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'I am fine, but my group is not': exploring the meanings of the personal/group discrimination discrepancy among minority and majority populations

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ABSTRACT

Prior literature has highlighted that individuals are more likely to report discrimination against their group rather than towards themselves, a phenomenon known as the personal-group discrimination discrepancy (PGD). Drawing on a recent, large-sample representative survey from France, *Trajectories and Origins 2* (TeO2), we offer a novel empirical approach for measuring the discrepancy and investigate three channels through which it operates: identity affirmation, awareness of discrimination, and spatial proximity to discrimination. We show that the discrepancy – reporting group discrimination but no personal experience of discrimination – and its determinants vary substantially across minority and majority populations. Among ethnoracial minorities, awareness of discrimination through higher education, as well as spatial proximity to racially-motivated crimes, increases the likelihood of exclusively reporting group discrimination. Among the majority, the discrepancy is more prominent among those with a salient ethnoracial identity and far-right political orientation, but less so among the higher educated, pointing to politics of racial grievance among disadvantaged majority members. The conclusion highlights the theoretical and methodological implications of different discrimination measurements as well as their potential consequences for individual outcomes.

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Introduction

Self-reported discrimination in survey data forms the bulk of empirical measures of the phenomenon. This experience can be framed in an individual/personal way (i.e. 'I am a victim of discrimination') and/or in a collective/group way (i.e. 'I belong to a group that is a victim of discrimination'). While these two perceptions of discrimination are undoubtedly correlated, previous empirical research highlights that individuals are more likely to report group discrimination than personal discrimination (Dion and Kawakami 1996; Foster and Matheson 1999; Operario and Fiske 2001; Ruggiero 1999; Ruggiero and

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Taylor 1997; Taylor, Ruggiero, and Louis 1996). This has been coined the Personal versus Group Discrimination Discrepancy (PGD).

Most interpretations of the PGD consider it as conveying an under-reporting of personal discrimination, which could be related to social desirability bias, the invisibility of some subtle forms of discrimination, or psychological strategies to maintain self-esteem and perceptions of control in the face of unequal treatment (Crosby 1984; Lamont 2016). But why might people emphasize group discrimination, even in the absence of personal discrimination? As the PGD is particularly predominant among minority groups, one hypothesis is that the group discrimination measurement captures a form of minority identity affirmation. In this sense, claiming that one's group is discriminated against may reflect a sense of belonging rather than serving as a measure of discrimination.

In this article, we present an empirical assessment of this identity explanation of the PGD and explore two alternative interpretations. First, group discrimination may be more frequently reported than personal experiences because individuals are *aware* of the pervasive nature of discrimination in society. Second, individuals may report group discrimination due to their *spatial proximity* to discriminated groups. Methodologically, the analyses draw on data from the recent French survey, *Trajectories and Origins 2* (TeO2), that jointly measures personal and group discrimination due to skin color or origin. We assess the PGD in a novel way, by focusing on the strictest form of the discrepancy: respondents who feel their group is discriminated against but do not report any personal experiences of discrimination. Our analysis explores the determinants of exclusively reporting group discrimination (the 'exclusive group discrimination' pattern) systematically across minority and majority populations to gain insights about the meaning of the PGD.

The findings first confirm the discrepancy, showing that perceptions of group discrimination are more prevalent than personal experiences of discrimination and that this is particularly true for ethnoracial minorities. Education matters for the discrepancy, yet with different effects for the French majority and minority groups: while higher education correlates with increased reporting of group discrimination among ethnoracial minorities, highly educated French majority members are less likely to view themselves as part of a discriminated group. This hints towards the awareness mechanism as education may trigger 'objective' knowledge of the pervasiveness of discrimination against ethnoracial minorities. Evidence also hints towards the spatial proximity mechanism: among minorities, geographical proximity to racially-motivated crimes boosts the perception of group discrimination.

Finally, our findings corroborate the identity affirmation hypothesis – but not for most ethnoracial minorities. The exclusive group discrimination measurement is in fact more pronounced for French majority respondents who emphasize their ethnoracial identity, which suggests that the expression of exclusive group discrimination is a form of *majority* identity affirmation. Analyses that delve into the role of education and political orientation support this interpretation, as exclusive group discrimination is more pronounced among French majority members with low education and far-right political orientation. This indicates that the PGD might be increasingly linked to racial grievance politics among left-behind Whites, rather than a heightened sense of group identity among minorities.

These findings make a novel contribution to research on discrimination. First, while prior literature typically draws on small sample sizes and focuses on select minority

populations, we extend the study of the PGD to the majority population. By doing so, we show that group discrimination is salient for both the majority and minority groups, but for different reasons: among the majority, the discrepancy appears to be driven by identity politics, while for minorities, it is grounded in awareness of and spatial proximity to discrimination. The role of higher education in heightening minorities' perception of discrimination against their group provides a novel perspective on the well-established integration paradox (Schaeffer and Kas 2024; Verkuyten 2016). Second, we offer a new methodological approach to studying the PGD relying on simultaneous equation modelling. We argue that this measure better captures the PGD with respect to prior studies which compare the two measurements separately (Bourguignon et al. 2006; Ruggiero and Taylor 1997; Taylor, Ruggiero, and Louis 1996).

Theoretical background

Personal and group discrimination are both measures of perceived discrimination, or an individual's subjective appraisal of their degree of exposure to unequal treatment. Unlike experimental measures that aim to assess strict unequal treatment, self-reported discrimination is supposed to capture the multidimensional and sometimes 'objectively' imperceptible individual experience of discrimination (Small and Pager 2020). The more commonly used indicator (Monk 2015; Schmitt et al. 2014; Shen and Dhanani 2015), personal discrimination taps into individuals' direct experience of discrimination in their everyday lives. In surveys, this question is often paired with measures of the intensity or frequency of discrimination and the characteristic on which the differential treatment is believed to be based (race, gender, origin, etc.). In contrast, the group discrimination measure asks respondents whether they consider themselves to belong to a discriminated group. Past studies have documented that while correlated, individuals tend to more frequently report group discrimination than personal experiences of discrimination (the PGD).

Prior studies on the PGD have documented heterogeneous patterns along sociodemographic characteristics. This literature shows that the gap between personal and group discrimination tends to be driven by visible minority populations. In contrast, the majority rates personal experiences of ethnoracial discrimination higher than group-level discrimination (Operario and Fiske 2001). For instance, several studies have shown that disadvantaged groups, such as African Americans in the U.S. or immigrants and indigenous populations in Canada, consider their personal experiences of discrimination to be less frequent than that of members of their group (Dion and Kawakami 1996; Taylor, Ruggiero, and Louis 1996).

