The Gifford Report Revisited
Racism in Employment: A Case Study of Liverpool

Thesis submitted in accordance with the requirements of the University of Liverpool for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy by

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July 2019

P. Scraton, 1985.

Racism

"It has been nearly 30 years since the Gifford report was produced and we have still not gotten to the core root of the problem, in Liverpool a solution has never been found when it comes to tackling Racism".

W.Brown 2018

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List of Abbreviations

BAME – Black, Asian Minority Ethnic

BBC – British Broadcasting Commission

BITC – Business in the Community

BME – Black and Ethnic Minority

BSU – British Seafarers' Union

CRT – Critical Race Theory

CS Gas – 2-chlorobenzalmalononitrile gas

FSM's – Free School Meals

ILO – International Labour Organisation

JRF – Joseph Rowntree Foundation

LBB – Liverpool-Born Black

LCC – Liverpool City Council

L8 – Liverpool District 8

NEET – Not in Education, Employment or Training

NGO – Non-Profit Organisation

NHS – National Health Services

NUS – National Union of Seamen

ONS – Office For National Statistics

SIC – Standard Industrial Classification of Economic

TUC – Trade Union Congress

UCC – University & College Union

UK – United Kingdom

UN – United Nations

Acknowledgements

First and foremost I would like to thank God for providing me with this opportunity, giving me the strength and ability to preserve to reach this point. Without my strong faith none of this would have been attainable. I am also indebted to my parents, who came to this country as economic migrants, enforced the importance of education on their seven children and imposed the believe that any goal is achievable despite the barriers of race and class, which society have imposed on us.

I would also like to thank my supervisors Diane Frost and Karen Evans who have provided invaluable advice, motivated me at times when I could not see the end in sight and looked over numerous drafts and provided vital critique.

It would also be remiss if I did not thank my participants, who were willing to partake in my journey, share with me their experiences no matter how painful and were also willing to still display to me, the optimism that they felt, that the racism they have faced would not be one of constant repetition, which would immerse the lives of the next generation, as it has done theirs and those before them.

Abstract

Race relations' legislation since the 1965 onwards in the UK has attempted to address the challenges of racial inequality when it comes to employment. Though there have been significant improvements, there remain some challenges in specific locations. One such location is Liverpool. This research is based on the seminal study, the Gifford Report (1989), which provided evidences to support the argument that Liverpool performed worse than the rest of the country with respect to indicators of racial equality in the labour market (Brown, 1979, Lord Scarman, 1981, Ben-Tovin, 1983). The current research focuses on Liverpool, which is considered to be an anomaly in terms of racialised relationships and the Black experience across England (Small 1991, Murphy 1995 Christian 1998). This research attempts to determine if there has been an improvement in racial equality with respect to employment. The study aims to understand the limitations and possibilities associated with Black social mobility within the labour market, and to identify key challenges to upward mobility. The study replicates certain elements of the methodology of the 1989 Gifford Report, using semi-structured interviews, oral testimonies, written requests, head-count analysis and secondary statistical data.

The findings of the qualitative and quantitative methods present overwhelming evidence that racism remains a key challenge, which can impact access to employment. The findings show the presence of systemic and institutional racism: participants feel disadvantaged because of ethnicity, with negative perceptions and stereotyping limiting opportunities for employment. The research concludes with the argument that some challenges identified in the Gifford Report (1989) have been met by specific policies proposed by local and national governments. However, there remain systemic challenges that need to be addressed. The research reflects on critical race theory and concludes that the existing dominance and perceived hegemony of racial inequality need to be revisited.

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Introduction

Race is a socially constructed concept whose meaning has continued to evolve with time. Small and Solomos (2006) conceptualise racism as the efforts taken by a dominant group to exclude a dominated group with regard to the sharing of material and symbolic rewards of status and power. As Nelson and Ben-Tovim (2018) argues, racism differs from other forms of exclusion in that its qualification is largely dependent on physiological traits that are observable. Hall (2000) also argues that the ideologies of race have been changing in relation to the way of life of the society, its attitude and associated values. Over the years, its conceptualisation has been contested and redefined by society, academia and the media in response to economic, social and cultural changes (Roscigno et al., 2007). Miles (1993) concludes that understanding the constantly evolving notion of race and race relations is important. These notions continue to hold complexity of meaning, as racism has become an unquestionable reality of somatic and cultural differences between people, where one group considers another to be inferior in some respects. Miles (1993) also argues that, with time, the determinants and effects of the expression of racism in the capitalist social forms of Western Europe have evolved, but the basis of racism continues to be the definition that racism underlies a perceived superiority of one group over another.

Racial prejudice which saw white Europeans assume superiority over Black Africans was the norm in early nineteenth century Britain. This leads to a need for a particular distinction of the different racist discourse forms in research (Kenny, 2015). For the purpose of this thesis, the basic form of racist discourse characterises the manifestation of discrimination against minorities while attempting to establish the dominance of white Europeans (Fredrickson, 2015). On the other hand, there is also racist discourse, which highlights specific norms, and practices, which merely assume white superiority without discussing

the notion of racial differences (Acton, 2016). These two forms of racial discourse are interdependent and are found to feed into other racist forms and discourses. For instance, early nineteenth century popular politics in Britain were such that the racist discourse emerged primarily in relation to questions of patriotism and nationalism (Hanley, 2016). Steepan (1982) remarks that this focus on nationalism contributed to racist overviews, which, in turn, resulted in a focus on, better facilities and infrastructure factors (health, education, etc.) for white people. As Steepan argues, " [i]n most respects, science followed rather than led public opinion on race. The cosmopolitanism of the eighteenth century […] was being replaced in the early nineteenth century by a more parochial and nationalistic outlook which increased the temptation to think in exclusive terms and to despise non-white peoples" (Steepan, 1982, p. 17).

However, over time, the racist discourse has shifted from causes to consequences. For instance, racial inequality has emerged as an important area of focus, and systematic efforts have been made both nationally and internationally to reduce negative implications linked to socio-economic indicators on the basis of race (Dickens, 1997; Cohn, 2000). The Strategy Unit (2003) identified a report by the British Cabinet Office on the employment challenges faced by minority groups in England. The report identified that though the employment position of racialised minorities has undergone dramatic transformations in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, there remain large scale challenges to specific member groups (Strategy Unit, 2003). The report indicates that, over time, there has been a shift in specific minority groups, which remain disadvantaged, and the most negative impact continues to be amongst the Black and minority ethnic (BME) groups. The report argues that:

> *The extent and nature of [racialised] disadvantage differs significantly by ethnic group. While ethnic minorities are disadvantaged on average, the labour market successes of the Indians and Chinese show that the old picture of White success and ethnic minority under-performance is now out of date. (Strategy Unit, 2003, p. 19).*

Modood and Wrench (1997) also conclude that such disparities in employment options which influence certain minority groups continue to hold relevance in the twenty-first century, requiring a focus and policies which can address these employment needs. The notion of such BME inequalities with regard to employment has continued globally. Findings show that racial inequalities persist over time despite global efforts to fight against such discrimination (Bradley, 2015). The International Labour Organisation (ILO) (2010) concludes that during times of uncertainty and economic distress, perception rather than objective fact shapes people's opinions regarding their ability to belong to specific groups which, in turn, can increase racial discrimination around the world. Persistent ethnic inequalities in the labour market are found to play an important role in continuing high poverty rates, housing, health and education challenges. The differences in experience between ethnic groups and their white counterparts in relation to labour market participation have been questioned by non-governmental organisations like the Joseph Rowntree Foundation (JRF, 2015), Business in the Community (BITC, 2015) and academic scholars (Karim, 2013; Khattab et al., 2011).

Racial inequalities in employment are attributed to the systemic and institutional presence of racial discrimination (Reich, 2017). Findings show that majority group members may be motivated to maintain their position of privilege (Hurst et al., 2016; Karim, 2013). This privilege means that there is exclusion of individuals from different racial or gender groups in a systemic manner. Trepagnier (2017) also argues that the benefits afforded to the privileged group may limit job access and job-related benefits for the discriminated group. Evidence in the UK has shown consistent trends in racial inequality when it comes to employment. For instance, Karim (2013) concludes that differences in life outcomes of Black communities continue to dominate the UK labour market. Recent findings show that BME communities are under-represented in senior positions in the public sector. Willis (2017) reports on an analysis of a London-based think tank that the percentage of ethnic minority represented in the civil service is a lot lower than the national population and that diversity has stalled in senior positions. The report

concludes that only 11.2 per cent of all civil servants are from ethnic groups, with some level of domination by specific groups in some sectors (e.g. Asians in the NHS). The unemployment rate for the Black community (8 per cent) was almost double that of white British adults (4.6 per cent) in 2016–2017. Findings also show that Black Caribbean pupils were permanently excluded from school three times as frequently as white British pupils in 2016–2017 (UK Government, 2018). These findings show that unemployment remains a major challenge within the Black community. The Joseph Rowntree Foundation (JRF, 2015) also concludes that the continued presence of this challenge in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries highlights the challenges in the existing race equality rhetoric in the UK. Racial discrimination and racial inequality in employment are often linked to prejudice and stereotyping and institutional racism, despite the presence of strong laws, which protect individuals against discrimination (TUC, 2017).

Clearly, such prejudice and bias against BME groups may be a reflection of underlying social and interactional processes (Solomos, 2014). Solomos (2014) also argues that employment challenges extend beyond unemployment challenges, and that issues of under-employment and social isolation should be considered, too. Roscigno et al. (2012) conclude that social care processes are prevalent in the UK, where Black members of the community are quietly steered into jobs that require lower credentials and provide limited opportunities for on-the-job training. This hinders the overall development of human capital and can reduce the chances of upward mobility. Solomos (1996) also argues that such social closure challenges are evident in certain geographic locations, where clear stratification and racial challenges are evident. This research attempts to address inequality in one such location: Liverpool (UK). Liverpool's Black population is defined as a cohort of people who were born in the city of Liverpool of African or Afro-Caribbean descent. According to Clay (2008), the Liverpool Black community dates to the American Revolutionary War with Black Loyalists settling in the region. Evidence also shows that the slave trade was prevalent in the city and even after the abolition of slavery, many servicemen and seafarers settled in Liverpool, as it was a port city. This research intends to examine

the views of the Black population in Liverpool by focusing on the experiences of those who were born in city or have been living here for a minimum of ten years.

1.2 Research Focus

Research evidence has shown that the city of Liverpool has been an anomaly in racialised relationships and the Black experience in England for many years (Small, 1994, 2014). Assessment of Black and minority populations across the UK has been through an immigrant lens: immigrants arrived in the twentieth century exclusively to take up work in areas and industries with a demand for labour. However, Liverpool has a history which is different from that of other cities in the UK, in that its Black population is composed of an indigenous population with families who have been residents for generations (Small and Solomos, 2006). Many of these people are descendants of slaves who were brought over in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Christian, 2008). Racialisation in Liverpool specifically and England in general can be traced to the British colonial era when Britain ruled vast territories in Africa, Asia and the Caribbean. Implicit in the rhetoric of imperialism was the racialised concept of 'nation'. The British were destined to rule the inferior 'races' in other colonies who were brought to Britain for slave labour (Cole, 2017).

The nature of racialised challenges in Liverpool has been highlighted in various studies (Hill, 2001; Small, 1991) that demonstrate how racial disadvantage is entrenched in attitudes of discrimination and exclusion exhibited across access to health, education and employment. Findings also show that local and central government have made efforts to reduce this racial exclusion of the BME community, but there is clear evidence of continuities and discontinuities in the assessment of available evidences since the 1950s (Boyle and Charles, 2011, 2012).

Racialised discrimination in the 1950s and 1960s was associated with the confinement of Black people to disadvantaged positions and hostility. This led to increasing challenges in accessing housing, education and healthcare

(Small, 1991). An analysis of the riots across England shows that widespread anger against the government and local authorities remained the most important factor influencing riots in the country. Kawalerowicz and Biggs (2015) presented a report, which examined the underlying factors leading to the riots in England. The report identified that discontent with opportunities, including employment and education, was a contributory factor. Hall (2000) argue that the framing of riots and the impact is important. Hall et al. (2013), in their discussion on race riots in 'Policing the Crisis', contend that there has often been a lack of framing of the right issues associated with the crisis. The authors contend that the continued focus on the violence caused by the Black community rather than the underlying causes continues to create major challenges for stakeholders. In particular, authors argue that discrimination has continued unabated in Liverpool over the years (Christian, 1998; Brown, 1998). The continuing impact of such obstacles has led to charges of systemic prevalence of racism across the city. The Toxteth riots in 1981 were considered by many to be a reflection of the rising inequity across the city, with specific reference to addressing the challenges of racism (Small, 2014). This led to targeted efforts with the goal of meeting these inherent problems of racial relations in the city.

The Gifford Report (1989) was commissioned to understand the challenges of racial relationships in Liverpool. The goal of the report was to reflect on the inherent challenges related to socio-economic factors and access issues faced by the Black community in the country. The report provided an overview of a range of issues linked to education, employment and housing in Liverpool. The findings of the report also showed that social and economic conditions in Liverpool's Black neighbourhood were worse when compared to other neighbourhoods, highlighting the issue that race and racism accentuate problems of poverty and inequality. The findings of the report also showed that employment-related challenges included unemployment, underemployment, institutional racism and significant differences in the power hierarchy, with white-dominated communities showcasing better indicators for education, healthcare and employment. The Gifford Report (1989) concluded that there was a need for transparency, accountability and

monitoring of actions through both policy and provision, to reduce such discrimination and enhance equality in access to socioeconomic resources, including improvement in employment opportunities.

Sengupta (1998) conducted an investigation into community relations in Liverpool in 1998 to assess whether the Gifford Report (1989) had brought about any systemic changes. The report showed that there was limited change and that, despite having a significant Black residential population, one in every two members of the Black community faced racial abuse. The investigation also highlighted that the Black areas of Toxteth were found to face racial isolation, with most Black people depending on the region to gain employment. A key area of Black political demand and mainstream institutional response has been in relation to equal opportunities policies and practices. Liverpool's local government has made efforts to increase positive action to reduce the challenges of institutional racism. The challenge faced by Black people in Liverpool is one that is unparalleled in other locations across the UK (Nelson and Ben-Tovim, 2018). The Black community in Liverpool has experienced discriminatory housing policies, which have strongly sustained social isolation of the urban community, often referred to as Liverpool 8 or the Toxteth / Granby area. This community is characterised by poor housing stock with limited access to public services, including education and employment (Nelson and Ben-Tovim, 2018). Christian (1998) also concluded that those Black members who have managed to move away from a specific location have suffered harassment and abuse in the workplace and the neighbourhood. Findings show, too, that employment challenges are evident, with underemployment and lack of options for professional training. Frost and Phillip (2011) conclude that the social isolation of Toxteth continues in the twenty-first century due to differences in policy interpretation regarding employment and educational background, showing that the inherent challenges of racism that existed during the Toxteth riots and the subsequent Gifford Report (1989) continue. Boyle and Chares (2012) similarly revisited the Gifford Report (1989) and attempted to identify if racial relationships had improved and if inequality in the labour sector had decreased. They focused on Black representation in Liverpool's teaching and council workforces

between 2003 and 2010. Their study did not identify positive outcomes. They showed that only 0.5 per cent of Liverpool's teachers in 2010 were from the Black community, a figure which has shown no improvement since the Gifford Report (1989). Similarly, only 2 per cent of Liverpool Council's workforce was Black. Couch (2017) contends that despite a target of 10 per cent Black employment in the public sector, there is limited empirical evidence of the actual achievement of such a target. Whiteside (2007) also contends that despite the legal requirements of the Race Relations Act (2000), there remain challenges in local efforts to collect ethnic data across public and private employment. This further hinders access to the true nature of the employment status of the Black community, and further highlights the challenges of invisibility and disempowerment faced by the community.

The goal of this research is to contribute to the analysis of issues related to race, class and employment in Liverpool by revisiting the findings of the 1989 Gifford Report and comparing this evidence and interpreting it in a modern-day context. Liverpool is an important focus of analysis, as it is the home of one of the oldest Black communities in the country and has its own significant cultural history in the UK. The experiences of the Black community in Liverpool require examination as they can help in assessing the effectiveness of equality and diversity measures in employment across the public and private sectors. This can also assist in the assessment of structural, institutional and individual level differences across British society.

