Discrimination (*RE.A.DY Network*).

In 1997, 8 teams took part in the first edition, organized in a small town in Emilia Romagna. Eighty people from four different countries kick-started what, some years later, would have become one of the biggest festivals in Europe to promote inclusion thanks to non-competitive sport.

The intent of this festival is to offer five days of cooperation and coexistence, through the practice of different sports and activities, in order for participants to get to know each other better and try to overcome inequalities and social stereotypes.

In 2019, at its 22nd edition, the Anti-racist World Cup continues pursuing the transformation of society through the dissemination of good practices carried out during the festival.

One of the most important and innovative practice is the possibility for players to re-write the rules in order to create a more inclusive game. This way, a healthy competition is possible among teams that might be very unbalanced because of their football skills, age and gender. For instance, the Marseilles team introduced in the 2016 edition the “dice rule”: it consisted in giving the choice to the losing team, before the end of the match, to roll a dice on which new rules were written, in order to rebalance the match.

In 2017, at its 20th edition, the Anti-racist World Cup featured 174 teams from all over the world and more than one thousand children from summer schools took part to the event. It gathered about 7.000 people of any age, sex, sexual orientation, gender identity, gender expression, religion, cultural background.

About trans people, it is reasonable to think that the binary language adopted for communication and the organization based on gender binarism for bathrooms and changing rooms didn't encourage their participation. Despite the aims of the festival, there was a feeling of not having achieved the aim of reducing sexual orientation discrimination.

With this in mind, and in line with the *Intergroup Contact Theory* (Allport, 1954), in 2017 we developed an anti-sexist project that focused on LGBT+ people and female participation and on actions aiming to foster the meeting between hetero-cisgender players and LGBT+ athletes: the GoALL project.

4.1 GoALL: a project to assess LGBT+ intergroup contact in a sport environment

The mixed tournament represented an important opportunity of inclusion for female, trans and non-binary players, and, at the same time, was a chance for hetero-cisgender people that had never met any LGBT+ person, to enter in contact with them in order to reduce their own prejudice.

As a matter of fact, GoALL project's first activity was to find international LGBT+ groups involved in the fight against homotransphobia and sexism, in order to invite them at the 2017 Anti-racist World Cup football tournament. A call was issued from an *ad-hoc* section of the Anti-racist World Cup website, for which applications from fourteen teams have been received.

Thanks to private and public funding and to the patronage of Municipality of Bologna and UISP Emilia Romagna, it was possible to pay travel, board and accommodation costs for ten teams out of fourteen, each one composed by five to twelve players. The groups were:

- Amateur women's football club NRG, from Ukraine;
- Atletik Diloda, from Turkey;
- Sportif Lezbon, from Turkey;
- Femslam, from Serbia;
- Rede ex Aequo, from Portugal;
- AKS ZLY, from Poland;
- Chrzaszczyki, from Poland;
- Klub Sportowy KONTRA FIERO, from Poland;
- Arc en Ciel, from France;
- Champions Kicken Ohne Grenze, from Germany.

Teams were selected according to the variety of the sexual orientations and gender identities of their members and according to their anti-sexist activities.

GoALL teams were put in different tournament rounds, so that all the Anti-racist World Cup teams could meet at least one of them on the pitch. It is important to underline that an Anti-racist World Cup match is not a traditional sporting match: it consists in a real and deep meeting, where people know each other and spend precious time together, thanks to the collaboration of a field judge (that is not a traditional referee, because they are the first commissioner transmitting the festival values to the participants).

During the festival there was also a panel about homotransphobia in competitive and professional sports and, in order to encourage participation, two more points were assigned in the tournament standings to the teams which got involved in the panel. In line with Walch *et al.* (2012) findings, the panel was conducted by LGBT+ athletes, in order to benefit from the positive effects stated in the contact theory, and three interpreters were involved with an internship contract in order to facilitate communication between the participants.

Moreover, all the teams were invited to create an anti-sexist banner to be shown in the "antiracism square", a resting area where people spent several hours a day. Even in that case, to aid the imagination of all participants, three more points were assigned in the standings to collaborative teams.

A pamphlet about overcoming gender stereotypes, with a gender glossary included, was distributed for free in 3.000 copies, in different languages.

Also, all-gender bathrooms and changing rooms were set up to guarantee the well-being and safety of all participants. Finally, attention was also given to the night-side of the festival, by involving LGBT+ deejays and by showcasing antisexist messages from the main stage.

Every single GoALL activity intended to create a contact point between hetero-cisgender and LGBT+ people, in a space free from heteronormative and patriarchal binarism.

In 2018, during the 21st Anti-racist World Cup edition, participants were administered a self-reported questionnaire, requiring approximately twenty minutes to complete. It was available in three languages (English, Italian and French) and it was distributed at an info point, by volunteers. The survey was announced, by email, to all teams a week before the festival. Moreover, notices about the survey were posted on social networks, and paper flyers were distributed during the festival.

Everybody was suitable to fill out the survey, and data collection occurred between 4th and 8th of July 2018.

The data set collected has been used to detect determinants of perceived sexual orientation discrimination and homophobic behaviour. This is the first survey in Italy, to our knowledge, that allows to search for participants sexual orientation in the analysis of the probability to perceive discrimination or to having a discriminatory behaviour.

5. Detecting determinants of sexual orientation and gender identity discrimination

5.1 Aims of the analysis

The aim of this work is double. Firstly, it examines the impact of active participation to the GoALL project, of more than ten editions of the Anti-racist World Cup festival attended, and the consequences of contact with LGBT+ people on homotransphobic attitudes and behaviours. Secondly, it focuses on the factors that affect the perception of discrimination among the participants at the Anti-racist World Cup, according to their sexual orientation, in their work and educational environments.

The first research question stems from the fact that individuals coming into contact with outgroup members can gain information and experience emotive development in order to overcome stereotypes and biases and empathize with others. Focusing on LGBT+ contact theory, Allport (1954) specified four conditions for ideal intergroup contact, which have already been described in Section 2.

At the Anti-racist World Cup festival we can consider all these conditions met. In fact:

- Intergroup cooperation

The teams can surely be considered as different groups. Intergroup cooperation is an intrinsic factor of tournament participation because, in most cases, teams are composed by less people than the minimum necessary for playing. In a natural way, as a form of unwritten norm, different members of different teams, as well as festival volunteers, play together.

Players (and volunteers) often play the role of field judges, maintaining the intergroup cooperation constant.

- Equal status

Even though “equal status” is not easy to define and has been interpreted in different ways, most of the researches support Allport’s thesis (Pettigrew, 1998, p. 66).

At the Anti-racist World Cup, groups can be considered having an equal status because of the festival structure and atmosphere: people take part willingly; festival and tournament access is free; all players sleep in tents and receive the same services; people stay there as a sort of vacation; the atmosphere is convivial and welcoming. Equal status is also guaranteed by the participants anti-racist attitude: only 3% of them reports completely or quite agreeing with the statement “the immigration growth increases terrorism and crimes”, compared with 52% of the national average (ISTAT, 2012).

- **Common aims**

The fight against racism is the main, common aim of Anti-racist World Cup (as the name itself indicates).

Typically, a quarter of the teams is composed by refugees and at least ten countries are represented into the tournament every year. Living and playing together for five days require an aim-oriented effort for everyone.

Moreover, most groups work on anti-racism during the year as well: the majority of them are not real football teams but groups connected to associations, NGO and social cooperatives working with migrants (Robinson, Preston, 1976; Lyras, Peachey, 2011; Miracle, 1981; Chu, Griffey, 1985; Birrell, 1989).

Anti-sexism is equally pursued but there is a lack of presence of LGBT+ teams.

- **Authority support**

This condition aims at stimulating contact, in line with theories asserting that, thanks to a clear social approval, intergroup contact is more accepted and has more positive effects (Pettigrew, 1998, p. 66). At the Anti-racist World Cup, intergroup contacts are clearly and strongly supported and encouraged by the mixed tournament, by the common live-spaces and by the activities provided for different kinds of people. Furthermore, this event is organized in a Region that is particularly inclusive for LGBT+ people: Emilia Romagna is one of the four Regions of Italy (out of 20 Regions) that has adopted an anti-homotransphobic discrimination Law (Regional Law n. 15/2019).

Finally, several institutions sponsor and patronize the Anti-racist World Cup, including the City of Bologna Council, the National Office Against Racial Discrimination of the Ministry for Equal Opportunities (UNAR), Football Against Racism in Europe (FARE Network), Mediterranean Saving Humans, ActionAid, Bosco Albergati Foundation⁴.

In light of these considerations, it is possible to foresee that people participating to the GoALL project and with a LGBT+ friend or relative will be less homotransphobic than others. On the basis of the same information, a lower probability of discrimination is expected for people participating at more than ten editions because of the experience repetition, even in the absence of an impactful anti-sexist project or without a LGBT+ friend or relative.

The second research question is outlined by the literature on the presence of sexual orientation discrimination at work, and in education or sporting environments summarized in Section 1.

⁴ Research continues to suggest new facilitating conditions for optimal contact: common language, prosperous economy, voluntary contact (Wagner, Machleit, 1986), sufficiently positive intergroup opinions (Ben-Ari, Amir, 1986). As Pettigrew states (1998, p. 69), too many factors would exclude most intergroup situations and most of them may not be essential but relate to the underlying mediating process. It is important to keep in mind not to confuse facilitating with essential conditions. In this study, for instance, the high level of Regional inclusion (due to Regional Law against homotransphobia, to the membership to RE.A.DY Network, to the presence of the national headquarter of the biggest LGBT+ national association, Arcigay) facilitates intergroup contacts in Anti-Racist World Cup but it is not an essential factor.

Here we add to the literature the possibility to control for each participant's sexual orientation that was not yet possible, to our knowledge, in other Italian surveys on the topic.

Furthermore, in order to test the "Integration Paradox" (Buijs, Demant, Hamdy, 2006; Entzinger, Dourleijn, 2008; Verkuyuten, 2016), people declaring to have a higher level of education are expected to report more perceived discrimination. The latter has been related in the literature to more educated people being more likely to know their rights and feel comfortable reporting to have perceived discrimination, than those with a lower level of education (Sizemore, Milner, 2004; Cardarelli *et al.*, 2007; Verkuyuten, 2016). All the cited studies regarded the integration paradox concerning the phenomenon of the economically more integrated and highly educated immigrants, which, contrary to what one could expect, declare to perceive more discrimination than immigrants with a low socio-economic standing. In this research we transpose this theory to LGBT+ people, finding that it is also valid for our study population.

5.2 Methods

This section shows the main questionnaire items used in the empirical analysis to estimate the probability of discrimination experienced as LGBT+ people or the homotransphobic discrimination presented in the next section. The full questionnaire is available in the appendix (see Appendix 1).

The survey was a shorter and slightly amended version of the ISTAT questionnaire used in the 2011 study on discrimination by gender, sexual orientation and ethnic origins⁵ with the important inclusion of questions revealing the individual's sexual orientation, biological sex, gender identity as well as a set of questions on individual participation to other editions of the Anti-racist World Cup.

Information was sought about discrimination experiences related to sexual orientation and gender identity in workplaces and in educational environments. Participants were asked:

- (1) Have you ever been discriminated because of your sexual orientation or your gender identity at work?
- (2) Have you ever been discriminated because of your sexual orientation or your gender identity in your educational environment?

These items were answered "yes" or "no" and define the dependent dichotomic variable of the models estimated in order to measure the probability of perceived discrimination in the workplace and at school (see Table 1 in Section 5).

A set of questions, similar to the ones included in the ISTAT questionnaire on discrimination, have been then asked in order to detect the degree of homotransphobic behaviour in the participants.

Participants were asked:
Do you agree with these statements?

⁵ The ISTAT 2011 survey is available at this link: <https://www.istat.it/it/files//2011/06/Questionario.pdf>

- (1) LGBT+ people are dangerous for the traditional family.
- (2) It is fair that a homosexual couple could adopt a baby or decided to have one via assisted reproduction.
- (3) It is fair that a homosexual couple had a baby with the help of a surrogate mother.
- (4) It is fair that a household didn't rent an apartment to a LGBT+ person.
- (5) It is fair that an employee didn't hire a LGBT+ person.
- (6) People's rights should be the same regardless of biological sex, gender identity, gender expression, sexual orientation.
- (7) Trans people should not compete in competitive or/and agonistic tournaments.
- (8) It is annoying to know that in the changing room/showers there is a homosexual or a trans person.
- (9) It is fair to change sport rules (even in professional sports) in order to make them more equal and more inclusive for sexual minorities.

Compared to the ISTAT survey, questions number (3), (7), (8) and (9) have been added in our questionnaire in order to grasp the dimension of homotransphobia in sports. Moreover, question number (3) has been added because of the surrogate mother issue relevance.

These items were answered on a four point scale ranging from 1="Not at all" to 4="Completely", and highlighted the respondent's tendency of discriminating by gender identity and/or sexual orientation. The aggregation of such indicators provided the summary *Homotransphobic Index (HI*, from now on) of this study. More specifically, at $HI=0$ a person is not considered discriminant, when their responses are totally positive (with the maximum score); at $HI=1$ a person is considered discriminant, even when only one response is not completely positive.

HI will be the dependent dichotomic variable of the models estimating the probability that a participant with specific characteristics (including sexual orientation, GoALL project participation, LGBT+ contacts, gender and ethnicity discrimination) will be homotransphobic (Bliss, 1934).

It was also asked information about their opinion on immigrants and women. Specifically, on the immigration topic, they were asked:

Do you agree with these statements?

- (1) *Ius sanguinis* is better than *ius soli*.
- (2) Immigrants steal jobs from citizens.
- (3) Immigration growth increases terrorism and crimes.
- (4) Citizens should be preferred over immigrants in social housing and kindergarten access, on equal terms.

About women they were asked:

Do you agree with these statements?

- (1) Men have to provide to the economic needs of the family.
- (2) It is not natural that a woman is a man's supervisor at work.
- (3) Women's wages should be equal to men's, when they perform the same role.
- (4) Women managers and public officers should be higher in number than they are today.
- (5) In a family, the woman is the one that should take care of children.
- (6) Female and male should not compete on the same pitch.
- (7) Some sports are for women (dance, synchronized swimming etc.) while others for men (football, rugby, etc.).

These items were answered on a four point scale ranging from 1=“Not at all” to 4=“Completely”, exactly as before, and highlighted the respondent’s tendency of discriminating by ethnic origins and by gender.

The aggregation of such indicators provided the summary *Gender Discrimination Index (GDI*, from now on) and the summary *Ethnicity Discrimination Index (EDI*, from now on). In details, with $GDI=0$ & $EDI=0$ a person is not deemed discriminant, when their responses are entirely positive (with the highest score); with $GDI=1$ & $EDI=1$ a person is considered discriminant, even if only one response is not positive (see Table 2 in Section 5).

Furthermore, information was sought about LGBT+ contacts and about participation to the 2017 Anti-racist World Cup edition and the GoALL project, as well as about the number of years of Anti-racist World Cup attended (see Table 3 and Table 4 in Appendix 2).

5.3 Model

Given the dichotomous characteristic of the dependent variables we have used a limited dependent variables model by estimating a probit model, using the 2018 Anti-racist World Cup participant final sample (see Table 10 in Appendix 2):

$$Y^* = X\beta + \varepsilon, \quad \varepsilon \sim N(0, \sigma^2) \text{ Normal} = \text{Probit}$$

Where y_i the observed variable is equal to 0 when the latent variable Y^* (*HI* and *perception of homotransphobic discrimination*) is ≤ 0 and it is equal to 1 when the latent variable is >0 .

The *HI* variable (Y) is a dichotomic variable assuming the value of 1 if the individual declared to discriminate LGBT+ people (as explained in Section 4.2).

The sexual minorities’ discrimination perception variable (Y) is a dichotomous variable taking the value of 1 if the respondent declared to have been discriminated because of their sexual orientation and/or gender identity.

It is assumed that the models take the form of:

$$\Pr (Y = 1|X) = \Phi (X'\beta)$$

where Φ is the cumulative distribution function of the standard normal distribution and β is estimated by using maximum probability.

The independent variables (X) are demographic, occupational and sexual orientation, as well as variables describing the participants’ LGBT+ contact and the number of editions of the festival they attended.

The complete list of variables used in empirical analysis, their meaning and their labels can be found in Appendix 3.

5.4 Sample and descriptive statistics

The sample consisted of 389 people aged between 17 and 62 (*average age is 32.4; SD=10.77*). More than half (61.4%) came from Northern Italy, in line with our expectations as it is the region

where the Anti-racist World Cup is held -- specifically, in Modena. Just over one-tenth of participants came from Central Italy (11.8%) and less than one-tenth from Southern Italy (8.5%). The rest (18.2%) came from foreign European and non European countries (see Table 5 in Appendix 2).

Regarding biological sex (or sex assigned at birth⁶), one third of the sample was female and only 1% reported to be intersex⁷. The rest declared to have a male biological sex (69%). The high percentage of male presence is due to the festival's sporting tournaments: in Italy, football is still a male-dominated sport (as confirmed by ISTAT, 2017) and, even if different sporting competitions are organized by the festival (volley, rugby, touch-ball, and others), the football one is the most attended with over 75% of the participating teams.

Regarding sexual orientation, about one fifth of the sample (14%) identified as gay or lesbian, while one-tenth (10%) as bisexual. The others declared to be heterosexual (76%) (see Table 6 in Appendix 2).

Among females, 3% reported to have a masculine gender expression and a homosexual orientation, while 11% declared to have a mixed (man and woman) gender identity associated to heterosexuality (46%), homosexuality (46%) and bisexuality (8%). We have included the item mixed identity consistently with the Queer Theory (Sullivan, 2003; Spargo, 1999; Bernini, 2017; Wilchins, 2004; Prearo, 2012).

Females with cisgender identity represent the majority (82%). The same can't be said about female heterosexuality: less than half declared to be heterosexual (49%) while about one-third reported a homosexual orientation (27%) and the rest was bisexual (24%).

Finally, 2% of individuals assigned female at birth declared to be trans male, while one reported being trans man-woman (see Table 6 in Appendix 2).

Among males, only one of them declared to have a feminine gender expression and a homosexual orientation while 2% reported to have a mixed gender identity associated to heterosexuality (40%), homosexuality (40%) and bisexuality (20%). As well as females, males with a cisgender identity were the majority (96%) but, contrary to females, more than two thirds of men (88%) were heterosexual. Only 8 males reported a bisexual orientation (3%) and less than one-tenth declared to be homosexual (9%). It stands to reason that this difference is due to the sporting context: in Anti-racism World Cup, as highlighted previously, football tournament is the core-event and it is mainly played by males. In addition to this, football still is dominated by a heteropatriarcal culture that inhibits bisexual and homosexual men to play soccer or to reveal their sexual orientation, as demonstrated by several studies (Scandurra *et al.*, 2019; Caudwell, 2007, 2011; Cleland, 2014).

Finally, 1% of people assigned male at birth declared to be trans and homosexual, while one reported being trans man-woman with a bisexual orientation⁸ (see Table 6 in Appendix 2).

This range of individuals, based on combinations of biological sex, gender identity and sexual orientation, must make researchers and politicians understand that this variety simply and naturally exists and needs to be considered, in research and in the development of policies⁹.

⁶ In Italy, intersex people are not legally recognised as a third gender, unlike in other countries where people with sex characteristics that do not fit the traditional definitions for male and female bodies can choose "X" as their sex on identity documents.

⁷ The percentage of intersex people at the Anti-racist World Cup is in line with statistics reported by the Intersex Society of North America and by the Intersexesiste Association. URL (consulted 7 July 2019):

<http://www.isna.org/faq/frequency#fn2>

<http://www.intersexesiste.com/cose-lintersessualita/>

Further readings in medical literature on estimates of the frequency of sex variations, see: Blackless M., *et al.* (2000).

⁸ See previous note.

⁹ ISTAT (2012) findings revealed that 6.7% of Italian population declared to be homosexual, bisexual, or to have had a same-sex relationship or sexual attraction. More than one-seventh of respondents, anyway, did not answer to that question and that's why this result can be considered underestimated.

Regarding education, there is no evidence of relevant differences between female and male levels of education, while homosexual and bisexual people reported, on average, a higher education¹⁰ than heterosexuals¹¹ (see Table 7 in Appendix 2).

Concerning the participants marital status, it is important to highlight the relevant different percentage of (civil) married heterosexual people (56%) and of (civil) married homosexual people (12%), even if the group average ages were almost identical: 32.48 for heterosexuals and 32.40 for homosexuals. This can be related to the recent recognition in Italy of same-sex civil unions, as reminded in the Introduction to this paper, far from equality with regards to heterosexual unions and not contemplating marriage or stepchild adoption¹² (see Table 8 in Appendix 2).

About laboral status, more than half of heterosexual males reported to be employed (68%) while less than one third were students (25%). Considering heterosexual females, students were exactly one-third (33%) while more than half reported to be employed (58%).

Homosexual students were more numerous, both male (49%) and female (53%), while male homosexual employed were less than half (48%) and female homosexual employed were even less (37%).

It is reasonable to assume that this finding is due to the festival's proximity to the university town of Bologna, where around 80,000 students live, the LGBT+ movement is deeply rooted and queer activism has achieved important milestones that allow people to declare their sexual orientation without fear and to freely express their gender identity.

About unemployment, both heterosexuals and homosexuals reported similar percentages, ranging from 3% (female homosexuals) to 4% (male homosexuals) (see Table 9 in Appendix 2). These percentages are in line with the North of Italy (more than half of participant's region of origin) 2018 employment rates measured by ISTAT (Male: 74% and Female: 61%)¹³.

In order to get a more homogeneous sample, people coming from non-EU countries (N= 11), intersex people (N= 4) and housewives (N= 6) have been excluded from the final sample.

The final sample contained 368 participants (see Table 10 in Appendix 2). It is important to underline the non-random selection of this sample: every respondent decided to participate in a self-declared antiracist festival but it is not an explicitly anti-sexist event¹⁴. There is no literature showing a high correlation between homotransphobic and anti-racist attitudes and our analysis confirms this finding (see Table 2 in Section 5): that is why we did not expect a biased estimation or an underestimation of homotransphobic discrimination.

¹⁰ It should be stressed that people with lower level of education may have more difficulties in declaring their real sexual orientation.

¹¹ Three educational levels had been considered: a "low level" including pre-primary and primary school diploma, a "medium level" embracing lower and upper secondary school diploma, and a "high level" including bachelor's degree, master's degree and PhD.

¹² This gap is due to unequal civil and social rights and to an alarming rise in homotransphobic discrimination. In Italy, same-sex civil unions were recognised on 5th June 2016. Anyway, a civil union can't be legally compared to a heterosexual marriage, especially regarding the stepchild adoption, which is forbidden for homosexuals. Moreover, Italians are still hostile towards homosexuals. In 2019, a study conducted by Eurispes has shown that only 51% of Italians accepted the legalization of homosexual couples (Eurispes, 2019) and violence and abuses against homosexuals are rapidly increasing (Arcigay, 2019).

Between 2016 and 31st December 2018, a total of 10.877 civil marriages were recorded (2.433 in 2016, 6.073 in 2017 and 2.371 in 2018) while, only in 2015, 194.337 heterosexual marriages were celebrated (ISTAT, 2016).

¹³ URL: http://dati.istat.it/Index.aspx?DataSetCode=DCCV_TAXOCCU1#

¹⁴ Comparing our sample to the ISTAT dataset (2012), the anti-racist nature of the environment we analysed is immediately evident: 38% of our respondents agree with racist statements vs. 90% of Northern Italy ISTAT respondents to the same questions. However, comparing homotransphobic attitudes, the finding is different: 67% of the Antiracist World Cup participants are found to be discriminant vs. 92% of Northern Italians. This result highlights the implicit nature of the anti-sexist aim of the Anti-Racist World Cup.

This study has to be considered as based on the “theoretical generalization” notion (Hammersley, 1992, p. 186 *et seq.*). As Mason wrote (1996, p. 94), the theoretical sampling aims to construct a sample that is theoretically significant because it is based on certain characteristics, or criteria, that help theory developing or controlling. These assertions have been supported by many researchers which, in time, used a different language to express the same concept: “analytical generalization” (Yin, 1994), “moderate generalization” (Williams, 2002), “extrapolation” (Alasuutari, 1995) and others.

Finally, our sample is considered suitable for the verification of the intergroup contact theory, as clarified in paragraph 4.1.

6. Results

Perceived homotransphobic discrimination

The heterogenous composition of our sample allows us to examine which set of features is most likely related to perceived discrimination. To test the probability of perceiving discrimination because of sexual orientation, variables like *Age*, *Education Level*, *Marriage Status*, *Employment Status* and *Geographic Origins (South)* have been included together with sexual orientation variables (*Lesbian*, *Gay*, *Male Bisexual*, *Female Bisexual* and *Female Heterosexual*) sorted by biological sex in the two sets of models (Table 1).

These models concern perceived discrimination experienced in two different environments: workplace (Models A1-A5) and school/university (Models B1-B5). Robust standard errors are applied.

Workplace

We examined perception of discrimination in work environment because 61% of our sample declared to be employed and because of the relevance of work in people’s life and psycho-physical wellbeing (Gavin, Mason, 2004).

As visible in Table 1, the explained variance of models (Models A1-A5) ranges from 11% to 56%: this strong R^2 increasing is due to the inclusion of sexual orientation variables.

These variables are crucial in our analysis’ findings and that’s why this study contributes to the literature declaring the fundamental importance of outlining sexual orientations in national surveys and in this field of research.

Exploring our models, it can be found that demographic and employment variables, like *Employed*, *Unemployed* and *South*, are scarcely significant. Moreover, perception of sexual discrimination decreases with increasing *Age* ($p\text{-value} < 0.10$ in Models A1-A2) even if its marginal effect is approximately close to zero in each model and it is not robust across specifications (Models A3-A5).

Observing biological sex, we note that *Female* increases the perception of discrimination probability by 13% (Models A1-A2) and that this effect is highly significant ($p\text{value} < 0.01$). As expected, the introduction of sexual orientation variables (Models A3-A5) makes the female biological sex not more determinant in perceiving discrimination. *Female Heterosexual*

completely loses its significance ($pvalue > 0.10$), also because heterosexual orientation is socially and culturally regarded as the norm and, consequently, it is not discriminated.