In light of these findings, prior studies have focused on the interpretation of the PGD among minorities. One predominant explanation is that a strong sense of belonging to one's minority group triggers group empathy, a sense of 'shared fate' and solidarity that bind individuals to their group (Armenta and Hunt 2009; Phiney 1990). This may motivate minority respondents to report discrimination against their group, even when they have not personally been subjected to it, in a way to express group loyalty and cohesion. However, prior studies on the PGD have seldom directly tested this hypothesis, which requires combining data on group identity and perceived discrimination. Moreover, while most research that hints towards this interpretation focuses

on the minority population, one might anticipate that the same mechanism can be operating for the majority: the stronger their ethnoracial identity, the higher their reporting of group discrimination. Additionally, for the majority, affirmation of ethnoracial identity and perceptions of group discrimination could be linked to political orientation (Earle and Hodson 2020). Right-wing majority members are more inclined to portray themselves as victims of reverse discrimination and increasingly threatened by minority groups (Jardina 2019; Mayrl and Saperstein 2013; Okuyan, Vollhardt, and Stewart 2023). This is more pronounced among the far-right as their political agenda typically revolves around the construction, preservation and promotion of the majority identity. This leads to our first hypothesis:

Minority and majority respondents who have a strong sense of ethnoracial identity are more likely to report group discrimination even in the absence of personal discrimination (H1a). Among the majority, far-right political orientation will also increase the likelihood of reporting exclusive group discrimination (H1b).

Nonetheless, people's answers to whether their group is discriminated against are not only identity-driven. The question can also be conceived of as triggering distinct cognitive processes as it prompts respondents to think beyond their own experience (Bourguignon et al. 2006; Ruggiero and Taylor 1994; Taylor, Ruggiero, and Louis 1996). They may thus likely base their answer on what they *know* about or what they *observe* in their daily life. We explore two channels through which these cognitive processes might operate: awareness of discrimination through education and spatial proximity to discrimination.

First, accessing higher education boosts awareness of the historical and contemporary context of ethnoracial discrimination. Indeed, several studies document a positive relationship between educational level and perceived discrimination among minorities, referred to as the integration paradox (Schaeffer and Kas 2024; Verkuyten 2016). While this phenomenon has been demonstrated with respect to the personal discrimination measurement, it is arguably more likely to be relevant when we measure discrimination with the group question. Education heightens awareness of discrimination and recognition of the relative lack of opportunities that are open to minority groups. Therefore, highly educated minorities would be more inclined to agree with the statement that their group is discriminated against regardless of their personal experience of discrimination. Moreover, higher education is also likely to increase the *majority's* knowledge and awareness of the historical inequalities and discrimination against ethnoracial groups. Relative to minorities, this would result in the opposite relationship between education and perceived discrimination: recognizing the relative privilege of their group, highly educated majority members should thus be *less* likely to consider themselves collectively discriminated against. Therefore:

Education triggers awareness of ethnoracial discrimination. This will lead highly educated minorities to more frequently report that their group is discriminated against even when they are not subject to personal discrimination (H2a), but will lead highly educated majority members to be less likely to do so (H2b).

The prominence of the PGD among visible minorities can also be due to them observing that members of their group face unequal treatment in society, regardless of whether they as individuals have ever been targeted by discrimination. Prior studies refer to an additive

cognitive process by which individuals draw on the experience of people they know when responding to the group discrimination question (Taylor, Wright, and Ruggiero 1991). This mechanism may thus be triggered by spatial proximity to other discriminated individuals. Many studies indeed acknowledge variation in the perception of discrimination across local contexts (Ghekiere and Verhaeghe 2022; Hanson and Hawley 2014; Zimmerman, Trovato, and Miller-Smith 2023). Most of these studies focus on personal discrimination, but again we argue that the group discrimination measurement would be even more sensitive to respondents' local contexts. While many studies focus on the effect of minority local density (Nandi, Luthra, and Benzeval 2020), we argue that a direct measure of objective events such as race crimes and racial harassment more accurately capture the spatial proximity mechanism (Earle and Hodson 2010).

Greater exposure to racially-motivated violence in a geographic area will make minority respondents more likely to report group discrimination even in the absence of personal discrimination (H3).

Data and methods

Data come from the survey *Trajectories and Origins 2* (TeO2) conducted in France in 2019–2020 on 27,183 individuals residing in metropolitan France aged 18–60. TeO2 was specifically designed to investigate the diversity of the French population and the experiences and outcomes of immigrants and their descendants (Beauchemin et al. 2023). The sampling method over-represents minority populations to produce adequate sample sizes on statistically rare groups. Sampling weights are applied in all descriptive analyses to account for this sample design. The survey contains a wide range of questions about experiences of discrimination in French society. For our analysis, we focus on French citizens born in France. This results in a total sample size of 15,821 respondents, of which 6,966 are French majority respondents and 8,855 are minorities (see Table A1).

Modelling personal and group discrimination

We use two measures of discrimination available in the survey as dependent variables. The first, referred to as *personal discrimination*, assesses whether respondents feel they have recently been discriminated against. This measure is based on the question: 'Have you experienced discrimination in the last five years?' with three response categories: 'Often,' 'Sometimes,' and 'Never.' If the respondent answered affirmatively to this question ('Often' or 'Sometimes'), they were then asked about the cause of discrimination, with several suggested responses.¹ As our focus is on ethnoracial discrimination, we concentrate on personal discrimination due to origin or skin color.

We refer to the second measure as *group discrimination*, which is derived from the following question: 'Beyond your personal experience, do you think you belong to a group that experiences unequal treatment or discrimination due to origin or skin color in France today?' to which respondents could respond yes or no. The group discrimination question follows the personal discrimination question in the questionnaire.

Both measures capture perceived discrimination and share a significant overlap as subjective evaluations of whether respondents feel targeted by discrimination.

However, as we argue, they also capture different dimensions of the experience of the phenomenon. While the questionnaire does not explicitly prioritize one type of discrimination over the other, comparing responses to these two questions enables us to explore the mechanisms driving the PGD. Specifically, our approach focuses on one pattern of answers to these two questions that we call ‘exclusive group discrimination’: this pattern is observed when respondents report their group is discriminated against even if they haven’t personally experienced discrimination.

We use a simultaneous equation model to implement this strategy. The model consists in estimating the two dependent variables together accounting for the auto-correlations between the two error terms. The first dependent variable, group discrimination (y_1), is coded 1 if the respondent reported an experience of discrimination due to origin/nationality or skin color and 0 if he/she did not report discrimination any of these two dimensions of discrimination. The second dependent variable, personal discrimination (y_2), is coded 1 if respondents answered yes to this question and 0 otherwise. Since the dependent variables are binary outcomes, we estimate a bivariate probit model. Table 1 shows the distribution of these two discrimination variables.

The model is particularly useful for testing the PGD as, in the post-estimation stage, we can explore the joint probability of reporting group discrimination ($y_1 = 1$), but not personal discrimination ($y_2 = 0$). The model can be expressed as:

$$y_1 = 1[x\beta_1 + e_1 > 0]$$

$$y_2 = 1[x\beta_2 + e_2 > 0]$$

$$\text{with } (e_1 \ e_2) \sim [N(0 \ 0), (1 \ \rho \ \rho \ 1)]$$

ρ is the coefficient of autocorrelation between the residuals of the two equations.

The main model predicts both personal (y_1) and group (y_2) discrimination. The independent variables are gender (male/female), age (18-30/31-40/41-50), marital status (single/married), number of children (no children/one child/two children/three or more children), a dummy indicating whether the respondent was unemployed, education (no degree/less than high school diploma/high school diploma/university), income (coded in quintiles), political ideology (far left/left/center/right/far right/no opinion), religious denomination (no religion/Christian/Muslim/other), city size (rural/<10,000 inhabitants/10,000-49,000 inhabitants/50,000-99,999 inhabitants/100,000-199,999 inhabitants/>200,000 inhabitants), and ethnoracial group.