1.3 Research Contribution

Liverpool represents a valuable case study that can help in understanding the politics of race relations in Britain. The findings of governmental and non-governmental reports show that many challenges identified in the 1989 Gifford Report continue to this day. Through this research, the goal is to assess if efforts undertaken to achieve equality have worked and, if not, to identify gaps in the translation and implementation of racial equality policies. The research aims to understand the limitations and possibilities associated with Black mobilisation within the labour market and to identify key challenges to upward mobility. The research also attempts to present a

localised assessment of these challenges in the light of national polices to reduce inequality in employment and assess the need for region-specific policies and practices.

This research adopts the lens of critical race theory. Critical race theory (CRT) can help to assess the challenges inherent in policy implementation regarding racial inequality. Delgado and Stefancic (2017) conclude that despite the prevalence of government-driven and corporate-driven diversity and equality issues, most organisations (in both the private and public sectors) have been unable to achieve a racial balance in their organisational structures. Black community access to equal treatment and access to employment has been supported by specific policies, as identified by local government. Similar to other cities in the UK, Liverpool has implemented policies that provide fair access to public service provisions, including employment exchange and specific goals for Black employment in the public sector (Nelson and Ben-Tovim, 2018). Despite these actions, Liverpool continues to erect barriers to the Black community with respect to employment access.

Challenges in workforce diversity and associated initiatives are not the result of a lack of comprehensive policies but are an inherent challenge to achieving a truly integrated and heterogeneous workforce across the society. These challenges highlight the need to assess if such diversity polices are effective (Nelson and Ben-Tovim, 2018). The CRT perspective contends that the principal beneficiaries of affirmative action by governments and organisations are the majority (Durie, 2017). CRT concludes that race should be seen as a socially constructed phenomenon and efforts should be made to make policies race neutral. CRT also contends that the multidimensionality of oppression and marginalisation requires addressing the systemic inequalities present in society, with efforts made to reduce challenges of self-interest. The adoption of CRT can help to determine the effectiveness of modern-day policies to reduce racism in the workplace and inequalities in employment access. The research will assess if CRT perspectives can help in resolving the ongoing gap between the rhetoric of equality and diversity and the lack of evidence of years of policies and provisions.

1.4 Research Questions

The overall purpose of the research is to examine whether access to employment for the Liverpool Black community has changed 30 years after the Gifford Report was published in 1989. Through my research, I would like to answer the following questions:

1. Is racism still apparent within the employment sector for the Liverpool-born Black community? If so, in what ways or forms?
2. What other barriers does the Liverpool-born Black community face in accessing employment?
3. Is the Liverpool-born Black community well represented in the public and private sectors of employment in Liverpool?
4. If not, how can we tackle this problem, and the problem of racism as a whole in Liverpool for the Black community?

1.5 Chapter Summary

This research is organised as eight chapters. Chapter One provides an introduction to the thesis, the research objectives, motivation and rationale. Chapter Two identifies the historical context of Black employment and associated challenges in Liverpool. Chapter Three presents an assessment of the seminal Gifford Report (1989) and its implications with respect to employment. Chapter Four conducts a literature review in an effort to characterise the existing research gap in the study. Chapter Five describes the underlying research methodology and the key research methods adopted. Chapter Six presents the research findings from the quantitative results of the study, where the focus is predominantly on secondary statistical data and a head count, and Chapter Seven considers in detail the study's qualitative findings gained through semi-structured interviews and oral testimonies to determine participants' views on the challenges they face as ethnic and minority members of society. Chapter Eight concludes the study by examining the implications and making research recommendations for both employers and the government.

Chapter 2

Black Employment

2.1 Introduction

The presence of Black people in Britain dates back to the Roman occupation (Fryer, 1984; Walvin, 1994). The African presence in Britain has been dated to prominent positions in the army (Walvin, 1994) and, by the end of the sixteenth century, Black people formed a significant population in England (Fryer, 1984). However, it was only from the late sixteenth century onwards that there was a major example of British institutionalised racism towards Black citizens and an adverse impact on their employment and job outcomes. Since then, the issue of Black identity has continued to evolve and to attract meaningful attention. Panayi (2014) contends that the changes in the Liverpool demographic mosaic from a historical context need to be assessed from the perspective of imperialism and decolonisation. Jenkinson (2009) further identifies that the starting point in understanding the troubled history with race relations can be attributed to contextual factors and legacies linked to the slave trade. However, the extent of significant demographic continuity in the black community can be traced to the days of the slave trade. Law and Henfrey (1981) contended that while Liverpool was not itself a major site for the slave trade, it soon emerged as a free black community given the rise in opportunities for employment. Belcham (2014) also identifies that the numbers in the Liverpool Black community continued to grow with the influx of discharged black soldiers from 1775 to 1783. Miles (1993) also concluded that the twentieth century Black population in Liverpool can be attributed predominantly to a mix of decedents of seamen from West Africa, returned Black soldiers and those who were part of the slave trade. Liverpool was a city deeply immersed in turmoil due to conflicts caused by identity, bigotry and miscegenation (Ackah and Christian, 1997). In order to comprehend the historical context of Liverpool today, its history has to be revisited.

Understanding the implications of employment opportunities (or lack thereof) in Liverpool requires understanding the uniqueness of Liverpool. Sivanandan (1976) argues that place and race together drive the inherent identity of Black people in Liverpool. Any arguments made to help understand the nature of employment-linked discrimination requires understanding various factors and differences including global/local, routes/roots, mobility/stasis, migration/settlement and emplacement / displacement related arguments. Therefore, the place 'Liverpool' has a major role to play in driving the complex interactions between employment and racism. This complex heuristic drives the underlying acceptance of employment within the Liverpool community. A group of methodological tenets and instruments to analyse the stories of people who were marginalised based on their colour and whose personal experiences are unheard is the basis of critical race theory. In this chapter, CRT can be used to comprehend different questions on the concept of racism and race by offering views on how to adapt the different structural and cultural aspects of employment that sustain dominant and subordinate positions within the Liverpool community.

This chapter is a historical review of Black employment experiences in Liverpool. In order to ensure that a wide range of relevant data are assessed, the literature has been separated into different stages in a bid to provide introspective insights into significant events and issues that influence Black employment in Liverpool (past, present and future).

2.2 Historical Context: Initial Black Employment in Liverpool

Liverpool has a long illustrious history. Brown (1998) contends that Liverpool has always been proud of its past, especially its history and tradition as a key port. However, beneath this history, there remains a parallel history of institutionalised racism. This is interlaced with the settlement of the Black community in Liverpool due to the city's strong links with the transatlantic slave trade. As a result, Liverpool is often referred to as being the city in Britain "that was most complicit in the slave trade" (Saylor, 2010: 6). When narrating Black experience in Liverpool, academics Frost (1995), Adi (1998), Moody (1989) and Law (1981) have all highlighted and focused on the origins

of the Black community. The Black community in Liverpool is one of the oldest native communities in the UK.

Costello (2001) argues that the key element which distinguishes Liverpool from other cities, including Bristol and London, is the presence of a sizeable Black community which can trace its roots through as many as ten generations. This is analysed in Law's (1981) *History of Race and Racism in Liverpool 1660–1950* booklet. Law explores the experience of the Black community in Liverpool and how this is embedded in employment. Law (1981) further argues that Liverpool's Black settlements were as a result of the slave trade dating back 400 years, followed by the employment of Africans as cheap labour. As Liverpool became one of the leading port cities in England, merchants also became involved in the "trade of coal, iron and Cooper" (Law, 1981: 1). Liverpool's port became the epicentre for trade. Merchants became extremely wealthy due to the demand for more slaves, more goods for exchange and more ships for transporting slaves from West Africa to the Caribbean and America (Helmond and Palmer, 1991: 8).

Rich merchants in Liverpool began to buy slaves, as this symbolised status and power (Costello, 2001). With that said, it was common for African nobility to send their children to England, and particularly Liverpool, as students (Fryer, 1984; Costello, 2001). However, issues did arise when slaves were brought to Liverpool as part of the Atlantic trade route (Belcham, 2014). There was evidence of individuals from African countries being tricked into moving to Liverpool with a promise of education or employment (Costello, 2001). There was now a danger of "students travelling to Liverpool being sold as slaves by unscrupulous ships' captains who considered one sort of Black much the same as another" (Costello, 2001: 11). By the end of the nineteenth century, the Black presence was both visible and multidimensional in scope. The abolition of the slave trade in Britain by 1807, and slavery in the colonies between 1834 and 1838, resulted in a potential shift in the pattern of Black settlement (Law and Henfrey, 1981; Christian, 1995). Furthermore, the rise of new trading links between British ports and West Africa resulted in African

seamen being employed as cheap labour, resulting in increasing Black settlement in Liverpool (Gifford et al., 1989).

As the Black population increased, so did the use of racist terminology. The use of racial terminology heightened further with the settlement of Black sailors in the city (Costello, 2001). Solomos (1993: 48) contended that it was also "during this period that the issue of racial difference began to play a central role in the politics of immigration". This rhetoric dominated the forum for immigration during this period and negatively distorted the public image of Black communities living in port cities such as Liverpool. Solomos (1993) argued that during this period the issue of racial difference was discussed despite the relatively small size of the black population. Harris (1988) argued that during the interwar period, the politics on immigration were largely associated with the supposed social problem that the Black population brought to England. He concludes that social decay was supposed to be connected with the Black communities and that the interwar period established the basis of the commonly held image of Black communities as unyielding and unwilling to adapt to local norms. Frost (1993) identified that the black sailors called Kroomen were welcomed on board steam ships as they were able to withstand the heat of engine rooms much more readily. The increase in the number of black sailors in Liverpool was attributed to those 'who were employed on such board ships', who were temporary residents who often looked for additional work. Frost also identified that while existing norms did call for equal pay and equal treatment of African seamen along with white seamen, in practice this did not extend to wages and conditions. This practice, especially during the interwar period, stemmed from the perception that the Black community was considered to be less important when compared to the White community. According to Cameron and Crooke (1992), the official historical record of the city of Liverpool has not been clear about the role that the city played in the slave trade. Such lack of discussion of the implications of the slave trade, as evidenced by historic exclusion, is related to involvement in the slave trade, whose impact continues to play a major role with respect to racial oppression.

According to Wrench (1987), post-war attempts at racial exclusion by White trade unionists took multiple forms, which were at times surprisingly blunt. Fryer (1984) argues that White trade unionists insisted on the implementation of quota systems, which would restrict black workers in specific positions. Trade unions also called for an understanding where the principle of 'last in, first out' at the time of redundancy would not apply if it meant that White workers would lose their jobs before Black people. Determined efforts were undertaken by the National Union of Seamen to ensure that Black seamen were not allowed to get promotions after the war. They wanted to keep black seamen of British ships. They were also against equal pay for Black and White sailors. The assistant general secretary of the National Union of Seamen told the 1948 conference that Liverpool and other British ports should eventually become 'no-go' areas for black seafarers (Fryer, 1984).

However, such actions by unions resulted in Black workers becoming consolidated and being limited to specific areas of work (Lee and Wrench, 1980). The resulting structured action by White union members, in turn, led to a rising focus on lines to be drawn around the jobs that Black people could get. The assumption made by White workers and White unions was that Black workers should be the first to become redundant. This was aided by job segregation, as it was argued that specific classes of jobs were being shed or not given pay rises rather than specific groups of workers (Wrench, 1987).

Sivanandan and Hunger (1982) catalogued early Black resistance and argued that Black workers were getting frustrated with such segregation and lack of equality. This led to resistance, with early attempts including the formation of work-based groups, which represented a collective need. Black workers could not be represented by existing employee unions, given their continued support for segregation and racial discrimination. Wrench (1987) argues that this was one reason why Black organisations were developed as community-based rather than work-based groups. Trade unions often led practices, which were racist. Through the 1930s to the 1960s, there is evidence of disputes where the rank and file Black employees has to face

passive and active racism at work. According to Wrench (2000), some of the main failings of the trade union movement with respect to Black membership included the inability to entertain the idea that membership should not be based on racial identity. Furthermore, Rich (1984) identifies that there are cases of direct and active collusion between ship owners and White workers to enforce discrimination-based segregation. The NUS, for example, withheld support from Black workers who were on strike to protest against their adverse treatment compared to White workers.

Harold Moody was an important activist whose work intended to question such institutional actions against people of colour. Moody was determined to fight prejudice against colonial subjects and their treatment as inferior aliens. This led to the founding of the League of Coloured People, which in the 1930s and the 1940s deployed a British imperial identity to lead colonial subjects and native Britons to seek equal rights (Rush, 2002). The League of Coloured People chose to combat racial discrimination by arguing that there was a need for an alternative interpretation of Britishness, where ideas of class and gender structure, which were traditionally Western, were to be respected, but there was a need to abhor racial distinctions. Moody suggested that race should not be a factor for determining British identity, and that Black people in Britain should be treated on a par with White workers (Rush, 2002). These findings show that there remained worker level challenges, which influenced the Black resistance against racism and discrimination at work.

2.3 Early Immigration Policy

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the population of Liverpool grew from 6,000 to 80,000, predominantly due to its status as a port. Liverpool was initially linked by canal to Manchester in 1721, following which it became home to an inter-urban rail link. All of these elements increased the overall population of the city (Muir, 1907). Instead of scrutinising the skill sets of entrants, Britain moved towards an immigration policy that was directed not only by replenishing shortages in labour markets, but also accepting palpable immigrants. Hatton and Wheatley Price (1999) reinforce this view by arguing

that more important than the preoccupation with colour and creed was the ethnic background of the immigrants, which led to systemic exclusions.

The introduction of the Naturalisation Act (1870) was one such immigration policy which influenced operations. Through this Act, citizenship could be revoked for women who married men classified as overseas nationals (Evans et al., 2011). This Act exemplified racist and misogynist views, whereby women were asked to take on the nationality of the husband and thus disallowed from holding British citizenship. In Liverpool, this led to women who married migrant workers losing their right to citizenship (Tabili, 2005).

This legislation also had a detrimental effect on the offspring of these marriages, as any child born in the UK to a woman who had lost her citizenship would have to cite the citizenship of the father on future documents, making their family's situation extremely precarious. Not only was this legislation unfair, it was also sexist, because it was not applicable to men who married overseas citizens. Despite the media and central government's focus on combatting the new immigration phenomenon, the 1870 Act was introduced and implemented when the issue of race became a concern. Mason (2000) argued that this legislation was passed by Parliament to regulate the inflow of a specific sect of foreigners who were judged to be undesirable and destitute. In the context of Liverpool, Gifford et al. (1989) reported that the 1870 Act led to further marginalisation of the Black population, who were found to be treated differently when compared to other immigrants, including those from Europe.

In addition to public hostility, the government introduced further immigration policies, which affected the Black community in all parts of the UK. In 1905, Parliament passed the Aliens Act, which placed further restrictions on the Black community's ability to work in the UK and also provided the Home Secretary with extensive powers. Kershen (2005: 14) claims that "the 1905 Aliens Act was the first piece of legislation restricting the entry of aliens during peacetime". The 1905 Alien Immigration Act was the first Act which brought about the beginning of a new legislative attitude towards immigration. Before 1904, entry into England was only restricted for quarantine reasons.

Though legal distinctions existed in the 1900s regarding aliens and their status, entry and movement were not strongly curtailed. The 1905 Act was introduced to restrict movement of immigrants, who were perceived to have a negative economic or cultural impact on Britain with its initial introduction targeting Europeans (Evans et al., 2011). This legislation was an indirect response to claims that immigrants were unclean, idle and liable to spread disease and crime (Evans et al., 2011). This was also integral to the rhetoric of this time.

This idea of restricting the opportunities available to immigrants continues to be a key element of critical race theory discussion. As Karatani (2003) argued, the 1905 Act declared that undesirable immigrant would be denied entry. The Act was purposefully worded vaguely so that it can be levied against immigrants from Germany and from Eastern Europe. The main target of the Act was to target Jews and to reduce their entry into the country. The purpose of the Aliens Act 1905 was extended after the First World War to ensure that immigration rules and restrictions on coloured seamen were included. The Act acted as a precursor to the Coloured Alien Seamen Order (Shah, 2000). This order was extended to reduce the inflow of Blacks from Africa. From a critical race theory perspective, it is important to go beyond the traditional interpretation and understand the implications of European imperialism (Ranger, 1996).