Deepening sexual orientation sorted by biological sex variables effects, we found that being *Gay* increases the perception of being discriminated in workplace by 84% and the effect is highly significant ($p-value < 0.01$ in Models A3-A6). Being *Lesbian*, *Bisexual male* and *Bisexual female* increases, in turn, the probability of perceiving discrimination, respectively, by 80%, 66% and 40%, compared to heterosexual males ($p-value < 0.01$ in Models A3-A6). Therefore, in the workplace, homosexual males (*Gay*) have the highest likelihood of perceiving homotransphobic discrimination, consistently with FRA findings (2013).

Finally, detecting education, we found that the higher the level of education was, the higher the probability of perceiving discrimination (4-5%) and the effect is always significant ($pvalue < 0.01$ in Models A1, A2, A4, A5 and $pvalue < 0.10$ in Models A3, A6). People reporting to have a high level of education are expected to declare more perceived discrimination because of the highest likelihood that they know their rights and that they feel comfortable declaring to have perceived discrimination. This finding confirms the Integration Paradox Theory described in Section 5.1 (Buijs, Demant, Hamdy, 2006; Entzinger, Dourleijn, 2008; Verkuyuten, 2016; Sizemore, Milner, 2004; Cardarelli *et al.*, 2007; Verkuyuten, 2016).

School and university

These sets of models have been introduced to examine educational environments, because homotransphobic discrimination affects almost the totality of LGBT+ youths (Bontempo, D'Augelli, 2002; D'Augelli, Pilkington, Hershberger, 2002; Birkett, Espelage, Koeing, 2009). In fact, non-heterosexual and non-cisgender people suffer, from an early age, micro-aggression (the so-called "invisible violence", i.e. humiliations, biased remarks, exclusionary behaviours), verbal abuses and, even though with lower incidence, physical and sexual harassment in schools and universities (Bennet, Fineran, 1998; FRA, 2013).

We asked the Anti-Racist World Cup participants to answer "yes" or "not" to the following question: "Have you ever been discriminated against based on your sexual orientation and/or gender identity at school and/or at university?"

We considered that the answers of older participants could be relative to remote events and, consequently, to unclear perceptions, so in our models we consider the possibility of an underestimation in the perception of discrimination.

Exploring all models (B1-B5), the explained variance ranges from 16% to 67%. Even in that case, as well as in models workplace related, introducing sexual orientation variables is crucial in variance increasing. Socio-demographic variables like *High Education*, *Employed*, *Unemployed*, *South* and *Married* are scarcely significant.

Examining models B1 and B2, which do not take into account sexual orientation variables, we note that the perception of sexual discrimination results negatively and significantly related to the *Age* variable ($pvalue < 0.10$ in Model B1 and < 0.01 in Model B2). Anyway, this variable is not robust across specifications.

Observing these two models, we found that being *Female* increases the perception of discrimination probability by 25% and that its effect is highly significant ($p-value < 0.01$ in Models B1 and B2).

Models B3-B5 have been realized accounting *Bisexual males*, *Bisexual females*, *Gay*, *Lesbian* and *Heterosexual females* variables, mining *Female* variable, exactly as A3-A5 models.

We found that being *Lesbian* increases the probability of discrimination perception by 93% (Model B3) and the effect is highly significant ($pvalue < 0.01$ in Models B3-B5).

Being *Gay*, *Bisexual female* and *Bisexual male* increase significantly ($pvalue < 0.01$ in Models B3-B5) this probability, respectively, by 91%, 71% and 62%, compared to heterosexual males (Model B3).

Finally we highlight that, as well as in workplace, *Female Heterosexual* completely loses its significance ($pvalue > 0.10$) by introducing sexual orientation variables.

Comparing the two model sets, we highlight the great increasing of the explained variance due to sexual orientation variables inclusion in both environments, reaffirming their relevance in this field of analysis. In this regard we found that the female biological sex is a relevant variable in perception of discrimination only when sexual orientation variables are not included.

Finally, we found the relevance of high education but only in workplace where the higher the level of education the higher the probability of perceiving discrimination, consistently with the Integration Paradox Theory.

Table 1. Probit models on perceived homotransphobic discrimination, in school/university and in the workplace. Marginal effects, 2018.

Dependent Variables: Homotransphobia perceived in workplace; Homotransphobia perceived in school and university.

VARIABLES	WORKPLACE					SCHOOL / UNIVERSITY				
	Model A1	Model A2	Model A3	Model A4	Model A5	Model B1	Model B2	Model B3	Model B4	Model B5
Age	-0.00424*	-0.00317*	0.00164			-0.00562*	-0.00753***	0.00015		
High Education	-0.00246	-0.00171	-0.00109			-0.00308	-0.00218	-0.00185		
Employed	0.104***	0.116***	0.0428*	0.0550***	0.0540***	0.048	0.054	-0.012		
Unemployed	-0.032	-0.0327	-0.022	-0.018	-0.0175	-0.041	-0.0412	-0.037		
South	0.0682					-0.00952				
Married	-0.0424					-0.0564				
Female	0.0242					-0.0393				
Lesbian	-0.0939					-0.0694				
Gay	-0.0415					-0.0507				
Male Bisex	-0.0463					-0.0585				
Female Bisex	-0.0422					-0.0589				
Female Heterosex	-0.0361					-0.046				
Female	0.133***	0.126***				0.245***	0.251***			
Lesbian	-0.0436	-0.0427	0.801***	0.723***	0.732***	-0.0507	-0.0507	0.933***	0.925***	0.931***
Gay			-0.0762	-0.0796	-0.085			-0.0332	-0.0341	-0.0335
Male Bisex			0.845***	0.768***	0.777***			0.916***	0.906***	0.913***
Female Bisex			-0.0778	-0.0889	-0.0926			-0.0428	-0.0439	-0.0429
Female Heterosex			0.663***	0.601***	0.613***			0.672***	0.631***	0.653***
Female Heterosex			-0.194	-0.185	-0.186			-0.177	-0.174	-0.174
Female Heterosex			0.405***	0.320***	0.332***			0.727***	0.699***	0.718***
Female Heterosex			-0.131	-0.103	-0.109			-0.0946	-0.0882	-0.0914
Female Heterosex			0.0185		0.0106			0.0406		0.0363
Female Heterosex			-0.0399		-0.0381			-0.0667		-0.0688
Observations	362	362	362	364	364	362	362	362	364	364
R2	0.1241	0.1085	0.5576	0.5449	0.5452	0.1651	0.159	0.6681	0.6673	0.6683

Robust standard errors in parentheses

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

Source: our elaboration of the 2018 Anti-racist World Cup sample.

Homotransphobic Discrimination

The probabilities of having homotransphobic attitudes, conditioning to different characteristics of the Anti-racist World Cup participants, are presented in Table 2.

These probabilities are estimated on the whole sample (Model B1-B4) and on the sub-sample of heterosexual people because they were found to be more likely homotransphobic than homosexuals and bisexuals ($pvalue < 0.10$ in Models C3-C4). Robust standard errors are applied. Considering all the specifications, the explained variance ranges from 32% to 42%. The increasing in R^2 is due to the inclusion of sexual orientation variables and of variables describing the participants' LGBT+ contact and their number of editions of the festival they attended (Models C3-C4, D3-D4).

First of all, analysing demographic and employment variables (*Age, Married, Employed, Unemployed, South*), these result scarcely significant in each model.

A specific variable plays a significant role in reducing homotransphobic discrimination: the *High education* variable. Observing the sub-sample of heterosexuals, we found that having a Master's or a PhD degree significantly decreases the discrimination probability between 8% and 11% ($pvalue < 0.05$ in Models D2-D3 and $pvalue < 0.10$ in D1 and D4). This finding is consistent with the literature: high education has reliable positive effects on consciousness of discrimination against minorities (Woodtke, 2014) and has a helpful influence on inter-group attitudes (Hyman and Wright 1979; Hyman, Wright, Reed, 1975).

Analysing misogynist and sexist attitudes, we found that people who discriminate women have a higher probability of discriminating LGBT+ people as well (probability ranges from 25% to 50%) while females are less likely to have homotransphobic attitudes than males (probability ranges from -17% to -33%). *Gender Discrimination* and *Female* biological sex marginal effects result highly significant ($pvalue < 0.01$) and they are robust across all the specifications (Models C1-C4).

These findings are supported by the results of several studies on the relationship between machismo, misogyny and homotransphobia in different environments including sports (Muir, Seitz, 2004; Anderson, McGuire, 2010; Fair, 2011), education (Francis, Skelton, 2001; Dalley-Trim, 2007), prisons (Gear, 2007; Kupers, 2010), work (Denissen, Saguy, 2014; Stenger, Roulet, 2010), as well as by the American Psychological Association (APA) guideline on the ideal of traditional masculinity and its consequences on men and boys, which highlights that "the male privilege often comes with a cost in the form of adherence to sexist ideologies designed to maintain male power" (APA, 2019, p. 9).

These findings are also consistent with the literature on the relation between hypermasculinity, "anti-women aggression" and "anti-gay aggression" (Parrot, Adams and Zeichner, 2002) and on masculinity (Horn, 2006; Poteat, Espelage and Koenig, 2009; Phoenix, Frosh, Pattman, 2003; Plummer, 2001) outlined in Section 1.

Investigating on the relation between *Ethnicity discrimination* and homotransphobic attitudes, our results suggest that participants who discriminate foreign people have a higher probability (10-11%) of discriminate LGBT+ people as well ($pvalue < 0.05$ in Models C2 and D2; $pvalue < 0.10$ in Models C1, D1). However, this outcome is not robust across different models: the inclusion of sexual orientation variables and of variables describing the participants contact with LGBT+ people and their varying years of attending the festival drastically reduce the statistical significance of the *Ethnicity discrimination* variable.

Observing models C3-C4 and D3-D4, it is immediately clear that participating in the 2017 Anti-racist World Cup (*Presence to 2017 edition*), the number of years attending the Anti-racist World Cup (*Over 10 editions*) and having LGBT+ friends or relatives (*LGBT+ Contact*), decrease the probability of homotransphobic discrimination.

More specifically, having taken part in Anti-racist World Cup for over ten times decreases the homotransphobic discrimination probability by 34% for the entire sample ($pvalue < 0.01$ in Models C3-C4), and between 26-27% for heterosexuals ($pvalue < 0.05$ in Models D3-D4).

Having attended the 2017 Anti-racist World Cup Edition (the one with the GoALL project) significantly reduces the likelihood of discrimination by 17-18% for the whole sample ($pvalue < 0.01$ in Model C3-C4) and by 9-10% for heterosexual respondents ($pvalue < 0.05$ in Models D3-D4).

Finally, having LGBT+ friends or relatives reduces homotransphobic behaviours, decreasing the likelihood of being discriminant by 24% ($pvalue < 0.01$ in Models C3-C4) and, for heterosexuals, by 15% ($pvalue < 0.01$ in Models D3-D4).

All these findings are consistent with the literature on Intergroup Contact Theory, outlined in Section 1 (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew, 1998, 2011; Pettigrew, Tropp, 2006; Chu, Griffey, 1985; Hoffarth, Hoddson, 2019; Slavin, 1985; Walch, 2012; Dessel, Goodman and Woodford, 2017; Atteberry-Ash, Woodford and Center, 2018). This means that, analysing our sample, we found a statistically significant link between having contact with LGBT+ people (or participating to events aimed at putting in contact LGBT+ and non-LGBT+ people, in accordance with Allport's conditions) and a lower likelihood of having homotransphobic behaviours.

About this issue, it is crucial to underline that 63% of participants declared that they had participated to the 2017 edition and, amongst them, only 8.2% reported not having any LGBT+ friends or relatives, while amongst the participants who did not attend the previous edition (37%), 48.2% reported not having any LGBT+ contacts (see Table 14 in Appendix 4).

Additionally, 100% of the 2017 edition participants reporting to have not had any contact with LGBT+ people, have participated to the Anti-racist world cup between 2 to 5 times. Therefore, taking into account the subsample of the 2017 edition participants reporting to have had contact with LGBT+ people and declaring to have participated to the festival between 2 to 5 times, we note a similar finding: they are more numerous than their counterpart, even if in a smaller percentage (see Table 15 in Appendix 4).

These results highlight the GoALL project success in achieving its core aim: to put in contact LGBT+ with non-LGBT+ people at the Anti-Racist World Cup.

Finally, comparing the optimal models in terms of explained variance (C4 and D4), we found that LGBT+ contact effects (*Presence 2017 edition*, *Over 10 editions*, *LGBT+ contact*) on heterosexual people are less effective in reducing homotransphobic discrimination than on the whole sample.

Table 2. Homotransphobic discrimination. Probit estimate. 2018

Dependent Variable: HI (Homotransphobic Index)

Homotransphobic Discrimination								
VARIABLES	Probit Estimation on the whole sample				Probit Estimation on heterosexual people			
	Model C1	Model C2	Model C3	Model C4	Model D1	Model D2	Model D3	Model D4
Gender discrimination	0.509*** (0.0569)	0.516*** (0.0556)	0.324*** (0.0719)	0.317*** (0.0721)	0.443*** (0.0788)	0.449*** (0.0782)	0.262*** (0.0853)	0.253*** (0.0860)
Ethnicity discrimination	0.105* (0.0577)	0.110** (0.0545)	0.0783 (0.0532)	.0795 (0.0550)	0.0988* (0.0515)	0.101** (0.0492)	0.0489 (0.0424)	0.0512 (0.0448)
Age	0.000944 (0.00378)			0.00125 (0.00377)	0.000223 (0.00315)			0.00148 (0.00278)
High Education	-0.0275 (0.0620)			0.00570 (0.0579)	-0.102* (0.0527)	-0.113** (0.0473)	-0.0815** (0.0408)	-0.0761* (0.0440)
Married	-0.0168 (0.0789)			-0.0297 (0.0741)	-0.0150 (0.0660)			-0.0148 (0.0535)
Employed	-0.0458 (0.0882)			-0.0207 (0.0801)	-0.0616 (0.0788)			-0.0347 (0.0620)
Unemployed	-0.00134 (0.112)			-0.180 (0.137)	-0.113 (0.134)			-0.247* (0.145)
South	0.0478 (0.0985)			0.00891 (0.0943)	0.0157 (0.0870)			0.00165 (0.0763)
Female	-0.332*** (0.0673)	-0.328*** (0.0634)	-0.252*** (0.0669)	-0.256*** (0.0686)	-0.229*** (0.0858)	-0.216*** (0.0821)	-0.174** (0.0723)	-0.174** (0.0762)
Heterosexual			0.143* (0.0733)	0.142* (0.0745)				
Presence 2017 edition (GoALL)			-0.173*** (0.0543)	-0.186*** (0.0567)			-0.0909** (0.0461)	-0.102** (0.0480)
Over 10 editions			-0.336*** (0.125)	-0.344*** (0.124)			-0.260** (0.132)	-0.272** (0.136)
LGBT contact			-0.237*** (0.0556)	-0.242*** (0.0543)			-0.150*** (0.0434)	-0.153*** (0.0436)
Observations	362	364	364	362	276	278	278	276
R2	0.3342	0.3335	0.4171	0.4189	0.3260	0.3223	0.3986	0.4058

Robust standard errors in parentheses

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

Source: our elaboration of the 2018 Anti-racist World Cup sample.

6. Discussion and policy implications

Our findings shed important light on long-standing debates in the contact literature concerning the crucial question of whether contact reduce prejudice and the role that Allport's conditions play in developing and promoting positive intergroup outcomes. One of the main results of our study, also in terms of policies implications, is that contacts with LGBT+ people typically reduce the probability of being homotransphobic and that being involved in anti-sexist projects, aimed to put in contact LGBT+ with non-LGBT+ people under certain specific conditions (see Sections 2 and 4.1), reduces prejudice and biased attitudes.

In terms of efficient allocation of resources, the highly positive effect of taking part to a single specific programme with a clear anti-sexist content should suggest to invest more resources in

creating single projects explicitly aimed to develop interconnection between LGBT+ and non-LGBT+ people, following the Contact Theory assumptions, in order to decrease homotransphobia. To avoid participation limited to people already sensitive to a specific issue, it's equally important to develop these projects in wider contexts that bring together different people with a common aim, that could not necessarily be (and it would be better if it was not) the goal of the specific project organised.

In sport environments, the Contact Theory (Allport, 1954) has often been tested and verified in relation to ethnical prejudice (Chu, Griffey, 1985; Brown *et al.*, 2003; Lyras, Peachey, 2011). More rarely research has focused on LGBT+ intergroup contacts in sports. That is also why this study contributes with originality to the literature in this field: the survey administered has also been designed in order to know if participants have LGBT+ friends or relatives. With this intention, an *ad-hoc* project (GoALL), devoted to increase the chance of meeting LGBT+ people and to reduce discriminatory behaviour, has been organized in the Anti-Racism World Cup previous edition and the 2018 survey allows controlling for participation to this special edition of the festival.

From the empirical analysis we also found that, homosexual and bisexual individuals are more likely to experience perception of discrimination than heterosexual people. This result emphasizes the finding that the heteronormative culture that prevails in most environments (Ferfolja, 2007; Shilt and Westbrook, 2009). Additionally, respondents with a high level of education are more likely to report perception of discrimination, consistent with the Integration Paradox Theory, described in Section 5.1.

Moreover, this study reveals that among the factors related to homotransphobic behaviours and attitudes there are heterosexual orientation and male biological sex. Our findings are consistent with research on the heteronormative cultural and institutional factors supporting homotransphobia (Ferfolja, 2007; De Palma and Atkinson 2009) and our analysis results clearly improved by introducing respondents' sexual orientation variables.

For this reason, we strongly suggest the introduction, in national surveys items, of questions regarding this variable (as well as gender identity variables in order to also include transgender people in future researches), because of the lack of population-based surveys that include questions on sexual orientation, gender identity, and high-quality demographic, health, social, political, or economic variables (Waite, Denier, 2019).

The main challenges that should be tackled with these data include an issue related to data quality in view of better understanding the perception of discrimination and the determinants of homotransphobic discrimination, of implementing a second edition of the GoALL project, as well as issues related to a better representation of trans and intersex people and of regional data (our sample was not so heterogeneous in this matter).

While some of these issues can be addressed by expanding or improving the survey, others need to be addressed at an operational level.

Consequently, recommended actions are stated not only regarding the future development of studies on the consequence of LGBT+ intergroup contacts in sporting (or other) environments, but also with regard to the future development of an anti-sexist project aimed to put in contact LGBT+ people with non-LGBT+ people, following the Contact Theory assumptions and our findings.

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APPENDIX

Appendix 1.

Questionnaire (English version)

Questionnaire for Anti-racist World Cup's participants.

Dear participants,

The aim of this survey, promoted by University of Modena and Reggio Emilia and UISP, is to ask you some questions about discriminations. In the next pages you will find a list of definitions that may help you in better understanding the questions. If you don't need it, go directly to the questionnaire on PART ONE.

GLOSSARY

Sexism is prejudice or discrimination based on a person's sex or gender. Sexism can affect either gender, but it is particularly documented as affecting women and girls. It has been linked to stereotypes and gender roles, and may include the belief that one sex or gender is intrinsically superior to another. Extreme sexism may foster sexual harassment, rape, and other forms of sexual abuse.

Biological Sex refers to the biological characteristics of a person. An individual is male or female according to his chromosomes and primary/secondary sexual features. Traditionally, an individual's biological sex can be either male or female. Besides those two categories, however, there exists a third one, despite its lack of legal recognition in most countries: we are speaking of intersexuality, whose definition will follow later on in this booklet.

Gender expression is a set of behavioural and aesthetic choices, linked to an individual's sex and/or gender. Society dictates expectations of how gender identity (see below) should be expressed. These, in turn, produce gender roles, which are subsequently imposed on every individual. Behaviours, attitudes, fields of knowledge, grooming and dressing habits, are classified as "male" or "female" in societies, but this arrangement can vary according to different cultures. Some people don't feel that social expectations regarding gender expression suit their own experience, and they prefer to express themselves in ways that are deemed non-conventional. Let's consider a "tomboy" or a "sissy": these words show how society expresses disagreement with a gender expression which doesn't conform to the norm.

Gender identity answers to the question "which gender do I feel like? How do I perceive myself? It is a personal synthesis of prescriptions and socio-cultural influences. Our own gender identity is also dependent in part of other people's perception of us, and on their feedback regarding it. In most cultures, gender identity is assigned at birth, according to biological sex. A person born female will be expected to feel the gender identity of a woman; a person born male will be expected to feel the gender identity of a man. But an individual's perception of their

gender identity can be different from the expectation derived by their biological sex. In this case the person is trans* (see below). A person whose gender identity matches their sex is called “cisgender”.

Sexual orientation expresses the prevalent direction of sexual and/or romantic attraction of an individual. It is not embedded in any physical or genetic feature. An individual’s orientation can change with time, or remain the same all lifelong. Traditional labels such as “gay”, “bisexual”, “heterosexual” don’t cover all the possible orientations. Limiting the expression of one’s own sexual orientation can be psychologically harmful.

LGBT+QI

Acrostic for:

Lesbian A woman who feels sexual and/or romantic attraction towards individuals of her same gender

Gay A man who feels sexual and/or romantic attraction towards other men

Bisexual An individual attracted to both the same and the opposite gender

Trans An umbrella term which refers to an individual’s gender identity. It is used for all those who don’t feel that their biological sex matches their perceived gender identity.

Queer Historically used as a derogatory term to point at homosexual people, the word queer was subsequently took back by the LGBT+QI movement and used to indicate every facet of sexual orientation and gender identity. “Queer” expresses either an orientation or an identity which goes beyond categories and beyond the binary system of gender classification.

Intersex The adjective “intersexual” is used to describe those people whose chromosomes, primary sexual traits (genitals and gonads) and secondary sexual traits (breasts, beard, hair, voice) can’t be labelled as either strictly masculine or feminine. Intersexual people are born with sexual characteristics which don’t fit exclusively neither the masculine nor the feminine bodily standard. Usually this condition doesn’t compromise general health. Despite this, people who show intersexual features are often forced to undergo medical procedures because of the social implications of their appearance. Estimates show that this condition regards 0.05 and 1.7% of the world’s population: it means that about 30.000.000 people are born with intersex traits, a number similar to those who are born with red hair. Some countries, such as Germany and Australia, recognize intersexuality as a third sex.

Homosexual A person who experiences sexual and/or romantic attraction towards the same gender.

Transsexual A person who experiences a detachment between his/her own biological sex and perceived gender identity. As a consequence he/she begins a process of transition, which can entail hormone replacement therapy, sex confirmation surgery and legal change of name and gender mark. Remember to use feminine pronouns for people who transition from male to female (MtF), and masculine pronouns for those who transition from female to male (FtM)

Jus soli (Latin: right of the soil) is the right of anyone born in the territory of a state to nationality or citizenship.

Jus sanguinis (Latin: right of blood) is a principle of nationality law by which citizenship is not determined by place of birth but by having one or both parents who are citizens of the state.

Surrogate motherhood is an agreement (commercial or altruistic) in which a woman (the surrogate mother) bears and gives birth to a child for another person(s) who then adopts or takes legal custody of the baby. Also called mothering by proxy, surrogate mothering can be accomplished in a number of ways.

PART ONE

Q1 – Biological sex

Male Female Intersexual Other (specify: _____)

Q1.2 – Sexual Orientation

Heterosexual Homosexual Bisexual Other (Specify _____)

Q1.3 – Gender Identity

Man Woman Trans Other (Specify _____)

Q2. Age _____

Q3. Residence

Emilia Romagna

Other Italian city (specify: _____)

EU (specify: _____)

_____)

Extra EU (specify:

Q4. Born in

Italy

Abroad (specify: _____)

Q5. Citizenship

Italian

Other (specify: _____)

Stateless

Q6. You have been living in Italy for

Less than 6 months

More than 6 months but less than a year

More than a year but less than 5

More than 5 years but less than 10

More than 10 years

Q7. Qualification

- No one
- Primary school certificate
- Secondary school certificate
- High school (2/3 years) certificate
- High school (5 years) certificate
- Bachelor's degree
- Master's degree
- Master's program
- Doctorate degree

Q8. Marital Status

- In couple
- Single
- Married or Living common law
- Separated
- Divorced
- Widowed

Q9. Professional status

- Employed
- Out of work
- Looking for first work
- Homemaker
- Student
- Unable to work
- Retired
- Other

Q10.1 Have you ever been discriminated because of your sexual orientation or your gender identity?

- | | | |
|----------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| In workplace | SI <input type="checkbox"/> | NO <input type="checkbox"/> |
| In educational environment | SI <input type="checkbox"/> | NO <input type="checkbox"/> |
| In sports | SI <input type="checkbox"/> | NO <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Domestic environment | SI <input type="checkbox"/> | NO <input type="checkbox"/> |

Q10.2 Have you ever been discriminated because of your biological sex?

- | | | |
|----------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| In workplace | SI <input type="checkbox"/> | NO <input type="checkbox"/> |
| In educational environment | SI <input type="checkbox"/> | NO <input type="checkbox"/> |
| In sports | SI <input type="checkbox"/> | NO <input type="checkbox"/> |

Domestic environment SI NO

Q10.3 Have you ever been discriminated because of your ethnicity?

In workplace SI NO

In educational environment SI NO

In sports SI NO

Domestic environment SI NO

Q11. You are at Anti-racist World Cup as

Player Volunteer Organiser Other (specify: _____)

PART TWO

GENDER

G1 – Men have to provide to the economic needs of the family. Do you agree?

Not at all Little Sufficiently Completely

G2 – It is not natural that a woman is a man’s supervisor at work. Do you agree?

Not at all Little Sufficiently Completely

G3 – Women’s wages should be equal to men’s one, when they perform the same role. Do you agree?

Not at all Little Sufficiently Completely

G4 – Women managers and public officers should be more than they are today. Do you agree?

Not at all Little Sufficiently Completely

G5 – In a family, the woman is the one that should take care of children. Do you agree?

Not at all Little Sufficiently Completely

IMMIGRATION

I1 – I prefer that Italy continue to apply JUS SANGUINIS, instead of JUS SOLI. Do you agree?

Not at all Little Sufficiently Completely

I2 – Immigrants take jobs from citizens. Do you agree?

Not at all Little Sufficiently Completely

I3 – The immigration growth increases terrorism and crimes. Do you agree?

Not at all Little Sufficiently Completely

I4 – Citizens should be preferred over immigrants in social housing and kindergarten access, on equal terms. Do you agree?

Not at all Little Sufficiently Completely

LGBT+

LGBT+0 – Do you know LGBT+ people?