Ethnoracial groups are coded in the following categories: French majority, French overseas departments, North Africa, Sub-Saharan Africa, Asia, Turkey/Middle East, Southern Europe, Other Europe, and Other. French majority members are respondents who were born with French citizenship with two parents who were also French citizens at birth. All other groups are composed of respondents with at least one immigrant parent

Table 1. Personal and group discrimination.

	<i>N</i>	%	Weighted %
Group discrimination	2,848	18	8
Personal discrimination	2,122	13	5

Trajectories and Origins 2, INED/INSEE (2019-2020).

(namely a parent who was born outside of France without French citizenship at birth). Those respondents are assigned to a group based on the country of birth of the immigrant parent. In some analyses, we use a more concise measurement coded in 4 categories (French majority, French Overseas, non-European, and European).

To investigate our hypotheses, we further estimate alternative specifications of this main model.² To test H1, we included ethnoracial identity as a covariate and tested an interaction between ethnoracial identity and ethnoracial group, as well as between political ideology and ethnoracial group. Ethnoracial identity is measured on the basis of a question prompting respondents to select from a list of items³ to describe themselves. We created a dummy variable indicating 1 for a salient ethnoracial identity when respondents selected 'origin' and/or 'skin color' as a facet of their identity and 0 if neither of those items were chosen. To test H2, we ran an alternative specification including an interaction between educational level and ethnoracial group.

Finally, to test H3, we use the share of racially-motivated crimes (*infractions à caractère raciste, xénophobe ou antireligieux*) at the department level to capture spatial proximity to discrimination. Racially-motivated crime is measured by the number of reported crimes recorded per 1,000 inhabitants in each of the 96 departments in metropolitan France (calculated as an annual average between 2019 and 2021). This is police data published at the departmental level that classifies offenses and crimes as 'racist' when they are committed on the grounds of 'ethnicity, nation, alleged race or religion' (Bernardi, Milin, and Tir 2022). This type of data may suffer from selection bias, as all victims do not engage in criminal justice procedures and reporting to the police might be more or less frequent depending on individual and contextual characteristics. To address this selection bias, we controlled for neighbourhood characteristics in addition to the wide range of individual observables in the model. Neighborhood variables are provided in a supplementary contextual data set that can be merged with the TeO2 survey. The neighborhood measures are at the scale of the IRIS, which is an infra-municipality division provided by the French Census Bureau (INSEE) composed of approximately 2,000 inhabitants. Neighborhood variables include the unemployment rate (namely the number of individuals aged 15 years and over who are unemployed out of the entire active population of the IRIS) and the proportion of immigrants (the number of persons in the IRIS who were born outside of France without French citizenship at birth out of the total population of the IRIS). All of these continuous neighborhood variables have been standardized in the model in order to facilitate the interpretation of their effects.

In addition to neighborhood observables, we try to circumvent the role of unobservables in driving residential selection bias in the results. Indeed, individuals who are highly aware of or sensitive to discrimination could self-select into areas to avoid hostility and racially-motivated violence. We address this problem by testing the robustness of the findings within the sample of social housing residents. Earlier studies indeed suggest that social housing tenants form a quasi-random sample as people cannot choose the specific location of the housing unit that is attributed to them (Algan, Hémet, and Laitin 2016; Fumagalli and Fumagalli 2019; Galster and Santiago 2015). In this model, we used an aggregate coding of ethnoracial groups in four categories due to the loss in sample size in the social housing model.

Table A1 in the Appendix reports descriptive statistics on all variables used in the analysis.

Results

Descriptive statistics of personal and group discrimination due to origin or skin color are reported in [Table 1](#). Overall, respondents are more likely to report being part of a discriminated group (8% [7.8%–8.6%]) than they are to report a personal experience of ethnoracial discrimination (5% [4.3%–5.0%]). This is consistent with the personal-group discrimination discrepancy.

[Table 2](#) shows patterns of responses to the two discrimination questions by origin and religion. First, it is important to note that for most groups, the overwhelming majority of responses to these questions are negative: for instance, 91% and 93% of Southern European origin respondents and French majority members, respectively, report no personal experience of discrimination, nor do they identify as a discriminated group. Yet, this is less true for ethnoracial minorities, for whom discrimination in one form or the other is a predominant experience. Take respondents of Sub-Saharan African origin and those identifying as Muslim: at least half report group discrimination and/or personal discrimination. In line with prior research, the experience of discrimination – be it personal, group, or both – is hence largely a matter for visible minorities (Beauchemin et al. 2010; Lê et al. 2022; Safi 2023).

Nonetheless, further evidence for the discrepancy is found in [Table 2](#). The last column of the table shows the PGD as we subsequently measure it: identifying as a part of a discriminated group, but not reporting a personal experience of discrimination. In line with the discrepancy, rates of exclusively reporting group discrimination are higher than those of exclusively reporting personal discrimination. This is particularly true for ethnoracial minorities: respondents of Sub-Saharan African origin, North African origin, and Muslims, for instance, declare exclusive group discrimination at double the rate than exclusive personal discrimination. For Europeans, rates of exclusive personal or exclusive group discrimination are lower overall and reported at quite similar rates. And for Turkish and Middle Eastern origin, there is even a reversal of the discrepancy: respondents rate exclusive personal discrimination higher than exclusive group discrimination.

In the rest of the analysis, we focus on exclusive group discrimination as a strict measure of the PGD. Specifically, we calculate the joint probability of reporting group

Table 2. Personal and group discrimination by origin and religion.

	Neither %	Both %	Exclusive personal discrimination %	Exclusive group discrimination %
French majority	93	1	1	5
Overseas	60	16	9	15
North Africa	55	17	9	19
Sub-Saharan Africa	40	29	10	22
Asia	62	13	10	15
Turkey/Middle East	70	9	12	9
Southern Europe	91	1	3	4
Other Europe	93	2	2	4
Other	60	11	9	19
Christian	92	2	1	5
Muslim	50	19	10	21
Other	76	4	6	15
None	92	1	2	5
Total	90	2	2	6

Trajectories and Origins 2, INED/INSEE (2019-2020). Table shows weighted percentages.

discrimination ($y_1 = 1$) but no experience of personal discrimination ($y_2 = 0$) derived from the simultaneous equation model. The results for this set of probabilities are reported in Table 3 and the full model results are presented in Table A2 in the Appendix.⁴

The descriptive patterns for ethnoracial and religious groups shown in Table 2 hold net of other factors. Socio-demographic variables are also significantly correlated with exclusively affirming group discrimination. Women, respondents with higher education, residents of large cities, and those situated on the extremes of the political ideology scale are more likely to view themselves as part of a discriminated group. In contrast, those identifying with the political right and older age groups are less likely to declare exclusive group discrimination.

We now delve into our hypotheses focusing on the exclusive group discrimination measurement. Our first hypothesis relates to the identity mechanism. We introduced two interactions in the main model between ethnoracial group and ethnoracial identity salience (1) and ethnoracial group and political ideology⁵ (2). The left-hand panel of Figure 1 displays the first interaction by plotting the marginal effect of having a strong ethnoracial identity for each group. Against our expectations stated in H1a, a pronounced ethnoracial identity does *not* result in a greater likelihood of reporting exclusive group discrimination among most ethnoracial minorities. There is one exception however: exclusive group discrimination is strongly associated with ethnoracial identity salience for French Overseas respondents. Nonetheless, we *do* find that ethnoracial identity salience is associated with exclusive group discrimination among the French majority. The analysis of political ideology further supports the identity-driven mechanism for the majority group. The right-hand panel shows the marginal effect of far-right political orientation for each group. In line with H1b, French majority members on the far-right of the political spectrum are particularly prone to identifying as part of a discriminated group. Unexpectedly, we also find an opposite effect for some ethnoracial minorities. Respondents of North African, Turkish/Middle Eastern, and other non-European origin who identify as far-right are less likely to view themselves as belonging to a discriminated group.