The British Nationality and Status of Aliens Act (1914) was another legislative action which was implemented at the outbreak of World War I. The Act was implemented during a political period which was considered to be high on Germanophobia. The legislation was considered to be a panicked reaction which was passed to allow the Crown better control over the movement of White Jews into the country. The Act was extended in 1919 to be implemented during peacetime. The restriction of entry was accompanied by the barring of employment from certain workforces (Girvan, 2008).

The implications of the Aliens Act resulted in feelings of alienation and racial hatred for a population who were perceived to take all the jobs and all the women (Evans et al., 2011). The Aliens Act symbolises discrimination, which

was systemic. From a CRT perspective, this approach of the government showed that racism was not only perpetuated by extremist individuals, but societal elements and policymakers were essential for the continuation of racism. Understanding the implications of the Aliens Act means understanding the complicity of the government and its socio-legal webs of both domination and subordination (Evans et al., 2011). From a critical race theory perspective, this aspect of racial hostility in Liverpool shows how a segregationist philosophy and practice was expounded through legislation to keep the races apart both socially and economically. Jordan (1968), in research on attitudes towards Black people, showed that many legislative agendas were driven by miscegenation-linked disapproval. The Aliens Act of 1905 is an effective example which highlights the basic tenets of CRT—i.e. the existing legal system is not colour-blind and, although there is an inherent pretence of neutrality, there are always efforts made at the policy or legislative level which can result in disadvantaging people of colour.

Following enactment of the 1905 Aliens Act, the economy in Liverpool began to contract, as peacetime reduced the number of employment opportunities after World War I. This leads to competition for jobs between Blacks and Whites. As seafarers from Africa and predominantly West Africa settled in Liverpool, rivalry in the seafaring sector amounted to Blacks being successful in certain roles connected to the shipping industry. Frost (1995) identifies that the Black community were believed to have better discipline and more energy, which was considered preferable on ships. Despite Blacks being favoured at sea, this was not reflected in their income, as lower wages were paid to them along with harsh employment conditions, which the White working class did not witness (Frost, 1995). However, White workers were not happy with the fact that they were losing jobs to foreign Black workers. The National Union of Seamen believed that such displacement of English workers would result in unfavourable advantages for Black seamen who did not worry about existing labour laws and were willing to work for more hours at lower wages (Law, 1981). Mason (2000) further argues that this led to ignorance, with racism flourishing due to the depiction of Blacks as ambassadors of death, evil and debasement.

In addition, White workers were further angered by the ability of Blacks in the fire service to receive wages that were on a par with Whites. With tolerance running thin, White workers resorted to industrial action in a bid to hinder Black employment (Law, 1981). By 1911, a national strike was called by White seamen who were unwilling to be paid on a par with Blacks (Frost, 1995). Law (1981) further identifies that the strike by British seamen and firemen strove to systematically reduce the earning capability of Black seamen. The goal of the strike was to gain higher wages when compared to Black workers in the same area, by highlighting unsubstantiated arguments that the type of work done by White workers was found to be more effective when compared with that of Black workers. The strike was led by Wilson, a national strike leader who vocally opposed the fact that British hands were replaced by lower-paid foreign labour (Law, 1981). As a result of White employees mobilising themselves, employers were forced to approve new wage structures, which resulted in a new theme of unequal pay becoming standardised for the Black community in the UK.

It is interesting to observe that the perspective of the National Union of Seamen changed over time. The initial argument made by the union was that White employees got higher wages as they had superior skills. However, the riots of 1919 and the drop in employment opportunities after the war resulted in a shift in policy, with the National Union of Seamen arguing that they represented all seamen and associated dock employees. They wanted equal pay for all work done, which led to a systemic preference for White employees over Black ones. Critical race theorists argue that the majority of racism remains hidden under a veneer of normality, something which is evident in this decision made by the union. The demand for equal pay was to reduce acceptance of Black employees. However, while many have argued against crude and obvious forms of racism, this veneered form has not been given the importance it deserves. From a CRT perspective, it is argued that equal opportunities for employment can be achieved not only by the presence of rules and laws that insist on treating Blacks and Whites alike, but also by understanding the various forms of racism that people of colour face (Delgado and Stefancic, 2017). Another key aspect that should be addressed

from a CRT perspective is that the same work done by White people and Black people was ascribed different levels of importance. As Triana et al. (2015) concluded, the basic image about race is that Blacks are considered inferior in terms of working in positions equal to Whites. This is further identified with the mindset of many who consider that Blacks are good and adept at menial jobs but that they are inferior otherwise.

2.4 Black Employment in Liverpool 1914–1930

During the First World War, Liverpool's economy boomed due to a sharp rise in employment. Despite the economic prosperity, the UK increased its restrictions on immigrants and tightened its immigration policy. The Secretary of State's powers were increased through the Aliens Act (1914) in order to safeguard the realm (Evans et al., 2011). The government imposed restrictive measures on foreigners and justified this as a wartime measure. The Home Secretary was able to prohibit the entry of undesirables and deport people from the country. The Home Secretary even had the power to dictate which part of the UK an immigrant would reside in if they were granted entry (Evans et al., 2011). The First World War resulted in African labourers becoming key players both in the armed forces and as war workers at sea and on shore. They managed to gain major employment opportunities in Liverpool port (Liffe, 2015). According to Taplin (1974), this led to an increasing number of seamen hired on British ships being foreign rather than British. It was reported that by the end of the nineteenth century, foreign seamen accounted for 34 per cent of firemen and 29 per cent of stewards on ships. This became a public concern, predominantly due to the fact that the Navigation Law was repealed. This law required the master and three-quarters of the crew to be British subjects. However, the continued impact on the economy post-war led to violent protests by unemployed White workers. Though the shipping industry was in decline, the need for cheap labour remained and, with growing local pressure, most port unions employed British and other Europeans rather than Africans (Bosmans et al., 2015).

Despite unity being a key theme during the First World War, racism vis-à-vis Black troops did not subside "as they were kept in separate units" (Frost,

1995: 27). Law (1981) contends that this was largely because of the presence of growing xenophobia within and across UK borders. Liverpool continued to have a hostile work climate between White and Black, with many members of the Black community losing employment at the end of the First World War. Frost (1995) argues that at a systemic level racism-linked discrimination rose with dominance in all levels of employment by White people. As Matsuda et al. (1993) argue, CRT challenges the existing rhetoric on racism and contends that any discrimination process needs to be considered within the social, economic and historical context. Tate (1997), who works within the CRT framework, puts significant emphasis on understanding the phenomena which led to discrimination against Black people and challenging the arguments that neutrality or meritocracy-driven factors took centre stage in market forces. Tate (1997) concludes that the interests of dominant groups are often represented in times of adversity, an aspect which is obvious in Liverpool.

Frost (1995) further argued that at the end of the war there was high unemployment, predominantly amongst soldiers who competed for work. This, accompanied by the decline in many manufacturing sectors in England, led to a worsening of living conditions. This led to a mixture of resentment and anger amongst the White working class, with the Black community being the target of such resentment in UK port cities, including Liverpool (Frost, 1995). Black community members made some efforts to present their views and identify ways to improve their livelihoods (Frost, 1995). However, their views were not represented. Any representations of the challenges faced after the war, impacts on livelihoods and the overall economy were dominated by the 'White' representation.

To comprehend and help people of different colour and race, it is essential that CRT scholars listen to and are conscious of their daily experiences. A focus on the life experiences and stories of people of colour leads to the disruption of popular lectures on racism and race. By putting more emphasis on experiential stories, researchers are able to comprehend and obtain more details about the personal experiences of people of colour (Delgado and

Stefancic, 2017). However, Ladson-Billings and Tate (2016) claims that the use of voice or accepting the reality is a method in which CRT attempts to link form and substance to the scholarship entity. By identifying the structure of knowledge through the counter-narratives of marginalised people, CRT shows resistance to orthodox sanctioned modes of knowledge generation. Anti-racist research needs to address the errors of the past to adapt to the new realities of the present (Apple, 2004). As Cole (2017) argued, by using a CRT approach, it is possible to understand and represent the unheard voices of those who are repressed.

By 1919, race riots were breaking out in a number of seaport cities across the country (Belchem, 2014). Tomlinson (2008) argued that this was predominantly due to growing tension between the White and Black populations. The author concluded that "the sense among white British seamen that the employers and 'foreign' labour were conspiring to take advantage of the post-war decline in shipping tonnage to introduce wage cuts and usurp their position, unhampered by any noticeable union resistance, was strong, and it was in part from this feeling that rioting broke out" (Jensen, 1987: 5). Cardiff, London, Hull, Glasgow, Salford and Liverpool all had riots as conflicts broke out between the White and Black communities over competition for jobs (Law, 1981). However, in Liverpool, the race riots of 1919 had an intensity underpinned by the perceived threat that White males felt from the relations between White women and Black men. Authors like Christian (2008) and Small (1994) have argued in their work that mixed-race relations were the encapsulating factor in Liverpool, which many other cities in the UK were not experiencing, and this was the underlying cause of the 1919 riots in this city.

The end of the First World War resulted in a sudden rise in available labour on the mainland. This resulted in groups of Black workers in Liverpool losing their employment in oil and cake mills, sugar mills and refineries (Belcham, 2014). This is in part attributed to a number of members of the White population who refused to work with Black workers (Costello, 1988). Costello refers to this period as being one of the bleakest times for the Black

community in Liverpool. Authors have also identified that the growing unrest in terms of access to employment was a major reason for the riots in Liverpool (Fryer, 1984; Christian, 2008). Clusters of White men charged at Black seamen and workers who had been brought into the country to help with the war effort, and who now resided in the south of Liverpool (present-day Toxteth) (Clay, 2008). The primary argument that 'White' people subscribed to was that 'Black immigrants' were monopolising the available employment opportunities and this negatively influenced the economy. According to Ladson-Billings and Tate (2016), the focus of CRT is on questioning the reinforced power of White identification, White norms and White interests. CRT contends that liberalism is an ideology that has been unable to bring parity between races because formal equality cannot eliminate entrenched racism. The authors conclude that if efforts are not made to address the factors behind such 'micro-aggression', it can lead to major challenges. Clearly, such challenges were evident during the riots.

Many Black people that were attacked were assaulted and left bloodied and battered (Christian, 2008). Commentators believe that the cause of the Black riots was predominantly the competition that existed for employment, along with jealousy with respect to the growing presence of relationships between Black men and White women. This prompted a wave of racial attacks and abuse (Law, 1981; Christina, 2008). Therefore, it was not just employment-driven issues that led the riots, but also other micro-aggressions regarding the change to the societal structure and the rise in interracial marriages. Lal (1995) claims that during the process of comprehending the race and ethnicity of people, it is important to understand how people communicate based on their culture and through interpersonal interactions. The perception that Black men were 'stealing their women' led to a significant rise in these micro-aggressions, which led to the violent attack (Christian, 2008).

While Christian's (2008) observations of the 1919 riots are plausible reasons provided by Whites, he believes that employment and the liaisons between Black men and White women were the main motives behind the violence. This idea was also reinforced in the Gifford Report (1989). Moreover, this

was also argued by May and Cohen (1974) and Costello (2007). These commentators all identify interracial relationships as being a prominent issue that caused the “manifestation of racial conflict” seen in 1919 (May and Cohen, 1974: 111). May and Cohen (1974) sympathise with Black sailors “as they got the worst of both worlds: inferior pay if he signed on overseas, White retaliation if he tried to sign on in Britain” (1974: 113). Due to the visibility of their community, Black people experienced radicalised antipathy from the White community (Christian, 2008: 216). Nonetheless, the 1919 riot resulted in further job losses for the Black community. Frost (1995: 27) contends that hundreds lost their jobs as one consequence of the riot.

Spencer-Strachan (1992) argued that the destructive divide and rule approach that the British adopted in colonial countries continued to have an impact on employment opportunities during the riot. The colour-coding hierarchy ushered in a profound identity crisis whereby, at every level, members of the Black community faced major challenges in seeking to identify suitable employment. Colour was linked to social privilege, and after the 1919 riots it was impossible for educated Black people to get decent employment opportunities (Murphy, 1995). This led to a significant social identity crisis amongst large samples of the Black population in Liverpool who had lived in the city for generations (Christian, 1995).

To make matters worse, central government continued to devise anti-immigration policies and use anti-immigration rhetoric. The government amended the Aliens Restriction Act (1919), giving the Secretary of State further powers. For instance, the Secretary of State then had the power to prevent the entry of immigrants he viewed as undesirable. Moreover, the Act also prevented immigrants from changing their names, working in the civil service or doing jury duty (Evans et al., 2011). These restrictions had a significant adverse impact on the Black community in Liverpool, especially the inability to work for the civil service, as those in mixed-race marriages were classed as aliens. This policy had far-reaching effects on the Black community in Liverpool. This policy was cited in the Gifford Report (1989) as one of the reasons why the Black community held less than 2 per cent of

statutory jobs in Liverpool nearly 70 years later. As CRT argues, the colour-coded hierarchy became so entrenched in the system that it resulted in a profound identity crisis. Furthermore, Black employment in Liverpool was further affected by the shipping crisis in the 1920s. The crisis in the shipping industry, the biggest employer in Liverpool, resulted in greater competition for employment in a market which gave first preference to White workers (Frost, 1995). The majority of West Africans were unable to find employment. May and Cohen (1974) concluded that the rising irrationalities of mixed race communities, assumptions of Black communities as those contributing to hooliganism, and the perception that Black workers were in direct competition with White workers for employment contributed to the growing support for the Alien Act to be extended to the Black population.

The situation of Black seamen in Britain remained precarious. The prevailing economic conditions meant there was no room for Black seamen to undercut wages. The British Seafarers' Union fought for equal pay for all seamen, which led to a resurgence in the employment of White seamen (Taplin, 1974). A Parliamentary Inquiry in 1910, 'Committee on Distressed Colonial and Indian Subjects' (HMSO, 1910), highlighted the plight of Black seamen. The report identifies that the opposition to Blacks on shore and at sea was evident, with three in five distressed Black people without employment being seamen.

With the role of Secretary of State being changed to Home Secretary, an extension of power was granted within this Act, enabling the deportation of aliens who could not find employment to take place for the first time (Evans et al., 2011). In addition, through the Aliens Order (1925), Black immigrants' stay could now be monitored in the country and, when and if the Government decided, they could be asked to leave (Taylor, 2016). Gifford et al. (1989: 20) state that the "terminology for this act was racist as the full title was 'Special Restriction – Coloured Alien Seamen'". This legislation referred to Blacks as coloured and also gave local police the power to arrest Blacks cited as aliens and unable to prove their citizenship, which could lead to them being deported at once. As a result, the police in Liverpool were able to target the

Black community and openly use racial profiling (Gifford et al., 1989). Moreover, the registration policy restricted the free movement of West African seamen serving on ships. This policy was ideal for eliminating those who were considered competitors for employment. The order was implemented, reflecting public opinion, which was coloured with xenophobia. The ultimate goal of this order was to reduce the total number of Black men who lived in Liverpool without employment to improve the opportunities for local White labourers and seamen (Frost, 1995): “this policy worked to eliminate what was seen as competition for jobs between Black and White workers” (1995: 28). The order was implemented in the hope of “reducing the number of men living ashore in Liverpool since feelings against Black people generally still ran high” (Frost, 1995: 27). However, it just further increased the racial hostility and unrest between Blacks and Whites.

In 1930, the University of Liverpool published a document called the ‘Report on an Investigation into the Colour Problem in Liverpool and other Ports’, known as the Fletcher Report, which focused on the Black community’s presence in the city. This report which was called an ‘investigation into the colour problem in Liverpool and other ports’ was sponsored by the association for the welfare of half-caste children (Gifford et al., 1989: 29). The Fletcher Report reinforced prejudice regarding Black people and those who associated with them. It referred to Black seamen as devious and idle individuals who tricked their way into British citizenship through marriage, while labelling White women who married Black seamen as sexually loose or mentally unstable (Frost, 1995). It also claimed that Liverpool was the only port in the UK which continued to employ a large amount of cheap labour in the country, which was considered to be a major reason for the low standards of living in the city when compared to other regions. The Fletcher Report claimed to cite evidence of the great difficulty the Black community was facing in Liverpool in a number of social areas, but also commented on employment issues (Christian, 2008). Christian (2008) also argued that racialised antipathy had continued to grow and had been nurtured to evolve as a range of socio-psychological misconceptions ingrained in the history of Liverpool regarding Black settlements. This antipathy created additional

challenges for employment and continued to restrict Black employment to specific regions.