YES NO

LGBT+1 – LGBT+ people are dangerous for the traditional family. Do you agree?

Not at all Little Sufficiently Completely

LGBT+2.1 – It is fair that a homosexual couple could adopt a baby or decide to have one via assisted reproduction. Do you agree?

Not at all Little Sufficiently Completely

LGBT+2.2 - It is fair that a homosexual couple have a baby by the help of a surrogate mother. Do you agree?

Not at all Little Sufficiently Completely

LGBT+3.1 – It is fair that a household doesn't rent an apartment to a LGBT+ person. Do you agree?

Not at all Little Sufficiently Completely

LGBT+3.2 - It is fair that an employee doesn't hire a LGBT+ person. Do you agree?

Not at all Little Sufficiently Completely

LGBT+4 – People's rights should be the same regardless of biological sex, gender identity, gender expression, sexual orientation. Do you agree?

Not at all Little Sufficiently Completely

SPORT AND GENDER

GS1 – Female and male should not compete on the same pitch. Do you agree?

Not at all Little Sufficiently Completely

GS2 – Trans* should not compete in competitive or/and agonistic tournaments. Do you agree?

Not at all Little Sufficiently Completely

GS3 – Some sports are for women (dance, synchronized swimming etc.) others for men (football, rugby, etc.). Do you agree?

Not at all Little Sufficiently Completely

GS4 – It is annoying to know that in the changing room/showers there is an homosexual or a trans person. Do you agree?

Not at all Little Sufficiently Completely

GS5 – It is fair to change sportive rules (even in professional sports) in order to make them more equal and more inclusive for sexual minorities. Do you agree?

Not at all Little Sufficiently Completely

DISABILITY

D1 – A disabled worker needs a higher support in carrying out his/her working functions, than a non-disabled worker. Do you agree?

Not at all Little Sufficiently Completely

D2 – An employee doesn't hire a disabled worker, even if he/she has the requested titles, and prefers a non-disabled worker. Do you agree?

Not at all Little Sufficiently Completely

D3 – It is a mistake to invest public funds in order to encourage disabled people accessing sport. Do you agree?

Not at all Little Sufficiently Completely

D4 – Paralympic games are less compelling than Olympic Games because of an obvious physical inferiority of disabled athletes. Do you agree?

Not at all Little Sufficiently Completely

D5 – Removing architectural obstacles from places where disabled people are not able to access is not a priority today. Do you agree?

Not at all Little Sufficiently Completely

D6 – Disabled people should not have children. Do you agree? Not at all Little Sufficiently Completely

GENDER AND LGBT+ AT ANTI-RACIST WORLD CUP

MA1 – How many times did you take part to Anti-racist World Cup?

It is the first time

More than 1 but less than 5 times

From 5 to 10 times

More than 10 times

MA1.2 – Participation to 2017 Anti-racist World Cup Edition

Yes No

(If yes, go to the next question - MA1.3 - ; if no, go directly to MA2 question)

MA1.3 – GoALL project was helpful to overcome stereotypes about sexual minorities. Do you agree?

Not at all Little Sufficiently Completely

MA2 – Mixed competition at Anti-racist World Cup (without sex and gender distinction) ruins the game and reduces the level. Do you agree?

Not at all Little Sufficiently Completely

MA3 - All-gender showers and changing rooms, in addition to male and female once, would contribute in fighting sexism and making Anti-racist World Cup more welcoming. Do you agree? Not at all Little Sufficiently Completely

MA4 – Sexism doesn't exist at Anti-racist World Cup. Do you agree?

Not at all Little Sufficiently Completely

MA5 – Coexisting and sharing the pitch are not enough for antisexism education. Do you agree?

Not at all Little Sufficiently Completely

Appendix 2.

Table 1. LGBT+ contact, sorted by biological sex and gender identity. Values expressed in percentage. 2018.

LGBT+ contact	Sexual orientation and biological sex*					
	Heterosexual		Bisexual		Homosexual	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
YES	63.44	90.74	100	100	100	100
NO	36.56	9.26	0	0	0	0
	100	100	100	100	100	100

*this table does not include 4 intersex people, 11 non-EU participants and 6 homemakers.

Source: our elaboration of 2018 Anti-racist World Cup's sample.

Table 2. Number of years of Anti-racist World Cup's participation and 2017 edition presence, sorted by biological sex and gender identity. Values expressed in percentage. 2018.

Number of years of participation	Sexual orientation and biological sex*					
	Heterosexual		Bisexual		Homosexual	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
2017 Edition	53.30	74.07	50	76.92	77.27	90.32
First participation	34.80	14.81	0	11.54	13.64	3.23
More than ten	7.93	9.26	0	3.85	4.55	12.90

*this table does not include 4 intersex people, 11 non-EU participants and 6 homemakers.

Source: our elaboration of 2018 Anti-racist World Cup's sample.

Table 3. Residence, sorted by sexual orientation and biological sex. 2018.

Residence	Sexual orientation and biological sex						
	Heterosexual		Bisexual		Homosexual		
	M	F	M	F	M	F	
North Italy	136	35	7	15	18	24	235
Centre Italy	31	9	0	4	1	2	47
South Italy and Islands	25	4	1	1	0	1	32
EU Countries (without Italy)	37	8	0	8	3	4	60
Non-EU Countries	8	1	0	0	1	1	11
	237	57	8	28	23	32	385*

*this table does not include 4 intersex people.

Source: our elaboration of 2018 Anti-racist World Cup's sample.

Table 4. Biological sex or birth-sex assigned and gender identity, sorted by sexual orientation. 2018

Biological Sex/birth-sex assigned	Gender identity	Sexual orientation			
		Heterosexual	Bisexual	Homosexual	
Male	Man	234	6	18	258
Male	Woman	0	0	1	1
Male	Man and woman	2	1	2	5
Male	-	1	0	0	1
Male	Trans	0	0	2	2
Male	Trans man woman	0	1	0	1
Female	Man	0	0	4	4
Female	Woman	50	25	21	96
Female	Man and woman	6	1	6	13
Female	Trans man and woman	0	0	1	1
Female	Trans man	1	2	0	3
Intersex	Man	1	0	0	1
Intersex	Woman	1	2	0	3
		296	38	55	389

Source: our elaboration of 2018 Anti-racist World Cup's sample.

Table 5. Level of education, sorted by sexual orientation and biological sex. Values expressed in percentage. 2018

Level of education	Sexual orientation and biological sex*					
	Heterosexual		Bisexual		Homosexual	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
Low	0.85	3.51	0	0	0	0
Medium	44.68	24.56	0	25	31.82	29.03
High	54.47	71.93	100	75	68.18	70.97
	100	100	100	100	100	100

*this table does not include 4 intersex people.

Source: our elaboration of 2018 Anti-racist World Cup's sample.

Table 6. Marital status, sorted by sexual orientation and biological sex. Values expressed in percentage. 2018.

Marital status	Sexual orientation and biological sex*					
	Heterosexual		Bisexual		Homosexual	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
Single	39.15	38.60	50	42.86	78.26	43.75
Engaged	23.40	33.33	25	32.14	21.74	43.75
Divorced or legally separated	5.11	3.51	0	0	0	0
Married or living common law	31.91	24.56	25	25	0	12.5
Widowed	0.43	0	0	0	0	0
	100	100	100	100	100	100

*this table does not include 4 intersex people.

Source: our elaboration of 2018 Anti-racist World Cup's sample.

Table 7. Activity status, sorted by sexual orientation and biological sex. Value expressed in percentage. 2018.

Activity status	Sexual orientation and biological sex*					
	Heterosexual		Bisexual		Homosexual	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
Student	24.89	33.33	0	57.14	47.83	53.13
First time job-seeker	2.11	1.75	0	0	0	6.25
Employed	67.93	57.89	75	35.71	47.83	37.50
Homemaker	0.84	3.51	0	7.14	0	0
Unemployed	4.22	3.51	25	0	4.35	3.13
	100	100	100	100	100	100

*this table does not include 4 intersex people.

Source: our elaboration of 2018 Anti-racist World Cup's sample.

Table 8. Final sample. Respondent's biological sex and gender identity, sorted by sexual orientation. 2018.

Biological Sex/birth-sex assigned	Gender identity	Sexual orientation			
		Heterosexual	Bisexual	Homosexual	
Male	Man	224	6	17	247
Male	Woman	0	0	1	1
Male	Man and woman	2	1	2	5
Male	-	1	0	0	1
Male	Trans	0	0	2	2
Male	Trans man woman	0	1	0	1
Female	Man	0	0	4	4
Female	Woman	47	23	20	90
Female	Man and woman	6	1	6	13
Female	Trans man and woman	0	0	1	1
Female	Trans man	1	2	0	3
		281	34	53	368*

*this table does not include 4 intersex people, 11 non-EU participants and 6 homemakers.

Source: our elaboration of 2018 Anti-racist World Cup's sample.

Appendix 3

List of variables (and their meaning) used in this study's models.

Table 11. Probit “A” and “B” Models variables

Variables	Type and Meaning
Gender Discrimination	Dichotomous Variable = 1if respondent discriminate by gender
Ethnicity Discrimination	Dichotomous Variable = 1if respondent discriminate by ethnicity or immigrants
Age	Continuous Variable
High Education	Dichotomous Variable = 1if respondent has Bachelor's, Master's, or Doctorate degrees
Married	Dichotomous Variable = 1if respondent is married or in a civil marriage.
Employed	Dichotomous Variable = 1if respondent is employed
Unemployed	Dichotomous Variable = 1if respondent is unemployed or is looking for his/her first job
South	Dichotomous Variable = 1if respondent coming from South Italy
Female	Dichotomous Variable = 1if respondent biological sex is female
Heterosexual	Dichotomous Variable = 1if respondent has an heterosexual orientation
Presence 2017 Edition	Dichotomous Variable = 1if respondent were present in previous edition
Over ten editions	Dichotomous Variable = 1if respondent participates to Anti-racist World Cup for more than ten edition (even not consecutively)
LGBT+ contacts	Dichotomous Variable = 1if respondent has LGBT+ friends or relatives

Table 12. Probit “C” and “D” Models variables

Variables	Type and Meaning
Lesbian	Dichotomous Variable = 1if respondent is female and has a homosexual orientation
Gay	Dichotomous Variable = 1if respondent is male and has a homosexual orientation
Bisexual female	Dichotomous Variable = 1if respondent is female and has a bisexual orientation
Bisexual male	Dichotomous Variable = 1if respondent is male and has a bisexual orientation
Heterosexual Female	Dichotomous Variable = 1if respondent is female and has a heterosexual orientation

Appendix 4

Table 13. Negative answers (“Not at all” or “A little”) to assertions on sexual minorities, per item, sorted by biological sex. Comparison between 2018 Anti-racist World Cup’s sample and 2011 ISTAT results. Values expressed in percentages.

Assertions on sexual minorities		ISTAT (2012)		Anti-racist World Cup (2018)	
		M	F	M	F
LGBT+ people are dangerous for the traditional family		24.77	21.03	7.00	0
A-R WC: It is fair that a homosexual couple could adopt a baby or decide to have one via assisted reproduction.	ISTAT It is fair that a female same-sex couple could adopt a baby?	74.48	71.56	14.79	0.90
A-R WC: It is fair that a homosexual couple have a baby by the help of a surrogate mother.	ISTAT It is fair that a male same-sex couple could adopt a baby?	79.12	75.3	41.96	6.31
It is fair that a household doesn’t rent an apartment to a LGBT+ person.		7.95	5.24	0.39	0
It is fair that an employee doesn’t hire a LGBT+ person.		6.76	4.64	2.72	0

*this table does not include 4 intersex people, 11 non-EU participants and 6 homemakers.

Source: our elaboration of 2018 Anti-racist World Cup’s sample.

Table 14. Participation to 2017 Anti-racist World Cup Edition, sorted by LGBT+ contacts. Values expressed in percentage. 2018.

	Participation to 2017 Edition	No participation to 2017 Edition
LGBT+ contacts	58	19
LGBT+ no contacts	5.3	17.7

*this table does not include 4 intersex people, 11 non-EU participants and 6 homemakers.

Source: our elaboration of 2018 Anti-racist World Cup’s final sample.

Table 15. People who participated between 2 and 5 times to the festival, sorted by LGBT+ contacts and by participation to the 2017 Anti-racism World Cup edition. Values expressed in percentage. 2018.

	LGBT+ contact	LGBT+ no contact
Participants of 2017 edition	85.9	14.1
No participants of 2017 edition	81	19

*this table does not include 4 intersex people, 11 non-EU participants and 6 homemakers.
 Source: our elaboration of 2018 Anti-racist World Cup's final sample.

Tools and practices for LGBT+ inclusion in tertiary education: the development of LGBT+ University Inclusion Index and its application to Italian universities.

Russo T., Addabbo T., Muzzioli S.

Abstract

Research suggests that lesbian, gay, bisexual and trans learners are often victims of homotransphobic discrimination in educational environments (D'Augelli, Pilkington, Hershberger, 2002; Ellis, 2009; Woodford et al., 2014). Traumatic stress reactions, lower educational outcomes, school drop-out, suicidal thought are associated with having experienced more violence acts and abuses (Poteat, Espelage, 2007; Kosciw et al., 2013).

Starting with a brief description of the anti-discriminatory policies that have been adopted in Tertiary Education to contrast homotransphobia, this essay will try to advance by providing an index of LGBT+ inclusion for Universities that has a twofold aim:

- *Allow tertiary education institutions to assess their degree of gender inclusiveness with a shortcut assessment of the dimensions in LGBT+ inclusion that needs to be improved for reaching the aim of LGBT+ inclusion in tertiary education;*
- *Implement the proposed system to Italian universities that have promptly taken part to the survey thus making us in the condition to be able to show their achievements with the support of LGBT+ or ally students' unions to judge the efficacy of the different practices in place and taking into account other.*

In constructing the index we have taken into account also other LGBT+ inclusion indexes: Campus Pride Index and LGBT+ Inclusive Education Index (Avila, 2018; Garvey 2017; Garvey, Tailor, Rankin, 2015).

However the LGBT+ inclusive university index that we propose here differs from the others since we base its measurement on fuzzy logic techniques (Zadeh, 1965, 1988).

Finally, sexual minorities' inclusion's best practices, implemented by Italian universities and identified in this study, will be highlighted with the aim of suggesting and recommending guidelines helpful to fight homo-bi-transphobic discrimination.

Key words: *LGBT+ Inclusion University Index, Tertiary Education, Homotransphobic Discrimination, Alias Career.*

Summary

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APPENDIX 92

Introduction

Tertiary education is at the core of this essay that will consider a part of the academic freedom, a concept that dates back to the very first universities developed in Europe since the 11th century, the capacity of universities to favour LGBT+ people's inclusion in the academic life.

To measure this dimension of academic freedom we have selected a set of indicators and elaborated a model by using fuzzy logic (Zadeh, 1965, 1988) that will allow each university to get a picture of its degree of LGBT+ inclusiveness.

We have then applied the model to measure the LGBT+ degree of inclusion of Italian universities. The choice of Italian universities is related both to their being very ancient and established in the cultural life of the country, in fact the earliest European University was funded in Bologna, Italy, late in the 11th century, and to the recent implementation of policies to enhance LGBT+ inclusion that will be taken into account in the indicators proposed in this paper.

The concept of Academic Freedom

Together with the earliest European Universities, academic community developed the concept of "Academic Freedom": the freedom of students and professors to study, teach, express their opinions and ideas, research and publish their studies without control, censorship or restriction from Government or other institutions.

Academic freedom is a constantly evolving concept. Jumping ahead in time, at the end of XX century, we witness to Italian universities' autonomy of statues' legal recognition (Law number 168 passed on 9th May, 1989). Furthermore, Italian universities started to define curricula and study courses' objectives, as well as to establish final tests' and access' criteria, after Law number 341 passed on 19th November, 1990.

In 1993, Law number 537 (Art. 5) perfected their financial autonomy.

In carrying out their duties, covered by laws just mentioned, Italian universities must take into account students' *Right to education* among other fundamental values of "Academic Freedom".

Related to this, Law number 240, passed on 30th December 2010 and containing «Rules concerning universities' organization, academic staff and recruitment, as well as delegation to the Government for Universities' quality and efficiency improving», redefined norms on measures implemented to assist students' *Right to education*. With this aim, was ruled State co-funding for students' housing and for scholarship granted by the Regions.

However, following our Constitution (Art. 3 and 34), *Right to education* can't be only declined in financial terms: if capable and deserving people should be able to achieve the highest level of education, Italian Republic's intervention can't take only into account the removal of economic obstacles.

A more complete *Right to education's* concept interpretation includes the removal of different barriers, in order to meet physical and psychological students' needs, including those defined by identity they express (ANVUR, 2018, p. 258).

This essay addresses this issue dealing LGBT+ people's inclusion in Italian public Universities, introducing sexual orientation and gender identity in protection of *Academic Freedom* and of *Right to education*.

Firstly, the process of introducing the tools to contrast any form of transsexuals discrimination by favouring their inclusion (known as "*Alias career*" and "*Double university booklet*") will be

showed, from 2003 (the year in which University of Turin introduced, for the first time in Italy, an instrument in defence of transsexuals' *Right to education*) until today.

Secondly, its implementation in Italian universities will be described. The map is available at this link: www.universitrans.it, since May 2018, and its principal aim is to provide students and universities' employees (professors and technical and administrative staff) with a fast and free tool with which they can verify the presence and access criteria of these tools in all the Italian public universities. This first monitoring and reporting process laid the foundation for the development of this study.

Moreover, the idea of extent the scope of *Alias Career* to all the trans people (and not only to people having started an official gender transition path) will be discussed. A new recent version of *Non-disclosure Agreement*, the contract stipulated between University and applicant needing *Alias Career*, will be proposed in order to achieve this aim according to the principle of gender self-determination and to claimant's psychophysical well-being.

Furthermore, our gaze will expand to include in this research all LGBT+ universities' people. We have carried out a survey on the 58 Italian Public Universities to detect the practices implemented by Italian universities to allow LGBT+ inclusion. The survey has been carried out in March and April 2019 taking into accounts the indicators that could allow to measure LGBT+ inclusiveness in universities with the support of six LGBT+ (or ally) students' unions and in line with other relevant LGBT+ inclusion indexes: *Campus Pride Index* and *LGBT+ Inclusive Education Index* (Avila, 2018; Garvey et al., 2017; Garvey, Tailor, Rankin, 2015).

The response rate was 100 per cent and data-processing started in May 2019. Fuzzy logic techniques (Zadeh, 1965) were adopted to develop the *LGBT+ Inclusive University Index* and to realize the first national ranking of public universities relates to level of LGBT+ people's inclusion in their environments.

Finally, sexual minorities' inclusion's best practices, implemented by Italian universities and identified in this study, will be highlight with the aim of suggest and recommend guidelines helpful to homotransphobic discrimination's and Regional gap's reduction.

1. Italian Policies against homotransphobia

Research on the impact of homo-bi-transphobic harassments, consistently with IGLYO's study's findings (IGLYO, 2018), reveals that students who belong (or are perceived to belong) to a sexual minority still experience a daily victimization at school and university (Ellis, 2009). There is often a little or no representation of lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans people in academic curricula (UNESCO, 2017) and universities' staff are rarely qualified (or trained) to prevent, reduce, manage or address this kind of discrimination (FRA, 2016). In view of this, LGBT+ youth tend to hide their sexual orientation or their gender identity, conforming to the social gender's norms, and this has proven to have negative consequences on their psycho-physical well-being, on their academic performance and on their active participation to academic life (Koshiw *et al.*, 2018).

In 2010, the Council of Europe Committee of Ministers issued a Recommendation (CM/Rec(2010)5) on actions to fight homo-bi-transphobic discrimination, underlined that:

«Member states should take appropriate legislative and other measures, addressed to educational staff and pupils, to ensure that the right to education can be effectively enjoyed without discrimination on grounds of sexual orientation or gender identity; this includes, in particular, safeguarding the right of children and youth to education in a safe environment, free from violence, bullying, social exclusion or other forms of discriminatory and degrading treatment related to sexual orientation or gender identity».

*Adopted by the Committee of Ministers on 31 March 2010
at the 1081st meeting of the Ministers' Deputies*

Moreover, in 2016, Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe has urged member states:

(...) «to ensure access by LGBT+ children to quality education by promoting respect and inclusion of LGBT+ persons and the dissemination of objective information»

remembering that:

(...) «barriers to access to school still exist in the Council of Europe member States, which in practice deprive children of the opportunity to take their place in society».

Parliamentary Assembly, Resolution 2097(2016)

In January 2018, IGLYO - The International Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer and Intersex (LGBT+QI) Youth and Student Organization – launched the *LGBT+QI Inclusive Education Index* in a meeting backed by UNESCO at the European Parliament, with the aim of take picture of the legislative European framework for LGBT+ inclusion in education. IGLYO Index's findings revealed that anti-discrimination law related to education (with explicit mention of gender identity, expression, sexual orientation or variation in sex characteristics) was present in 31 of 45 Europe Member States. IGLYO findings also showed that only 4 countries required professors training programmes on LGBT+ awareness, that only 6 of them collected national data on homo-bi-transphobic bullying and that just 21 countries included LGBT+ contents in educational curricula.

Italy resulted to be a country severely wide of LGBT+ protection's policies. More specifically, Italian anti-discrimination law related to education (Law number 107, passed on 13 July 2015, known as "*Law on good schooling*") requires the prevention of gender-based violence and all

form of discriminations in schools at every level, but does not mention neither sexual orientation nor gender identity. Moreover, Italian reports on discrimination in education do not monitor homo-bi-transphobic bullying's incidence and effects and sex education is an extracurricular activity in Italian schools. Furthermore, while some schools autonomously invite LGBT+ civil society organisations to promote inclusive knowledge of sexual identity components (*Cassero Scuola* is one of the most important national projects on this ground), others work with movements and associations who promote more traditional family models (IGLYO, 2018, p. 92).

Despite these considerations, not many studies have been conducted in Italy in order to provide policies to improve schools and universities climate for LGBT+ learners, faculty and staff. Nevertheless, in 2019, an interinstitutional team of experts of different associations¹⁵ carried out an operating protocol for “The promotion of shared strategies aimed to contrast homotransphobia and for the inclusion of LGBT+ people” (Graglia, 2019), introducing a long line of good practice in several public institutions of Reggio Emilia, in Region Emilia Romagna, among which the University of Modena and Reggio Emilia.

2. Mapping of trans' protection tools in Italian universities: Universitrans project

Universitrans is a 2018 research project by (among the others¹⁶) one the authors of this paper, Tullia Russo, in cooperation with ONIG (National Observatory of Gender Identity) and MIT (Trans Identity Movement). By administering 67 Italian universities a specifically formulated questionnaire (of which the response figure was 97%), it has been made possible to devise a digital planning of the protections the athenaeums currently offer to trans individuals, with the purpose of facilitating access to the acquired information and in order to allow trans people to choose whether to enrol or work in academic settings which could guarantee their safety against any possible transphobic discrimination.

Thus we created a digital instrument, available for free at the URL www.universitrans.it, devised primarily for transitioning students who are waiting for their gender and name rectification in legal documents and need a temporary document that stated their chosen name, before a new e-mail and badge are released. The project has been extended to Alias Careers of teaching, technical and administrative staff.

The research shows that the Alias Career is primarily used by the universities as a tool for giving transitioning people an easier access to and use of academic services and for improving the working well-being in the academic setting. Out of 67 public athenaeums, 31 have activated this tool in the academic year 2017/2018 (of which only 5 provide it for teaching staff -- Verona, Naples, IUAV Venice, Udine, Milan Bicocca -- and only 2 for A-T staff – University of Verona and University of Naples).

Employed for the first time by University of Turin in the academic year 2012/2013, the Alias Career is made by signing a confidential agreement between the applicant and the University and assigns a temporary identity that cannot be consolidated and can be applied until the rectification

¹⁵ The associations participating to the interinstitutional team are: Municipality of Reggio Emilia, Province of Reggio Emilia, Court of Reggio Emilia, Penal Institute of Reggio Emilia, Health Unit of Reggio Emilia, University of Modena and Reggio Emilia, Schools and Nurseries of Reggio Emilia, Foundation for sport of Reggio Emilia, Mondinsieme Foundation, Arcigay Foundation Gioconda.

¹⁶ URL: <https://universitrans.it/universitrans/>

of sex in legal documents or the request of interruption by the applicant, with the possible exceptions defined by the individual athenaeum. The University commits to release a new badge, which states chosen name, surname and a new serial number, to the applicant.

This tool is effective only inside the university and it does not extend to official documents such as degree certificates, or to any documents which might have external relevance, such as internship certificates or international mobility documents.

Another tool employed to this day by 7 universities is the *Split University Record/Double University Booklet*. It originated before the Alias Career: it was adopted for the first time during the academic year 2002/2003 by Turin University (once again pioneers in inclusion policies) and then replaced (although not everywhere) by the Alias Career in the year 2012/2013, when the instruments of identification inside the athenaeum were dematerialised. The double transcript is in fact a paper document issued by the university to the applicants after they submit legal documents confirming the start of their transition, to be shown at every identification request (access to exams, exam recording, library use, graduation application, secretariat, etc).

Of the two instruments, the Alias Career is evidently the most efficient in protecting the person's privacy and avoiding any kind of outing. The reason why some universities still use the double transcript is a general close-mindedness towards the inclusion of transgender individuals. The survey shows how the choice to use the double transcript after the academic year 2012/2013 is partly due to a compromise between factions with opposing policies inside the athenaeum, but mostly it is a consequence of the technical and administrative issues with the computerised management of the Alias Career. On this matter, in November of 2018, CINECA has developed a webinar for administrative representatives of Alias Careers of the athenaeums that employed them along the ESSE3 software for educational management. The topic was "administrative management in ESSE3 of transitioning students", and it focused on the much anticipated introduction, in the management system, of the option to associate the "Alias Name" to the student's personal data. Thanks to this new option, the university can manage a "different name" from the one on the birth certificate, thus making the view and managing of the data available only to the administrative representatives.