Our second hypothesis tests the awareness mechanism by exploring the effect of higher education on reporting exclusive group discrimination. To do so, interaction effects between ethnoracial group and education are added to the main model. Figure 2 presents the results of the interaction, plotting the marginal effect of having a university education compared to no degree.⁶ The findings confirm H2a. Ethnoracial minorities of North African, Sub-Saharan African, and French Overseas origins with higher education are more likely to identify as part of a discriminated group compared to those with no degree. In contrast, higher education plays the opposite role for the majority group, as predicted in H2b. Compared to those with no degree, majority members with higher education are less likely to consider that their group is a victim of discrimination.

Expressing these effects as changes in standard deviations of exclusive group discrimination ($SD = 0.30$) provides a better sense of their magnitude. For respondents originating in the Overseas departments, a salient ethnoracial identity is associated with a 30% standard deviation increase ($0.09/0.30 = 0.30$). The higher education effect for this group is even more pronounced, corresponding to a standard deviation increase of 41%. As for the French majority, the effect of far-right political orientation is stronger compared to the effects of ethnoracial identity or higher education, corresponding to about a 37% standard deviation increase.

Table 3. The Determinants of Reporting Exclusive Group Discrimination.

	Exclusive group discrimination (Y1 = 1 & Y2 = 0)
<i>Origin/Ref: French majority</i>	
Overseas	0.095*** (0.012)
North Africa	0.085*** (0.008)
Sub-Saharan Africa	0.127*** (0.012)
Asia	0.068*** (0.011)
Turkey/Middle East	-0.007 (0.008)
Southern Europe	-0.014* (0.007)
Other Europe	-0.021** (0.008)
Other	0.064*** (0.016)
<i>Religion/Ref: No religion</i>	
Christian	-0.002 (0.005)
Muslim	0.039*** (0.007)
Other	0.051*** (0.015)
<i>Education/Ref: No degree</i>	
<Bac	0.003 (0.007)
Bac	0.018* (0.007)
>Bac	0.028*** (0.007)
<i>Political ideology/Ref: Center</i>	
Far left	0.028* (0.013)
Left	0.011 (0.008)
Right	-0.020* (0.009)
Far right	0.066** (0.021)
Unreported	-0.009 (0.007)
<i>Female</i>	0.009* (0.004)
<i>Age group/Ref: 18–30</i>	
31–40	-0.012* (0.006)
41–50	-0.014* (0.007)
51–60	-0.011 (0.008)
<i>Married vs single</i>	0.003 (0.005)
<i>Number of children/Ref: No children</i>	
1	-0.015* (0.006)
2	-0.005 (0.007)
3 or more	0.008 (0.008)

(Continued)

Table 3. Continued.

	Exclusive group discrimination (Y1 = 1 & Y2 = 0)
<i>Unemployed</i>	0.007 (0.007)
<i>Income/Ref: Q 1</i>	
Q 2	-0.010 (0.006)
Q 3	0.005 (0.007)
Q 4	-0.013* (0.007)
Q 5	-0.009 (0.007)
Unreported	-0.008 (0.014)
<i>City size/Ref: Rural</i>	
<10,000 inhabitants	0.007 (0.009)
10,000-49,999 inhabitants	0.006 (0.009)
50,000-99,999 inhabitants	0.005 (0.009)
100,000-199,999 inhabitants	0.009 (0.010)
200,000 + inhabitants	0.017* (0.007)
Observations	15,752

Trajectories and Origins 2, INED/INSEE (2019-2020). Table shows marginal effects with standard errors in parentheses.*** $p < 0.001$, ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$.

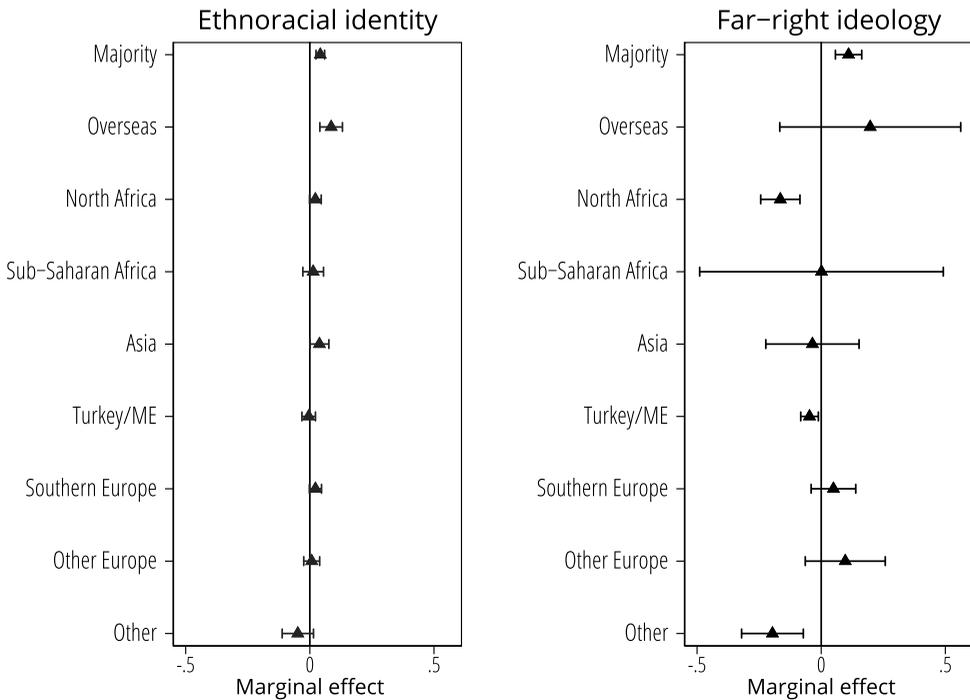


Figure 1. Marginal effects of ethnoracial identity and far-right political ideology on reporting exclusive group discrimination by origin.

Source: Enquête TeO2 (Trajectoires et Origines : Enquête sur la diversité des populations en France), Insee-Ined, 2019-2020.