The report produced by Fletcher was the first to label children of mixed heritage as 'half-caste' in Liverpool (Christian, 2008). This term, which the Black community cited as derogatory, "was grounded in the eugenicist tradition of Sir Francis Galton (1822–1911) and the Eugenics Society. The society viewed humans in terms of being 'inferior' and 'superior' in stock (Jones, 1985), and it was an overt philosophy throughout the report. Using eugenicist techniques, it is apparent that Fletcher attempted to study the physical and mental quality of 'half-caste' children" (Christian, 2008: 218). Throughout her study, the main themes of employment, education and health were all connected to this imperialist view of the superiority of the White community, as mixed-race children were constructed as being born with defects, mental impairments and the inability to function as normal humans in society, due to their contaminated genes (Christian, 2008).

The evidence noted in the Fletcher Report in relation to employment for the Black community focused on two issues:

1. High unemployment
2. Rivalry for jobs (Christian, 2008)

Fletcher's solution to the issue was to ban the entry of Black seamen. She contended that this would solve the high unemployment issue and end the competition for jobs. Fletcher put the blame on Black seamen and argued that their removal would also resolve the issue of interracial relationships (Christian, 2008). By suggesting that Black seafarers be barred from entry, a limitation of Fletcher's study is her ideological belief that Blacks were unable to carry out any other forms of work. However, this point is negated by Fletcher at the end of her report, as she cites other employment areas that she found in Liverpool, "which members of the Black population occupied" (2008: 223). This illogicality in Fletcher's report was followed by other weaknesses, as her sample size was not balanced and the families recorded in her study were not chosen at random: they were all families receiving

additional services from the local council due to the high deprivation levels they were suffering (Christian, 2008). This resulted in an unfair representation of the mixed-race community. It also supported the notion that some members of the White community were superior, while justifying the racist propensities in the employment sector against Black and mixed-race people.

From a critical race theory perspective, this argument regarding the perception of people of mixed heritage can be linked to concepts of displacement and transference. Ladson-Billings and Tate (2016) argue that displacement and transference are processes that are related to social and political backgrounds. The transference phenomenon happens when there is racial aversion towards one specific group by another. Clearly, those members of a mixed-heritage group were considered inferior, which led to a negative racial focus. Additionally, such references to the concept of 'half-caste' identifies challenges of intersectionality. As Delgado and Stefancic (2017) argue, the concept of intersectionality and anti-essentialism is associated with differential racialisation, which is the idea that each race has its own origins and ever-evolving history. Intersectionality recognises the fact that people have more than one easily confirmed unitary identity. In referencing only the heritage of these mixed-heritage people, the Fletcher report did not consider other factors.

By the 1930s, Zack-Williams (1997) claims in his study focused on the Africa diaspora's conditioning that the actions of 1919 had changed the Black community's employment situation in Liverpool and their own mindset. After "the racist odium punctuated every aspect of public life In Liverpool" (1997: 533), Blacks mobilised, as they realised that they had to protect both their jobs and their human rights. Fletcher's recommendation to ban Black seamen was enacted by the National Union of Seamen, which refused the employment of Blacks in the 1930s (Zack-Williams, 1997). As industries further declined all over the UK, the great depression which had started in the USA swept across Europe, and in Britain, world trade fell by half, "the number of unemployed rose from 3.5 to 4 million" (Tomka, 2013: 211) and

the output of heavy industry plunged by a third. Men within the Black community at this time adapted and moved to work on new ships. However, this did not stop the downward spiral of "Liverpool Blacks that could find few opportunities outside of shipping […] shore jobs being closed to them because of racism and their lack of skills" (Frost, 1995: 29). During this period, a welfare officer situated in Liverpool called Dr Harold Moody was in charge of organising the oppressed seamen into a union that could fight their cause (Law, 1981). This led to Black workers in Liverpool forming a union to resist the inequality which was taking place. Dr Moody developed "the leadership of Blacks not only in Liverpool but also across the country. The new group was given the title of the League of Coloured Peoples and through its work Blacks in Britain were able to gain recognition for their rights" (Law, 1981: 32). However, the League was unable to action the response it required in Liverpool (Law, 1981: 32).

2.5 Black Employment in Liverpool 1939–1960

By 1939, the Second World War enabled Black people to gain new employment opportunities in the factories (Law, 1981). As the war was based on defeating the political ideology of the Nazis leading to genocide of 'inferior' races with the end goal of separatism, Britain was unable to persevere with its idea of the inferiority of the Black community, as such racial discrimination would have aligned the UK with Hitler (Law, 1981). In order to be inclusive, "Blacks were given jobs, but inequality remained as Blacks were allocated some of the dirtiest jobs on the shop floor" (Law, 1981: 34). It was during this stage that there were strong efforts made to abolish and bring about moral and social distancing. Reassessment of global trends brought about ways to reduce racism driven employment options. In the backdrop to the war in Liverpool, another report was commissioned by the University of Liverpool and written by Caradog Jones, entitled 'The Economic Status of Coloured Families in the Port of Liverpool' (Jones, 1940 cited in Gifford et al., 1989: 31). Unlike the Fletcher Report, Jones used a larger sample size. He also included long-term residents in the research, which would provide a balanced view of this community in the city. He made sure that all the male heads of households took part in the research. Jones' research found that home

stability was present within mixed-race families in Liverpool and the report refuted many of the arguments outlined in the Fletcher Report in relation to the mental instability of mixed-race children (Gifford et al., 1989). One area in which Jones' report displayed data parallel to the Fletcher Report was in relation to employment. Jones' study provided strong statistical evidence of widespread unemployment in the Black community in Liverpool. Nearly "74% of the male heads of families and 44% of youth under the age of 21 were found to be unemployed in this report" (Gifford et al., 1989: 31).

As the Second World War came to an end (i.e. by 1945), racial discrimination practices in employment vis-à-vis the Black community once again resumed. "Blacks in Liverpool were made the scapegoats of British unemployment, as big firms made large redundancies, which targeted Black workers" (Law, 1981: 35). Bressey (2016) contends that colonial servicemen and war-workers became aggrieved by the ingratitude that was expressed by the White community even after the war was over. In 1948, the British Nationality Act was amended to give guidelines on the path to citizenship in the United Kingdom. The Act introduced a new category of Citizens of the United Kingdom and its Colonies, which it defined as "every person born within the UK and its colonies" (Karatani, 2004). Aliens could become naturalised within the UK as long as they could prove that they had good character and had sufficient knowledge of the English language. However, as Hansen (1999) concluded, the law was found to be partial to those who were White, many of whom were able to gain special citizenship from the Secretary of State's office. The 1948 Act further complicated opportunities for employment. Law argues that:

> *Blacks in Liverpool were made the scapegoats of British unemployment, as big firms made large redundancies, which targeted the Black workers again, as the overseas threat had ceased. (Law, 1981: 35).*

The action taken by Liverpool to release Black workers from their wartime employment was not a universal policy. It did not coincide with the central government's agenda. As Liverpool's Black workers lost their jobs, central government imposed a new wave of national immigration policies, including

the British Nationality Act 1948, with the goal of providing genuine opportunities for those skilled workers from the colonies to meet the labour demand in the UK. This was largely to meet the massive labour shortage in the UK, which needed to be filled (Evans et al., 2011). Recruitment to counter this labour shortage was undertaken by private firms, who brought in European workers who were destitute after the war and in need of employment (Miles and Phizacklea, 1984). This coincided with official government policy being relaxed in the late 1940s towards West African seamen, who were allowed to seek shore work or be repatriated" (Evans et al., 2011). This action, which enabled West African seamen to take work on shore, was a change in national policy, as previous legislation had allowed aliens only to work in the industry that their documents permitted.

Central government had laid down new policies in the 1950s with respect to national immigration after Blacks who lived in Liverpool lost their jobs that they had found due to the huge shortage of labour in the UK that needed to be filled. The hiring of this kind of short-term labour was not understood immediately after the war. The increasing need for labour persisted unabated, but Black workers were isolated after the war, despite fulfilling the work demand as increasing numbers of Black migrants came from Commonwealth countries. By 1955, about 20,000 immigrants were arriving annually from the West Indies. However, in the case of Liverpool, the widespread policy on unemployment persisted among the Blacks.

2.6 Black Employment in Liverpool 1960–1980

In the early sixties, central government decided that the best way forward was to close the borders. The Commonwealth Immigrants Act (1962) was enacted in order to restrict immigration into the country. This act "restricted the admission of Commonwealth immigrants for settlement to those who had been issued with employment vouchers" (1976: 353). The voucher category system enabled those who had secured jobs to enter the UK based on their grouping and the UK's needs (Sivanandan, 1976). This enabled the Home Secretary to restrict undesirables using the persona of what was best for the UK in relation to skills necessities. This policy "which was renewed in 1965

by the Labour Government, enabled immigration from the Black Commonwealth to be geared towards the requirements of the British Economy" (Sivanandan, 1976: 354). Several commentators have argued that the Commonwealth Immigrant Acts (1962, 1965) were motivated by colour, as citizens from the Irish Republic who had also entered the UK as migrant workers were not included (Miles, 1993).

The 1968 Commonwealth Immigration Act was aimed at making more stringent policies, with the primary goal of managing British passport holders from Kenya. Those from Kenya who were fleeing the 'Africanisation policies' were entering the UK en masse. The labour government responded to the criticism by the media and the pressure from the public, resulting in rising limitations on the entry of certain Black individuals even if they had a British passport. Commonwealth citizens had to provide proof that their parents or grandparents had become citizens of the United Kingdom and colonies by virtue of being adopted in the United Kingdom, and had to have the right papers to back up this claim. Those who were unable to provide such documentation were unable to gain employment as they were considered to be visitors, not residents (Bowling and Westenra, 2018).

By basing political decisions on colour, race relations had become part of a racialisation process, as the government used distinct physical differences and politicians like Enoch Powell in key speeches. Powell argued that "the nation was threatened by the presence of an immigrant population, which he emphasised as being both culturally and phenotypically distinct" (Miles, 1993: 27). With national government identifying Blacks as the culprits in cities where riots had broken out, job discrimination continued in Liverpool, which led to widespread unemployment in the Black community due to job losses in shipping (Gifford et al.,1989: 30; Law, 1981: 35).

Furthermore, during this period, the Race Relations Board was established in 1965. The Board focused its attention on areas that had large influxes of migration. It dealt with complaints in inner cities like London and Birmingham. Liverpool, on the other hand, did not appoint a locally based

conciliation officer due to the city's long tradition of accepting strangers (Belchem, 2014: 226).

By not assigning an officer, it was apparent that there was no one to outline the problems in Liverpool, and this enabled the city council to avoid fulfilling its legal obligation of addressing complaints on racism linked employment challenges. This led to Liverpool continuing to be the only city in the UK that had not incorporated an overdue policy on equal opportunities (Belchem, 2014). However, by 1968, there was a huge piece of proof that threw light on the inequalities based on racism within Liverpool city council, towards the Black community in particular (Liverpool Black Caucus, 1986). A survey performed in shops and factories located in Liverpool found that the number of Black employees was only about 0.75% among staff, and less than 0.1% among those who faced customers at the counter (Gifford et al., 1989). The proof in this report reinforced a common pattern that local officials trusted that within the city of Liverpool there was no issue with a person's colour.

In the late 1970s, with unemployment running above 12 per cent, the Black community in Liverpool bore the brunt of it, as racism marginalised their employment perspectives (Zack-Williams, 1997: 536). Belchem (2014: 197) argues that:

> *The increasingly dangerous consequences notwithstanding, the discrimination and disadvantage experienced by Liverpool-born Black youths had gone unchecked, obscured from [the] public gaze and discussion by the spurious local rhetoric of harmonious relations and the wider national preoccupation with new immigrant arrivals.*

The "Community Relations Commission in 1968 expressed similar concerns following the findings of the Runnymede Trust (1965) that 32% of Liverpool born Black youths were unemployed" (cited in Belchem, 2014: 231). Despite the high unemployment amongst the Liverpool-born Black community, the City Council still rejected the implementation of positive action schemes and instead selected to open language centres, which were aimed at new

influxes, in order to preserve the city's image and not play "catch up with developments elsewhere" (Belchem, 2014: 232).

Furthermore, the establishment of the Merseyside Community Relations Council (1986) was a sign of Blacks mobilising themselves to create better opportunities and contribute to urban regeneration (Ben-Tovim, 1989). This illustrated their unwillingness to sit back and allow others to influence their situation. This action by the Liverpool Black community coincided with the Conservative Government's stance on calling an end to migration. In order to adopt an ideology focused on preserving Englishness, the Conservative government under Margaret Thatcher called for "an end to immigration in order to avoid the effects of being swamped by an alien culture" (Ben-Tovim et al., 1986: 17).

During this period, issues with the police arose from "a changing method of control due to there being an increasing use against the Black community of not so much the 'sus' law (Suspected Person Loitering 1824 Vagrancy Act), as Liverpool's own unique 'Stop and Search' powers" (Belchem, 2014: 241). These powers, which enabled the police to stop suspects based on suspicion, had resulted in Black young men from the Liverpool 8 community "suffering extreme levels of racial harassment in the form of verbal and sometimes physical abuse by the police. In most cases, police investigations did not amount to prosecution" (MCRC, 1986: 110). The MCRC also noted in a number of reports (1979, 1980) how unemployment rates were spiralling downward among Black youths in Liverpool. It also affirmed that:

> *Black Liverpudlians not only share the disadvantages felt by many White Liverpudlians, but also suffer the additional disadvantages brought about by racial prejudice and discrimination—simply because they are Black. (MCRC, Gifford et al., 1989: 46).*

Moreover, "between 1974 to 1981 unemployment rates in Liverpool rose again, by 120 per cent but in the same period Black unemployment in Liverpool 8 increased by 330 per cent" (Liverpool Black Caucus, 1988: 96). In

addition, the City Council continued to rebuff any actions that would lead to the implementation of race-relations legislation or initiatives as “local councillors were still apt to dismiss those who raised racial issues as (in the words of Labour leader Bill Sefton) ‘interfering do-gooders and sensationalist sociologists’” (Belchem, 2014: 239). The Council’s failure to address the issue led the Black community in Liverpool to change its approach in the 1980s. They decided to pursue a policy of mobilisation with organisations like the self-appointed Liverpool Black Caucus. The Liverpool Black Caucus took on the mantle for the Black working-class community. It produced a book called *The Racial Politics of Militants in Liverpool – The Black Community’s Struggle for Participation in Local Politics 1980–1985*. The Liverpool Black Caucus, believed in protesting rather than standing on the side-lines. By organising protests, the Liverpool Black Caucus was able in the early 1980s to elicit an admission from Liverpool City Council that racism existed and was active within the city (Liverpool Black Caucus, 1986). As they moved forward, their core efforts were focused on “racial equality in employment for the Black community in Liverpool” (Liverpool Black Caucus, 1986: 9). The Black Caucus had already made the connection via the research of Wally Brown and Gideon Ben-Tovim as to why employment was inaccessible for the Black community in Liverpool. Arguments centred on:

1. The existence of institutional racism in Liverpool.
2. Racism, which to the Liverpool Black Caucus was an “ideology rooted in the economic system of capitalism and perpetuates class divisions in order to maximise profits” (Liverpool Black Caucus, 1986: 8).

Frustration continued to breed for Blacks within Liverpool, “as in central Liverpool, where most blacks live, the chances of unemployment are four times greater on the periphery” (Belchem, 2014: 238); hence, an incident occurred in one of the biggest stores in the city centre. Endorsing the teachings of Karl Marx and using his theory of socialism, members of the Liverpool Black Caucus enacted a plan, which they implemented, of hindering the capitalist bourgeoisie who were the storeowners in Liverpool city centre.