Alias Career and *Split University Record/Double University Booklet* are tools that would not be needed in Italy, if the procedure of rectification of legal documents did not require an average of two years, doubling up at four in some cases. In our country, this issue is regulated by the law 14 April 1982, n.164, titled "Policies on sex assignment rectification". With this law, Italy was the third European state, after Sweden (1972) and Germany (1980), to address the emerging legal issues around gender identity, and the original seven articles only regulated the manner in which the rectification would be allowed, as "a final judgement of the court", which attributed "to a person the opposite sex from the one stated in the birth certificate after modification of their sexual features" (Art. 1). This law had initially set a two-phase procedure in case the surgical operation had not already happened abroad, with a disputing phase for the authorisation, followed by a Chamber deployment for the rectification of legal data, excessively stretching waiting times and making judicial expenses extremely high. Despite the Legal Decree 1 September 2011 n. 150, named "procedures simplification decree" and titled "about controversy around sex assignment rectification", aimed to shorten the procedure to apply for a legal data rectification, it actually included the procedure in the domain of the disputing-type ordinary trial of cognition, thus stretching decision times even further and increasing economical expenses, according to what the Regional Guarantor of Personal Rights of Friuli Venezia Giulia pointed out in 2017.

Furthermore, for years the interpretation given to law 164 has conditioned the judicial rectification of name and sex on birth certificates to a previous verification that the surgical

operation had taken place. Following the Court of Cassation sentence of 20/07/2015 n. 15138, supported by the Constitutional Court sentence n. 221, more and more Italian courthouses have loosened their attitude "because it is unreasonable to condition the exercise of the fundamental right to a gender identity to compulsory medical (surgical or hormonal) treatment which can be extremely invasive and dangerous" (Cost. Court 05/11/2015 n. 221), giving way to a one-phase iter consisting in a single sentence to authorise the surgical operation (no longer considered mandatory) and legal data rectification.

Despite this new judicial orientation, the average time of wait for the authorisation to rectify legal data is still long enough to make the *Alias Career* essential to the psychological and physical well-being of people studying or working in the academic environment while waiting for the rectification.

In Academic year 2017/2018, the athenaeums providing an *Alias Career* were less than half (31 over 67); of these, 16 were in northern Italy, resulting in a gap and a regional discrimination. The *Split University Record/Double University Booklet* was still used in 7 athenaeums, and (not coincidentally, we deem) only two of them have had transitioning applicants (Modena-Reggio Emilia and Trieste). Bologna University, where this protection is available since the academic year 2013/2014, had the highest number of applications (20 actuations over 86,500 students' total) followed by Naples Federico II University (7 actuations over 78,000 students). These two athenaeums are, according to CENSIS ranking, both part of the MEGA-Athenaeums group (the ones with an average of over 40,000 enrolled per year), therefore the higher presence of *Alias Career* applicants may appear logical. However, the other 8 mega-athenaeums (Florence University, Padua University, Roma La Sapienza, Pisa University, Bari, Turin, Milan and Catania) do not have the same outcome. Let us assume, thus, that the reason behind this polarisation lies in other factors, such as the deployment of policies against discrimination inside the university and the strong support of LGBT+ groups.

The relevance of said study is underlined by the complete absence of previous surveys on the Italian academic context, and by the attention shown by national institutions such as CUN (National Academic Council), CSNU (National Academic Student Council), the National Conference of University Equality Organs, ANVUR (National Agency for the Evaluation of University and Research) ¹⁷ and by the Guarantee Act Committees of several athenaeums. In fact, some universities have introduced the *Alias Career* in the academic year 2018/2019 on the spur of that survey and after the national congress on "Discrimination by sexual orientation and gender identity" held at the centre Le Benedettine in Pisa on 17-18 of January 2019, co-organised by the National Conference of University Equality Organs and the CUG of Pisa, in coordination with *Universitrans* researchers¹⁸.

In this important context, entirely focused on the academic setting, a burning issue emerged about the *Alias Career*: its release method. In academic year 2017/2018, in all the athenaeums that offer the *Alias Career* (or the *Split University Record/Double University Booklet*), the applicant was required to submit a document confirming the start of their transition, making this tool only actually accessible to those who have decided to undergo an official transition path. This release method resulted discriminatory against all those transgender individuals who do not

¹⁷ In the chapter on the right to education of the 2018 biannual report about the "Status of the Academic and Research System", ANVUR published a box containing the most relevant results of the *UniversiTrans* survey, introducing it this way: "The analysis, in this chapter, of the status of the right to academic education in Italy was necessarily focused on the financial aspects. A more complete interpretation of the "right to education" would require an analysis of how the academic system responds to all material, physical and psychological necessities of the students, including the ones due to diversities expressed by the students. As a first step in this direction, it seems useful to provide, in the following box, some information on the protection of transitioning individuals" (Russo, 2019, p. 258).

¹⁸ The acts of this congress will be published before the end of 2019.

belong to or recognise their assigned sex at birth, and against the ones who use different name and/or pronouns to those assigned at birth, but have no intention of facing a medical transition path.

2.1 Protection tools' beneficiaries: a new conception of Alias Career

Split University Record/Double University Booklet and *Alias Career* were conceived, since their first origin, as protection tools for those who had already started their gender transition but still did not get the rectification of the sex from the Register office.

Nevertheless, the academic community (stimulated by students' associations and individual students' requests) has started to reflect, following the gender self-determination principle, about the concrete chance to extend these protection tools to anybody who would like to start the Alias Career or Split University Record/Double University Booklet aiming to protect his/her own psychophysical well-being independently from having or not started an official transition.

According to *Universitrans* results, in Academic year 2017/2018 two Universities began to put in practice these reflections: University of Verona and University of Perugia. As a matter of fact, the two corresponding Alias Career referees (Professors Lorenzo Bernini and Emidio Albertini) released the protection tool to any applicant, without the condition of presenting documents attesting gender transition, although the University Resolutions (for Verona the academic Senate Resolution of 23rd September 2014 and, for Perugia, Regional Deliberation 777 of 17th May 2016) established the opposite.

These two Universities' practices have stimulated debates and discussions, leading to the creation, within the Convention "Sexual orientations and gender identity discriminations", of a worktable with the aim of writing down a "**Non-disclosure Agreement**": this agreement between the university and the applicant makes Alias Career possible for all transgender people, without limitations.

The worktable was located on the 18th January 2019 in Pisa and was moderated by Tullia Russo and Beatrice Starace. The working group was composed by eighteen people, among which students, Alias Career referents, Technical and Administrative staff, researchers, University CUG members and Institutional representatives. Also Patrizia Tomio, President of National Conference of University Equality Organisms, was present, promoting the initiative, involving the CRUI (The Conference of Italian University Rectors), which has later become the main recipient of the documents drawn up by the working group.

The work focused on the definition of the formula that would help to understand the importance of the gender self-determination principle, which is reported here below (in order to be known and viewed):

«Basing on the gender self-determination principle, the University collects the applicant's will and, in order to protect his/her psychophysical wellness, undertakes to start Alias Career, through the assignation of a provisory, transitory and INCONSOLIDABILE(not solidified) identity and release a new magnetic card bearing the surname, alias name and a new e-mail address coherent with the alias name»¹⁹.

Alias Career Worktable, 18th January 2019

¹⁹ For the entire text of the Privacy agreement, see RUSSO, T., VALERIO, P. (2019).

It is an extremely innovative formula because it doesn't base the right for Alias Career access on gender transition, but on self-determination. From the same worktable also emerged a list of recommendations addressed to universities about the Alias Career's management and transgender people's inclusion, that is hear reported to give a further stimulation:

- All Universities are recommended to introduce a magnetic badge provided with photo. Since Alias Career establish the releasement of a new university badge reporting the first name, the presence of the photo is crucial to avoid the presentation of the identity card for the identification during the exams.

- All universities are recommended to extend the access to Alias Career to all who study, work or collaborate with the University (also employed with fixed-term contracts and hosts) requesting it

- In case of students' request for Alias Career, all Universities are recommended to identify a referee/academic tutor among professors and a referee/administrative tutor among the technical administrative staff.

- Considering the importance of the referees/ Alias Career tutors' tasks, it is recommended to all Universities' rectors to identify among professors and technical administrative staff the most suitable and sensitive to the subject individuals, not overlooking self-nominations.

- All Universities are recommended to introduce training courses focused on language, communication and other subjects connected to gender, addressed to professors, technical administrative staff and students, so that all who work and study in the academic environment can learn how to relate to transgender people in the most respectful and appropriate way.

- All Universities are recommended to improve discussions between Alias Career applicant and the referee/ administrative tutor, in order to establish a relationship of trust that will allow the applicant to rely on his/her referee during the whole duration of Alias Career.

- All Universities are recommended to introduce at least one All-Gender toilet in each University Department.

- All Universities are recommended to maintain a constantly open dialogue with those who have requested or got Alias Career, with LGBT+ students and with students in general, so that they can suggest eventually further recommendations necessary for making University environment truly inclusive and respectful of all people.

University of Basilicata, on 7th may 2019, was the first Italian university to introduce Alias Career, following the criteria introduced in the worktable made in Pisa, adopting the *Non-disclosure Agreement* without any change, as well as Recommendations' document, and extending the protection to the University's hosts further than students, professors and technical-administrative staff. On 26th June 2019, University of Camerino also introduce Alias Career following the Pisa's criteria and documents. Finally, University of Verona is the third one to adopt officially the *Non-disclosure Agreement*.

3.1 LGBT+ Inclusive University Index

Since 2007, Campus Pride Index²⁰ is used as a national LGBT+ benchmarking tool for universities to shape more inclusive academic communities, in USA. The free online map (consistently with free online Universitrans map) allows learners and people interested in higher education to access to a database of universities containing information on LGBT+ inclusion's level in their environments. Following Campus Pride Index framework, Pisa's Recommendations and the IGLYO Inclusive Education Guidelines (2006, 2015), we invited six LGBT+ student unions to develop a list of benchmarking indicators. A survey was then administered and tested in six universities (Turin, Bologna, Naples, Modena-Reggio Emilia, Pisa and Milan). The questionnaire was modified based on feedback from the pilot phase and, between March and April 2019, it was administered to Guarantee Act Committees' presidents of 58 Italian public Universities.

The response rate was 100 per cent and data-processing started in May 2019

3.2 Methodology

Initial and final inputs

We worked with six LGBT+ (or ally) student unions to develop the initial inputs of the first edition of *LGBT+ Inclusive University Index*, in order to better capture and respect national universities' environments' peculiarities and learners' needs. These were:

- *Uni LGBT+Q*, from University of Bologna;
- *Identità UniTe*, from University of Turin;
- *ASU Scienze Politiche*, from University of Naples;
- *MoRe Gay*, from University of Modena and Reggio Emilia;
- *Glauco*, from University of Pisa;
- *Studenti Indipendenti Rete LINK*, from University of Milan.

Every item was related to the academic year 2018/2019 and indicators were divided in two dimensions that constitute the two final inputs:

1. *Context*

University's and CUG's involvement in anti-discriminatory actions is fundamental for promoting an inclusive and safe context for LGBT+ students and employee (professors and technical and administrative staff).

Professors and school staff are responsible for psycho-physical wellbeing of learners anyway, and they need to be trained in order to be able to prevent and manage discriminant acts, to communicate with a gender-oriented language and to become aware of LGBT+ issues.

At the same time, students belonging to sexual minorities may need additional supports and protection's tools or services, as for example all-gender bathrooms or counselling services.

Finally, the complete absence of representation of LGBT+ people and history across curricula and learning materials avoid the possibility to know and discuss about diversity and reiterate stereotypes and social stigma.

This section has been divided in three further subsections, that represent the 1st level of intermediate variables obtained by the partial aggregation of initial inputs, useful for better

²⁰ <https://www.campusprideindex.org/>

understanding of the evolution of the system (that may be defuzzified to obtain a partial output of the variables involved):

Table 1. The first level of *Context* intermediate variable and the initial inputs

1A. Education and Employees' Training <i>[Education]</i>	
<i>Has seminars or other activities about LGBT+ subjects been conducted?</i>	<i>[activities]</i>
<i>Has courses about gender subjects been organized?</i>	<i>[curricula]</i>
<i>Has training courses about LGBT+ issues for professors and technical-administrative staff been led?</i>	<i>[training]</i>
1B. Involvement and Collaboration <i>[Involvement]</i>	
<i>Has the Athenaeum been involved in LGBT+ inclusion activities?</i>	<i>[Athenaeum]</i>
<i>Is there collaboration between Athenaeum and LGBT+ student unions?</i>	<i>[collaboration]</i>
<i>Has the CUG been involved in LGBT+ inclusion activities?</i>	<i>[CUG]</i>
1C. Services <i>[Services]</i>	
<i>Are all-gender bathrooms present inside the athenaeum?</i>	<i>[bathrooms]</i>
<i>Is there a LGBT+ counselling office?</i>	<i>[counselling]</i>
<i>Is a crime against LGBT+ community reporting procedure established?</i>	<i>[crime_report]</i>

2. Alias Career

This section concerns Alias Career provision for learners and staff and its access criteria (official document of gender transition path or *Non-disclosure Agreement*).

Students, professors and technical-administrative staff need to have access to information regarding Alias Career, anyway: a protection tool of which nobody knows the existence, doesn't will achieve its aim. The provision of information about Alias Career and its access criteria on University site web was asked. The gender-oriented language used, as well as the difficulty to rich the webpage, were evaluated.

Table 2. The first level of *Alias Career* intermediate variable and the initial inputs

2A. Employees' Alias Career <i>[Employeesinclusion]</i>	
<i>Is Alias Career for professors available?</i>	<i>[alias_prof]</i>
<i>Is Alias Career for technical and administrative staff available?</i>	<i>[alias_staff]</i>
<i>Is Alias Career for employee specifically promoted on athenaeum's web site?</i>	<i>[Eweb_adv]</i>
2B. Students Alias Career and Access <i>[Studentsinclusion]</i>	
Criteria	
<i>If present, which procedure is established to release Alias Career?</i>	<i>[aliasaccess]</i>
<i>Is Alias Career promoted on the athenaeum's web site?</i>	<i>[Sweb_adv]</i>

These two dimensions (Context and Alias Career) are the final inputs (built by means of intermediate systems that combine the elementary elements by giving different weights to each variable) of the fuzzy expert system. In turn, every dimension is the output of a fuzzy system. The sample of universities and the technique used to read the data allow us to understand how the level of LGBT+ inclusion can change with regard to every single input, weighted differently.

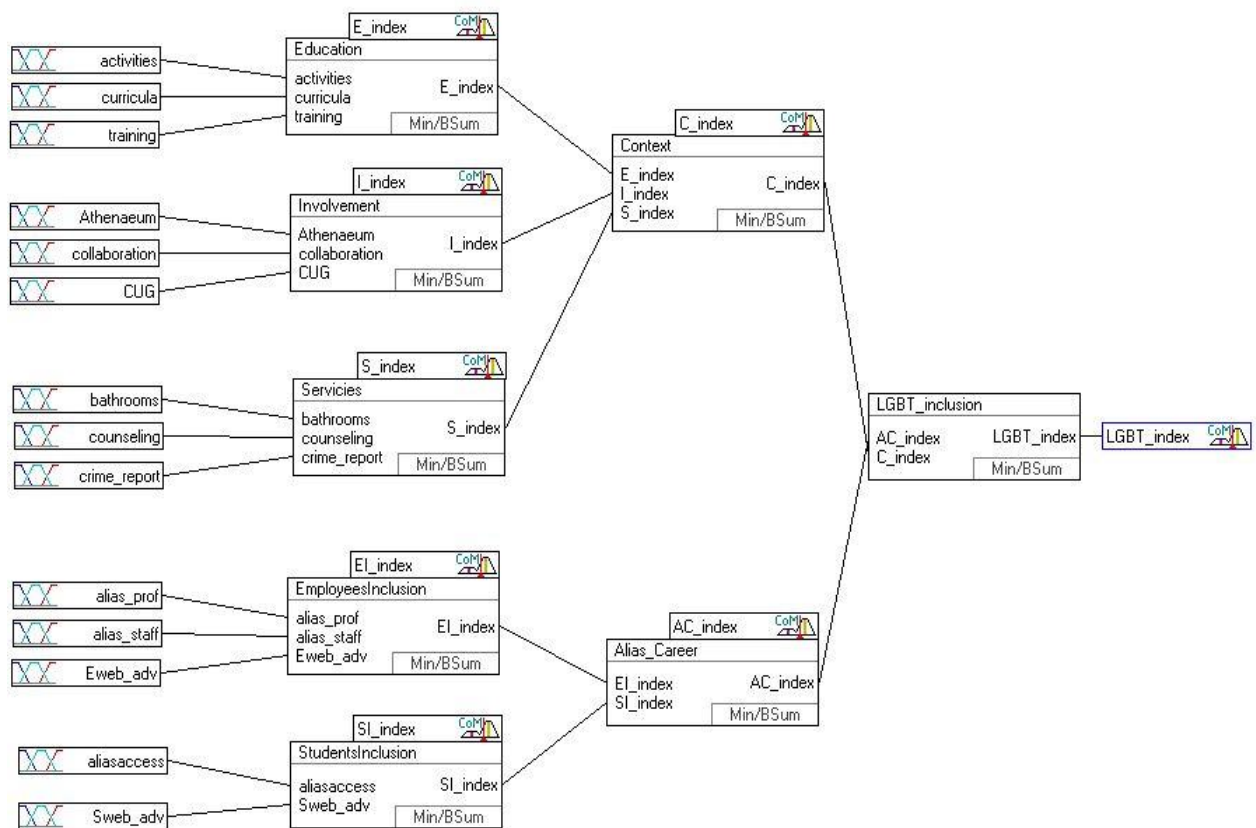
Technique

Fuzzy logic techniques (Zadeh, 1965) were adopted to develop the *LGBT+ Inclusive University Index* and to realize the first national ranking of public universities relates to level of LGBT+ people's inclusion in their environments.

The system structure identifies the fuzzy logic inference flow from the input variables to the output variables. The fuzzification in the input interfaces translates analog inputs into fuzzy values. The fuzzy inference takes place in rule blocks which contain the linguistic control rules. The output of these rule blocks are linguistic variables. The defuzzification in the output interfaces translates them into analog variables.

The following figure shows the whole structure of this fuzzy system including input interfaces, rule blocks and output interfaces. The connecting lines symbolize the data flow. (see **Figure 1**).

Figure 1. System layout of LGBT+ University inclusion index.



Weights

To close the system we had to specify weights that range from 0 to 3. We asked to four LGBT+ students' unions, to the National Conference of University Equality Organs and to four experts²¹ to offer their view on that. Table in Appendix list all initial inputs weighted by them and the averages (see Appendix 1, Table 1).

We decided to apply the average of weights in order to capture all points of view.

In creating intermediate variables of level 1, more weight to the variable that refers to students' inclusion than to employees' inclusion is given. *Education*, *Services* and *Involvement* variables have a really similar weight. Relates to final inputs, *Context* have a higher weight than *Alias Career*.

²¹ The experts are: *Paolo Valerio*, full professor of Clinical Psychology at the Federico II University of Naples; Rector's delegate for students with disabilities; Director of SInAPSi University Research Centre; Director of the Complex Operative Unity of the University Policlinic of Naples; President of the Gender Identity Culture Foundation (GIC); President of the National Gender Identity Observatory (ONIG). *Lorenzo Bernini*, associate professor of political philosophy; Director of PoliTeSse Centre of Research; alias career handler of the University of Verona. *Anna Lorenzetti*, assistant professor of gender analysis and anti-discrimination law, integration policies and NGO law, gender-based violence: legal and psycho-social profiles. *Emidio Albertini*, assistant professor of agricultural genetics of the University of Perugia; alias career handler of the University of Perugia.

Lorenzo Bernini and Emidio Albertini are the two Alias Career referees that released the protection tool to any applicant, without the condition of presenting documents attesting gender transition, although the University Resolutions (for Verona the academic Senate Resolution of 23rd September 2014 and, for Perugia, the Academic Senate Resolution 777 of 17th May 2016) established the opposite (see section 2.1).

Variables

This paragraph contains the definition of all linguistic variables and of all membership functions. Linguistic variables are used to translate real values into linguistic values. The possible values of a linguistic variable are not numbers but so called 'linguistic terms'. Linguistic variables have to be defined for all input, output and intermediate variables. The membership functions are defined using a few definition points only. All the inputs (with the exception of *Bathrooms* and *Crime_report* variables that are dichotomous) are described by three linguistic attributes: low, medium, high (see Figure 2).

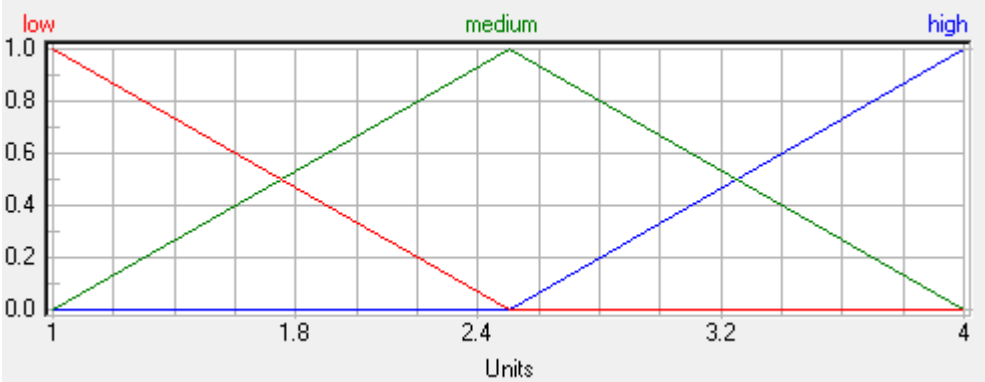


Figure 2. Input variable layout

The first level of intermediate variables is described by five linguistic attributes: low, medium_low, medium, medium_high, high (see Figure 3).

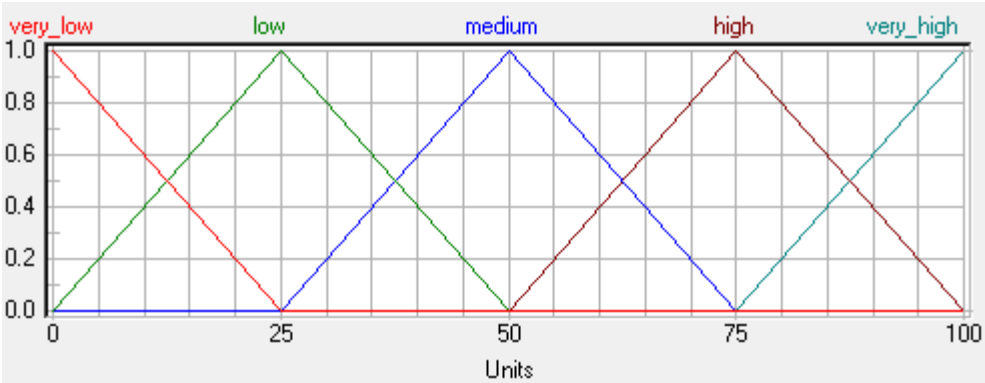


Figure 3. First level of intermediate variables layout

The second level of intermediate variables is described by seven linguistic attributes: very_low, low, medium_low, medium, medium_high, high, very_high (see Figure 4).

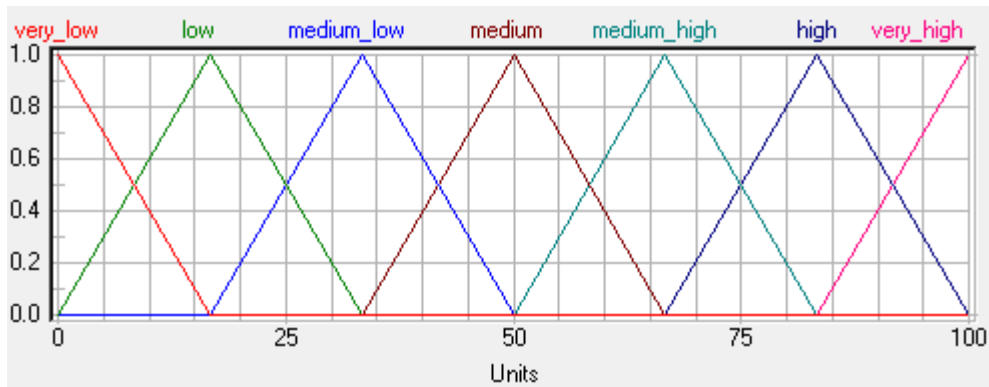


Figure 4. Second level of intermediate variables layout

The LGBT+ University Inclusion Index is described by nine linguistic attributes (see Figure 5).

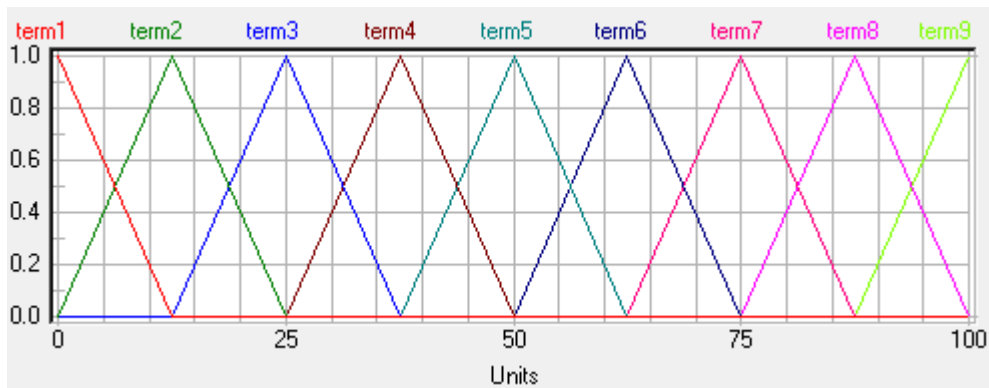


Figure 5. Output layout

Rule Blocks

The rule blocks contain the control strategy of a fuzzy logic system. Each rule block confines all rules for the same context. A context is defined by the same input and output variables of the rules.

The rules' 'if' part describes the situation, for which the rules are designed. The 'then' part describes the response of the fuzzy system in this situation. The degree of support (DoS) is used to weigh each rule according to its importance.

The processing of the rules starts with calculating the 'if' part. The operator type of the rule block determines which method is used.

We choose the MIN-AVG parameter of aggregation and the Bounded Sum as fuzzy operator for the aggregation method of the result to enable all firing rules to be evaluated.

Furthermore, we choose the method Centre of Area (CoA) for the defuzzification, resulting in the 'best compromise' method (see Table 2 and Table 3 in Appendix 1).