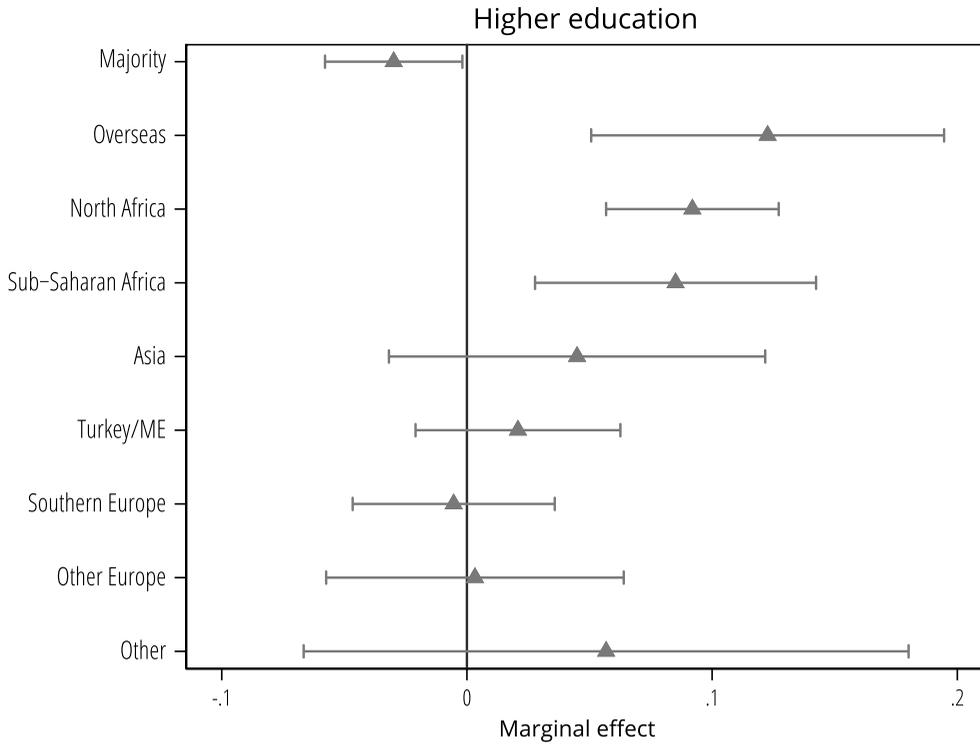


Figure 2. The marginal effects of higher education on reporting exclusive group discrimination by origin.

Source: Enquête TeO2 (Trajectoires et Origines : Enquête sur la diversité des populations en France), Insee-Ined, 2019–2020.

The third hypothesis relates to the spatial proximity mechanism, which we test for by introducing spatial determinants in the model. Table 4 summarizes the effects of these variables, which have been standardized. First, we find that spatial proximity to discrimination has no effect for the French majority or European-origin respondents: neither

Table 4. The marginal effects of spatial proximity to discrimination on reporting exclusive group discrimination by origin.

	Full sample		Sample of social housing residents	
	Marginal effects of:		Marginals effect of:	
	Immigrant share (SD)	Racial crimes (SD)	Immigrant share (SD)	Racial crimes (SD)
French majority	0.008 (0.005)	-0.001 (0.004)	0.006 (0.014)	0.005 (0.012)
Overseas departments	-0.033* (0.016)	0.036** (0.014)	-0.032 (0.025)	0.048* (0.023)
Non-European origin	-0.010* (0.005)	0.014*** (0.004)	-0.008 (0.008)	0.006 (0.007)
European origin	-0.004 (0.007)	-0.006 (0.006)	-0.004 (0.021)	0.013 (0.020)
Observations	15,752	15,752	3,227	3,227

Trajectories and Origins 2, INED/INSEE (2019-2020). Table shows marginal effects with standard errors in parentheses. *** $p < 0.001$, ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$.

measurement is significant. But in line with H3, proximity to racially-motivated crimes is significantly correlated with exclusive group discrimination among French Overseas and non-European origin respondents. This effect remains robust in the social housing sample for French Overseas respondents: a one-standard deviation increase in the share of racially-motivated crimes corresponds to a rise of 5 probability points (i.e. 16% of a standard deviation) in exclusive group discrimination. Moreover, for these same groups, living in neighborhoods with increased shares of immigrants is associated with lower odds of reporting exclusive group discrimination; however, this relationship does not hold among the social housing sample, suggesting residential selection effects.

Discussion and conclusion

Using recent data from France, this article contributes to the literature on perceived discrimination by delving into the meaning of the Personal versus Group Discrimination Discrepancy (PGD). Consistent with prior studies, we find that perceptions of group discrimination generally outweigh reports of personal discrimination, though this discrepancy varies significantly across individual and contextual dimensions. Focusing on the determinants of exclusive group discrimination, our findings illuminate key mechanisms underlying this phenomenon.

First, our findings confirm that the PGD is more pronounced among minority populations, with some nuances. Respondents of African and Asian descent, Muslims, as well as French Overseas natives (predominately Black populations) consistently report higher levels of exclusive group discrimination. This aligns with existing research which highlights the role of minority status in framing discrimination as a group phenomenon. In France, African-origin individuals and Muslims are among the most disadvantaged, discriminated and stigmatized ethnoracial minorities (Adida, Laitin, and Valfort 2016; Dares, IPP, and ISM-CORUM 2021; McAvay et al. 2024; Quillian et al. 2019; Safi and Simon 2013).

Interestingly, the PGD pattern is reversed for individuals of European and Turkish/Middle Eastern origins, who stress personal discrimination over group discrimination. This could be interpreted in several ways. First, those identifying as or perceived as White may recognize their relative privilege and reject the notion of group-level discrimination based on skin color or origin. Second, the denial of group discrimination may reflect a refusal to associate with victimhood, distancing their group from the experiences of more stigmatized racial minorities. Finally, Turkish origins may have a different perception of discrimination in comparison with other visible minorities due to the fact that Turkey was never a French colony, and hence they are unburdened by the post-colonial stigmas that affect African and Asian minorities (Silberman, Alba, and Fournier 2007).

Focusing on the mediating mechanisms, our analysis helps clarify the different meanings of the PGD across minority and majority populations. The interpretation of the discrepancy as primarily a minority identity-driven phenomenon is not supported in our findings. The only minority group for which exclusive group discrimination goes hand in hand with ethnoracial identity are respondents from French Overseas departments. As French native citizens, overseas respondents may view ethnoracial discrimination as all the more illegitimate. Further, the availability of narratives about anti-racist overseas struggle and a proud black identity (e.g. Aimé Césaire's concept of *négritude*) could

contribute to both embracing an ethnoracial identity and condemning discrimination against their group. Conversely, ethnoracial identity does play a significant role for majority respondents reporting group discrimination. Among majority populations who did not experience personal discrimination, perceiving one's group as discriminated against seems linked to nativist identity politics and racial grievance. This interpretation is also supported by the effects of political ideology, the strongest of which are seen at the extremes of the political spectrum, but again with contrasting patterns across groups. This suggests PGD is closely tied to political polarization. French majority members on the far-right of the political spectrum emphasize exclusive group discrimination. Yet, for some ethnoracial minorities, identifying with the far-right is negatively related to exclusive group discrimination. The fact that North African and other non-European origins are less likely to consider themselves part of a discriminated group when they identify with the far-right is consistent with system justification theory, according to which minorities espouse status-quo, majoritarian views – such as meritocratic world-views where inequality is framed as a result of individual responsibility – and support hierarchical systems even when such arrangements are disadvantageous to them (Jost et al. 2003; Jost, Banaji, and Nosek 2004; Kaiser and Major 2006).

Perhaps the most novel findings relate to the cognitive mechanisms underlying the PGD. Exclusive group discrimination reporting is influenced by 'objective knowledge' – particularly awareness (through education) and observation (through spatial proximity). For minorities, these cognitive mechanisms are even more pronounced. Our findings relative to the differential effect of higher education for minority and majority groups clearly hint toward awareness mechanisms: those with higher education among the majority are less likely to frame discrimination as an exclusively group phenomenon, while those among the minority are more likely to do so. Beyond personal experiences of discrimination, higher education triggers awareness of the existence of disadvantage among the minority population and of privilege among the majority population. This result provides new evidence that the integration paradox, identified in prior literature on discrimination, is perhaps less about greater exposure to discrimination among the highly educated, and indeed more about heightened awareness of one's group's marginalized status in social hierarchies (Portes, Parker, and Cobas 1980). The findings on the majority moreover align with prior studies using the first version of the TeO survey, showing that low-educated majority members are more likely to stress the importance of their racial identity (McAvay and Safi 2023), and evidence from the U.S. that anti-White discrimination reports are higher among Whites with low levels of education (Scott 2018).