When a young boy was arrested in Liverpool for shoplifting, an act that he refused to take the blame for, this enabled the Black community to mobilise itself with the help of the Black Caucus. Instead of protesting outside the store where the young boy was manhandled, organisers from the Black community decided direct action was required. People from the Black community, wanting to participate, were asked to meet outside the Liverpool city centre store at one of its most critical times. The store, which had eight tills, was the target. Using the smallest currency possible, eight shoppers were asked to purchase items from the store. “Within two hours, the retail store had come to a standstill and the management called the protestors into a room, asking for their demands” (Clay, 2008: 90).

When their request for a full apology was met, the store was able to continue trading, but the action taken by the Black community in Liverpool, a direct demonstration against this incident, showed how justice could be achieved when unity was applied.

Despite this small victory, the Liverpool Black Caucus was unable to engage with Liverpool City Council on a wide variety of issues. Despite providing data from reports produced by an emerging academic group of intellectuals (Torkington, 1983; Ben-Tovim, 1983; Law, 1981), the local council “had no targeting mechanism to ensure main programmes and resources and new regeneration schemes were bent towards the Black population” (Ben-Tovim, 1989: 44). The literature produced by the Liverpool Black Caucus was insightful and demonstrated statistical and written information regarding unemployment rates amongst the Black community. Brown argues that:

> *Interactions with local government surmounted into personal conflicts, ineffective appointments like that of an outsider from London called Sam Bond, who was recruited as the lead for race relations in the City and meetings or forum sessions, which in the end produced utter opposition for the Black cause in Liverpool. (Brown, 1998: 10).*

Both local and central government continued to neglect their responsibility to the Black community in Liverpool. A prevalent feeling of police brutality led “the Chairman of MCRC (who at the time was Inquiry member Wally Brown) to write to the Chief Executive of the Liverpool City Council on behalf of 16 Merseyside Black organisations” (Gifford et al., 1989: 48). Brown argued in this letter that the Council had an obligation to implement race-relations legislation that would end racism in employment for the Black community in Liverpool (Gifford et al., 1989: 48).

This letter also outlined key measures that needed to be introduced by Liverpool city council in order for equality of opportunity to prevail for all communities residing in the city. The letter focused on health, education, housing and employment. This action, taken by the MCRC, led to the council passing “a resolution in December 1980 to adopt an equal opportunities policy, including a formal equal opportunities statement and the creation of a liaison committee” (Gifford et al., 1989: 48). The committee, which included key Black groups from the community, drafted an equal opportunities policy, which was adopted by the council in 1981. However, despite this enactment of a new equal opportunities policy, changes within the council were insignificant, as the number of Black workers in the council stood at 225 out of 30,000 in 1980 (Belchem, 2014).

In 1981, Parliament published its report from the select committee, which claimed that the city of Liverpool was “the most disturbing case of racial disadvantage in the United Kingdom” (Belchem, 2014: 244). But, as the council had by now adopted its equal opportunities policy, in this report’s absence, no longer was the committee willing to condemn the local authority for its inaction. Failure to act sooner devalued the council’s actions and led to the 1981 riots taking place within a month of the select committee’s report’s publication (Belchem, 2014). With Liverpool suffering another economic recession, high youth unemployment, police aggression and racial discrimination, the 1981 Toxteth riots were an uprising in response to the tensions in the city by the Black community (Belchem, 2014; Gifford et al., 1989; Ben-Tovim et al., 1992; Law 1981).

2.7 Black Employment in Liverpool: 1981–1989

By 1981, uprisings had taken place in key cities across the UK, due to a lack of integration and social unrest (Nelson,2000). Like Liverpool, Birmingham and Brixton had large Black communities, who also suffered high unemployment levels, lacked social integration, had poor housing, encountered racial tensions with the White majority and were engaged in conflicts with the police (Gifford et al., 1989). Within Liverpool, the 1981 uprisings were sparked by police harassment of a Black youth (Belchem, 2014). In the small enclave of Granby, in Toxteth, 3 July 1981 saw the beginning of a disturbance between a young Black man and the police (Gifford et al., 1989). As a crowd formed around the commotion, a number of police vehicles made their presence known and within seconds arrests took place and CS gas was used (Belchem, 2014). This was the start of the 1981 riots in Toxteth, which lasted throughout July and increased the hostility between the Black community and the police.

As the police battled to gain control, looting took place, buildings were burnt, arrests were made and damage amounting to £11 m. was caused (Belchem, 2014). Race relations were also at a record low between the police and the Black community, as at this point the Chief Constable called those involved in the uprising “Black hooligans intent on making life unbearable and indulging in criminal activities in an area notorious for its natural proclivities towards violence” (Belchem, 2014: 252). In making these assertions, the Chief Constable was displaying his racial tendencies towards the Black community and the area of Toxteth. Additionally, the Chief Constable failed to mention in his comments that White youth members were also involved in the riots, debilitated by urban deprivation (Gifford et al., 1989).

Lord Scarman, who was sent to investigate the riots across the country, argued that the disorder could only be addressed by investigating all the social and economic circumstances surrounding the problem (Gifford et al., 1989). In Liverpool this amounted to not only tackling police policy but also examining the racial divide that existed in the city between the Black and White communities. This led to Michael Heseltine being appointed Minister

for Inner cities by the Thatcher Government, but instead of addressing the disharmony that existed within the city, he offered Toxteth new regeneration in the form of shrubbery paid for by the Government and planted by outside workers (Gifford et al., 1989).

As frustration grew within the city for the Black community, recruitment drives resulting from the adoption of the city council's equal opportunities policy led to an increase of 25 new Black workers by October 1982, taking the total of Black officers to 250 compared with the White workforce of 29,750 (Belchem, 2014). By 1983 there was a power shift within the council, as Labour took control from the Liberals, which instigated a recruitment drive for Black workers in social work and other roles within the caring professions (Gifford et al., 1989). Furthermore, with the council promising the establishing of a race relations unit, the Black Caucus who spoke for the Black community believed that change was to ensue (Gifford et al., 1989). However, this belief did not last long, as the Sam Bond affair took hold and all positive action programmes ceased under Militant Labour (Belchem, 2014). All workforce monitoring ceased and the Black Caucus was condemned as an illegitimate organisation not representative of the Black community (Belchem, 2014).

The open hostility exhibited by the establishment towards the progressive and inclusive agenda provided by those who wanted a fair and equal system reached its pinnacle with the appointment of a militant member, the London-born Sam Bond. Sam Bond was appointed to the post of Principal Race Relations Advisor (Leaflet, 1981). Many within the Black community, especially in Liverpool 8, were opposed to this appointment. This was because they felt that this was a blatantly political appointment which elevated ideological rigidity without taking into account the concerns of the local Black population (Caucus, 1986). Bond's appointment was questioned as he exhibited a lack of qualifications and an inability to understand the challenges faced by Liverpool Blacks, as well as the city's unique racial blend. There was condemnation of the appointment of Bond and a boycott of his office (Ball, 2017). Tensions between the Black Caucus and the Council

deteriorated after the Race Relations Liaison Committee was abolished. As Newsline argued, this resulted in:

> *effectively [removing] any influence representatives of black people in the city had in determining the race relations policy of the council and leading to a number of highly-charged and violent incidents, including the occupation of the City Council's offices and several fights and scuffles between Black Caucus members and Militants at public meetings. (Newsline, 1985: 3).*

Bond did not accept any of the claims of the Black Caucus and believed that if houses were built and jobs were preserved, it could bring direct benefit to the Black community (O'Brien, 2012). They did not want to focus on anything else, as they believed that other factors were a diversion. Bond's report argued that the key challenges in Liverpool were a result of class differences rather than race differences (Gifford et al., 1989). Though many leaders acknowledged that this insensitivity and insouciance regarding the concerns of the Blacks was a big mistake, there were others who believed that the Militant Labour Council pumped money into Liverpool 8 and supported more Black apprentices within the Council. These assertions indicate the willingness to invest in housing in Toxteth and Granby without addressing the underlying challenge—i.e. the perpetuation of a de facto discrimination and alienation of the Black community (Gifford Report, 1989).

As Ball (2017) rightly argues, in a city where identity was linked with the image of (White) Irish, Scottish and Welsh migrant communities who dominated dock work and seafaring-linked racial discrimination, the open racism in the early twentieth century was simply an extension of the lack of structured efforts by local authorities to address the challenge.

As the situation grew desperate under Militant Labour, the Black Caucus had no choice but to collect data and bide its time until someone was willing to listen. Then, in 1986, when a House of Commons select committee visited the city to investigate employment, the Black Caucus combined its resources with the Merseyside Community Relations Council (MCRC) and the

Merseyside Area Profile Group (MAPG), urging the Government to take action and bring about change (Belchem, 2016). Yet, despite this cry for help, Liverpool continued with its policy of enactment concerning its equal opportunity policies until 1987, when Militant was ousted and replaced by a new Labour local council, which displayed its show of new faith by appointing Lord Gifford to conduct a new inquiry focusing on race relations in the city (Belchem, 2014). The next chapter will examine the Gifford report (1989), which was the next major policy to affect race relations in Liverpool for the Black community.

Chapter 3

Gifford Report

3.1 Introduction

The year 1989 was significant for the Black community in Liverpool. The Gifford Report (1989), commissioned by Liverpool City Council, was published; it outlined the struggles of Liverpool's Black community (Persons, 1999). The Gifford report (1989) found that the prevailing financial and social conditions in the Black community in Liverpool were terrible. The key aim of this chapter is to first present a comprehensive assessment of the Gifford Report (1989). The first section revisits the findings of the Gifford report (1989) by focusing on the methodology used, the identification of any employment changes and outcomes and giving details relevant to critical race implications. This is followed by an assessment of policy-level changes, including addressing the Gifford report (1989) concerns in Liverpool, identifying community relationship and employment changes post the Gifford report (1989) and addressing current implications of racism in Liverpool in terms of employment with a focus on CRT theory.

3.2 Loosen the Shackles: The Gifford Report

Gifford's *Loosen the Shackles* was the first inquiry commissioned by Liverpool city council to investigate service provision for the Liverpool Black community. The need for this report largely stemmed from the rising unrest in the Black community. Three major riots that hold a significant place in the history of Liverpool are those that took place in the 1970s and early 1980s, which may have impacted on the need for specific service-provision assessments. Those wards that included the major population of the Black African and Caribbean community of Liverpool were found to be most affected during those riots (Christian, 2008). This led to an increase in writing and publications on the community and the socio-political impacts of education, employment, health and training in that area.

The Gifford Report (1989), produced by a commissioned team, was extremely bold, as it did not shy away from the fundamental issues at the heart of inequality for the Liverpool-born Black community. It did this by investigating and recording the views of real people affected by racism. The report found that the Black community was living under conditions echoing those of colonial occupation (Webber, 1990: 3). This is exhibited in the work assembled by the team, who were able to document the appalling experiences encountered by the Black community in relation to why they had been unable to access employment, training, education, adequate healthcare and non-discriminative policing, and have equal judiciary access (Belchem, 2014). Webber (1990) reiterates this point, asserting that the report offers an image of the anger and rage of those who intend to protect their community, prevent its destruction and be a rallying point for struggles in the coming years.

The inquiry, leading to a series of findings within the report, was led by Lord Gifford, who was appointed head of proceedings due to his reputation as a seasoned inquirer from the Broadwater Farm disturbances (Runnymede Trust, 2012). The Broadwater Farm riots, which occurred in London in 1985, were seen as a direct result of police harassment of Black youths and very similar in context to Liverpool (Gifford et al., 1989). The aim of the inquiry was to examine: a) tensions between the Black community and the police; b) the policies and practices of Liverpool City Council; c) discrimination against Black people in the law-enforcement process; and d) the conditions in L8 (Toxteth) which led to deprivation and racism (Araujo, 2012). However, as researchers argued, though the focus was Toxteth, there remained challenges with respect to representing other social indicators that can be linked to employment options.

As Chair, Lord Gifford appointed Wally Brown to his investigation committee. Brown, originally from Toxteth, was a local Black activist and chair of the Merseyside Community Relations Council in the 1980s. He reported on race relations, unemployment and inequality in Liverpool. The Black community saw Brown's appointment as a bold move. That said, some were cynical and

saw it as an attempt to gain their trust by placing ‘one of their own’ at the heart of the inquiry (Persons, 1999). The third committee member was Ruth Bundey, a solicitor who specialised in immigration. In addition, Felicia Oshodio (a Black secretary) was appointed in order to provide ostensive adequate balance to the team. This offered the possibility of circumventing arguments that an all-White panel was deciding the fate of the Black community, which had occurred under Lord Scarman (1981). Through having a team of two White and two Black professionals, the inquiry members were trying to avoid issues concerning an ‘insider’ or ‘outsider’ debate when investigating a topic as sensitive as racism, which many argued only Black members from the community could understand. Fassinger (2013) contends that one way to deal with the concerns of insiders and outsiders in social research is to deploy an efficient team of researchers who are representative of the community in focus (internal and external). Merton (1972) reinforces this view by contending that a united research team, with a common goal, enables trust, access and understanding to be achieved in any research setting, regardless of the topic being investigated.

The first detail of the report that captures the reader’s attention is its title. In using the terminology *Loosen the Shackles*, the authors add connotations of slavery and the role Liverpool played in it. This use of language by the authors can be connected to Entman’s work on framing. Entman (1993) strongly contends that framing implies the selection of some aspects of a reality situation and renders them smoother in interaction to highlight a specific problem, causal interpretation and treatment suggestions.

With the application of a bold title to the report, the authors were able to effectively entice a broader range of readers into the topic. This would have particular ramifications for those who had an interest in this field or who wanted to better understand the history of race and ethnicity in Liverpool. The report avoided the local council (which had commissioned the inquiry) influencing their reporting of findings. This is reflected in their choice of title, which clearly acknowledges Liverpool’s role in slavery (Costello, 1988). However, the use of ‘loosen the shackles’ insinuates that the authors

themselves recognise that publication of their report would not end racial discrimination in Liverpool. Otherwise they might have titled the report ‘Breaking the Shackles’.

The report begins by outlining its terms of reference, which provides the reader with a clear outline of its aims and objectives. It also clearly illustrates the methodological approach employed by the inquirers and how they reached their conclusions. The report also sheds light on the Black community’s long history in Liverpool. It doesn’t shy away from the city’s role in the transatlantic slave trade, like Fletcher (1930) and Jones (1940). According to Gifford et al. (1989), it is important to understand the involvement of Liverpool with Black immigrants before the inquiry. By identifying the role of the city in enabling slavery, the inquirers trust that this will help to prevent further inequality transgressions from transpiring. It is implied that as this pattern is comprehended, it will be easier to terminate it.

Once this is addressed, the report provides data on the area the Black community predominately resides in, which to this day is Liverpool 8. The data used to illustrate the size of the population are unsubstantiated, because a census of the Black community’s population at the time cannot be verified. The main issues, such as the drastic dip in the working-class population among poor people and the lack of regeneration opportunities, were focused on in a limited manner. More than in other cities, while the city of Liverpool has focused more on these initiatives, with early community projects like Objective One and the Single Regeneration Budget Group, the focus of these projects in Black-dominated communities had been fairly low (Belchem, 2014). Their failure directly impacted on poverty in these regions. However, the Gifford Report (1989) identified that there were systemic restrictions faced by the Black community in Liverpool and contended that most of the previous reports did not address the increasing inequalities that existed amongst the people.

Nonetheless, this information is coupled with unemployment data, which is useful in displaying the depths of deprivation that the local Black community endured during this period. However, the data outlined in this section should

only be used as background information, due to inaccuracies. There being incomplete information was due to the census prior to 1991 not asking specific questions in relation to a respondent's ethnic group (Gifford et al., 1989).

The usage of photography in the report is an extremely powerful tool that the inquirers embraced. They inserted images which documented how the Albert Dock had been regenerated and, in turn, how Granby Street, the metaphorical centre of Liverpool 8 at the time, had been abandoned. Showing burned out vehicles, this illustrates how the Gifford Report (1989) attached visible meaning to the issue. The use of imagery to get points across is emphasised by Wiesenthal et al. (2000). He views imagery as a vital tool in linking history and the stories being told to convey them to a person's mind and creating perceptions of the world through a photographer's eyes.