4. Results

We have tested our expert system with all 58 Italian public universities. Each university was analysed to reconstruct its tools and policies connected to LGBT+ students, professors and staff inclusion and protection. In Table 2 we report Universities ranking, divided into two intermediate outputs (*Context Index* and *Alias Career Index*) to enable these dimensions to be evaluated. These two dimensions are in turn divided into the sections that compose them (*Education and Employees' training, Involvement and Collaboration* and *Services* for Context Index; *Students' Alias Career-Access Criteria* and *Employees Alias Career* for Alias Career Index). The column on the right finally shows the *LGBT+ University Inclusion Index* ranking.

Findings are consistent with our deep knowledge of the university national scene. The last five universities in Table 2, highlighted in red, are those that do not have any protection for LGBT+ people. University of Verona is the first one in the ranking thanks to the alias career referees' sensitive towards recipients' access criteria (*Non-disclosure Agreement*) and alias career's promotion on athenaeum web site (Alias Career Inclusivity Index: 100/100). Moreover, also thanks to the work of the Research Centre *PoliTeSse* of Politics and Theories of Sexuality, several seminars, conferences and workshops on LGBT+ issues are regularly organized, often with the collaboration of LGBT+ associations, and a counselling service for LGBT+ people is present. Currently all-gender bathrooms are not available and staff training courses on LGBT+ inclusion are not been organized (Context Index: 60/100).

University of Basilicata was the first Italian university to introduce the *Non-disclosure Agreement* on 18 may 2019. Exactly like the University of Verona, Athenaeum of Basilicata has a score of 100/100 in the Alias Career Inclusivity Index. It obtain a lower score in Context Index principally because of a more limited organization of seminars, conferences, courses of study and workshops on LGBT+ issues.

In third place we find the University Federico II of Naples, characterised by a high score in *Education and Employees' Training* thanks to the only PhD in Italy that deals with Gender Studies, to an important list of seminars and projects on LGBT+ issues organised in the academic year 2018/2019, and to an obligatory training course for all technical and administrative staff on "*The promotion of the culture of differences*". University of Naples is, however, lacking in the offer of services such as all-gender bathrooms and in the establishment of a crime against LGBT+ community reporting procedure, as well as in the introduction of the *Non-disclosure Agreement*.

Universities with a score equal to "0" in *Employees Alias Career* are those that provide access to Alias Career only for students.

Table 2. LGBT+ University Inclusion Index – Ranking 2018/2019

RANKING	Universities	Education and Employees' Training	Involvement and Collaboration	Services	Context Index	Students Alias Career and Access Criteria	Employees Alias Career	Alias Careers Inclusivity Index	LGBT_ind ex
1	Verona	58.33	56.25	75.00	60.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	70.00
2	Basilicata	18.75	83.33	75.00	54.17	100.00	100.00	100.00	65.62
3	Napoli Federico II	100.00	50.00	25.00	66.67	39.81	30.00	32.24	55.00
4	Torino	75.00	70.00	50.00	70.83	50.00	0.00	33.33	53.12
5	Pisa	57.14	75.00	75.00	61.90	45.76	0.00	30.51	52.39
6	Padova	18.75	91.67	50.00	56.67	50.00	0.00	33.33	50.00
7	Calabria	75.00	71.87	75.00	73.33	0.00	0.00	0.00	50.00
8	Salento	25.00	100.00	50.00	66.67	0.00	0.00	0.00	50.00
9	Perugia	41.67	83.33	0.00	50.00	63.18	0.00	42.12	47.92
10	Bologna	68.75	45.83	75.00	58.33	45.76	0.00	30.51	47.88
11	Trento	42.85	71.87	50.00	53.33	45.76	0.00	30.51	47.72
12	Bergamo	58.33	32.14	75.00	50.00	50.00	0.00	33.33	46.88
13	Camerino	16.67	54.17	50.00	38.10	50.00	75.00	66.67	46.88
14	Milano Bicocca	58.33	30.00	50.00	45.24	45.76	30.00	37.46	46.43
15	Ferrara	31.25	54.17	50.00	45.24	50.00	43.75	45.83	46.43
16	Roma La Sapienza	18.75	45.83	75.00	41.67	45.76	0.00	30.51	43.75
17	Modena e Reggio Emilia	18.75	45.83	75.00	41.67	50.00	0.00	33.33	43.75
18	Venezia IUAV	25.00	45.83	0.00	26.67	93.38	56.25	78.10	43.75
19	Bari	41.67	67.86	50.00	54.76	39.81	0.00	26.54	43.22
20	Cagliari	16.67	66.67	75.00	45.83	39.14	0.00	26.09	42.13
21	Pol. Milano	18.75	65.00	75.00	45.83	39.14	0.00	26.09	42.13
22	Salerno	42.85	71.87	16.67	50.00	39.14	0.00	26.09	42.01
23	Brescia	29.17	45.83	75.00	45.24	39.81	0.00	26.54	42.01
24	Pol. Torino	0.00	71.87	50.00	41.67	39.81	30.00	32.24	42.01
25	Siena	31.25	33.33	25.00	37.50	50.00	0.00	33.33	40.62
26	Udine	18.75	32.14	75.00	38.10	45.76	0.00	30.51	39.78
27	Pavia	16.67	54.17	50.00	38.10	39.14	0.00	26.09	36.87
28	Urbino Carlo Bo	18.75	28.12	75.00	38.10	39.81	0.00	26.54	36.77
29	Trieste	18.75	45.83	50.00	36.11	39.14	32.14	33.22	36.37
30	Firenze	16.67	60.00	16.67	36.11	39.14	0.00	26.09	35.19
31	Palermo	42.85	28.12	16.67	33.33	39.81	0.00	26.54	34.95
32	Venezia Cà Foscari	25.00	16.67	50.00	27.78	50.00	0.00	33.33	33.33
33	Insubria	0.00	45.83	16.67	25.00	45.76	37.50	41.67	31.25
34	Milano	18.75	43.75	50.00	29.17	39.14	32.14	33.22	29.79
35	Parma	29.17	16.67	50.00	25.00	39.14	0.00	26.09	29.51
36	Pol. Bari	0.00	33.33	50.00	22.22	39.81	30.00	32.24	29.51
37	Roma 2 Tor Vergata	0.00	16.67	75.00	27.78	39.81	0.00	26.54	29.11
38	Genova	18.75	28.12	50.00	25.00	39.81	0.00	26.54	28.70
39	Chieti e Pescara	31.25	35.00	50.00	37.50	0.00	0.00	0.00	28.12
40	Napoli L'Orientale	18.75	16.67	50.00	23.33	39.81	0.00	26.54	28.09
41	Sassari	0.00	33.33	50.00	22.22	39.81	0.00	26.54	26.15
42	Macerata	16.67	30.00	16.67	18.75	39.81	0.00	26.54	26.04
43	Marche	0.00	0.00	16.67	0.00	50.00	0.00	33.33	25.00
44	Messina	0.00	16.67	50.00	16.67	39.81	0.00	26.54	22.45
45	Piemonte Orientale	31.25	16.67	50.00	29.17	0.00	0.00	0.00	21.87
46	Tuscia	25.00	15.00	50.00	26.67	0.00	0.00	0.00	20.00
47	L'Aquila	0.00	16.67	16.67	10.00	39.14	0.00	26.09	18.67
48	Catania	16.67	16.67	50.00	23.33	0.00	0.00	0.00	17.50
49	Roma Tre	25.00	0.00	16.67	16.67	0.00	0.00	0.00	12.50
50	Foggia	18.75	0.00	50.00	16.67	0.00	0.00	0.00	12.50
51	Napoli Parthenope	16.67	0.00	0.00	11.11	0.00	0.00	0.00	8.33
52	Sannio	16.67	0.00	0.00	11.11	0.00	0.00	0.00	8.33
53	Reggio Calabria	0.00	0.00	16.67	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
54	Catanzaro	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
55	Cassino	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
56	Teramo	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
57	Campania Vanvitelli	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
58	Molise	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00

5. Best Practices

In this study we identified several best practices aimed to sexual minorities' inclusion, implemented by Italian universities. In this section we highlight them with the aim of suggesting and recommending guidelines helpful to fight homo-bi-transphobic discrimination in tertiary education environments.

Education

- **PLOTINA PROJECT**
University of Bologna is the coordinator of Plotina Project (<https://www.plotina.eu/>), a European partnership of RPOs, Professional Associations and Partners aimed to stimulate a gender-aware culture change in tertiary education. This project promotes the diversification of views and methodologies in research and teaching through inclusion of gendered dimensions (gender-aware science) as well as the women and LGBT+ inclusion in research, teaching and training.
- **GEMMA MASTER**
Gemma Master (<http://www.lilec.it/gemma/welcome-to-gemma/>) is a pilot project in the field of Women's Studies and Gender Studies in a European and global perspective. It was created as a result of the commitment of different universities working within ATHENA network, supported by the European Commission. The GEMMA Consortium represents the harmonization of seven different institutions from six European countries, among which there is *University of Bologna*.
- **GENDER STUDIES AND SOCIAL CHANGE MASTER**
Organised by *Univeristy Cà Foscari of Venice*, this multidisciplinary master analyses the relation between genders and differences that are related to socio-cultural context by applying a critical thinking. (<https://www.unive.it/pag/33204/>). There are no other university masters in gender studies in Italy.
- **COURSE OF STUDY IN HISTORY OF HOMOSEXUALITY²²**
University of Turin organised, in 2018, the first Italian course of study in History of Homosexuality, in the Department of Art, Music and Shows. Held by Professor Maya De Leo, this elective course explores representation and narrations from different social contexts, analysing the history of homosexuality transformations. It is aimed to product knowledge related to LGBT+ and queer movements.
- **GENDER STUDIES PhD²³**
In 2001, *University of Naples* organised the first edition of Gender Studies PhD with the aim of deepening gender knowledge and spreading a policy of equal opportunities in economic and social environments. It is the only PhD which focuses on the issue of gender in Italy, until today.

²² URL: https://cdsdams.campusnet.unito.it/do/corsi.pl/Show?_id=a547, consulted on May, 28th, 2019.

²³ URL: http://www.genderstudiesphd.unina.it/?page_id=89andlang=it, consulted on May, 26th, 2019.

- SEMINARS ON LGBT+ ISSUES²⁴

Since the academic year 2014/2015, the Department of Political Science and the CUG of *University of Perugia* regularly organize a series of seminars on LGBT+ issues, together with a LGBT+ association named “*Intersezioni di Genere*”. Attendance at seminars confers CFU.

Employees training

- PROMOTING THE CULTURE OF DIFFERENCE²⁵

In 2018, *University of Naples*, in collaboration with the Research Centre SInAPSi, organised a mandatory online training course named "Promoting the culture of difference: A course for a good University" and aimed at University's managerial and technical-administrative staff. The goal was to sensitize the University's employees and managers on the sexual and gender issues.

- ACSO²⁶

In the same year, *University of Calabria* organised the first edition of a facultative training course for technical and administrative staff aimed to promote organizational well-being: “Actions combating sexism and homophobia”. Eighty-four employees of the Athenaeum participated in the 2018 edition.

Involvement and collaboration

- INTERINSTITUTIONAL MEMORANDUM OF UNDERSTANDING²⁷

University of Modena and Reggio Emilia is one of the members of the interinstitutional working group of Reggio Emilia that, in 2019, signed the Protocol Agreement aimed to contrast homotransphobia, with a rigorous plan of actions and policies to be implemented.

- NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON LGBT+ INCLUSION IN UNIVERSITIES²⁸

On January 17-18th, 2019, *University of Pisa* organised and hosted a national conference on LGBT+ inclusion in universities, collaborating with The National Conference of University Equality Organs and with Universitrans Project researchers. Several professors, researchers and students participated to the convention that became a significant starting point for working together, at national level, on this specific issue.

²⁴ URL: http://www.scipol.unipg.it/files/generale/documenti/eventi-del-dipartimento/locandina_idg_2018_2019.pdf, consulted on May, 26th, 2019.

²⁵ URL: https://www.unina.it/documents/11958/16150183/024913_12-03-2018.pdf, consulted on May, 28th, 2019.

²⁶ To explore findings of the analysis of this training course, see V. Bochicchio *et al.* (2019).

²⁷ To deepen the process of drafting the interinstitutional Memorandum of Understanding aimed to contrast homotransphobia, see Graglia, M. (2019).

²⁸ URL: <https://www.unipi.it/index.php/unipieventi/event/4169-le-discriminazioni-fondate-sull-orientamento-sessuale-e-sull-identita-di-genere>, consulted on May, 28th, 2019.

- INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON TRANSGENDER ISSUES²⁹
On October 19-20th, 2018, the National Observatory on Gender Identity (ONIG) and the Department of Neurosciences of the *University of Naples* organised an international multidisciplinary conference on the “transgender and gender non-conforming population”, articulated on the basis of the different contexts of intervention³⁰.
- FESTIVAL OF WOMEN AND GENDER WISDOM³¹
University of Bari organize, since 2011 and in collaboration with various partners, the Festival of Women and Gender’s Wisdom. It is a two-week event, with a packed program of seminars, workshops, conferences, theatre shows and documentary screenings on sexism, homo-bi-transphobia, intersectionality, bodies, queer and other similar issues.
- COLLABORATION WITH LGBT+ STUDENT UNIONS³²
In academic year 2018/2019, Research Centre Politesse of the *Athenaeum of Verona* was marked by a deep cooperation with several LGBT+ students unions and associations in the planning and organization of anti-discriminatory activities.

Counselling services

- SeCS CATHEDRA³³
This innovative sexology counselling service, composed of a team of psychologists, sexologists and endocrinologists, is offered by the *Athenaeum Tor Vergata of Rome*. It is aimed at students, professors, researchers and technician-administrative staff, in order to improve psychological well-being of people which work and study in university.
- “ASCOLTO E INCLUSIONE”³⁴
The *University of Study of Siena* has activated a free service of counselling and inclusion³⁵ for the population of the athenaeum. This project is not gender-oriented but addresses to anyone who needs support to deal with any discomfort or problem. The best practice implemented by University of Siena consists of the advertising of this service on the web-page where the Alias Career is showed and offered.

²⁹ URL: <http://www.onig.it/drupal8/node/89>, consulted on May, 28th, 2019.

³⁰ Authors’ note: This international conference was particularly important because research on trans (and intersex) issues is still lacking in Italy.

³¹ URL: <https://www.uniba.it/eventi-alluniversita/2019/festival-delle-donne-e-dei-saperi-di-genere>

³² On the web-page of Politesse is possible to find the list of seminars and activities organised with LGBT+ associations such as La Sirena, Pink, NUDM, Pianeta Milk, Arcigay and others. URL: <https://www.politesse.it/>, consulted on July, 13th, 2019.

³³URL:

http://web.uniroma2.it/module/name/Content/newlang/italiano/navpath/HOM/action/showpage/content_id/19425

³⁴ URL: <https://www.unisi.it/didattica/ascolto-e-consulenza/ascolto-e-inclusione/carriera-alias>, consulted on May, 26th, 2019.

³⁵ URL: <https://www.unisi.it/didattica/ascolto-e-consulenza>, consulted on April, 22th, 2019.

- “UNICASCOLTA” PROJECT

In 2015, UniCa LGBT+ (a LGBT+ students union of Sardinia) and the *University of Cagliari* created an information-support desk (<https://www.unica-LGBT+.com/sportello>) aimed to the inclusion of sexual minorities in university environment. This service, named “unicAscolta”, is free of charge and offers social, legal, psychological and cultural counsel.

- “6 COME SEI” PROJECT³⁶

This project is realised by the *University La Sapienza of Rome*. The Athenaeum provides its own spaces for a service of counselling and psychological support aimed at students, employees and their families that are facing difficulties concerning sexual orientation and gender identity. Collaboration with a deaf psychotherapist is also activated, in order to make this service more inclusive. This service is not for free but discounts are applied for students and staff.

Other services

- THE INTRODUCTION OF THE WELLNESS NETWORK

On December 11th, 2018, *University of Padova*, organised an open meeting to introduce its Wellness Network: the set of all organisms and individual people which deal with equal opportunities, gender equality, contrast to discrimination, inclusion, health and well-being in Athenaeum. Students, professors and technical and administrative staff were invited and, for the latter, exit during working hours was authorised. The aim was to make everyone aware of the anti-discrimination services (and related handlers or offices to be contacted) offered by the university.

This event was sponsored by *Il BO Live*, the Padova University online magazine (<https://ilbolive.unipd.it/it/event/rete-benessere-dellateneo-padova>).

- PLATFORM AGAINST HOMOPHOBIC BULLYING

“Bullismo Omofobico” is a project implemented by the Research Centre SInAPSi of *University of Naples*. More specifically, it is an online platform, accessible at www.bullismoomofobico.it, which supports a culture of differences’ promotion and appreciation by contrasting the different forms of prejudices and stereotypes related to gender identity and sexual orientation, including through the organization of seminars and workshops. It is also addressed to all those who want to study this issues or to plan interventions against homo-bi-transphobia in university.

- PARKS NETWORK

Parks, Liberi e Uguali (<https://www.parksdiversity.eu/en/>) is a non-profit making organization, whose members are exclusively employers, aimed to help partner companies to develop strategies and good practices in order to enhance the differences between employees and attain maximum business opportunities from this. Parks pays particularly close attention to sexual orientation and gender identity issues. *The Polytechnic of Milan* is a member of that network.

³⁶ URL: <http://dip38.psi.uniroma1.it/strutture/servizi-di-consulenza/6-come-sei>, consulted on April, 22th, 2019.

6. Conclusions and policy implications

The freedom of students and professors to study, teach, express their opinions and ideas, research and publish their studies without control, censorship or restriction from Government or other institutions is named “Academic Freedom” since the 11th century. “Academic freedom” is a constantly evolving concept and, in this essay and for our purposes, it concerns the ability of universities to improve LGBT+ people’s inclusion in the academic life.

To measure this dimension of academic freedom we have selected a set of indicators with the collaboration of six LGBT+ students unions, of four experts and of the National Conference of University Equality Organs. Then we elaborated a model by using fuzzy logic (Zadeh, 1965, 1988).

We have then applied the model to measure the LGBT+ degree of inclusion of Italian universities. The response rate was 100 per cent.

Every item was related to the academic year 2018/2019 and indicators were divided in two dimensions that constitute the two final inputs and intermediary outcomes: *Context Index* and *Alias Career Index*. These two dimensions are in turn divided into the sections composing them (*Education and Employees’ training, Involvement and Collaboration* and *Services* for Context Index; *Students’ Alias Career-Access Criteria* and *Employees Alias Career* for Alias Career Index).

This splitting allows getting a picture of inclusiveness’ degree of different sub-dimensions of the Academic freedom.

In this way, we achieved the first Italian ranking of public universities relating to their LGBT+ degree of inclusion, where at the first place we found the University of Verona followed by University of Basilicata (both characterised by the maximum level of Alias Career inclusiveness, thanks to the adoption of the Non-disclosure Agreement).

With regard to *Context Index*, we highlight a list of best practices identified in our analysis with the aim of suggesting and recommending guidelines helpful to fight homo-bi-transphobic discrimination in university environments.

In terms of policies implications, one of the main result of this study concern the relevance of an operational anti-discriminatory plan that involves all the identified dimensions rather than a single action: the introduction of Alias Career, even if in its most inclusive version, is not sufficient in itself to guarantee inclusion for all sexual minorities. The position in the ranking of the universities of Camerino (13°) and Venice (18°), even though their high scores in Alias Career index, is the proof of that.

We recommend an intervention strategy aimed to improve all the sub-dimensions identified in this study: education, research and curricula gender-oriented, training courses on LGBT+ issues for professors and for technical-administrative and managerial staff, collaboration with LGBT+ students unions or ally, involvement of sexual minorities associations in the organization of anti-discriminatory activities and events, provision of many and different services to protect and to support sexual minorities, among which the introduction of the Non-disclosure Agreement to release Alias Career.

It should not be forgotten that every university has its own characteristics and peculiarities: in the definition of an intervention strategy aimed to LGBT+ inclusion, the collaboration of LGBT+ associations is crucial as well as the capacity of device new services and innovative policies, maintaining a fluid and open-minded approach (the same approach that led to the new version of Alias Career).

Finally, we strongly suggest the introduction of the Academic Freedom dimension concerning the LGBT+ inclusion in the studies on the evaluation of the universities, especially in those where the Right to Education is involved, such as the *Biennial Report on the State of the*

University System and Research, realised by ANVUR (National Agency for the Evaluation of University and Research) and the *Italian Universities Ranking* of CENSIS. Structural changes took place in universities as regards to LGBT+ inclusion as described in this essay (alias career, non-disclosure agreements) matched with technical solutions that can allow better practices to be implemented by universities leading to a change in the value of the here proposed indicator. A fruitful product of this essay could be the implementation of a routine to update the index for each University on a yearly basis. This will also encourage universities to adopt best practices and to promptly acknowledge their implementation to an outside centre responsible for the update of the index and of the related ranking.

"The analysis, in this chapter, of the status of the right to academic education in Italy was necessarily focused on the financial aspects. A more complete interpretation of the "right to education" would require an analysis of how the academic system responds to all material, physical and psychological necessities of the students, including the ones due to diversities expressed by the students. As a first step in this direction, it seems useful to provide, in the following box, some information on the protection of transitioning individuals" (Russo, 2018, p. 258). These are the first six lines of a two-pages article concerning Alias Career in Italian public universities, published in the last Report on the State of the University System and Research (ANVUR, 2018). We hope that, if that short essay was a "first step", the next step will be an entire study on this crucial issue.

In conclusion, we recommend the application of this index also in other public environments and for the inclusion of further minorities, with the proper modifications due to the context and to the different characteristics of discriminated target.

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APPENDIX

Table 1. Weights given to initial inputs by LGBT+ Students Unions, experts and National Conference of University Equality Organs.

		VARIABLES	LGBT+ STUDENTS UNIONS				EXPERTS					National Conference of University Equality Organs	AVERAGE	
			Identità UniTe	MoRe Gay	Scienze Politiche LGBTQI+	Glauco	AVERAGE	Paolo Valerio	Lorenzo Bernini	Anna Lorenzetti	Emidio Albertini			AVERAGE
LGBT+ UNIVERSITIES INCLUSION INDEX	CONTEXT INDICATOR	INVOLVEMENT												
		ATHENAEUM INVOLVEMENT	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	
		COLLABORATION	3	2	3	2	2.5	3	2	3	2	2.5	2	2.33
		CUG INVOLVEMENT	3	3	3	3	3	2	2	3	3	2.5	3	2.83
							8.5/9					8/9	8/9	5.17
		EDUCATION												
		STUDY COURSES AND LGBT CURRICULA	1	2	3	3	2.25	2	2	3	2	2.25	3	2.50
		EMPLOYEES TRAINING	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	3	2	2.5	2	2.50
		ACTIVITIES	2	2	3	3	2.5	2	2	3	2	2.25	3	2.58
							7.75/9					7/9	8/9	7.58
		SERVICES												
		BATHROOMS	3	2	3	3	2.75	3	2	2	1	2	1	1.92
	CRIMES_REPORT	3	3	3	3	3	2	3	3	3	2.75	3	2.92	
	COUNSELLING	2	3	3	3	2.75	3	2	2	3	2.5	1	2.08	
						8.5/9					7.25/9	5/9	6.92	
						24.75/27					22.25/27	21/27	19.67	
	ALIAS CAREER INDICATOR													
	STUDENTS													
	ALIAS STUDENTS	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	2.08	
	ACCESS	2	3	3	3	2.75	3	3	1	3	2.5	3	2.75	
	SWEB ADVERTISING	2	3	3	2	2.5	3	2	3	2	2.5	2	2.33	
						8.25/9					8/9	8/9	7.17	
	STAFF AND PROFESSORS													
	ALIAS PROFESSORS	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	1	2.33	
	ALIAS TA STAFF	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	1	2.33	
	EWEV ADVERTISING	3	3	3	2	2.75	3	2	3	2	2.5	1	2.08	
						8.75/9					8.5/9	3/9	6.75	
						17/18					16.5/18	11/18	13.92	

Table 2. Rules of the Rule Block “Alias Career”

IF		THEN
EI_index	SI_index	AC_index
very_low	very_low	very_low
very_low	low	low
very_low	medium	medium_low
very_low	high	medium
very_low	very_high	medium_high
low	very_low	low
low	low	medium_low
low	medium	medium_low
low	high	medium
low	very_high	medium_high
medium	very_low	low
medium	low	medium_low
medium	medium	medium
medium	high	medium_high
medium	very_high	high

IF		THEN
high	very_low	medium_low
high	low	medium
high	medium	medium_high
high	high	medium_high
high	very_high	high
very_high	very_low	medium_low
very_high	low	medium
very_high	medium	medium_high
very_high	high	high
very_high	very_high	very_high

Table 3. Rules of the Rule Block “Context”

IF			THEN
E_index	I_index	S_index	C_index
very_low	very_low	very_low	very_low
very_low	very_low	low	low
very_low	very_low	medium	medium_low
very_low	very_low	high	medium_low
very_low	very_low	very_high	medium
very_low	low	very_low	low
very_low	low	low	low
very_low	low	medium	medium_low
very_low	low	high	medium
very_low	low	very_high	medium
very_low	medium	very_low	low
very_low	medium	low	medium_low
very_low	medium	medium	medium_low
very_low	medium	high	medium
very_low	medium	very_high	medium
very_low	high	very_low	low
very_low	high	low	medium_low
very_low	high	medium	medium
very_low	high	high	medium
very_low	high	very_high	medium_high
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IF			THEN
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very_high	very_high	very_high	very_high

Assessing the relationship between HRM practices and job satisfaction in presence of perceived discrimination

Russo T., Addabbo T., Pistoresi B., Curzi Y.

Abstract

Appropriate HRM practices to managing diversity affect individual behaviours, work attitudes and feelings and the organizational productivity (Ensher, Grant-Vallone & Donaldson, 2001; Boehm, Kunze and Bruch, 2014; Saxena, 2014; Luu, Rowley, & Vo, 2019).

This research contributes to the debate in the human resources management (HRM) literature by examining the impact of some HRM practices on workers' overall job satisfaction and the determinants of workers' perception of discrimination.

The novelty of our study consists in the deepening of the relation between HRM practices and the employees' perception of (different types of) discrimination in workplace: a largely unexplored topic, until now. Our aim is to add value to existing literature by assessing the synergy effect between perception of discrimination and HRM practices on workers' job satisfaction, performing a mediation model based on probit regression analysis of a selection of variables drawn from the sixth wave of European Working Condition Survey data, collected in 2015 (EWCS, 2015). We also provide a comparison of different types of discrimination, examining the moderating effect of the perception of discrimination on the relationship between HRM practices and employees' job satisfaction, assuming that the strength of the above relation is weaker for discriminated workers. More specifically, we propose that the improving effect of HRM practices on job satisfaction should be less pronounced when linked with the perception of discrimination.