Spatial proximity to discrimination also plays a crucial role in shaping perceived exclusive group discrimination. Our findings show that spatial proximity to racially-motivated crimes amplifies the perception of exclusive group discrimination among ethnoracial minorities. Here again, this result helps us better understand the meaning of the discrepancy, suggesting that minorities' framing of discrimination as a group phenomenon is grounded in direct exposure to discriminatory interactions in everyday life, be it based on third-party observations.

Our findings have several theoretical and methodological implications. First, the confirmation of the PGD in our analysis highlights the importance of question phrasing in discrimination studies. It also underscores the need to examine discrimination from both minority and majority perspectives. While both personal and group discrimination are

subjective measures – each carrying limitations in capturing strict unequal treatment – the discrepancy between them reveals differences in how discrimination is perceived and experienced. This discrepancy seems to reflect how minority populations are often aware of discrimination or how they directly observe it against their group members, whereas majority populations may perceive their relative advantage as threatened, particularly if they are unaware of historical privilege. Our analysis hence shows the value of including both questions in surveys when possible, as the exclusive discrimination measure provides insights not only into identity-related mechanisms but also about social knowledge and social experiences beyond personal exposure to discrimination.

We also argue that delving into the subjective perception of discrimination is important from a social-psychological and political point of view because these perceptions may have different consequences for individual outcomes. Earlier studies indeed suggest that group discrimination buffers the negative consequences of discrimination. When individuals attribute discrimination to their group’s status in society and not to themselves personally, this may mitigate harm to their self-esteem and mental health and foster resilience and collective action. We explore this in our data by focusing on four outcomes that have been previously shown to be linked to discrimination (Alvarez-Galvez and Salvador-Carulla 2013; Grewal and Hamid 2024; Lewis, Cogburn, and Williams 2015; Oskooii 2020; Schildkraut 2005): self-reported depression, avoidant behavior, attitudes towards the criminal justice system, and attitudes towards the police.⁷ Figure 3 plots the probability of experiencing each of these outcomes according to the

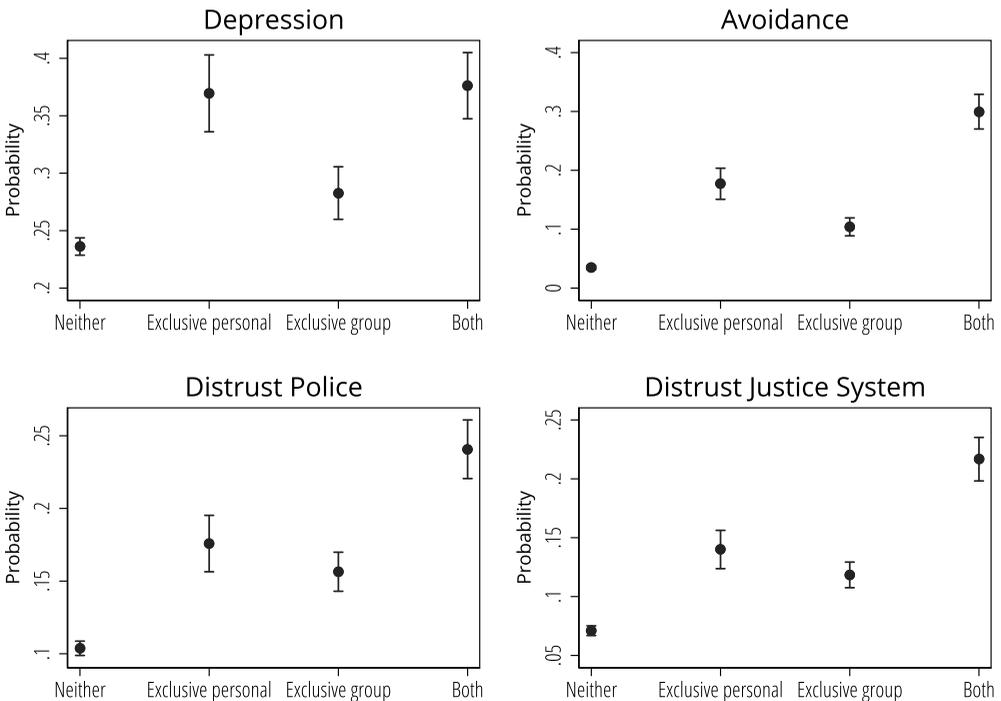


Figure 3. Associations between perceived discrimination and individual outcomes.

Source: Enquête TeO2 (Trajectoires et Origines : Enquête sur la diversité des populations en France), Insee-Ined, 2019–2020.

type of discrimination reported, net of the same controls as included in the main model (full models are available in [Table A3](#)).

While all forms of discrimination are detrimental to all outcomes, individuals who frame discrimination only in terms of personal experience are generally more exposed to its negative consequences. The top left and top right panels of the figure show a significantly higher probability of reporting depression and avoidant behavior among those who report only personal discrimination compared to those who report only group discrimination. A similar trend is also found when it comes to attitudes towards institutions: distrust in the police and criminal justice system tends to be more pronounced among those who view discrimination in terms of personal experience compared to a group experience, although here the differences are not statistically significant. Exclusive group discrimination hence appears as a particularly effective coping strategy as it tends to buffer the detrimental effects of discrimination on well-being and avoidance strategies in particular. The significant difference between the two exclusive ways of framing discrimination (exclusive group and exclusive personal) suggests that the PGD is not only shaped by sociodemographic, ideological and cognitive factors, but also constitutes an active strategy of coping with discrimination. This joins prior literature documenting the buffering effect of group discrimination on political attitudes and behavior in other contexts (Grewal and Hamid 2024; Oskooii 2020; Schildkraut 2005).

Due to the observational and cross-sectional nature of the data, our findings regarding the determinants and consequences of the PGD cannot be interpreted as causal effects. Despite extensive controls and robustness checks, we cannot rule out that unobservable heterogeneity and reverse causality might be underlying these findings. This is particularly true when it comes to the associations between perceived discrimination and outcomes, a relationship that is known to be complex to address in a causal way. Nonetheless, the contrasting determinants of the PGD by group and the differential associations of group and personal discrimination with individual outcomes are informative of the underlying social and psychological factors that shape people's own interpretation of their social experience and affect the ways in which they cope with it.

Notes

1. Specifically, discrimination due to age, sex, health/handicap, skin color, origin/nationality, place of residence, accent, family situation, sexual orientation, religion, way of dressing, weight, physical appearance, first or last name, other, or doesn't know.
2. For concision, only partial results of these alternative specifications are shown in the Results section; full models may be obtained upon request from the authors.
3. The list of items from which respondents could choose also includes generation, sex, occupation or social category, educational level, neighborhood or city, disability, nationality, region of origin, religion, interests, political opinions, family situation, and other.
4. The rho value (0.65, $p < 0.001$) from the model indicates that the residuals of the two equations are positively and significantly correlated.
5. All six categories of the political ideology variable are included in the interaction term; however, the figure plots only the effect of the far-right vs. the center as is relevant for our hypothesis. Full results of the interaction model are not included for the sake of concision but may be obtained upon request.
6. All four categories of the education variable are included in the interaction term; however, the figure plots only the effects of a university education vs. no degree as is relevant for our

hypothesis. Full results of the interaction model are not included for the sake of concision but may be obtained upon request.