3.3 Employment: Liverpool Experience

A number of recurring themes and issues appear throughout the Gifford Report (1989). These issues have previously been highlighted in the literature, dating as far back as the 1919 Liverpool riots (Webber, 1990). Kenyon and Rookwood (2010) assert that the most crucial theme in their report is racial discrimination and racism, which are observed on the organisational and personal levels. The main theme is then examined through the public realms of policing, housing, education, employment, legal processes and the health service (Gifford et al., 1989). All of the main themes are examined in separate chapters, including the area of policing, despite the Merseyside Police Chief Constable, Kenneth Oxford, refusing to take part in the inquiry (1989: 20). Throughout the report, there are powerful narratives capturing first-hand accounts of the Black experience in Liverpool. By offering a detailed subjective assessment of the racism faced by local Blacks in many residential areas, the inquirers did not consider the option of recording testimonies in separate archives or even softening their inferences to avoid the harsh reality of racism faced in organisations (Bourne, 2001: 17). When analysing the employment sector in Liverpool, the inquirers examined both

the public and private sectors. In this chapter, the approach applied by the inquirers is one of candour, and this can be seen in the opening segment, in the words of a local member of the Black community.

Throughout the chapter on employment, there are personal experiences that contextualise the racism and prejudice practised by public and private-sector employers in Liverpool (1989: 70). This in fact prompted Gifford et al. (1989) to infer that the Black community faced challenges and struggles to find a low-paid or low-level job in a retail position in a chain store. The report states that Black people in the city of Liverpool are refused jobs, including low-wage jobs, in a highly calculated and systematic way, more than in any other city across the country that has a Black community.

Testimonies, which underpinned Brown's experience, were heard throughout the Gifford Inquiry (1989). Nearly 100 participants from the Black community supplied testimonies regarding employment in Liverpool, and all reiterated the same information, that race had impacted on and, in their opinion, prohibited them from accessing or acquiring employment opportunities. Gifford et al. (1989) also investigated the issue of promotion within the private sector of employment for the Black community: of the 56 major employers approached in the city, only 22 responded, i.e. less than half.

The Gifford Report (1989) suggests that the conclusions closely related to employment and were considered to be highly controversial. The inquirers in Liverpool found that the inequality and discrimination that existed within the workforce was disturbing to the Black community. Small (1994) asserts that proof gathered across nations shows that irrespective of the field of employment or education, a racial disadvantage is firmly rooted and racial prejudice still persists. At the time of writing the Gifford Report (1989), Toxteth only had three major primary schools for children. The Paddington Comprehensive School opened in the late 1960s but closed down due to the refusal of parents in nearby White neighbourhoods to send their children to what they considered to be an exclusively minority school, or a Black school (Belchem, 2014). Shorefields, a state comprehensive, was then established but continued to face challenges in finding employment opportunities for the

children in these communities. Irrespective of the closeness of John Moores University and the University of Liverpool, access to tertiary education was still low and not sufficiently funded (Waller, 1981). Remedial support for excluded school pupils in the community continued to suffer insufficient funding. This perhaps helps to explain some of the major employment challenges.

Despite Liverpool's role as host to one of the oldest Black communities in Europe (Costello, 1988), the evidence in this chapter demonstrates that, for the Black community in Liverpool, racial discrimination, which occurs in two forms (individual and institutional racism), was still very prevalent in everyday life. The institutional and individual racism encountered by the community caused a large majority of Black inhabitants to believe that they were invisible, as Black workers constantly received the same daily message when searching for employment: "Sorry, the job's just been filled" (Webber, 1990: 2). In summary, the racial oppression suffered by the Liverpool-born Black community, both collectively and individually, can be equated to the institutional racism found by the Macpherson Inquiry (1999), which investigated the death of Stephen Lawrence and found widespread institutional racism within the police, which led to the investigation being considered "flawed" throughout (Bourne, 2001: 7).

Recommendations from the panel on how to address inequality in Liverpool's employment sector were duly offered. By making early recommendations, the inquirers believed this would allow the council and Liverpool employers the opportunity to respond quickly and address the current situation in Liverpool. Gifford et al. (1989) recommended a number of new initiatives to assist Black people in accessing council employment. These schemes included a positive action programme, which would enable Black people to apply for jobs with the council and contribute to the recommended 10 per cent Black workforce in all departments. Moreover, the advertising of Council vacancies was to be moved from the local council newspaper (*Liverpool Star*) to the *Liverpool Echo* (a universal local newspaper). Furthermore, the advertising of any vacancies would be forwarded to the only employment agency, which

represented the Black community, South Liverpool Personnel. By making these recommendations to the council, Gifford et al. (1989) expected employment in Liverpool to become more open and readily accessible to the Black community. However, these changes only seemed to be superficial adjustments. Boyle and Charles, in their 2012 study, argued that while these were “impressive promises”, many of “the initiatives were surface and ensured the breaking up of the BAC Community” (p.336). Nelson (cited in Boyle and Charles, 2012: 336) reinforces this point, as he believes that the Black community at the time (and today) has been unable to gain access to political mechanisms in Liverpool.

Furthermore, the report produced by Gifford et al. (1989) outlined the need for transparency, accountability and the monitoring of any recommendations enacted to make sure that this report did not end up like that of Lord Scarman (1981). The Scarman report, which “Thatcher paid little heed to after 1981” (Neal, 2003: 58), was vulnerable due to changing political agendas and the document itself only focused on policing and disregarded other social areas affected by race in society. In order to prevent history repeating itself, the inquirers in the Gifford Report (1989) requested a 2-year implementation strategy and a second report to evaluate progress since the original one (Gifford et al., 1989: 225). However, this did not occur due to the city council’s inability to allocate funding. However, Clay (2008) argues that such actions did not occur because grassroots action erupted and the community was dispersed and destroyed under the banner of regeneration (cited in Boyle and Charles, 2012: 336). He concluded that the council no longer had an incentive to change its current practices, as pressure from the Black community withered.

3.4 Race Relations and Liverpool City Council’s Responsibility

When the Gifford Inquiry commenced in 1989, Liverpool city council was the largest employer in the city, with a workforce of over 30,000 employees. These employees were responsible for delivering direct services to the public in the areas of housing, education and health. Gifford et al. (1989) compared the council’s role and influence on employment to the duty of care it had in

education, health and housing. Apart from the council having its own workforce, it was also considered to be the main funding agency for most charity and voluntary organisations and was accountable to its councillors, who were an integral component of the city's political leadership group (Gifford et al., 1989: 85).

The panel had ordered the council to submit all of its data concerning equal opportunities as the inquiry into the policies implemented and relationships in the Liverpool community started (Gifford et al., 1989: 5). The earliest policy that the council adopted in this area was in 1980, when it approved its first piece of legislation in the area of equal opportunities in the form of a statement (Gifford et al., 1989). This mandate made a commitment to ensure equal access to service provision for all communities. However, the Gifford Report (1989) found little evidence of this policy in the council. The human resources department responsible for all recruitment and employment of council employees could only produce a half-page document with a few sentences outlining the council's position on equality of opportunity within employment (Gifford et al., 1989).

Furthermore, the practices the council was following within its human resources department in terms of employment and recruitment were found to be out of date by the panel of inquirers, and they included no reference to how to include an equal opportunity policy in their present-day proceedings (Gifford at al., 1989). In order to gather further data on how the council's equality statement had been applied within its departments, the Gifford inquirers asked for a further presentation of data. When the council could not comply with any examples of implementation, the Gifford Report (1989) stated that the actions of the council were "at best pathetic" (p. 86).

Belchem (2014) argues that the council's role in the area of equal opportunities in Liverpool up until the Gifford Inquiry was one of non-implementation. In order for the Black community in Liverpool to achieve equal access to employment and other spheres of local-government provision, the adoption and application of equal opportunities policies was required. While other cities in the UK executed policies providing fair access

to public services for all minority communities, Liverpool continued to erect barriers to the Black community accessing jobs. The city's policy of non-compliance in relation to equality can be traced back as far as 1960. Nelson (2000) argues that "from the early 1960s to the 1980s, Liverpool councillors refused to seriously engage in the issue of race or to execute policies that would incorporate the interests of the Black community into the decision-making processes of the city council" (p.180). In the 1980s, when the Conservatives came to power with a majority, there seemed to be some movement, as the newly elected government positioned race at the top of its agenda by agreeing to the city's first equal opportunities policy (Nelson, 2000). This move, which was spearheaded by the Black community uniting and forcing the Liberal council majority to act, also led to the formation of a race-relations liaison committee which would address the issue of race and equal access for the community (Nelson, 2000). However, these actions were short-lived, as the race-relations liaison committee had no senior lead and no staff from the council were assigned to manage it; when a recommendation that would enable the council to monitor Black employment in Liverpool was rejected, campaigners from the Black community became dejected over the issue (Nelson, 2000).

Wally Brown, who at the time was part of the Black Caucus, a committee of Black representatives from the community involved in a power struggle with the council for equal rights, argued that Derek Hatton, a member of the militant branch of the Labour party, had been extremely persuasive in restricting the equal opportunities agenda. Belchem (2014: 266) states that "the Black Caucus promptly seized the opportunity to call for the appointment of specialist experts to address the city's deep-seated problems and bring it up to speed but Hatton used his influence to prohibit any form of positive action (or ethnic monitoring) to tackle racial disadvantage and discrimination".

Furthermore, any policies that favoured the Black community in housing, employment and education were circumvented when Derek Hatton and militant came onto the scene (Nelson, 2000). Hatton believed that such policies would lead to one group being favoured over another and that any

racial discrimination within the system would be intensified if race was emphasised (Nelson, 2000). Hatton argued that any policies implemented would favour the working class and thus enable the masses to unite against the ruling classes under the banner of Marxism. As a result of Hatton's actions, the race-relations liaison committee was ineffective in its role. Consequently, the Black Caucus was unable to change the political processes. Therefore, "patterns of policy intransigence on race matters could not be substantially altered" (Nelson, 2000: 182).

Therefore, it can be argued that actions taken, or not taken, by the Local Authority had allowed the problems of race to persist. However, despite the negativity outlined by the Gifford Report (1989), the inquirers did note a number of positive policy implementations by Liverpool City Council after the riots. The internal trawl was terminated by the council (Gifford et al., 1989: 87). By eliminating the system of internal application for all council jobs which had been in existence since 1988, advertisements were now no longer disseminated through a local council-produced newspaper, called the *Liverpool Star* (Gifford et al., 1989:87), as well as job centres and other agencies (Gifford et al., 1989). Despite the inquirers stating that the old system probably amounted to indirect discrimination, as it "favoured existing employees" (Gifford et al., 1989: 87), the report did not address the new system and this issue as the Black community remained excluded. However, Nelson (2000) highlights this issue by stating that the free newspaper provided by the council was not circulated in the Liverpool 8 area. Suppliers of the paper argued that the notorious reputation of the area had prohibited them from venturing into Toxteth. This meant that circulation of the *Liverpool Star* (Gifford et al., 1989:87) would only reach those working within the council, who were predominately White.

Moreover, the council's decision to end the use of nomination rights by trade unions to fill council positions was due to recommendations made by the Gifford inquirers. However, by ending this practice, the Black members of trade unions were dismayed, as the change further hindered the Black community gaining employment with the council (Gifford et al., 1989). The

removal of this policy did not make the process of gaining employment fairer for the Black community but rather prohibited trade unions from nominating their own candidates to fill council vacancies. This was one of the only ways in which Black people were able to obtain employment with the council. One Black representative stated that "management was likely to be more racist in its selection procedures than trade unions in their exercise of their nomination rights" (Gifford et al., 1989: 87). Yet, a number of Black organisations that were involved in the elimination of this policy, such as the National and Local Government's Officers Association (NALGO), disagreed with the Black community's argument and stated that nomination rights were an impediment to the Black community's access to employment with the council. They contended that this policy allowed the council to employ one or two Black people and discriminate against the other 40,000 living in the city.

Though there was effective planning, there were some challenges associated with service implementation. For example, as Gifford et al. (1989) argued, service delivery was still in the process of being worked out and there was an ongoing effort to prepare detailed equal opportunities policy provision. Throughout this period, there remained inquiries into Liverpool's race relations' situation. As Boyle and Charles (2012) indicate, despite the clear evidence of a need for more racial equality, there remained compliance challenges. Boyle and Charles (2012) conducted their research more than 20 years after the Gifford Inquiry. They believe that even after clear recommendations on the need for better Black representation in the public sector and local governance by the Gifford Report (1989), there remained a lack of effort to promote the same. Boyle and Charles (2012) conclude that ethnic statistical data were not an important area of focus for Liverpool City Council. This lack of action shows an unwillingness to work on policy and provisions to reduce institutional racism in Liverpool.

3.5 Methodology of the Gifford Report

The definition used to identify the target group in this study is that applied in Ben-Tovim et al.'s (1992) *Black Youth in Liverpool*. Ben-Tovim et al. (1992) recognised that the respondents in their research were the oldest Black

minority immigrants in Britain. More accurately, the Liverpool-born Black population can be distinguished as any Black person who can cite their place of birth as Liverpool and can also claim to have been raised in Liverpool (Ben-Tovim et al., 1992).

The methodological approach used in the Gifford Report (1989) was a mixed-methods approach. By employing mixed methods, the inquiry members were able to "use a sequential exploratory design, which is characterised by an initial phase of qualitative data collection and analysis followed by a second phase of quantitative data processing" (Robson, 2011: 159). The qualitative data element of the research was gathered by examining previous reports, books, interviews, written submissions of evidence, public inquiries and private conversations. The quantitative aspect was addressed through onsite visits to city council buildings and private-sector companies like Littlewoods, the law courts and city-centre stores. Also, head counts of staff were undertaken in city-centre stores and in the law courts according to race and ethnicity. By using this type of approach, the inquirers were able to use primary statistical information along with personal experience to enhance the study. Gifford et al. (1989) asserted that the inquiry had employed different methods to gather information from different classes and sects of people. This type of approach is beneficial for researchers who are trying to capture all elements of data available on a topic and is an approach I considered in this research on a smaller scale.

During the inquiry, Gifford et al. (1989) first applied the two approaches separately, making sure that the data gathered would work in unison and comprise both subjective and empirical material. However, some limitations of their methodological approach can be identified; for example, when the inquirers did head counts in the law courts and city-centre stores, no information is provided on how exactly this quantitative approach was implemented. In addition, the report does not shed light on how participants were identified as Black citizens. It is unknown whether this happened during the head counts or whether the inquirers spoke to them separately afterwards. Therefore, some limitations can be identified in the study.

Additionally, many social scientists like Robson (2011) argue that in order to claim validity during a head count of this type, sequential repetition is required to produce authentic results and take into account any variations. Since Gifford et al., (1989) did not repeat their head counts on separate occasions, accuracy and validity issues exist.

3.5.1 Theoretical Position

The theoretical approach applied in the Gifford Report (1989) is a grounded theory approach. Grounded theory is an approach developed by Glaser and Strauss (1967) which enables researchers to comment on the theory of a study once the data have been analysed (Denscombe, 2011). This type of approach was originally employed during the Gifford Inquiry and is key to this research. During the Gifford Inquiry in 1989, investigators followed the Marxist approach to research methods. For instance, as Soares et al. (2013) argue, the Marxist approach to research advocates that to know reality it is essential to understand the essence of the problem under study. Marx concludes that there is no neutrality in science and that access to knowledge requires better awareness of a subject's social standing (Little, 2007). Additionally, Marx's approach to research holds that by defending natural sciences and positivism, one could imprison reality. The employment of natural science methods in the social world could present a fragmented view of the problem. Therefore, Marxism consists of flexible resources wherein what is seen as an expression as reality is not static but is historical and is constantly evolving (Song, 2005). Inquirers waited until they had collected enough data from the community that was being studied and then analysed and recorded their findings accordingly. By carrying out empirical work in the field and then analysing the data to see whether the view of the Black community on racial discrimination in Liverpool being rife was true, they were able to report their findings within a nine-day period. No prior assumptions or frameworks were made, and multiple methods of data collection were made use of to overcome the potential limitations of any single methodology.

However, there were challenges in addressing inherent issues of regeneration, as well as opportunity losses to members of the Black

community. While economic decline may begin with job losses, the resulting population loss and decline in spending power soon led to the disappearance of other amenities crucial to community life. As in most poor areas, the flight of local shops, banks and other services meant not only that access was more difficult, but also that the poor ended up paying more (Jones et al., 2014). This aspect, however, was only discussed in a limited manner in the report. Additionally, the report did not highlight infrastructure issues. For example, Pendlebury (2008) contends that the major challenge faced by Toxteth was that there was a lack of sufficient transport schemes, and that—especially late in the evening—bus services became less frequent. The extent of commercial and economic activity in such areas is very little. From being a successful multicultural commercial shopping area in the early 1960s, the location lost its post office and other shops that sold specialised items. When the Gifford Report (1989) was commissioned, the official revamping plans did not include any street-upgrading or commercial activity in that area.