Our findings highlight that HRM practices we analysed (except for autonomy of the work-group and job-intensity) have a positive impact on workers' job satisfaction and reduce the perception of discrimination. Moreover, we find that the perception of every kind of discrimination have a negative impact on workers' job satisfaction. Our results also suggest that the perception of discrimination has a moderator role in the relation between HRM practices and job satisfaction. Policy implications are finally discussed.

Key words: *Perceived Discrimination, HRM practices, Job Satisfaction, Workplace.*

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Introduction

This research contributes to the debate in the human resources management (HRM) literature by examining firstly the impact of HRM practices on workers' job satisfaction and, secondly, the relation between them and the employees' perception of discrimination in workplace.

Another aim is to add value to existing literature by assessing the synergy effect between perception of discrimination and HRM practices on workers' job satisfaction, through a multivariate analysis allowing to investigate the impact of a set of variables drawn from the sixth wave of European Working Condition Survey data, collected in 2015 (EWCS, 2015). We also provide a comparison of different types of discrimination, examining the moderating effect of perception of discrimination on the relationship between supportive HRM practices and job satisfaction.

Nevertheless, before going into further details, some core concepts should be clarified.

Starting from the notion of HRM practice, this element can be described as the practical implementation of organizational human resource policies: the organizational plans and procedures developed with the aim of managing people (Armstrong, 2006). Different theories have been suggested to clarify the relation between HRM practices and organizational productivity: the nucleus of these studies is provided by the literature review proposed by Jackson and Schuler (1995). Even if a review of these theories is beyond the scope of our research, we can state that the adoption of well-developed HRM practices may have an economically and statistically significant impact on levels of individual and organizational output (Ichniowski, Shaw & Prenzushi, 1995; Huselid, 1995; Noe et al., 2017). Research highlights their positive effect on workers' motivation, attitudes and abilities (Jones, Wright, 1992; Guzzo, Jette & Katzelle, 1985; Appelbaum et al., 2000) as well as on organizational productivity (Bartel, 1994; Huselid, 1995). We will analyse in detail some specific HRM practices and their effects in the second section of this essay.

It is not possible to provide a comprehensive definition of HRM practices (and of their effects) without linking them with employees' overall perception. As a matter of fact, workers' overall perception of organizational HRM plans and procedures seems to be a crucial element in explaining workers' behaviours and attitudes (Chang, 1999, 2005; Gartner & Nollen, 1989). A very few studies have adopted measures of workers' perception of HRM practices, but their results are very similar: planned, realized and perceived HRM practices differ considerably, because of volatility in deployment and dissimilar individual-level cognitive patterns (Edgar & Geare, 2005; Khilji & Wang, 2006; Conway & Monks, 2008; Snape & Redman, 2010).

The perception of supportive HRM practices – such as participation, training opportunity and practices to enhance discretion –

contributes to the growth of workers' organizational support perception, which mediates the relation between the implementation of HRM practices and employees' job satisfaction (Allen et al., 2003; Conway and Monks, 2009).

Similarly, the concept of perception of discrimination is a key factor of numerous theoretical frameworks used in economic research. It is said to exist when an employee defines its condition as discriminated when compared to the counterpart condition. Perception of discrimination may significantly affect the responses of the individual to his/her work (Hopkins, 1980) and may reduce the quality of work environment with adverse effects on employees' behaviours, relations, compliance and job related satisfaction (Gibson & Teasley, 1973). There have been very few studies of the relation between HRM practices and workers perception of discrimination and, with this study, we propose to fill this gap.

Job satisfaction is another key element of our research: Locke (1976) defined it as “[...] a pleasure or positive emotional state resulting from the appraisal of one's job or job experiences” (p. 1304). This is one of the most-used research definitions of job satisfaction, intended as the cognition and the feeling of a worker towards his/her job (Saari, Judge, 2004). Job satisfaction is

determined by different variables, many of which converge into the so-called “human resources management practices” (HRMP). The past three decades have witnessed a burgeoning literature on the impact of HRMP on job satisfaction (Clark, 1996; Oswald, 1997; Robie *et al.* 1998; Clark, 2001; Bryson *et al.* 2004; Petrescu & Simmons, 2008; Anuar, Ismail & Abdin, 2014).

In 1993, Jayaratne published a wide review of literature on job satisfaction and stressed that, even if an overabundance of studies existed on this topic, there was a little research with divergent results on the impact of perceived discrimination on job satisfaction.

Later in the years 2000, the impact of the perception of discrimination on job satisfaction has been increasingly analysed, in particular on the basis of age (Furunes & Mikletun, 2010; Moyes, Williams & Koch, 2006), gender (Okpara, Squillace & Erondu, 2005; Moyes, Williams & Koch, 2006; Bender, Donohue & Heywood, 2005), disability (Uppal, 2005; Pagan, 2011, 2013; Moore *et al.* 2011) and ethnicity (Miller & Travers, 2005; King *et al.* 2012).

Much less literature was produced, instead, on the relation between perception of sexual orientation discrimination and job satisfaction³⁷. Nevertheless some important research advised that heterosexual employees generally experienced higher levels of job satisfaction than gay and lesbian workers (Sears & Mallory, 2011; Badgett & Frank, 2007). This may be due to the high levels of workplace violence and harassment experienced by LGB people as well as to the inequality in wages, career opportunities and job responsibilities (Drydakis, 2015).

With all this considered, it is crucial for organizational management to understand employees’ perceptions of discrimination at work, because these perceptions can affect their behaviour, their relations, their attitudes and, consequently, the economic health of the company.

The paper is structured as follows. In the next section we present our theoretical background and framework. In particular, we firstly show the HRM practices used in our probit models, which may impact on the workers’ perception of discrimination and on their overall job-related satisfaction. Secondly, we present the available literature on the relation between perception of discrimination and overall work satisfaction. A description of our methodology, data analysis and techniques is followed by a section showing the findings of our analysis and then a discussion session.

Our findings highlight that, in our sample of the 6th EWC survey, some HRM practices have a direct effect on perception of discrimination and that perception of each kind of discrimination, as well as intersectionality, negatively impact on job satisfaction.

The paper ends with our conclusions and implications.

³⁷ Studies on the impact of workers perception of transphobia on their job satisfaction are even rarer than those on perception of sexual orientation discrimination.

1. HRM practices, job characteristics, perceived discrimination and job satisfaction: a theoretical background

The method to managing diversity is a HRM practice that affects the organizational effectiveness, the individual behaviours and feelings and the relations between management and employees, as well as the relations between co-workers (Ensher, Grant-Vallone & Donaldson, 2001).

A primary purpose of this study is to show empirical evidence for the impact of HRM practices on employees' job satisfaction.

Consistently with the recent theoretical contributions (Chow, Haddad & Singh, 2007; Petrescu & Simmons, 2008; Tooksoon, 2011), the relation between HRM practices and employees' job satisfaction can be described as a string that moves from practices to workers' outcomes (attitudes, commitment, behaviours) and then to organisational results.

We will also analyse the impact of different job characteristics as described by Hackman and Oldham's (1974) *Job Characteristics Theory*. Their theory proposed that five key job factors affect individual and work related outcomes, comprising job satisfaction. The dimensions recognised are: autonomy, feedback, skill variety, task identity, and task significance.

Theories of job satisfaction basically allocate different levels of importance to determinants of satisfaction that can be categorized into two groups: the intrinsic and the extrinsic determinants. The first ones are based on the subjective characteristics of the worker, such as attitudes; extrinsic determinants, instead, depend on the work environment and can be defined as situational³⁸ (Luchak, 2003).

Extrinsic factors are defined by Davis (1971, p. 182) as "job-context factors affecting job satisfaction and motivation, including working conditions, pay, supervisory relationships, community, and industry type". We decided to focus on some of them, such as *workers' discretion*, *performance pay programmes* and *training plans* (Petrescu & Simmons, 2008; Griffin, Patterson & West, 2001; Schmidt, 2007; Green & Heywood, 2008; Boehm, Kunze & Bruch, 2011). Furthermore, we analyse other extrinsic factors, such as *job-intensity*, *autonomy* and *discretion of the teamwork* given the ambiguity in the literature connected to their effects.

A secondary aim of our research is to explore HRM practices potential role on workers' perception of discrimination, on the ground of five different characteristics: sexual orientation, age, disability, gender and ethnicity.

We started our analysis from the assumption that a growing body of research has found by over the past decades a positive relation between inclusive HRM practices and organizational performance (Huselid, 1995; Zacharatos, Barling, & Iverson, 2005). Most studies, indeed, underlined that well-developed HRM practices may lead to desirable employee states and behaviours and, consequently, to high organizational outcomes (Kunze, Boehm & Bruch, 2011; Chuang & Liao, 2010; Gardner, Wright, & Moynihan, 2011). Kopelman, Brief and Cuzzo (1990) have been pioneers in the analysis of the role of the environment work (organizational culture and climate) on workers' cognitive and affective status (work motivation and job satisfaction), on salient organizational behaviours (attachment, performance, perceptions, citizenship, feeling) and, consequently, on work effectiveness (organizational productivity). Starting from these theories, Ostroff and Bowen (2000) developed a theoretical model examining the linkage between HRM practices, the perception that workers have of them and employees' performances, adopting the organizational climate as a mediator of the relation between HRM practices and workers' performances. Considering that climate is referred to as the perception of these official and non-official organizational policies, strategies and measures (Reichers &

³⁸ In economic literature, job satisfaction is, moreover, specified as a function defined by numerous characteristics regarding the individual and the kind of job (Easterlin, 2001).

Schneider, 1990), it follows that the HRM practices can play a crucial role in defining workers' perceptions of the organizational climate.

In the light of the theories just mentioned and because an organizational climate can be perceived as discriminatory and exclusionary or, on the contrary, as inclusive and free of discrimination (Kunze, Boehm, Bruch, 2011; Raver, Schneider, 2004), we can generally expect that inclusive HRM practices will reduce workers' perception of discrimination.

In this section we analyse, one by one, the HRM practices used in our models in order to provide a theoretical basis for the findings concerning each of them. Considering that the policies and measures adopted by an organization should be determined by the strategic aims and ideals of the organization (Bowen & Ostroff, 2001), the set of practices we selected as predictors of job satisfaction and perception of discrimination refer to an HRM system ideally and firstly aimed to employees' inclusion³⁹ but also some practices that may have a not-obvious effect.

Autonomy & Discretion

Hackman and Oldham's (1974) job characteristics model analysed autonomy as one of the five core job dimensions affecting individual and organizational performances. They examined job-autonomy as a synonym of job-discretion: the authority to exercise valuation and make decisions without interferences, or with minimal interferences, as well as the freedom to define the practical, physical and temporal limits of work (Engel, 1970; Wallace, 1995).

It may be difficult to understand the difference between the concepts of discretion and autonomy. To the best of our knowledge, it is necessary to distinguish between these notions in the work regulation. Maggi (2003/2016) defines discretion as the workers ability to decide how to act, across a range of pre-established alternative procedures, on the strength of previous guidelines. The concept of autonomy is, instead, related to the capability to produce one's own rules and manage one's own process of action and decisions (Maggi, 2003/2016).

Thus, the difference is subtle but relevant and Section 4, dedicated to variables and measures, will provide our interpretation of the concept.

In the light of these considerations, it is generally assumed that employees who experience less discretion and autonomy on how to conduct their work, or how to solve problems on their own, result consequently more dissatisfied with work than their counterpart endowed with discretion and autonomy, particularly in specialized work. As a matter of fact, workers who are equipped with specialized tools feel more frustrated in front of the impossibility to act and make discretionally or autonomous decisions than unskilled workers (MacKinney, Wernimont & Galitz, 1962; Hulin and Blood, 1968; Goldthorpe *et al.*, 1968; Pilati & Innocenti, 2008; Bartling, Fehr & Schmidt, 2013).

Reduction or limitation of workers' discretionary and autonomous powers can be perceived as a discriminatory act by those employees who belong to minorities (Einarsen & Skogstad, 1996; Niedl, 1996; Lait & Wallace, 2002). Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that discretion and autonomy are negatively correlated with employees' perception of discrimination and with their job-satisfaction in the workplace.

Furthermore, autonomy effects are not as simple and linear as they might seem. Extensive literature exists on the *Paradox of Autonomy*, particularly evident in self-managing teams, where autonomy frequently ends up increasing control over individual members (Ezzamel and Willmott 1998; Langfred, 2000; Mazmanian, Orlikowski & Yates, 2013; Albano *et al.*, 2018), as well as in

³⁹ Diverse amount and forms of the practices selected have been found to impact on organizational productivity, in different ways. An important meta-analysis of the effects of intervention programs on worker productivity is provided by Guzzo, Jette and Katzell (1985).

some specific professions and jobs (Alvesson and Robertson, 2006; Covaleski et al., 1998; Blau, 1984; Robertson, Scarbrough and Swan, 2003).

Team endowed with discretion

Some scholars have found that increased discretion may also rise monitoring and control over workers, with the effect of reducing employees' motivation and satisfaction (Mazmanian, Orlikowski & Yates, 2013; Stewart & Barrik, 2000; Albano *et al.* 2018). Discretion can, indeed, generate a paradox, which reflects the trade-off between workers' interest in personal discretion and the possible highest level of control and judgment acted by colleagues, clients or management. We will identify this as the *Discretion Paradox*.

Barker (1993, 1999) found that this paradox is more frequent in self-managing teams rather than in individual workers which work independently: the job satisfaction of team members is determined by several factors such as the composition of the group and the relations between members, the characteristics of the work itself, the intragroup rules, the supervisors' control. All these aspects act in combination and that is why the relation through which teamwork influences job satisfaction is neither simple nor linear (Campion *et al.*, 1993; Gladstein, 1984; Griffin, Patterson & West, 2001).

Analysing autonomy and discretion of a team as determinants of perception of discrimination, we can argue that individual autonomy and discretion can be generally expected as factors that will decrease negative feelings and emotions, but the expectations change taking into account the autonomy and the discretion of a group-work. More specifically, a group can be inclusive and non-discriminatory (e.g. cohesive⁴⁰) or not. The social identity theory suggests that a cohesive work group needs no intra-group hostile relations as well as members' identification with the in-group (Tajfel, 1978; Tajfel et al., 1979). Even though work group identification has been found to be linked to work group satisfaction (Riketta & van Dick, 2005), different studies have also shown that it is often a trigger for intergroup conflicts and discrimination: with the aim of reducing insecurity and improve their self-esteem, work group members may try to increase their group's power through an intergroup discrimination and a strong subgroup alliance (Ashforth & Mael, 1989; Hogg & Terry, 2000).

In the light of these considerations, we can expect that while individual autonomy and discretion are positively correlated with workers' overall job-satisfaction and negatively with the perception of discrimination, the expected result for the autonomy and the discretion of a work group is the exact opposite.

Job-intensity

Work intensity is both a physical and a psychological issue. It can be described as "conditions having long difficult working hours, pressure to work overtime, lesser holidays or breaks, unreasonable work overload, and improbable expectations of what can be achieved in some given limited time and with available resources" (Altaf & Awan, 2011, p. 93).

Literature shows that work overload, time pressure, tight deadlines and high-speed work directly contribute to decrease psychophysical well-being and, consequently, to reduce job-related satisfaction (Boisard et al., 2003a, 2003b; Green and Tsitsianis, 2005; Zeytinoglu et al., 2007; Silla & Gamero, 2010; Linzer et al., 2000; Skaalvik & Skaalvik, 2009).

⁴⁰ Langfred (2000) defined group cohesiveness as "the extent to which group members like, and interact with, other group members and want to remain part of the group" (pag. 567).

Some scholars found that the introduction of job-intensity schemes can be perceived by workers as bullying and discriminatory acts, impacting negatively on stress and well-being (Einarsen & Skogstad, 1996; Niedl, 1996; Lait & Wallace, 2002).

With these premises, a negative relation between job-intensity and job-satisfaction is expected. Moreover, we predict that an employee under work-related pressure may report higher levels of perceived discrimination than an employee without tight pace of work.

Performance-related pay

The adoption of a performance pay system has been found to intensify employees' efficiency, effort and wages (Lazear 2000; Paarsch and Shearer 2000; Armstrong and Baron, 2005). Nevertheless, the effects of these pay schemes on workers job-related satisfaction is not automatically positive. Higher wages increase employee satisfaction, but other dimensions of pay systems based on performance may have an adverse impact on overall work satisfaction. Performance-related pay can, indeed, lead to uncertain earnings, increased efforts, earning dispersion and, consequently, may reduce employee satisfaction (Kennedy, 1995; Marsden, French & Kubo, 2001; McCausland, Pouliakas & Theodossiou, 2005; Green & Heywood, 2007; Prowse & Prowse, 2009). Moreover, Marsden and French (1998) highlighted that individual performance pay scheme can divide workforce, reduce employees' disposition to collaborate with management and lead management to attribute lower scores to keep from paying. In the light of these considerations, this type of performance appraisal may be expected to increase perception of discrimination and reduce workers' overall job satisfaction.

Job Training

Landy (1985) talked about job training as "a set of planned activities on the part of an organization to increase the job knowledge and skills or to modify the attitudes and social behaviour of its members in ways consistent with the goals of the organization and the requirements of the job" (p. 306).

Some scholars do not consider job training as an element of job satisfaction: for instance, Koustelios and Bagiatis' analysis (1997) gauged overall work satisfaction through a six-factor scale including the presence of an immediate supervisor, pay schemes, working conditions, the job itself, the organization, and prospects for promotion. Moreover, Schwepker's study (2001) measured job satisfaction using the following constructs: promotion and advancement, pay schemes, supervisors, organizational policy and support, customers, co-workers and job characteristics. Finally, also Shapiro, Burkey, Dorman, and Welker's research (1996) evaluated job satisfaction adopting a six-factor scale without involving job training but considering futility/avoidance, self-actualization, job-related affect, support, self-esteem and working conditions.

We decided to introduce job training in our model regarding the determinants of overall job satisfaction because it can, however, be considered as a dimension of 'internal service quality' in the working environment, and that is why it can contribute greatly to workers' overall job-related satisfaction (Burke, 1995; Heskett et al., 1994). As a matter of fact, a wide literature, available from different disciplines, has found a positive relation between job training and employees' satisfaction (Conrade & Woods, 1994; Wesley & Skip, 1999; Chiang, Back, Canter, 2005; Jones et al., 2009; Hanaysha, Tahir, 2015).

Furthermore, a well-developed job training programme can have a crucial impact on workers' perception of discrimination: since it is usually an on-going collective education process, training

can be considered as one of the most prevalent starting point for employees' inclusion. Cox and Blake (1991) suggested the introduction of two types of training: awareness training, addressed to management, in order to create an understanding on diversity related issues, and a skill-building training aimed to educate workforce on differences and, consequently, to create a more anti-discriminatory climate.

In the light of this, a positive impact of job-training on minority workers' perception of discrimination can reasonably be expected.

Support

The individual support cannot be considered as a concrete traditional HRM practice. Anyway, we decided to use this element in our analysis because of its nature: it can be, indeed, a consequence of a casual set of factors, such as empathy, mutual understanding or friendship, but also the result of a specific inclusive-oriented organizational policy.

In our analysis, we distinguish the role of the supervisors' support and the role of colleagues' support in determining workers' job satisfaction, as suggested by French, Rogers and Cobb (1974).

Kim, Lee and Sung (2013) noted that workers' perception of supervisors' support had a moderating role in the impact of HRM inclusive practices and the perception of gender discrimination on workers' job satisfaction: more specifically, they found that the interaction between supportive HRM practices and boss' support can increase workers' job satisfaction to a much higher standard and that the negative effect of perception of discrimination on job satisfaction can be moderated by supervisors' support.

Supervisors play a decisive role in defining the structure and the nature of the work environment, sharing knowledge, goals and information, providing feedback, asking for opinions. Their decisions have a concrete impact on employees' behaviours and commitment as well as on work-related satisfaction of workers (Durham, Knight & Locke, 1997).

On the other side, colleagues' support is crucial in increasing a feeling of belongingness to the company (or eventually to the work-group) that impacts, consequently, on job satisfaction (Ducharme, Martin, 2000; Abraham, 2012), as well as on perception of discrimination (Partent et al., 1992; Storey & Garff, 1997; Chou & Choi, 2011).

This dimension of HRM practices is particularly important for the LGB workers' inclusion in workplace but, until now, there is little available literature on LGB allies in work environments. Martinez and Hebl (2010) found that heterosexuals (co-workers or supervisors), which support gay and lesbian employees, can contribute to a more inclusive culture and climate of an organization and, thus, to a higher level of LGB workers' job satisfaction. Considering that inclusive attitudes towards LGB individuals lead others to likewise positive behaviours (Zitek & Hebl, 2007), allies within organizations may be really helpful in reducing homophobic acts and prejudices, contributing to a highest level of overall job satisfaction and of well-being reported by employees belonging to minorities (Findler, Wind, Barak, 2008). The same applies to all those workers who belong to a minority (Loscocco & Spitze, 1990; Partent et al., 1992; Storey & Garff, 1997; Chou & Choi, 2011). In light of this, a positive impact of co-workers and supervisors' support on minority workers' perception of discrimination can reasonably be expected.

The present paper attempts to analyse the impact of HRM practices and job characteristics, from one hand, on job satisfaction and, from the other hand, on perceived discrimination in workplaces.

Moreover, we analyse the pivotal role in the relation between HRM practices and workers' job satisfaction played by the perception of discrimination, which expresses the level in which discrimination is regarded, understood, or interpreted by the worker discriminated against on the grounds of one (or more than one) characteristic. Discriminated workers may be less likely to embrace positively the HRM practices implemented by the organization.

With this research, we firstly test the mediation role of perceived discrimination in HRM practices-job satisfaction relation. Secondly, we test its role as a moderator factor, hypothesizing that the improving effect of supportive HRM practices on job satisfaction should be less pronounced when linked with the perception of discrimination.

2. The relation between the perception of discrimination and workers' job satisfaction: a theoretical background

The increasing differences among employees in terms of age, gender, cultural and social background, physical abilities, ethnicity, sexual orientation, gender identity, religion (and others) present several new challenges and opportunities from the perspective of management.

Employing heterogeneous workforce grants different advantages for the organization, such as an increased presence of high-performance employees, a stronger productivity growth, more creativity and innovation, and others (Cox & Blake, 1991). However, in a work-environment of different individuals, some minority workers can consider their condition as discriminated when compared to the others condition, because of one (or more) specific characteristic. Additionally, since employees' belief affects their satisfaction, relations, compliances, performances, and attitudes, whether or not they are real (Gibson & Teasley, 1973; Eisenberger, Fasolo & Davis-LaMastro, 1990), employers have to pay attention to their perceptions and feelings. Therefore, to guarantee the achievement of the benefits over mentioned, organizations need to implement *ad hoc* inclusion policies and specific HRM practices in response to their minority workers' sense of marginalization and exclusion.

Past studies have investigated the consequences of employees' perceived discrimination (on the ground of age, ethnicity, disability, gender and sexual orientation) and its effect on their work-related attitudes and behaviours.

In this section we expose some of the most important studies on the effect of the perception (of different types) of discrimination on workers' job satisfaction, in order to provide a theoretical basis for our findings, dividing them by the characteristic subject of discrimination.

Age

Research on age-discrimination and older workers has been increasing for over thirty years because of the changing demographic of the labour force, which also concerns individual expertise and skills (Doubbelaere & Goepfinger, 1991). An important study on issues involving consequences of age-discrimination in workplace found that older employees' perception of discrimination was negatively related to self-esteem and overall work satisfaction (Hassel, Parrewè, 1993).

More recently, Taylor, McLoughling, Meyer and Brooke (2013) have analysed a worker survey data collected within Australian organisations, realizing a statistically reliable model of the direct effect of everyday age-based discrimination on psychological wellbeing and job satisfaction. The

survey was carried out in two phases (2007 and 2008) and in diverse environments: two international terminals of an airline, a public university, a factory and in the roadside assistance of a car company. Psycho-social factors, such as job insecurity, were included using a structural equation modelling.

Their findings highlighted that age-related everyday discrimination negatively impacts on job satisfaction, consistently with Rosen and Jerdee (1976), Orpen (1995), Hassel and Parrewè (1983), Griffin, Bayl-Smith and Hesketh (2016).

Ethnicity

Ensher, Grant-Vallone and Donaldson (2001) explored the perception of discrimination of 366 ethnically diverse workers from a wide variety of work environments and professional categories, analysing data collected for the project *Workwell* in Los Angeles, California. To measure their job satisfaction, there were used five items from the Job Content Questionnaire (Karasek, 1985). This measure included the item “How satisfied are you with your job?” which was found to have high internal consistency (alpha 5.81). Ensher, Grant-Vallone and Donaldson observed how workers’ perceptions of ethnical discrimination impacted on their job-related satisfaction, organizational commitment, grievances and organizational citizenship behaviour, found that multiple levels perceived discrimination affected all the considered dimensions, except for grievances⁴¹.

Another important research on ethnicity discrimination as a determinant of job satisfaction is the study of Sanchez and Brock (1996). They analysed the consequences of perceived ethnical discrimination on work performances and attitudes. The target population employed was Hispanics resident in Dade County, Florida: a county where 44 percent of the population was Hispanic. In their study, the perception of discrimination was gauged with 10 items and it analysed data through a regression analysis. Sanchez and Brock (1996) results showed that workers’ perception of ethnical discrimination adversely impacted on overall job satisfaction much more than other general work-related stressors, such as fighting with colleagues or supervisors and job uncertainty. They also found that employees with higher levels of education and wages perceived less discrimination than others.

This last finding is in contrast with the so-called Paradox of Integration (Buijs, Demant, Hamdy, 2006; Entzinger, Dourleijn, 2008; Verkuyuten, 2016) which suggests, on the contrary, that people declaring to have a high level of education or of wage should be expected to report more perceived discrimination. Following this theory, we can assume that more educated people are more likely to know their rights and feel comfortable reporting to have perceived discrimination, than those with the lowest level of education (Sizemore, Milner, 2004; Cardarelli et al., 2007; Verkuyuten, 2016).