7. Depression is measured from the question “Over the last 12 months, have you felt particularly sad, down or depressed, most of the time during the day, practically everyday, for at least two weeks?” coded as a dummy (yes/no). Avoidance is measured using a question asking respondents “Have you ever avoided going places due to your origin or skin color?”, coded as a dummy (yes/no). Trust in the police and trust in the justice system are coded on an ordinal scale from 1 (“Completely Trust”) to 4 (“Completely Distrust”). We use logit models for depression and avoidance and ordinal logit models for the trust outcomes.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author(s).

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Appendix

Table A1. Descriptive Statistics on All Variables

	French majority (N = 6,966)		Minorities (N = 8,855)	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
<i>Personal/group discrimination</i>				
Neither	.93	.26	.69	.46
Both	.01	.09	.11	.32
Exclusive personal	.01	.12	.07	.25
Exclusive group	.05	.21	.13	.33
<i>Ethnoracial group</i>				
French majority	1	0	0	0
Overseas departments	0	0	.09	.29
North Africa	0	0	.35	.48
Sub-Saharan Africa	0	0	.06	.24
Asia	0	0	.05	.22
Turkey/Middle East	0	0	.04	.19
Southern Europe	0	0	.28	.45
Other Europe	0	0	.09	.29
Other	0	0	.04	.19
<i>Religion</i>				
None/NR	.59	.49	.41	.49
Christian	.40	.49	.27	.45
Muslim	.01	.10	.29	.45
Other	.01	.08	.02	.16
<i>Education</i>				
No degree	.07	.26	.10	.30
<High school	.29	.45	.25	.43
High school	.23	.42	.28	.45
>High school	.40	.49	.37	.48
<i>Political ideology</i>				
Far left	.05	.21	.04	.19
Left	.17	.37	.21	.40
Center	.11	.31	.09	.29
Right	.15	.36	.09	.28
Far-right	.04	.19	.01	.12
Neither/Unreported	.49	.5	.56	.5
<i>Spatial determinants</i>				
Neighborhood immigrant share	7.83	7.48	14.83	10.58
Neighborhood unemployment rate	12.23	5.66	14.39	7.01
Racist crimes in the department	.07	.03	.09	.04
<i>Ethnoracial identity salience</i>	.16	.36	.45	.50

(Continued)

Table A1. Continued.

	French majority (N = 6,966)		Minorities (N = 8,855)	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
<i>Sex</i>				
Male	.49	.5	.5	.5
Female	.51	.5	.5	.5
<i>Age</i>				
18–30	.28	.45	.36	.48
31–40	.23	.42	.26	.44
41–50	.24	.43	.22	.41
51–60	.24	.43	.16	.36
<i>Sex</i>				
Male	.49	.5	.5	.5
Female	.51	.5	.5	.5
<i>Marital status</i>				
Single	.57	.5	.65	.48
Married	.43	.5	.35	.48
<i>Number of children</i>				
No children	.39	.49	.48	.50
1 child	.18	.38	.16	.36
2 children	.28	.45	.23	.42
3 + children	.15	.36	.14	.35
<i>Unemployed (dummy)</i>	.05	.22	.09	.28
<i>Income</i>				
Q1	.19	.39	.23	.42
Q2	.19	.39	.20	.40
Q3	.18	.38	.17	.38
Q4	.22	.41	.19	.39
Q5	.21	.41	.18	.39
Q6	.02	.14	.03	.16
<i>City size</i>				
Rural	.26	.44	.11	.31
< 10,000 inhabitants	.13	.33	.07	.25
10,000–50,000 inhabitants	.11	.32	.08	.27
50,000–99,999 inhabitants	.08	.27	.08	.27
100,000–199,999 inhabitants	.06	.23	.05	.22
> 200,000 inhabitants	.36	.48	.61	.49
<i>Consequences</i>				
Avoidance of places	.05	.23	.09	.28
Depression	.28	.45	.26	.44
Trust in the police	2.12	.80	2.29	.85
Trust in the criminal justice system	2.37	.83	2.39	.86

Trajectories and Origins 2, INED/INSEE (2019-2020).

Table A2. Bivariate Probit Model Predicting Group Discrimination (Y1) and Personal Discrimination (Y2).

	Y1 Group discrimination	Y2 Personal discrimination
<i>Origin/Ref: French majority</i>		
Overseas	0.925*** (0.056)	1.056*** (0.061)
North Africa	0.789*** (0.042)	0.894*** (0.047)
Sub-Saharan Africa	1.208*** (0.049)	1.283*** (0.053)
Asia	0.721*** (0.054)	0.908*** (0.059)
Turkey/Middle East	0.151* (0.067)	0.626*** (0.068)
Southern Europe	-0.071	0.144*

(Continued)

Table A2. Continued.

	Y1 Group discrimination	Y2 Personal discrimination
	(0.056)	(0.063)
Other Europe	-0.194*	-0.080
	(0.077)	(0.094)
Other	0.624***	0.751***
	(0.079)	(0.085)
<i>Religion/Ref: No religion</i>		
Christian	0.013	0.062
	(0.034)	(0.039)
Muslim	0.432***	0.451***
	(0.040)	(0.042)
Other	0.327***	0.114
	(0.074)	(0.085)
<i>Education/Ref: No degree</i>		
<Bac	0.048	0.060
	(0.053)	(0.057)
Bac	0.149**	0.057
	(0.053)	(0.057)
>Bac	0.263***	0.179**
	(0.052)	(0.056)
<i>Political ideology/Ref: Center</i>		
Far left	0.308***	0.309***
	(0.073)	(0.081)
Left	0.168***	0.219***
	(0.050)	(0.057)
Right	-0.151*	-0.038
	(0.062)	(0.071)
Far right	0.505***	0.338**
	(0.097)	(0.120)
Unreported	-0.015	0.088
	(0.046)	(0.052)
<i>Female</i>	-0.019	-0.159***
	(0.026)	(0.029)
<i>Age group/Ref: 18-30</i>		
31-40	-0.117**	-0.085*
	(0.038)	(0.040)
41-50	-0.173***	-0.187***
	(0.044)	(0.048)
51-60	-0.236***	-0.385***
	(0.052)	(0.061)
<i>Married vs single</i>	-0.013	-0.071
	(0.034)	(0.037)
<i>Number of children/Ref: No children</i>		
1	-0.077	0.047
	(0.044)	(0.048)
2	-0.017	0.037
	(0.043)	(0.048)
3 or more	0.101*	0.111*
	(0.049)	(0.054)
<i>Unemployed</i>	0.072	0.063
	(0.047)	(0.050)
<i>Income/Ref: Q 1</i>		
Q 2	-0.063	0.000
	(0.041)	(0.044)
Q 3	-0.020	-0.103*
	(0.043)	(0.047)
Q 4	-0.097*	-0.025
	(0.043)	(0.046)
Q 5	-0.127**	-0.154**
	(0.045)	(0.049)
Unreported	-0.139	-0.198

(Continued)

Table A2. Continued.