As Pendlebury (2008) argues, if the Gifford Report (1989) was characterised as an opportunity to improve regeneration initiatives in Liverpool, its view (implicit or explicit) was of poor communities that were considered deficient and defective. The report assumes a lack of capacity and hence the need to build it as the heart of the problem. Whether through apathy, a lack of education and skills, the absence of social and support networks, or the loosely defined threat of ‘antisocial behaviour’, there have been challenges in understanding the links between years of institutional racism and its implications for the social wellbeing of members of the Liverpool community. Most of the conclusions and recommendations arrived at by the report are dependent on a view that is either explicit or implicit among poor people, who are considered to be either defective or deficient.

Another challenge that remained unaddressed in the report is that while it identified the need for the Liverpool community to forget its slave history, the lack of discussion of its coloured past remained unanswered. The report did not address how this systematic discrimination might have long-term

implications. Slavery and its impact were discussed but with limited discussion of 'ownership' of the slave trade. Additionally, the lack of retail growth in the streets of Toxteth and the funding-related implications of this institutional racism are little discussed. Denscombe (2011) claims that it is better to establish theories on the foundation offered by empirical data and slowly build on general assumptions that stem from the data. This approach of grounded theory either allows theories to be presented with sufficient proof or leads to a new discussion of the topic. To perform this type of analysis, Gifford et al. (1989) initiated this process from a neutral standpoint by listening and documenting what people had struggled through and endured in the final report. As I will replicate the employment element of the Gifford Report (1989), I will begin the process with an open mind, like the Gifford inquirers. This will enable me to analyse the data without preconceived ideas and be open to the process of discovering new findings (Denscombe, 2011).

3.5.2 Other Limitations of the Report

One of the main limitations of the study is that Liverpool city council allocated funding to the inquiry in order to find a solution to the problem. However, the recommendations made to the council that could have changed policies and practices within the city for the Black community for the better were completely disregarded by the funders. While the Gifford Report (1989) made recommendations, the role of the inquirers was just to investigate and leave. Accountability was left to the council; whose previous track record was one of examination but not implementation. This proved to be the case following the Gifford Report (1989). By not implementing and monitoring the recommendations made, the report was left open to become another lame-duck account of employment in Liverpool, similar to previous reports by the Merseyside Area Profile group (1983) and the evidence submitted to the Parliamentary Home Affairs Committee in 1980, a view which Boyle and Charles (2012) reinforced 20 years later in their work on Black employment in schools.

An article in the Liverpool Echo (2014) highlights the issue of documents produced by the local council being hidden from the public. The article

mentions how an event that would have produced a commissioned report on whether it was better to have an elected mayor in Liverpool “was cancelled” (2014: 1). Although Liverpool city council had funded the report, the authors of this research were warned about sharing their observations and inferences with the public or media, as the content might be a threat to the mayor’s position, which eventually resulted in a face-off between the council’s senior management team and the University itself about the report’s content (Liverpool Echo, 2014: 1).

Another limitation of the report concerns the time frame allowed. The time allocated to the inquiry was nine months, which the inquirers themselves highlight as a limitation of the study, as the scope of work to be covered far outweighed the allocated time. The inquiry looked into a wide range of areas, from local council departments of education, housing and health to policing, private-sector employment, legal services and religious orders. Additionally, Sami (2011), in his report on local authorities, asserts that with the stipulated time frames linked to some studies and the complex nature of the budget, there is very little opportunity to occupy someone for some time (2011: 3).

Thus, the chapter on employment does not provide a list of the locations of employers within Liverpool during this period and concentrates on issues around developing training and how to engage with employment agencies for the Black community. The inquirers themselves use data collected from a Merseyside Area Manpower Board report produced in 1985, three years before the inquiry. The board investigated unemployment in Liverpool and argued that the Black community was invisible in the city, as no one could pinpoint where they worked. By relying on others for data, which the inquirers did not have time to verify, this left the conclusions open to scrutiny. An easy approach, which the inquirers could have adopted, would have been to conduct a sample survey and use this data to inform their process.

Furthermore, the inquirers received responses from fewer than half of the private-sector employers they approached. This illustrates the lack of compliance with the task at hand and is itself an important finding of the report. By refusing to engage in this process the private-sector employers

were well aware that no consequences or sanctions would come from this course of action and that their working partnerships with the city would also not be affected, as Liverpool city council, when it came to the collection of equal-opportunities data, had far greater issues with compliance throughout the process as a public body.

3.6 Legacy of the Gifford Report

The legacy left by the Gifford Report (1989) was a city deeply immersed in racial division at a local and political level (Belchem, 2014). For the Black community in Liverpool, the Gifford Report (1989) highlighted, for the first time on a national scale, the extent of the problem (Frost and Phillips, 2011). The findings of this report highlight the lack of diversity in the council and its departments. They also illustrate how White dominance in the council deterred and acted as a barricade to Black political movement, engagement and progression in Liverpool (Nelson, 2000). For Liverpool city council, the best way to deny that racism existed for the Black community was to enact the 53 recommendations outlined in the report. By endorsing these recommendations, they believed that the issues of equality, service distribution and access for the Black community would be addressed (Nelson, 2000:179). However, as this study focuses on examining the key area of employment, nine recommendations were made in the Gifford Report (1989), which I will now revisit to see whether progress has been made.

For Nelson (2000), the Gifford Report (1989) encouraged Liverpool city council to make the changes required to remove the barriers that prevented the Black community from obtaining employment in Liverpool. Nelson (2000) argues that the council's efforts to tackle this issue are illustrated by the establishment of a central race unit within its major departments. Race units were one of the main recommendations made by the Gifford Report (1989) and they were established within employment, housing and education in the early 1990s. In addition, the Gifford inquirers recommended that all meetings of the race committee be chaired by the council leader in order for decisions to be made quickly by the council's leading authority. However, whether this recommendation was implemented is hard to verify, Nelson (2000) claims

that any reforms proposed by the race-relations liaison committee died a painful death, as the council was interested in making symbolic gestures rather than important changes.

Nelson (2000) claims that given the lack of decision-making power among the council, the race units took on the role of buffers, thus giving an illusion of representation without using the power linked to the implementation of policies. In addition to the central race unit, the inquirers recommended positive action training as a way of increasing representation in the council. Through positive action- training, the Gifford (1989) inquirers believed that Liverpool city council would be better positioned to reach the 10 per cent Black-employment recommendation quota outlined in the final report. Nelson (2000) further contends that application of the positive-action tool by the council was a step to convince those private employers who collaborated in business ventures with the council to add new initiatives on equal opportunities to their compliance contracts. These initiatives by the council did display compliance with the Gifford inquirers' report (1989) and increased the expectations of the Black community that Liverpool was finally moving towards being an equal opportunities employer in the public and private sectors. However, despite its introduction, Nelson (2000) argues that positive action training had limited impact. This was due to the fact that the positive action agenda was implemented as a training initiative rather than a way for the Black community to gain employment. All positive action trainees who were recruited were given training within council departments, and once this had ended, no employment was provided with the council. Nelson (2000: 219) concluded that such council policies did not have the right provisions. Therefore, they were unable to guarantee the workers a job after their training sessions. Many of these workers were put back on a government benefit scheme.

Other recommendations outlined in the Gifford Report (1989) relating to employment centred on private employers in the area, such as the National Westminster Bank recruiting Black staff in their Princess Road branch located in Liverpool 8. By recruiting Black staff in the branch, the Gifford

inquirers (1989) believed that this would develop community relations with the bank, as many of its users were from the Black community and this would also be an example for other employers pursuing equal opportunities. However, as the bank has since closed, it is hard to determine whether this proposal was initiated and followed.

The last recommendation by the Gifford inquirers (1989) related to the local council providing more funding to local agencies who assisted the Black community in finding employment. These agencies included South Liverpool Personnel, the Charles Woolton Centre and the Liverpool 8 Law Centre. They were described by the Gifford et al. (1989) as vital agencies providing a lifeline to the Black community seeking employment, training and legal assistance. Nonetheless, by 2012 funding for all these agencies had seized making them obsolete, as their dependence" on part of government agencies to selectively defund non-profit Black community organisations, and the dependence of these organisations on such funding, has severely limited the utility of non-profit organisations as sources of political strength for the Black community in Liverpool" (Nelson, 2000: 279).

The views on the Gifford Report (1989) therefore have been mixed. Some authors conclude that the report was essential in bringing to focus the challenges of racism in the city and acted as a basis for race relations improvement and public sector employment improvement (e.g. Nelson, 2000). However, as Christian (2008) concludes, in Liverpool since the 1960s there has been a long line of regeneration initiatives whose role has been to alleviate the Black challenges. The only people who benefitted from these stop-start piecemeal projects have been the bureaucrats. Christian (1995) concluded that the Gifford Report (1989) was one such challenge, which did not take into account the needs of such stakeholders.

In the aftermath of the Gifford Report (1989), there have been specific socio-economic regeneration plans, which have been initiated via the European Commission (EC) and the Single Regeneration Budget (SRB) agencies. These involve partnership strategies between Liverpool City Council and private sector and voluntary organisations. Liverpool was considered to have

the Objective One status as the city was found to lag behind the rest of the country with regard to addressing socio-economic challenges and social exclusion. The goal of the Objective One plan, launched after the Gifford Report (1989), was predominantly to design and forge social inclusion policies for Black people across Liverpool. Expanding on the views of the Gifford Report (1989), this plan contended that forging social inclusion for Black people can help train them for long-term employment options and provide better education. Some of the key areas targeted include Granby and Toxteth (Ben-Tovin et al., 1992). However, a challenge with these initiatives was the dependence on the voluntary sector to implement policies. Restrictions of budget and limited local government engagement reduced the efficacy of these projects. Redevelopment in the Council led to agencies that aided the Black community in finding employment closing due to lack of funding (Clay, 2008). Belchem (2014) argues that the most progressive outcome after the Gifford (1989) Report was the work of these NGO organisations, which pressurised Liverpool City Council into commissioning the Gifford Inquiry in 1989. Without these organisations, the voice of the Black community might never have been heard. However, by 2014, these organisations had closed their doors due to Liverpool City Council cutting their funding. Therefore, there was limited opportunity for continued assessment of views.

Christian (2008) further questioned the effectiveness of this regeneration strategy as many Black communities were not provided with systematic empowerment. Christian (2008) concludes that welfare and regeneration projects only work when socio-cultural perspectives and ideas have been established and efforts are made to address the intellectual, social and psychological needs of such Black individuals. Christian (1998), in his assessment of Black employment in Liverpool, conclude that the success of regeneration programmes was called into question as no systematic efforts were made to listen to questions surrounding power and authority issues faced by the community. As Gordon (2001: p. 12) contends, this silence across the UK is a “social construct, critical to maintaining the societal taboo around . . . racism in British society”. Empowerment can be achieved only

when resistance and agency are present to rupture the institutionalisation of conventional and accepted practices, which systematically work against them. Therefore, while efforts were made to bring about regeneration to areas of high poverty, the lack of focused empowerment and agency to the Black community was one of the reasons why there was no significant change in employment opportunities after the Gifford Report (1989) was published.

3.7 Policy and Provisions after the Gifford Report

3.7.1 Policy Efforts to Address Gifford's Concerns: Failures in Provision

The regeneration of Liverpool since the 1980 riots, and subsequently the fall in manufacturing and shipping, is considered as an era of restructuring in the region (Middlemas, 1990). Despite this resilience, there are arguments to be made that an ethnicity-linked labour impact is observed not only in Liverpool but also across the UK. In the aftermath of the Gifford Report (1989), efforts were made to reduce the lack of representation of ethnic minorities, especially the Black population, in positions of power and negotiation. This resulted in a rise in democratisation of the unions in Liverpool, with member pressure driving changes. There were efforts to seek proliferation and formalisation of local-level bargaining for industrial relations. Democratically elected shop steward committees were established and empowered, where the goal was to enhance the representation of all ethnicities (Jones, 1986). However, despite this approach, the efforts worked better in the context of other unions, including manufacturing, rather than unions in the port, where most Black people were employed. As Phillips (1999) reported, though democracy was accepted as a norm, the ability of ethnic minorities, especially Black people, to gain positions of leadership was limited as the White majority often outvoted them.

Goodman (1979) expanded on the challenges faced by the Black community in Liverpool and argued that although there were policy efforts to address employment opportunities in multicultural Britain, there remain limited provisions to actually reduce the impact of racism. The interventionist policy

adopted by Liverpool city council to reduce occupational segregation remained more of a policy initiative, which had no clear provisional opportunities (Modood and Berthoud, 1996). Persons (1999) also argues that two types of problems were distinguished. The first was the negative response of the majority of the White population to the competition addressed by Black workers in the labour and housing markets. The second was that there was frustration among Black workers who felt that they were excluded from equal participation as a result of a colour bar in the labour and housing markets. Both these issues were perceived to be potential sources of conflict (Modood et al., 1997).

Jewson and Mason (1986) concluded that researchers and practitioners do not concur on what they term equality of opportunity and racial equality. They contend that efforts made to increase employment opportunities for ethnic minorities were geared more towards simple employment policies. The development of equal opportunity policies and provisions was limited. As Young and Connelly (1981) rightly remark, pressure-group policies and bureaucratic policy-making resulted in a focus on specific employment opportunities without addressing the needs of other areas, including education and health. Equal opportunities in the context of Liverpool became a symbolic political action, which did little to bring about major changes in discrimination or actual changes in the level of unemployment (Solomos, 1989).

Among people, institutions and social systems, racism functions and percolates within various overlapping and interrelated sections of society. As a result, a multi-level method is necessary to tackle racial discrimination (Abbot, 1971). Since systemic racism is the primary propagator of interpersonal and incorporated racism, it is important to deal with racism not just at the individual level but also at the systemic level. As racism can take place systemically, as well as between individuals, multi-level methods to tackle racism are essential in workplaces. The probability of coming up with sustainable results is higher with mutually reinforcing strategies, as a multi-level method to anti-racism works well with them. Various assertions of

racism, including beliefs, attitudes and behaviours, are not always consistent and thus multi-strategy techniques to tackle racial discrimination are advocated. Therefore, multiple expressions of racism will probably be handled better using multi-strategy approaches. Techniques to accelerate cognitive, emotional and behavioural transformations are part of such approaches. As Gifford et al. (1989) argue, exclusive and single programmes conducted over a shorter span are said to be less productive and unsustainable compared to anti-racism techniques that are embedded into the intervention setting and conducted over longer periods of time.

In the context of Liverpool, Persons (1999) concluded that the experiences of the Black community could only be addressed via a systemic approach that addressed needs at various levels. Blacks in Liverpool experienced a unique form of racism, as they were not a primary immigrant community. The lack of efforts to pursue equal opportunities through education, employment and entrepreneurship was reflected in continued issues of racist implications for employment. There was no professional class in the community as they were systematically denied opportunities for higher education and professional training (Gifford et al., 1989). Persons (1999) concluded that this situation persisted with no multi-level efforts made to improve the quality of life for members of the Black community.

This trend seems to have persisted not only in Liverpool but across the UK. Findings by JRF (2015) show that between 1991 and 2011 three censuses were conducted which elaborately explain how labour-market participation and ethnicity have developed. According to research by Nazroo (2014), several ethnic minority groups continually face labour-market inequalities. For instance, with the exception of Indian men, increasing numbers of labour-market participants were White men and not men from other ethnic groups. This was during the years between 1991 and 2011 (JRF, 2015). According to the census in 2011, 90 per cent of men of working age, either with jobs or looking for jobs, between the ages of 25 and 49, were classified as Indian, White Irish, White British or other White men. In contrast, the population of Arab, White Gypsy or Irish immigrant men in the workforce was lower than 70

per cent. The rates of unemployment varied hugely across ethnic groups in 2011. While among White British only one in 17 between the ages of 25 and 49 was unemployed, this was skyrocketing for Other Black groups, where one in five remained unemployed. A similar trend persisted with Black African, Irish traveller, White Gypsy, Black Caribbean and Mixed White and Black Caribbean, where one in six men was unemployed (JRF, 2015).