Disability

Considering disability-based discrimination, a significant study (Goodyear & Stude, 1975) compared the job performance of 21 employees with a severe disability and that of 22 nondisabled workers, underlining that the first ones reported higher level of job satisfaction than the others, because their work-opportunities were lower and, so, their job gave them a greater satisfaction. Also other studies have found a similar result (Jiranek and Kirby, 1990; Test et al., 1993; Tseng, 1975), suggesting that when disabled workers are needed job-related supports and given the chance, they are able to work as adequately as nondisabled employees and, consequently, absolutely satisfied with work. Nevertheless, if workers with disability are generally and moderately more satisfied than those without but they happen to experience more

⁴¹ In contrast to Ensher, Grant-Vallone and Donaldson (2001), Allen and Keaveny (1985) found that employees perceiving an unfair treatment are more likely to file grievances than those who believe they are being treated fairly.

discrimination, they can report similar (or lower) levels of job satisfaction to those of workers without disability (Stone & Colella, 1996; Perry, Hendricks & Broadbent, 2000). It should be added that diverse types of disabilities are exposed to diverse levels of discrimination (Perry, Hendricks & Broadbent, 2000; Foqua, Rathbun & Gade, 1984; Uppal, 2005).

Gender

A wide literature on gender discrimination and its consequences on discriminated workers is today available.

Several studies, for a long time now, have shown that the so-called women segregation and the gender-pay gap impact negatively on women's overall job satisfaction and on their stress (Wharton & Baron, 1991; Hagedorn, 1996). Women who report to perceive gender-based discrimination and to experience harassment at work may also suffer physical and psychological effects (Fitzgerald et al., 1997; Schmitt et al., 2002). Also the so-called glass ceiling and the sticky-floor phenomena have found to impact negatively on job satisfaction (Zafarullah, 2000; Okpara, Squillace & Erondu, 2006) as well as on commitment and enthusiasm (Channar, Abbassi & Ujan, 2011).

Sexual Orientation

Carpenter (2005) analysed the 2003 Canadian Community Health Survey, restricted to a subsample of individuals living in three Canadian regions (Ontario, Newfoundland, and Saskatchewan), showing evidence of differences in job satisfaction among individual reporting different sexual orientations. Gay and lesbians workers reported statistically significant higher level of job satisfaction than heterosexual individuals.

Hammarstedt, Aldén, & Swahnberg (2018) based on a nationwide survey conducted in 2016 in Sweden find a higher degree of job satisfaction for gay men with respect to heterosexual men and a lower degree of job satisfaction by lesbians as compared to heterosexual women, however both found their work more mentally straining than heterosexuals.

Research also demonstrates that LGB employees suffer of different form of sexual orientation-based discrimination in workplace, starting from pecuniary discrimination (Badgett *et al.* 2007; Carpenter, 2008; Drydakis, 2009; 2011; 2015), proceeding with everyday harassment (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights report, 2009), to end with institutionalised discrimination (Badgett *et al.* 2007). Since abuse, perceived discrimination, discriminatory payments and advancements are suggested to decrease job satisfaction (Mirage, 1994; Sanchez and Brock, 1996), we can expect that LGB workers who perceived discrimination are very likely to report less job satisfaction than employees who do not.

Intersectionality

Our research also contributes to the debate in the HRM literature by examining the role of intersectionality on workers attitudes.

The concept of intersectionality was coined in 1989 to highlight the heaviest consequences of intersection of ethnicity and sex discrimination on individuals (Crenshaw, 1989). Today, this concept arises out of feminist subject to describe the phenomenon of different forms of discrimination related one to another, and its consequences. We analyse the effects of a possible interaction among the perception of discrimination on the ground of sexual orientation with the characteristics of biological sex, race, religion, nationality and disability in workplaces. Research on intersectionality in the workplace reveals that employee with multiple memberships in minorities classes experience more discrimination than those with a single membership (Shaw, Chan, McMahan, 2012; Buchanan *et al.* 2009; Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008). As a consequence, employees intersectionally discriminated are found to have a more negative work

attitude (European Industrial Relations Observatory, 2000), less job satisfaction and less wellness as compared to their counterpart (Taylor *et al.* 2013).

3. Hypothesis

In the light of the arguments presented in the two previous sections, we hypothesize that:

HRM practices affect both job satisfaction and workers' perception of discrimination. Specifically, we hypothesize the following:

Hypothesis 1. HRM practices (stated in Section 1) have a positive influence on employees' job satisfaction, while as far as the job characteristics are concerned a negative effect on job satisfaction can be expected by work group's discretion, because of the discretion paradox, and by job intensity (See Figure 1.1 in Appendix 2).

Hypothesis 2. HRM supportive practices decrease workers' perception of any kind of discrimination, except for HRM that produce higher work group's discretion, because of the discretion paradox, enhance job intensity and introduce pay for performance schemes.

Hypothesis 3. Perception of discrimination is negatively associated with workers' job satisfaction.

Taken together, these three first hypotheses specify both a direct and an indirect effect of HRM practices and their outcomes in terms of job characteristics on employees' job satisfaction. Based upon Boehm *et al.*'s (2014) climate model, we propose a mediation model focusing on perception of discrimination as a mediator in the HRM practices-job satisfaction link (see Figure 1.2 in Appendix 2).

Consequently, we also hypothesize:

Hypothesis 4. Perceived Discrimination mediates the relation between HRM practices and employees' job satisfaction.

Finally, the present study examines the potential role of perceived discrimination as a moderator of the influence of HRM practices on workers' overall job-related satisfaction (see Figure 2 in Appendix 2).

Hypothesis 5. Perception of discrimination moderates the relationship between inclusive HRM practice and job satisfaction.

4. Methods

Data source and sample

The data set used to carry out the analysis is the 6th European Working Conditions Survey (EWCS)⁴². This survey has been chosen since it provides data comparable across countries on working conditions and on indicators of HRM practices outcomes. Additional information that is highly relevant for this study concerns the perception of different types of discrimination as well as individual job satisfaction.

EWCS does not contain questions neither on individuals' sexual orientation nor on their gender identity⁴³. However, linking the answers related to the members of the household with those on the type of relationship between them and the respondent, we have achieved a subsample of women declaring to have a woman spouse or cohabitee and of men declaring to have a man spouse or cohabitee. The former represents 0.6% of the entire sample while the latter the 1%. We decided to not use this subsample in our analysis because it is not representative of the LGB population of the sample: people who declare to have a same-sex partner do not correspond to the whole LGB sub-sample of our data set.

The target population is composed by all individuals aged 15 years and over (16 and over in Bulgaria, Norway, Spain and the UK) who were in employment and resident in one of the 35 countries surveyed. In each of them, a multi-stage, stratified clustered sampling design was adopted. The countries covered in EWCS6 are shown in Appendix 1 (see Table 1).

Eurofound required a reference sample size of 1,000 per country – except in the following countries, where the reference sample size was larger: Poland (1,200); Spain (1,300); Italy (1,400); France (1,500); UK (1,600) and Germany and Turkey (2,000). A total of approximately 44,000 workers took part in the survey.

The respondent's demographics were 50.4 percent male and the majority of the respondents were between 36 and 55 years old (53%). In addition almost one third (32.6%) declared to have a high level of education.

Relating to HRM practices outcomes, more than 5 thousands respondents (11.5%) are equipped with individual autonomy in their current job, while more than half stated to work in autonomous workgroups (52.6%). Almost one third (31%) is, instead, endowed with discretion.

Nearly 13,000 respondents (29.5%) declared to currently perceive the support of their own supervisors, while approximately 18,800 (42.8%) the support of their colleagues.

Moreover, around a quarter of respondents (24.2%) are under performance-pay schemes while 7.3% declared to work at tight and intense pace of work. Considering on the job training, 42% of the sample stated to receive it (see Table 2 in Appendix 1).

Finally, 16.8% stated to feel satisfied with their work, 52% of which are males.

Considering discriminated workers, more than 3 thousands people (7%) reported discrimination perceived over the past 12 months in the workplace, on the ground of sexual orientation (0.5%), age (3.3%), gender (2%), disability (1%), ethnicity (1.6%), religion (0.9%) or nationality (1.8%), while 581 workers (1.3%) declared to have perceived intersectional discrimination. Moreover, most of them (85%) are employees and 22% stated to do part-time work. More than half (62.3%) declared to be engaged under an open-ended contract and a similar percentage (64.8%) work in private sector, against 24.8% in public sector, 5% in joint private-public organizations or companies, 1.5% in the not-for-profit sector or NGO and the rest (2.8%) in other sectors.

⁴² For details on sampling implementation, see Eurofound (2015). URL: https://www.eurofound.europa.eu/sites/default/files/ef_survey/field_ef_documents/6th_ewcs_2015_-_sampling_implementation_report.pdf. Consulted on 8th November, 2019.

⁴³ In order to better understand the concepts of sexual orientation and gender identity, see: Russo and Valerio (2019).

Table 3 in Appendix 1 describes their country of residence.

Variables and measures

This section shows the main EWCS (2015) items used in the empirical analysis presented in the next section. All variables used in our models have a dichotomous (zero-one) distribution, except for *Age*. The complete list of them, their meaning and labels can be found in Appendix 3 (Table 1).

a) *Job Satisfaction*

Job Satisfaction is the dependent variable of Models presented in Table 1.

Information about participants' job satisfaction was captured from these five EWCS (2015) questions:

- [Q70d] *Do you agree with the statement "The work is distributed fairly"?*
- [Q89a] *Do you agree with the statement "Considering all my efforts and achievements in my job, I feel I get paid appropriately"?*
- [Q89b] *Do you agree with the statement "My job offers good prospects for career advancement"?*
- [Q89c] *Do you agree with the statement "I receive the recognition I deserve for my work"?*

These items were answered on a five point scale ranging from 1="Strongly Agree" to 5="Strongly disagree".

Another specific item was taken into consideration:

- [Q88] *On the whole, are you very satisfied, satisfied, not very satisfied or not at all satisfied with working conditions in you main job paid?*

This last item was answered on a four point scale ranging from 1= "Very satisfied" to 4= "Not at all satisfied".

Each item has been dichotomised, defining five new dummy variables. These take the value 1 when the answers to questions are =1 or =2, and vice versa.

The aggregation of those five indicators provided the summary *Job Satisfaction* dichotomous variable of our analysis. More specifically, at *Job Satisfaction*=1 a worker is considered satisfied, when at least 3 out of 5 answers are =1. At *Job Satisfaction*=0 a worker is considered not satisfied.

b) *HRM practices*

The eight HRM practices/practices outcomes used in our analysis were measured using dichotomous indicators (1 = the practice has been implemented; 0 = otherwise). Unless indicated otherwise, all the variables have been dichotomised with the procedure implemented for *Job Satisfaction* variable.

The following list describes them one by one, showing the items with which they have been developed.

1) *Autonomy.*

Autonomy was assessed by five items, based on the study of Albano *et al.* (2018) and of the correlation matrix showing the extent of the similarity between job satisfaction and some specific autonomy-oriented HRM practices (see Table 2 in Appendix 3):

- [Q53f] *Generally, does your main paid job involve learning new things?*
- [Q61c] *Are you consulted before objectives are set for your work?*
- [Q61d] *Are you involved in improving the work organisation or work process of your department or organisation?*
- [Q61e] *Do you have a say in the choice of your work colleagues?*
- [Q61i] *Are you able to apply your own ideas in your work?*

2) *Discretion.*

Discretion was measured by five items selected, they too, on the basis of the theory exposed in Section 1 (Maggi, 2003/2016) and of the correlation matrix showing the extent of the similarity between job satisfaction and some specific discretion-oriented HRM practices (see Table 3 in Appendix 3). The items are the following:

- [Q53b] *Generally, does your main paid job involve assessing yourself the quality of your own work?*
- [Q53c] *Generally, does your main paid job involve solving unforeseen problems on your own?*
- [Q53e] *Generally, does your main paid job involve complex tasks?*
- [Q54a] *Are you able to choose or change your order of tasks?*
- [Q54b] *Are you able to choose or change your methods of work?*

3) *Discretion of the team.*

This variable was designed by only one item:

- [Q88] *Do you work in a group or team that has common tasks and can plan its work?*

4) *Intensity.*

Intensity was assessed by twelve items, selected in order to take into account every single aspects of this measure which can negatively impacts on workers' overall job satisfaction. The items involved are the following:

Items on high speed and tight deadlines:

- [Q49a] *Does your job involve working at very high speed?*
- [Q49b] *Does your job involve working to tight deadlines?*
- [Q61g] *Do you have enough time to get the job done?*
- Items on work pressure: "On the whole, is your pace of work dependent on..."
- [Q50a] *the work done by colleagues;*
- [Q50b] *direct demands from people such as customers, passengers, pupils, patients, etc.;*
- [Q50c] *numerical production targets of performance targets;*
- [Q50d] *automatic speed of a machine or movement of a product;*
- [Q50e] *the direct control of your boss.*

Item on disruptive interruptions:

- [Q51] *How often do you have to interrupt a task you are doing in order to take on an unforeseen task?*

Item on working hours and recovery time:

- [Q37d] *Normally, how many times a month do you work more than 10 hours a day?*
- [Q38] *In the last month, has it happened at least once that you had less than 11 hours between the end of your working day and the start of the next working day?*
- [Q46] *How often have you worked in your free time to meet work demands?*

5) *Pay for Performance.*

The measure of *performance pay* was developed based on the following five items:

“Thinking about your earnings from your main paid job, what they include?”

- [Q101b] *Piece rate of productivity payments;*
- [Q101f] *Payments based on your individual performance;*
- [Q101g] *Payments based on the performance of your team / working group / department;*
- [Q101h] *Payments based on the overall performance of the company (profit share scheme) where you work;*
- [Q101i] *Income from shares in the company you work for.*

6) *Training.*

Training is assessed by two items which involve a specific professional growth-oriented choice made by the company:

- [Q65a] *Have you undergone training paid for or provided by your employer, to improve your skills?*
- [Q65c] *Have you undergone on-the-job-training (co-workers, supervisors), to improve your skills?*

7) *Support of the boss.*

The variable related to the support received by the supervisor is defined by the following seven items:

- [Q61b] *Does your manager help and support you?*
- [Q63a] *Does your immediate boss respect you as a person?*
- [Q63b] *Does your immediate boss give you praise and recognition when you do a good job?*
- [Q63c] *Is your immediate boss successful in getting people to work together?*
- [Q63d] *Is your immediate boss helpful in getting the job done?*
- [Q63e] *Does your immediate boss provide useful feedback on your work?*
- [Q63f] *Does your immediate boss encourage and support your development?*

8) *Support of colleagues.*

The last variable related to HRM practices is measured by three items:

- [Q61a] *Do your colleagues help and support you?*
- [Q70e] *Is there a good cooperation between you and your colleagues?*
- [Q89d] *Do you generally get on well with your work colleagues?*

c) *Perception of Discrimination*

Perception of discrimination is the dependent variable of models exposed in Table 2.

The European Working Condition Survey (EWCS, 2015) attempts to capture workers perception about the discrimination suffered - on the ground of sexual orientation, gender, ethnicity, disability or age - asking just one question [Q72]: “Over the past 12 months at work, have you been subjected to any of the following discriminations [...]”.

Respondents have only two possible answers: “yes” or “not”.

In details, with *sexual orientation-gender-age-disability-ethnicity discrimination=1* a worker is deemed discriminated and vice-versa.

For the purpose of our analysis, we created also two additional dichotomous variables: *Discrimination* and *Intersectionality with Sexual Orientation Discrimination*. The first one is =1

when a worker declared to perceive at least one of the five possible discrimination and it is=0 when the respondent does not perceive any kind of discrimination. The second one is=1 when an employee perceives discrimination on the ground of sexual orientation and at least another kind of discrimination, and vice versa.

Control Variables

In our models a set of control variables have been included on the ground of their expected effect on job satisfaction. These are presented in Appendix 3. Amongst them, *Rule of Law Countries* is of particular importance: it is a dichotomous variable = 1 if the respondent works in one of the five countries on the top list of countries where the rule of law is better experienced by the general public (WJP Rule of Law, 2015). It is reasonably expected that workers living in these regions will experience less discrimination in the workplace. The top five countries are Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Finland and Netherlands. Another relevant control variable is *Trust the Management*: it is a dichotomous variable =1 if respondents strongly agree or agree with the statement [Q70f] “*In general, employees trust management*” and =0 if they neither agree nor disagree, tend to disagree or strongly disagree. We decided to take into account this item because of its role as moderator in the relationship between HRM practices and employees’ attitudes, analysed by Innocenti, Pilati and Peluso (2011).

Analysis

Our data were analysed in four different phases.

Firstly we estimated a probit model (Table 1, Section 5) in order to verify which set of HRM practices or job characteristic was most likely to have a positive impact on employees’ overall job satisfaction (Hypothesis 1). We also tested if the perception of discrimination increases the probability of reporting lower level of job satisfaction (Hypothesis 3). Control variables were included.

Secondly, we examined which set of HRM practices was most likely to affect workers’ perception of discrimination (Table 2, Section 5). We tested the probability of perceiving discrimination in general, intersectionally starting from sexual orientation discrimination and, separately, on the ground of sexual orientation, age, disability, ethnicity and gender. All the control variables (Appendix 3) were included in this first model. Probit analysis was used to test the Hypothesis 3.

Our third phase consisted in bringing to a conclusion the three-step procedure suggested by Baron and Kenny (1986) to test the mediating role (Hypothesis 4) of perception of discrimination between HRM practices (independent variables) and job satisfaction (dependent variable).

Finally, interaction terms between HRM practices and discrimination were developed and used to test the likelihood that the improving effect of HRM practices on job satisfaction should be less pronounced when linked with the perception of discrimination (Hypothesis 5). Probit analysis was used to test our last hypothesis, and all performed models were included in Table 3 presented in the next section.

5. Results

First of all we tested the hypothesis 1, i.e. the positive impact of HRM practices on employees' job satisfaction, except for work group's discretion and job intensity (See Figure 1.1 in Appendix 2), and the hypothesis 3, i.e. the negative effect of perceived discrimination on workers' overall job satisfaction. Findings are observable in Table 1.

Detecting control variables, we found that *females*, individual with lower *level of education*, *older workers*, workers who *trust management* and *self-employed* people were more likely to report less job satisfaction than their counterparts. Results also showed that workers who live in one of the five "rule of law" countries have a higher chance of being satisfied with their job ($p\text{-value}<0.01$), as well as workers declaring to *trust management* ($p\text{-value}<0.01$).

Observing Model 1 (Table 1), it is apparent a positive relation between some HRM practices outcomes (more specifically: *autonomy*, *colleagues and supervisors' support*, *discretion*, *pay for performances schemes*, *job training*) and employees' overall job-related satisfaction.

Consistent with literature (Campion *et al.*, 1993; Gladstein, 1984; Griffin, Patterson & West, 2001; Green and Tsitsianis, 2005; Zeytinoglu *et al.*, 2007; Silla & Gamero, 2010), we also find that *work in team endowed with discretion* and *job intensity* can increase the probability of reporting less satisfaction compared to employees who work alone and without fast pace. This finding supports the hypothesis 1.

Subsequently, we performed and compared seven models (Models 2-8), each of which was related to a specific discrimination: the first one includes discrimination in general, while the others take respectively account of different types of discrimination: sexual orientation, age, disability, gender, ethnicity and intersectional discrimination.

The estimated models show that perception of every kind of discrimination increases the chance of reporting less job-satisfaction, supporting the hypothesis 3.

In more detail, perception of sexual orientation discrimination is the one with the lower marginal effect ($\beta = -0.0347$, $p\text{-value}<0.05$). As highlighted by UNAR (National Office Against Racial Discrimination) in its guidelines against discrimination in workplaces (2014), this result can be explained by the visibility of some characteristics, such as gender, age, ethnicity and disability, and the potential hiddenness of sexual orientation which can make the relation between perceived discrimination and job satisfaction less close. In other words, it results less likely reporting perception of discrimination on the ground of sexual orientation at workplace because of its invisibility and, consequently, it results having lower effects in reducing job satisfaction than in the case of perception of other more visible potential sources of discrimination, in the short term.

Table 1. Probit models on the effect of HRM practices and perception of different types of discrimination on job satisfaction. Dependent variable: workers' job satisfaction that takes the value of 1 if the worker is satisfied by their work. Marginal effects, 2015.

Probit estimation of workers' overall job satisfaction, related to perception of discrimination and to HRM practices								
VARIABLES	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7	Model 8
autonomy	0.0897*** (0.00595)	0.0892*** (0.00594)	0.0902*** (0.00598)	0.0893*** (0.00594)	0.0900*** (0.00597)	0.0899*** (0.00597)	0.0904*** (0.00598)	0.0898*** (0.00596)
discretion of the team	-0.00662** (0.00286)	-0.00618** (0.00285)	-0.00684** (0.00288)	-0.00636** (0.00286)	-0.00677** (0.00288)	-0.00637** (0.00287)	-0.00643** (0.00288)	-0.00660** (0.00287)
colleagues support	0.0802*** (0.00362)	0.0779*** (0.00359)	0.0800*** (0.00363)	0.0791*** (0.00361)	0.0796*** (0.00362)	0.0790*** (0.00361)	0.0796*** (0.00362)	0.0800*** (0.00362)
boss support	0.0989*** (0.00412)	0.0972*** (0.00410)	0.0996*** (0.00414)	0.0981*** (0.00411)	0.0997*** (0.00414)	0.0990*** (0.00413)	0.0994*** (0.00414)	0.0990*** (0.00413)
intensity	-0.0390*** (0.00420)	-0.0375*** (0.00424)	-0.0387*** (0.00425)	-0.0382*** (0.00422)	-0.0389*** (0.00423)	-0.0379*** (0.00427)	-0.0388*** (0.00424)	-0.0389*** (0.00421)
discretion	0.0259*** (0.00325)	0.0257*** (0.00323)	0.0260*** (0.00327)	0.0260*** (0.00324)	0.0259*** (0.00326)	0.0262*** (0.00326)	0.0258*** (0.00326)	0.0259*** (0.00325)
pay for performances	0.0368*** (0.00340)	0.0372*** (0.00340)	0.0371*** (0.00342)	0.0370*** (0.00340)	0.0373*** (0.00343)	0.0372*** (0.00342)	0.0368*** (0.00342)	0.0369*** (0.00341)
training	0.0222*** (0.00290)	0.0227*** (0.00289)	0.0223*** (0.00292)	0.0225*** (0.00290)	0.0223*** (0.00292)	0.0224*** (0.00291)	0.0221*** (0.00291)	0.0224*** (0.00290)
trust in management	0.0879*** (0.00402)	0.0865*** (0.00399)	0.0883*** (0.00403)	0.0872*** (0.00401)	0.0878*** (0.00403)	0.0876*** (0.00402)	0.0879*** (0.00402)	0.0878*** (0.00402)
female	-0.0186*** (0.00275)	-0.0179*** (0.00273)	-0.0188*** (0.00276)	-0.0184*** (0.00274)	-0.0188*** (0.00276)	-0.0179*** (0.00276)	-0.0188*** (0.00276)	-0.0187*** (0.00275)
employee	0.115*** (0.00323)	0.115*** (0.00319)	0.116*** (0.00325)	0.115*** (0.00321)	0.116*** (0.00325)	0.116*** (0.00323)	0.116*** (0.00324)	0.115*** (0.00323)
high education	0.0325*** (0.00321)	0.0321*** (0.00320)	0.0324*** (0.00323)	0.0322*** (0.00320)	0.0321*** (0.00322)	0.0327*** (0.00322)	0.0324*** (0.00322)	0.0325*** (0.00321)
rule of law countries	0.0123*** (0.00460)	0.0125*** (0.00459)	0.0123*** (0.00462)	0.0122*** (0.00459)	0.0123*** (0.00462)	0.0127*** (0.00463)	0.0123*** (0.00462)	0.0121*** (0.00460)
age	-0.00215*** (0.000126)	-0.00218*** (0.000126)	-0.00217*** (0.000127)	-0.00216*** (0.000126)	-0.00217*** (0.000127)	-0.00219*** (0.000127)	-0.00218*** (0.000127)	-0.00215*** (0.000126)
Other control variables	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
discrimination		-0.0427*** (0.00441)						
sexual orientation discrimination			-0.0347** (0.0149)					
age discrimination				-0.0383*** (0.00605)				
disability discrimination					-0.0470*** (0.00970)			
gender discrimination						-0.0501*** (0.00658)		
ethnicity discrimination							-0.0389*** (0.00819)	
intersejorality with sexual orientation discrimination								-0.0367** (0.0161)
Observations	43,850	43,850	43,624	43,850	43,634	43,680	43,651	43,799
R2	0.2499	0.2515	0.2496	0.2506	0.2497	0.2502	0.2500	0.2499

Standard errors in parentheses

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

Source: Our elaboration of EWCS 2015

Secondly we tested the hypothesis 2, i.e. the existence of a direct linkage between HRM practices and workers' perception of discrimination (Table 2).

Observing control variables, we note that *females* have a higher probability of being discriminated on the ground of gender ($p\text{-value}<0.01$) than males. On the contrary, they results are less likely to report perception of discrimination on the ground of sexual orientation, disability and ethnicity than their male counterpart. The latter may hide adaptive behaviour to discriminatory practices. Taking into account *high education*, it has a positive impact only on differently abled people and on immigrants while, for individual discriminated on the ground of the gender, it increases the probability of perceiving discrimination ($p\text{-value}<0.01$). *Trust the management* reduces the probability of perceiving every kind of discrimination (by 10% in the case of older workers) and its effect is always significant, except for the case of intersectional discrimination.

Finally we found that living in one of the five "*rule of law*" countries reduces the likelihood of being intersectionally discriminated ($p\text{-value}<0.01$), discriminated by sexual orientation ($p\text{-value}<0.01$), disability ($p\text{-value}<0.10$) and ethnicity ($p\text{-value}<0.05$). At the same time, our findings show that living in one of these countries can increase the probability of perceiving discrimination on the ground of gender ($p\text{-value}<0.05$).

Findings highlight that working in a *team endowed with discretion*, *working with intensity* and being subjected to *performance pay schemes* and to *training programmes* can increase the probability of perceive discrimination on the ground of each characteristic. From the other side, the presence of *supportive co-workers and supervisors* can help in reducing the likelihood of perceiving discrimination.

Autonomy leads to controversial results, consistent with the literature (Alvesson and Robertson, 2006; Blau, 1984; Langfred, 2000; Mazmanian, Orlikowski & Yates, 2013): taking into account discrimination in general and age-related discrimination, autonomy is statistically significant ($p\text{value}<0.05$) and decreases the probability of perceiving discrimination but, in the other models, autonomy changes its sign and loses significance ($p\text{-value}>0.10$).