	Y1 Group discrimination (0.090)	Y2 Personal discrimination (0.102)
<i>City size/Ref: Rural</i>		
<10,000 inhabitants	0.073 (0.063)	0.058 (0.073)
10,000–49,999 inhabitants	0.081 (0.059)	0.101 (0.068)
50,000–99,999 inhabitants	0.074 (0.060)	0.100 (0.068)
100,000–199,999 inhabitants	0.136* (0.067)	0.169* (0.075)
200,000 + inhabitants	0.196*** (0.046)	0.194*** (0.054)
Rho	0.649*** (0.021)	
Constant	-1.609*** (0.084)	-1.927*** (0.095)
Observations	15,752	15,752

Trajectories and Origins 2, INED/INSEE (2019-2020). Table shows coefficients with standard errors in parentheses.
 *** $p < 0.001$, ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$.

Table A3. Logistic and ordinal regression models predicting individual outcomes.

	Depression (logit)	Avoidance (logit)	Trust in the police (ologit)	Trust in the criminal justice system (ologit)
<i>Type of discrimination/Ref: Neither</i>				
Exclusive personal	0.674*** (0.082)	1.808*** (0.110)	0.778*** (0.073)	0.632*** (0.072)
Exclusive group	0.255*** (0.066)	1.178*** (0.102)	0.579*** (0.055)	0.486*** (0.055)
Both	0.704*** (0.072)	2.514*** (0.094)	1.331*** (0.062)	1.045*** (0.062)
<i>Origin/Ref: Majority</i>				
Overseas	-0.281** (0.096)	0.152 (0.148)	0.341*** (0.080)	0.114 (0.078)
North Africa	-0.117 (0.068)	0.066 (0.114)	-0.088 (0.059)	-0.341*** (0.058)
Sub-Saharan Africa	-0.453*** (0.089)	0.389** (0.122)	0.527*** (0.072)	0.236*** (0.072)
Asia	-0.381*** (0.093)	-0.175 (0.153)	-0.048 (0.074)	-0.215** (0.073)
Turkey/Middle East	-0.048 (0.106)	-0.319 (0.184)	-0.277** (0.090)	-0.493*** (0.089)
Southern Europe	-0.031 (0.065)	-0.449** (0.157)	0.055 (0.055)	0.065 (0.054)
Other Europe	-0.110 (0.086)	-0.541* (0.227)	0.080 (0.072)	-0.086 (0.071)
Other	-0.126 (0.131)	0.240 (0.200)	0.137 (0.109)	-0.091 (0.109)
<i>Religion/Ref: None</i>				
Christian	0.057 (0.045)	0.089 (0.086)	-0.176*** (0.038)	-0.065 (0.037)
Muslim	-0.427*** (0.069)	0.064 (0.100)	0.078 (0.058)	-0.156** (0.057)
Other	-0.133 (0.132)	0.047 (0.212)	-0.188 (0.106)	-0.029 (0.105)
<i>Education/Ref: No degree</i>				
<Bac	-0.114 (0.074)	-0.010 (0.139)	-0.270*** (0.067)	-0.074 (0.065)
Bac	-0.164* (0.074)	0.122 (0.139)	-0.417*** (0.067)	-0.286*** (0.065)

(Continued)

Table A3. Continued.

	Depression (logit)	Avoidance (logit)	Trust in the police (ologit)	Trust in the criminal justice system (ologit)
>Bac	(0.076) -0.359*** (0.074)	(0.138) 0.198 (0.135)	(0.068) -0.535*** (0.067)	(0.066) -0.609*** (0.065)
<i>Political ideology/Ref: Center</i>				
Far left	0.384*** (0.106)	-0.004 (0.188)	1.400*** (0.092)	0.733*** (0.091)
Left	0.073 (0.075)	0.088 (0.129)	0.444*** (0.062)	0.194** (0.062)
Right	-0.028 (0.085)	0.195 (0.152)	-0.051 (0.069)	0.399*** (0.069)
Far right	0.278* (0.141)	0.731** (0.228)	0.674*** (0.129)	1.455*** (0.120)
Unreported	-0.057 (0.068)	-0.015 (0.120)	0.466*** (0.056)	0.611*** (0.056)
<i>Female</i>				
<i>Age/Ref: 18-30</i>				
31-40	0.132* (0.057)	0.152 (0.095)	-0.129** (0.048)	0.040 (0.048)
41-50	0.139* (0.063)	0.199 (0.111)	-0.245*** (0.055)	0.023 (0.054)
51-60	-0.014 (0.071)	-0.216 (0.143)	-0.340*** (0.061)	0.047 (0.059)
<i>Married vs single</i>				
	-0.268*** (0.048)	0.090 (0.085)	-0.236*** (0.041)	-0.193*** (0.040)
<i>Number of children/Ref: No children</i>				
1	-0.018 (0.062)	0.074 (0.111)	0.064 (0.053)	0.163*** (0.052)
2	-0.139* (0.061)	0.140 (0.109)	-0.016 (0.052)	0.029 (0.051)
3 or more	-0.049 (0.070)	0.134 (0.123)	0.100 (0.060)	0.119* (0.059)
<i>Unemployed</i>				
	0.367*** (0.068)	-0.057 (0.120)	0.128* (0.063)	0.083 (0.061)
<i>Income/Ref: Q1</i>				
Q2	-0.049 (0.059)	-0.099 (0.107)	-0.194*** (0.054)	-0.153** (0.052)
Q3	-0.107 (0.062)	0.007 (0.108)	-0.207*** (0.055)	-0.128* (0.054)
Q4	-0.268*** (0.063)	-0.021 (0.108)	-0.284*** (0.054)	-0.131* (0.053)
Q5	-0.409*** (0.067)	-0.178 (0.115)	-0.354*** (0.056)	-0.412*** (0.056)
Unreported	-0.762*** (0.143)	-0.139 (0.239)	-0.047 (0.107)	-0.079 (0.107)
<i>City size/Ref: Rural</i>				
<10,000	-0.045 (0.078)	0.027 (0.164)	-0.132* (0.066)	-0.012 (0.064)
10,000-50,000	0.209** (0.075)	-0.015 (0.155)	-0.068 (0.065)	-0.045 (0.064)
50,000-99,999	-0.073 (0.080)	0.301* (0.150)	-0.084 (0.068)	-0.038 (0.067)
100,000-200,000	0.036 (0.089)	-0.003 (0.176)	0.002 (0.076)	-0.029 (0.075)
>200,000	-0.065 (0.059)	0.151 (0.119)	-0.048 (0.050)	-0.150** (0.049)
Cut 1			-2.204*** (0.103)	-2.288*** (0.102)
Cut 2			0.706*** (0.101)	0.541*** (0.100)

(Continued)

Table A3. Continued.

	Depression (logit)	Avoidance (logit)	Trust in the police (ologit)	Trust in the criminal justice system (ologit)
Cut 3			2.112*** (0.103)	1.989*** (0.101)
Constant	-0.895*** (0.117)	-3.533*** (0.219)		
Observations	15,752	15,752	15,422	15,305

Trajectories and Origins 2, INED/INSEE (2019-2020). Table shows coefficients with standard errors in parentheses.

*** $p < 0.001$, ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$.