These findings partially support our second hypothesis of a decreasing effect of HRM practices on workers' perception of any kind of discrimination, except for work-groups discretion, performance pay schemes and job intensity. We found, indeed, that also being subjected to training programmes can have a negative effect on the perception of discrimination. This result may be due to the fact that only a well-developed job training programme can have a decisive impact on workers' perception of discrimination (Cox and Blake, 1991), while not properly-developed job training may have a controversial effect on employees' perceptions and strengthen a discriminatory climate. Moreover, being required to stay in close contact with a potentially discriminant trainer (co-worker or supervisor) can further increase the likelihood of feeling discriminated against. Another potential cause can be the attempt to impose on employees the culture of standardization and normalization trough training process, in a context where there can also be an issue of discrimination in the access to employer-provided training (Allmang *et al.* 2019) and the type of training accessed to.

Table 2. Probit models on the effect of HRM practices on perception of different types of discrimination, in workplace. Dependent variable: perception of discrimination. Marginal effects, 2015.

Probit estimation of perceived discrimination in workplace, on the ground of different characteristics, related to HRM practices.

VARIABLES	Every kind of Discriminations	Sexual Orientation Discrimination	Age Discrimination	Disability Discrimination	Gender Discrimination	Etnicity Discrimination	Intersejuality with sexual orientation discrimination
autonomy	-0.00689** (0.00351)	0.000914 (0.00109)	-0.00484** (0.00247)	0.000263 (0.00147)	-0.000847 (0.00174)	0.00225 (0.00200)	0.00107 (0.000970)
discretion of the team	0.0121*** (0.00226)	0.000166 (0.000601)	0.00755*** (0.00163)	0.00184** (0.000867)	0.00389*** (0.00111)	0.00391*** (0.00112)	0.000472 (0.000513)
colleagues support	-0.0375*** (0.00246)	-0.00248*** (0.000662)	-0.0187*** (0.00178)	-0.00740*** (0.000976)	-0.0116*** (0.00123)	-0.0108*** (0.00124)	-0.00194*** (0.000559)
boss support	-0.0232*** (0.00251)	-0.000699 (0.000706)	-0.0122*** (0.00181)	-0.00182* (0.00104)	-0.00555*** (0.00124)	-0.00371*** (0.00130)	-0.000533 (0.000591)
intensity	0.0413*** (0.00519)	0.00335** (0.00145)	0.0248*** (0.00391)	0.00512*** (0.00198)	0.0191*** (0.00301)	0.0119*** (0.00270)	0.00376*** (0.00140)
discretion	-0.00680*** (0.00237)	-0.00110* (0.000617)	-0.00101 (0.00175)	-0.00196** (0.000885)	0.00119 (0.00121)	-0.00395*** (0.00114)	-0.000961* (0.000521)
pay for performances	0.0126*** (0.00273)	0.00168** (0.000769)	0.00775*** (0.00199)	0.00511*** (0.00118)	0.00258* (0.00133)	0.00126 (0.00130)	0.00194*** (0.000702)
training	0.0149*** (0.00243)	0.00223*** (0.000681)	0.0109*** (0.00178)	0.00250*** (0.000940)	0.00538*** (0.00121)	0.00361*** (0.00120)	0.00178*** (0.000583)
trust in management	-0.0230*** (0.00249)	-0.00131* (0.000672)	-0.0107*** (0.00182)	-0.00298*** (0.000987)	-0.00685*** (0.00121)	-0.00440*** (0.00127)	-0.000292 (0.000609)
female	0.0114*** (0.00219)	-0.00134** (0.000589)	0.00220 (0.00157)	-0.00161* (0.000842)	0.0169*** (0.00121)	-0.00375*** (0.00109)	-0.000766 (0.000502)
high education	0.00194 (0.00240)	-0.000670 (0.000611)	-0.00138 (0.00171)	-0.00274*** (0.000858)	0.00347*** (0.00122)	-0.00206* (0.00115)	-0.000599 (0.000518)
rule of law countries	0.00479 (0.00375)	-0.00288*** (0.000621)	-0.000116 (0.00257)	-0.00202* (0.00122)	0.00505** (0.00201)	-0.00344** (0.00160)	-0.00199*** (0.000544)
Other control variables	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Observations	43,850	43,624	43,850	43,634	43,680	43,651	43,799

Robust standard errors in parentheses

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

Source: our elaboration of the EWCS 2015.

In order to test our fourth hypothesis of a mediator effect of perception of discrimination in the relation between HRM practices and employees' job satisfaction, we performed a benchmark analysis of models 1-8 (Table 1). Specifically we found that the significance of the HRM practices' effect on job satisfaction doesn't change after controlling for perception of discrimination. Thus, our findings don't support the fourth hypothesis.

Finally, to test our last hypothesis, i.e. the perception of discrimination's role in making harder the positive impact of HRM practices on workers' overall job-related satisfaction, we performed a series of regression equations. Results (Table 3) show that in the models related to:

- *Perception of sexual orientation discrimination*, only the interaction with *discretion of the team* ($\beta = -0.0388$; $p\text{-value} < 0.10$) and with *on the job training* ($\beta = -0.0397$; $p\text{-value} < 0.10$) are statistically significant. This may be related to a higher negative impact for workers perceiving sexual orientation discrimination of working in a team characterized by discretion or in a close relation with trainees with a higher

probability that this feeling shows mostly in lower groups interaction than in other HRM practices;

- *Perception of gender, age, ethnicity and disability discrimination*, all the interactions are statistically significant, except for *job intensity* in the cases of gender, age and ethnicity discrimination, and except for *discretion* in the specific case of age discrimination.

In the light of our findings, we argue that perception of discrimination moderates the impact of HRM practices on job satisfaction. This result supports our fifth hypothesis.

Table 3. Probit models on the effect of interaction between perception of discrimination and HRM practices on job satisfaction. Dependent variable: workers' job satisfaction. Marginal effects, 2015.

Effect of interactions between perception of (different types of) discrimination and HRM practices on job satisfaction					
VARIABLES	Sexual Orientation	Gender	Age	Disability	Ethnicity
autonomy	0.0905*** (0.00600)	0.0914*** (0.0060)	0.0913*** (0.0060)	0.0907*** (0.0059)	0.0907*** (0.0060)
autonomy*discrimination	-0.0343 (0.0373)	-0.0559*** (0.0137)	-0.0432** (0.0146)	-0.0716** (0.0129)	-0.0414* (0.0187)
discretion of the team	-0.0066*** (0.0029)	-0.0055** (0.0028)	-0.0053* (0.0028)	-0.0061** (0.0028)	-0.0057** (0.0029)
discreteam*discrimination	-0.0388* (0.0181)	-0.0523*** (0.0075)	-0.0372*** (0.0073)	-0.0501*** (0.0115)	-0.0516*** (0.0084)
colleagues support	0.0802 (0.0036)	0.0809*** (0.0036)	0.0809*** (0.0036)	0.0804*** (0.0036)	0.0806*** (0.0036)
colleagues*discrimination	-0.0362 (0.0202)	-0.0483*** (0.0092)	-0.0286*** (0.0092)	-0.0488*** (0.0132)	-0.0396*** (0.0114)
boss support	0.0997*** (0.0041)	0.1000*** (0.0041)	0.1001*** (0.0041)	0.0993*** (0.0041)	0.0996*** (0.0041)
boss*discrimination	-0.0109 (0.0288)	-0.0555*** (0.0089)	-0.0406*** (0.0093)	-0.0411** (0.0158)	-0.0410*** (0.0121)
intensity	-0.0387*** (0.0042)	-0.0381*** (0.0043)	-0.3769*** (0.0043)	-0.0382*** (0.0042)	-0.0379*** (0.0043)
intensity*discrimination	-0.0251 (0.0499)	-0.0268 (0.0222)	-0.0315 (0.0195)	-0.0707* (0.0200)	-0.0507 (0.0224)
discretion	0.0261*** (0.0032)	0.0268*** (0.0032)	0.0264*** (0.0032)	0.0263*** (0.0032)	0.0264*** (0.0032)
discretion*discrimination	-0.0327 (0.0294)	-0.0392*** (0.0112)	-0.0175 (0.0119)	-0.0497** (0.0167)	-0.0407** (0.1420)
pay for performances	0.0372*** (0.0034)	0.0381*** (0.0034)	0.0386*** (0.0034)	0.0375*** (0.0034)	0.0376*** (0.0034)
payperf*discrimination	-0.0298 (0.0238)	-0.0509*** (0.0101)	-0.0440*** (0.0087)	-0.0444** (0.0144)	-0.0439*** (0.0125)
training	0.0224*** (0.0029)	0.2317*** (0.0029)	0.0231*** (0.0029)	0.0227*** (0.0029)	0.0228*** (0.0029)
training*discrimination	-0.0397* (0.0159)	-0.0509*** (0.0073)	-0.0316*** (0.0075)	-0.0486*** (0.0116)	-0.0341*** (0.0104)

Note: The models include HRM practices and socio-demographic variables.

Standard errors in parentheses

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

Source: our elaboration of EWCS 2015

6. Discussion, limitations and future research

One of the aims of this essay was to detect determinants of perceived discrimination in the workplace with a special focus on HRM practices and their outcomes. Our results confirm that discrimination in the workplace is most frequently perceived in presence of some specific HRM practices and outcomes, in particular job intensity, performance pay schemes and self-managed work groups and that it impacts negatively on workers' job satisfaction. This represents a relevant contribution to current literature on the issue of inclusiveness and wellbeing in workplaces. To the best of our knowledge, our research is the first scholarly attempt to quantitatively investigate the above issue by tracing a clear distinction between different kind of discriminations and HRM practices.

Moreover, our findings provide support for those scholars working on the relation between the implementation of some specific HRM practices and workers' overall job satisfaction, suggesting that this relation can be moderated by the presence of perceived discrimination.

We believe that these results contribute to the literature by extending prior findings in four ways. Firstly, our findings provide support for those scholars investigating the effects of HRM practices on employees' job satisfaction. We found that work overload, time pressure, tight deadlines and high-speed work directly contribute to decrease job-related satisfaction, consistently with Boisard et al., 2003a, 2003b; Green and Tsitsianis, 2005; Zeytinoglu et al., 2007; Silla & Gamero, 2010; Linzer et al., 2000; Skaalvik & Skaalvik, 2009. Moreover, the present study supports the *Discretion Paradox* in work-groups, which reflects the trade-off between workers' interest in personal discretion and the possible highest level of control and judgment acted by colleagues. More specifically, our findings show that working in self-managed teams increases the probability of perceiving any kind of discrimination and of reporting low levels of job satisfaction, consistently with the literature (Barker, 1993, 1999; Ashforth & Mael, 1989; Hogg & Terry, 2000). Our results also demonstrate that colleagues and supervisors' support is the most effective HRM practice for increasing a feeling of belongingness to the company that impacts, consequently, on job satisfaction (Ducharme, Martin, 2000; Abraham, 2012), as well as on the very perception of discrimination (Partent et al., 1992; Storey & Garff, 1997; Chou & Choi, 2011). Even if there is no consensus on the categorization of boss and co-workers support into the basket of HRM practices, we decided to use this element thanks to its nature: it can be, indeed, the result of a precise inclusive-oriented organizational policy.

Secondly, our research helps to identify which HRM practices can increase the likelihood of perceiving discrimination in the workplace. Our results show that self-managed teams, job-intensity and pay-for-performance schemes can increase the likelihood of perceiving discrimination on the ground of each characteristic. From the other side, the presence of supportive co-workers and supervisors can help in reducing the likelihood of perceiving discrimination, as mentioned above.

Another result of our study concerns the ambiguity of the autonomy effect, a result that is consistent with the literature (Alvesson and Robertson, 2006; Blau, 1984; Langfred, 2000; Mazmanian, Orlikowski & Yates, 2013; Albano et al., 2018). In fact by taking into account discrimination in general and age-related discrimination, it decreases the probability of perceiving discrimination but, in the presence of other types of discriminations, autonomy changes its sign and loses significance. Another important contribution of our study can be identified in terms of deepening the training programmes' role as perception of discriminations' deterrent. Contrary to the expectation, being subjected to training programmes can, indeed, have a negative effect on the perception of discrimination. This result may be due to the fact that only well-developed job training programmes can have decisive effects on workers' perception of discrimination (Cox and Blake, 1991), while not properly-developed job training may controversially impact on employees' perceptions and feelings. Moreover, being required to stay

in close contact with a potentially discriminant trainer (co-worker or supervisor) can further increase the likelihood of feeling discriminated against. Given the positive effect that on the job training can have on employee's skills acquisition and career advancement and, more in general, on firm's productivity more attention should be paid to the interaction between perceived discrimination and training in order to limit the negative effect on the very access to on-the-job training.

Thirdly, in showing that perceived discrimination can have a negative effect on job satisfaction, our study demonstrates that perception of sexual orientation discrimination is the one with the lower marginal effect. As highlighted by UNAR (2014) and mentioned in section 2, this result can be explained by the fact that sexual orientation is not readily observable and individuals may not experience direct discrimination in the short term. Several scholars have shown that "coming out" at work, declaring sexual orientation to colleagues and supervisors, can expose LGB employees to discrimination and hostility in the workplace (Hebl, Law, & King, 2010; Ragins & Cornwell, 2001). At the same time, hiding their own sexual orientation in order to avoid stigma, LGB workers expose themselves to isolation, high level of stress, lowered sense of belonging and even actual social rejection (Goffman, 1963; Newheiser & Barreto, 2015). In the light of this, even if perception of sexual orientation discrimination appears to be the one less related to job satisfaction, it must not be forgotten that its "invisibility" doesn't makes it easier to manage. Finally, with respect to studies that observe the impact of HRM practices on job satisfaction, taking into account workers' perceived discrimination, our findings extend the body of the literature showing that workers discriminated on the ground of different characteristics need diverse HRM practices with a view to their inclusion and, afterwards, with regard to their job satisfaction. In details, our findings indicate that reducing job intensity, developing well-done training programmes and restricting the work in self-managed group can be more efficient than implementing other HRM practices in the case of sexual orientation discrimination. It must be noted, on this regard, that job-training and team discretion, have been found to be the only on HRM practices that decrease job satisfaction if the worker perceives sexual orientation discrimination, showing a higher exposure of lower job satisfaction if the worker feeling to be discriminated for sexual orientation is in close relation in a team with higher discretion or in the interaction with a potentially discriminant trainer or trainees.

For the inclusion of those workers who perceive other kinds of discrimination, our results also highlight the positive impact of increasing individual discretion, except for age-discrimination. This can be explained by the fact that older workers have already been equipped with a relatively high level of discretion, due to higher seniority.

There are limitations to this research and its results. In particular, it is strongly based on individual employees' perceptions gathered through a large-scale survey that gave no specific details about discrimination suffered. Using self-reported data implies a limited description of the working reality analysed.

Other limitations of the present study are common method bias (CMB) and reverse causality due to the use of cross sectional data collected from a single respondent. Moreover, the European Working Condition Survey (2015) doesn't contain information about respondents' sexual orientation and their eventual coming out at work.

These boundaries severely limit the deepening of the analysis of sexual orientation perception of discrimination in workplace and its consequences on employee attitudes, feelings, behaviours and performances.

Although we have clearly demonstrated the importance of analysing the relationship between HRM practices and job satisfaction, taking into account workers' perception of different kinds of discrimination, there is still much work to be done in gaining a better knowledge of these connections. Future studies which use more detailed methods of data collection are needed, in

particular research efforts counting the detectability of indicators to assess discrimination and all its forms, causes and effects in workplace. We also suggest expanding the field of research, performing more complex models which can include national anti-discriminatory law indicators together with workers' perceived discrimination and cluster HRM practices according to their inclusiveness content. This would allow us to analyse more paths of the relation between HRM practices, individual behaviours and organizational outcomes, measuring the extent to which HRM practices, through the moderating effect of perception of discrimination, influence workers' overall job satisfaction.

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APPENDIX

Appendix 1.

Table 1: List of countries/territories covered by EWCS6

Country/Territory	Country code	Country/Territory	Country code
EU MEMBER STATES			
Austria	AT	Italy	IT
Belgium	BE	Latvia	LV
Bulgaria	BG	Lithuania	LT
Croatia	HR	Luxembourg	LU
Cyprus	CY	Malta	MT
Czech Republic	CZ	Netherlands	NL
Denmark	DK	Poland	PL
Estonia	EE	Portugal	PT
Finland	FI	Romania	RO
France	FR	Slovakia	SK
Germany	DE	Slovenia	SI
Greece	GR	Spain	ES
Hungary	HU	Sweden	SE
Ireland	IE	United Kingdom	UK
CANDIDATE COUNTRIES			
Albania	AL	Serbia	RS
FYROM	MK	Turkey	TR
Montenegro	ME		
OTHER COUNTRIES			
Norway	NO	Switzerland	CH

Source: EWCS sampling implementation report, Ipsos, 2015.

Table 2: HRM practices experienced by EWCS 2015 respondents. Values expressed in percentage.

HRM PRACTICES	MALES	FEMALES
Autonomy	13.4	9.7
Autonomy of the workgroup	53.2	51.9
Co-workers support	41.9	43.8
Supervisors support	27.5	31.6
Job Intensity	8.8	5.8
Discretion	34	27.8
Performance payscheme	27.1	21.2
Training	40.3	43.8

Source: our elaboration of EWCS 2015 sample.

Table 3: Discriminated workers and their country of residence. Frequency and percentage.

COUNTRY	FREQ.	PERCENT	TOTAL RESPONDENTS
Austria	123	4.02	1,028
Belgium	255	8.34	2,587
Bulgaria	30	0.98	1,064
Croatia	35	1.15	1,012
Cyprus	82	2.68	1,003
Czech Republic	66	2.16	1,002
Denmark	55	1.80	1,002
Estonia	88	2.88	1,015
Finland	92	3.01	1,001
France	179	5.86	1,527
Germany	132	4.32	2,093
Greece	89	2.91	1,007
Hungary	52	1.70	1,023
Ireland	61	2.00	1,057
Italy	83	2.72	1,402
Latvia	70	2.29	1,004
Lithuania	53	1.73	1,004
Luxembourg	134	4.38	1,003
Malta	51	1.67	1,004
Netherlands	122	3.99	1,028
Poland	34	1.11	1,203
Portugal	45	1.47	1,037
Romania	86	2.81	1,063
Slovakia	71	2.32	1,000
Slovenia	122	3.99	1,607
Spain	147	4.81	3,364
Sweden	103	3.37	1,002
UK	121	3.96	1,623
Montenegro	34	1.11	1,005
FYROM	49	1.60	1,011
Serbia	46	1.51	1,033
Turkey	147	4.81	2,000
Norway	70	2.29	1,028
Switzerland	93	3.04	1,006
Albania	36	1.18	1,002
TOTAL	3,056	100.00	43,850

Source: our elaboration of EWCS 2015 sample.

Appendix 2.

Figure 1.1 Diagram of the relation between HRM practices and workers' overall job satisfaction.



Figure 1.2 Mediation Model. Diagram of paths between HRM practices, perception of discrimination and job satisfaction.

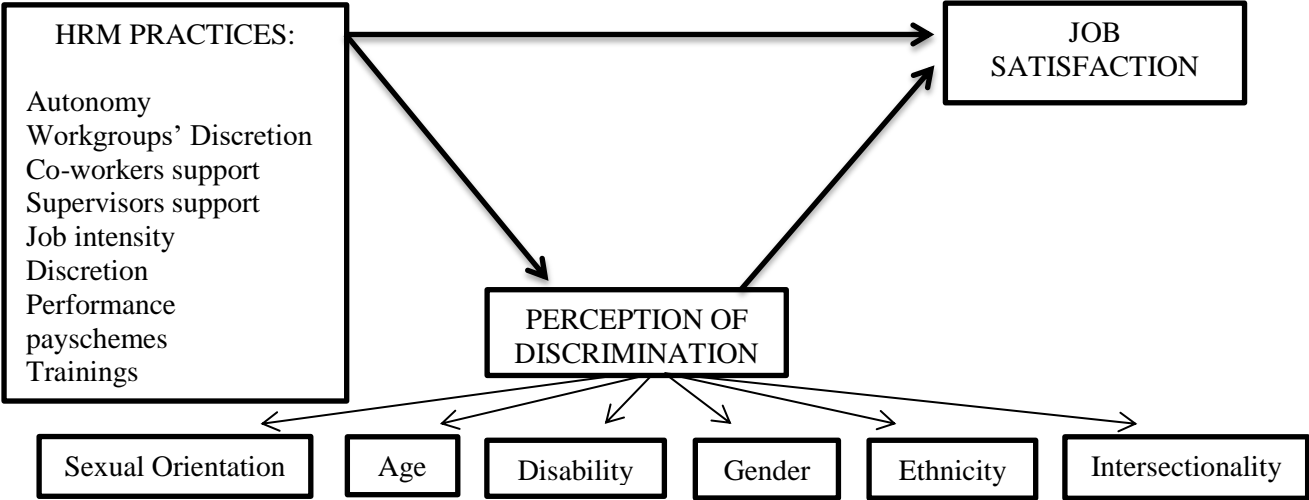
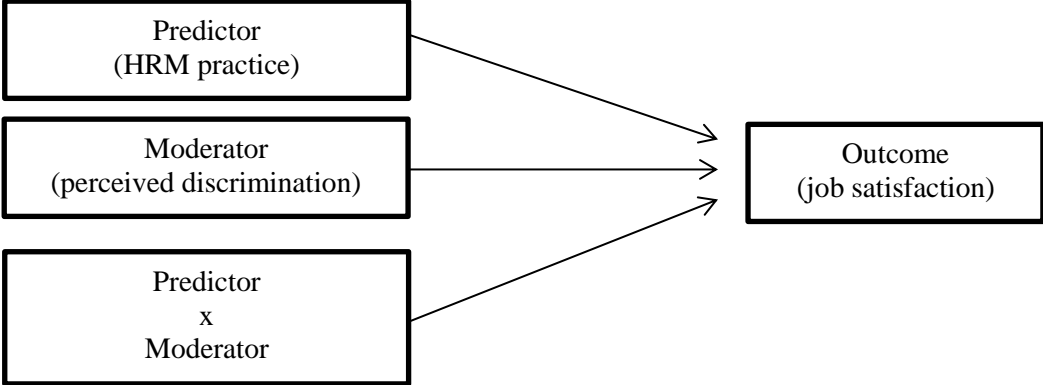


Figure 2. The moderator effect of perceived discrimination in the HRM practice-job satisfaction relationship.



Appendix 3.

Table 1. List of variables (and their meaning) used in this study's models.

	Variables	Type and Meaning
HRM PRACTICES	Autonomy	Dichotomous Variable = 1if respondent is endowed with autonomy
	Team endowed with discretion	Dichotomous Variable = 1if respondent work in a team endowed with discretion
	Colleagues support	Dichotomous Variable = 1if respondent is supported by colleagues
	Boss support	Dichotomous Variable = 1if respondent is supported by superiors
	Intensity	Dichotomous Variable = 1if respondent works with intensity
	Discretion	Dichotomous Variable = 1if respondent is endowed with discretion
	Performance Pay	Dichotomous Variable = 1if respondent is receive performance-related pay
	Training	Dichotomous Variable = 1if respondent is trained at work
CONTROL VARIABLES	Trust the management	Dichotomous Variable = 1if respondent trusts in management
	Female	Dichotomous Variable = 1if respondent is female
	Employee	Dichotomous Variable = 1if respondent is employed and not self-employed
	High education	Dichotomous Variable = 1if respondent is a graduate
	Private sector	Dichotomous Variable = 1if respondent works in private sector
	Rule of law countries	Dichotomous Variable = 1if respondent works in one of the five countries in which the rule of law is better experienced (WJP Rule of Law Index 2015)
	Open-ended contract	Dichotomous Variable = 1if respondent have a permanent contract
	Part-time	Dichotomous Variable = 1if respondent works part-time
	Urban	Dichotomous Variable = 1if respondent works in a city or in a semi-urban region, and not in a rural region.
	Age	Continuous Variable
	AgeSQ	Continuous Variable= Age*Age
PERCEIVED DISCRIMINATION	Discrimination	Dichotomous Variable = 1if respondent perceived to be discriminated against
	Sexual orientation discrimination	Dichotomous Variable = 1if respondent perceived to be discriminated against on the ground of sexual orientation
	Age discrimination	Dichotomous Variable = 1if respondent perceived to be discriminated against on the ground of age
	Disability discrimination	Dichotomous Variable = 1if respondent perceived to be discriminated against on the ground of disability
	Gender discrimination	Dichotomous Variable = 1if respondent perceived to be discriminated against on the ground of gender
	Ethnicity discrimination	Dichotomous Variable = 1if respondent perceived to be discriminated against on the ground of ethnicity
	Intersectionality with Sex. Or. discrimination	Dichotomous Variable = 1if respondent perceived to be discriminated against on the ground of sexual orientation and at last another characteristic.
DEPENDENT VARIABLE	Job Satisfaction	Dichotomous Variable = 1if respondent is satisfied with their job

Source: our elaboration of EWCS 2015 sample.

Table 2. Correlation Matrix of job satisfaction and some specific autonomy-oriented HRM practices.

	Job Sat	[Q53f]	[Q61c]	[Q61d]	[Q61e]	[Q61i]
Job Sat	1.000					
[Q53f]	0.1016	1.0000				
[Q61c]	0.2212	0.1955	1.0000			
[Q61d]	0.1765	0.2495	0.4239	1.0000		
[Q61e]	0.1590	0.1551	0.3615	0.4145	1.0000	
[Q61i]	0.1198	0.2483	0.2499	0.4024	0.2737	1.0000

Source: our elaboration of EWCS 2015 sample.

Table 3. Correlation Matrix of job satisfaction and some specific discretion-oriented HRM practices.

	Job Sat	[Q53b]	[Q53e]	[Q53c]	[Q54a]	[Q54b]
Job Sat	1.000					
[Q53b]	0.0530	1.0000				
[Q53c]	0.0402	0.4415	1.0000			
[Q53e]	0.0719	0.3581	0.4233	1.0000		
[Q54a]	-0.0345	0.2495	0.3214	0.2697	1.0000	
[Q54b]	-0.0393	0.2573	0.3489	0.2788	0.5773	1.0000

Source: our elaboration of EWCS 2015 sample.