There was an overall decrease in the rate of unemployment for men in this age group within all ethnic groups between 1991 and 2001, and there was minimal change in this rate between 2001 and 2011. Pakistani and Bangladeshi men benefitted from this change in the rate of unemployment as compared to White men whose employment rate was just one and a half times higher now as compared to three times higher previously. Nevertheless, this was not because the high rate of unemployment disappeared but because there was a surge in part-time employment opportunities for these ethnic groups. However, this did nothing to change the high rate of unemployment among the Black African and Black Caribbean population (Nazroo, 2014).

The drawbacks for several ethnic groups have persisted even though the rate of unemployment has been steadily falling. One group that has been facing high employment disparities in relation to White women is Black Caribbean women who have less than half the opportunities. An increasing number of part-time employment opportunities for ethnic minorities has contributed to narrowing the unemployment gap. In 2011, most men probably had part-time jobs as compared to the statistics in 1991. Thus, there has been a continuation of ethnic disparities in labour-market participation. White groups have a distinct advantage as several ethnic minorities are still not economically active and continue to face high rates of unemployment (JRF, 2015). In the same report, it was observed that Liverpool had the highest number of unemployed Black people, with 23.09 per cent of the population facing high unemployment rates. It had the second highest unemployment rates for selected ethnic groups of the BME community in 2011 (JRF, 2015).

Black employment in the 1970s and 1990s remained a challenge in Liverpool. The primary reason for the same was attributed to a lack of opportunities for

skilled training (Roberts et al., 1994). Ben-Tovim (1989) also contends that there are broad contributing influences, which caused this increased level of unemployment, including lack of access to education and healthcare, as well as limited exposure. Brown (2009) also concluded that there was Black vertical segregation present, with young ethnic minority respondents being considered less ideal at every single grade of employment despite the presence of anti-discrimination laws. Ethnic minority people in Liverpool continued to hold low status jobs and, more importantly, were often found to be early school leavers. There was discouragement that gaining education does not lead to the right employment. The presence of systemic racial disadvantage meant that many young people did not decide to take up higher education.

The need for systematic analysis of labour needs has been acknowledged in literature. For example, Roberts et al. (1992) concluded that the labour market is stratified or segmented, and this segmentation causes major challenges to disadvantaged communities, including Black communities. Essentially, Connolly and Torkington (2006) contend that stratification involves the idea that freedom of entry/exit in specific industries/occupations can be limited to people who are from socio-economically disadvantaged backgrounds. This is engendered by factors including attitude, range of information access, contact, qualification needs and training needs, as well as the health and wellbeing of communities. The stratification of the labour market is essential to minority communities, as they may face the most challenges in terms of entry ports to career options, especially with respect to the use of specific apprenticeship systems. Though there are systems in place to encourage equal access, there is a disproportionate number of Black youths who fail to gain admission to entry ports and may find themselves permanently excluded from long-term growth providing occupational structures. These individuals are often confined to unemployment and secondary occupations.

3.8 Current Implications and Relevance: Focus on Spatial Inequality

Another aspect that can help to explain the continued presence of employment challenges in Liverpool is spatial inequality. Quite a few theories and considerable factual information regarding the physical distribution of

inequalities have surfaced in recent years. The focus has shifted towards concerns such as quality of life (Higgins et al., 2014), where earlier only economic measures were considered. Moreover, the growing gap between spatial and social inequalities is being carefully documented. The marginalisation and peripheralisation of particular groups of people or areas in Liverpool points towards the prevalent issue of growing spatial inequalities. Wei (2015) conducted a detailed review focusing on the spatiality of income inequality, which has been the focus of several newly developed theories in order to better describe spatial inequalities.

The inequalities among places and the distinct characteristics of people and places are the main areas of focus in this growing field of knowledge. The proliferation of socio-spatial inequalities has been described by Van Kempen and Marcuse (1997) with regard to four important processes: the transformational nature of economic activities; demographic shifts due to migration; racism and xenophobia; and the shift in the state's role in delivering welfare services. Based on the political, historical and socioeconomic features of geographic areas, there will be differences in the spatial manifestation of these processes. The embedding of social structure into space underlies segregation, which is associated with exclusion methods in general society (Cassiers and Kesteloot, 2012).

The continued socioeconomic differences between ethnic minorities and majorities (Massey, 2001) are closely associated with another facet, which is the spatial divide between ethnic groups. However, spatial inequality has been addressed in a different fashion in this paper—among groups, how within-place disparities are spatially dispersed inside a country. As compared to the White British population and their socioeconomic conditions in different contexts, the focus will be on ethnic minorities and their experiences with employment, housing, education and health-related services. We can develop a greater understanding of spatial and ethnic inequalities and their inherent processes by assessing the spatial differences of ethnic minorities and their transformation over a given period.

According to studies, for instance, men from ethnic minority groups in Liverpool face a greater net disadvantage in the labour market as they often live in some of the most deprived areas of the city. Similarly, evidence shows that amongst ethnic minorities, poor health has continued to be an issue and underprivileged neighbourhoods see disproportionately large populations of minorities. In the 1990s until the early 2000s, with regard to education, a distinct disadvantage in GCSE attainment was evident among Black students in Liverpool. Of late, youngsters from ethnic minority groups, such as Indian, Bangladeshi and Pakistani, have witnessed considerable progress in terms of educational qualifications, but a similar trend is not observed in the Black population. Despite this, distinct and continuous ethnic inequalities exist within several domains in the UK (Jivraj and Simpson, 2015).

There is no direct answer to the question of the relationship between ethnic diversity or distribution and inequalities. Liverpool displays ethnic inequalities in high proportions, but so do lesser known parts of the country that lack such ethnic diversity. As Meegan (2003) argues, though ethnic diversity has been a part of the Liverpool experience for many years, there remain major challenges of political and social cohesion in the region. The negative outcomes of area deprivation probably mask the advantages of ethnic diversity that we think might exist (Becares et al., 2009). In former industrial and manufacturing areas that have witnessed economic downturns over many years, as well as in underprivileged parts of Liverpool, ethnic health and unemployment inequalities are harshly experienced, especially in Toxteth (Christian, 1998).

Discrepancies in the requirements of various minority groups and the services provided are the second explanation that is given for within-district ethnic inequalities. Proof of the extreme drawbacks within ethnic minorities can be clearly seen in relation to housing, in the three-generation household trend that shows cultural inclinations (Berthoud, 2000b) and persistent multi-adult households (Catney and Simpson, 2014), along with a lack of accommodation to satisfy a larger population of minorities. In addition, housing disadvantages may be partly caused by the increasing cost of houses for ethnic minorities. This is found to be particularly prevalent in Liverpool. With increased rents and

house prices, as well as unusually high levels of social and private renting compared to other parts of the country, the Liverpool Black community has seen significant issues of housing inequalities (Small, 1991). Brown (2009) contends that White ethnic minorities are less likely to face employment inequalities than Blacks, Asians and other mixed groups. In the context of workplace practices or recruitment in relation to ethnic minorities, the existence of bias and racial discrimination plays a major role apart from the disparities between requirements and services provided (Evandrou, 2000). The presence of potential housing inequalities indicates that there are limited opportunities for members to work within their communities. This results in significant travel by members of the Black community, which, in turn, can lead to reduced employment opportunities (Small, 1991).

It is evident that in order to counter inequalities faced by specific groups, special local interventions are required. The White Other group specifically those located in coastal and rural areas can be efficient recipients of interventions to enhance educational attainment (Nelson, 2000). The pertinence of the disparities between ethnic minorities among new immigrants and well-settled ethnic minority groups is realised by the socioeconomic drawbacks of the White Other group, especially when comprehending and handling local ethnic inequalities such as housing and education. The provision of extra resources in schools, such as teaching English in coastal and rural areas, could be a way to counter ethnic education inequalities (Lymperopoulou and Finney, 2017).

3.9 Community Relations and Employment Challenges after the Gifford Report – Action Forward

Over the years, much has been written about the inherent contradictions involved in the balancing of racially specific controls on immigration with measures against discriminatory practice. However, since the 1960s, there have been increased efforts to understand community relation-driven efforts to improve the quality of employment opportunities available to Blacks in Liverpool. For instance, to address these multi-level challenges, efforts were made to increase education and healthcare opportunities across Liverpool.

The Charles Wooten Centre for Further Education was established in the 1970s in the Toxteth area. At the same time, Falkner Housing projects evolved to provide opportunities to improve access to Black residents and thus address inequality. Community level action was needed to protect both these institutions and improve the quality of life in the region.

To address the challenges of racial inequality, government reforms and regulations are essential. In order to entrust power to UK counties, regions and cities, the existing government policy of localism could offer different areas a chance to acknowledge the population's dynamics. Moreover, local comprehension can be enhanced by the proof in this paper. Nonetheless, it is not enough to just have local initiatives. For instance, focusing on issues of youth employability, bringing in affordable housing and addressing supply problems could be tackled by national policies that are better equipped to deal with employment and housing inequalities. The basis for anti-discrimination and equality is also best laid by national policy, which is able to deal with employer discrimination, which is probably a major factor contributing to local ethnic inequalities (Lymperopoulou and Finney, 2017).

However, Braham et al. (1992) contend that this largely comprised community-level initiatives, with no effort to address employment options, improve community engagement and create better relationships between employers and the community. There was, for instance, no focus on an available and unambiguous equality and diversity policy along with training activities. Small (1991) concludes that although the Gifford Report (1989) identified a clear lack of opportunities for the Black population, no efforts were made to identify an indisputable and clear zero-tolerance attitude towards racism.

A challenge that exists in existing policy implementation in Liverpool is the lack of annual assessment in the aftermath of the Liverpool report. There were no efforts to conduct annual reviews to gauge development in the Toxteth area, or efforts dedicated to removing racial inequality in the labour market. Particularly in situations where racism is known to be prevalent and inculcated in workplace practices, reviews did not include inspections.

Furthermore, traces of racial inequality were not evaluated in relation to recruitment practices, promotions, pay and bonuses. This challenge faced by ethnic minorities extends to date with evidence from the 2011 census identifying relevant findings. The next chapter presents a relevant review of the literature and ascertains the theoretic framework for this study.

Chapter 4

Literature Review

4.1 Introduction

Globally, the rise of populist nationalism across various locations in the developed world testifies to the resurgence of fears regarding immigration policies and the renewed power of racism (Falk et al., 2011). Recent global events, including the 2016 American election and Brexit anti-immigrant sentiment, increase the importance and structured need to understand racism and its impact on society (Bhatt, 2016). This has led to renewed arguments about the potential impact of racism on various sectors, including healthcare (Karlsen and Nazroo, 2002; Becares et al., 2009), education (Cole, 2011; Gillborn, 2008), employment and others (Kosny et al., 2017; Jones et al., 2014). The focus of this research is on racism, with a key focus on the implications for the labour market and employment. Thornton and Luker (2010) argue that the modern state remains a racial state based on the global history of colonialism and racial heterogeneity that arose from global integration in the wake of the Second World War. The ongoing presence of such racism has continued to be discussed by authors. Caselli and Coleman (2013) argue that there is an increase in the propensity for prejudice during periods of economic downturn due to an increase in competition for scarce resources. Smith (2012) further argues that given the potential counter-cyclic nature of racism within the context of employment, there can be major challenges to the development of ideal policies to deal with these issues.

Scarcity and conflict have been proposed as major causation factors for racism within the context of employment. Frijters (1998) argues that potential job uncertainty and scarcity could result in groups of individuals forming coalitions based on observed recognisable characteristics, including race. This leads to the presence of racism when there is a rise in the challenges posed by a wage gap, lack of employment security and major issues with earning a living wage. Smith (2012) further supports this argument with the

view that, from a social-identity perspective, people favour members of their own group over members of other ones. The author concludes that understanding the basis of such prejudice involves understanding inherent discriminatory attitudes which may have evolved over time. This literature review addresses the theoretical basis of the study by looking at definitions of racism and theoretical arguments linked to various levels of racism conceptualisation. Furthermore, theories linked to racism from a perspective of employment and the labour market are identified. Caselli and Coleman (2013) argue that there could be implications for ethnic conflict, and the evolution of members of a group and the growth of multiculturalism from a national and regional perspective could also result in group membership and exclusion. The authors conclude from a theory of competition for scarce resources that addressing the evolution of multicultural societies and the history of racism would help better understand current requirements in the labour market. In line with this view, this research will identify the evolution of racism and its history in the UK, as well as the localised importance ascribed to racism.

4.2 Defining Racism

Dubois (1909) saw colour as an important aspect of twentieth-century society and this was carried forward into the twenty-first century by two trends, primarily. These are racial inequality, fanned by social structures that stress discrimination and disadvantages, and the strength of race in driving movements and politics into fatal conditions, such as that in Eastern Europe after the demise of the Soviet Union (Modood and Werbner, 1997). Wood (2006) states that the beginning of the millennium saw a surge in the importance attributed to ethnicity and race, while topics such as class and other social inequalities took a back seat.

Although the origin of race is biological, its social connotations are popularly recognised, as stated by Rattansi and Westwood (1994). There are no clear and definitive definitions of ethnicity, racism or related terms. Winant (2016) states that race continues to have an influential role in creating and maintaining social structures in spite of the vagueness of the concept.

Explaining this situation falls into the hands of theorists (Song, 2017). As an analytical concept, race is significant because of two main factors: physical attributes, such as appearance and colour, that cause differences in society, and the idea of race and its differences ingrained in discourses and resold as facts, thereby imitated by society as the way in which societal order must be racialised.

The concepts of race and ethnicity share certain characteristics and function in tandem, even though they have arisen from different historical, intellectual, social and political backgrounds (Brown, 2000). For instance, certain circumstances gave rise to race and ethnicity based on people's location, along with other social markers like gender, class, etc., which impact on individuals' lives (Knowles et al., 2009). Consequently, 'race' and 'ethnicity' are often used interchangeably as testimony to the challenging relationship between them and the tendency to compare race's biological traits with ethnicity's cultural aspects (Gunaratnam, 2003). Hall (2000) extends support to the two-way relationship between the concepts: biological racism, although it leads to social and cultural differences, uses markers like skin colour. Therefore, the biological aspect may be indirect but never completely absent from discussions of ethnicity. The significance of ethnicity makes its traits look fixed, inscribed in a group and transmitted through generations. This is characterised by education, culture and biological inheritance, extending to kinship and endogamous marriages that ensure the cultural and genetic strength of ethnic groups.

Miles (1993) contends that race needs to be understood as an idea and that the idea of race as a historic reality uses the notion of racialisation (i.e. false categorisation of people into specific dominant and dominated groups) to understand underlying power and authority issues. Racialisation in history has been historically and geographically specific. The British Empire considered the concept of racism as a science. For instance. Hunt (1863), in his famous argument in 'On the Negro's Place in Nature', argues that:

> *It is generally taught that the Negro only differs from the European in the colour of his skin and the peculiarity of his hair,*

> *but such opinions are not supported by facts. The skin and hair are by no means the only characters which distinguish the Negro from the European, even physically; and the difference is greater, mentally and morally than the demonstrated physical difference (Hunt, 1863, p. 53).*

Hunt's belief, and that of other anthropologists during that period, was that Black people did not have the right cognitive capabilities and that their capacity to become civilised was limited. He argued that even if given opportunities, they would be unable to progress.

Abbas (2017) supported this view with the notion that discontented natives in colonies were barbarians and that it was the European mission to rout and manage them before it resulted in significant threats to the European way of life. These arguments were based on socio-imperialist views, where all classes were drawn together in defence of the nation and the empire (Williams, 1985). As Semmel (1962) argued, social imperialism formed the basis of racism to differentiate the 'white' from the 'non-white'. The author concluded that social imperialist trends were designed with the goal of drawing all classes together in order to defend the nation and the empire against external threats. As Modood and Werbner (1997) contend, racial difference was framed as a concept which helped in protecting the 'British identity'.

Since then, the notion of race and racism has evolved across different contexts. For instance, Pumfrey (2017) concludes that racism and race relations can be discussed in the context of history and identity. Hanley (2016), on the other hand, contend that racism and its influence can be discussed on the basis of overall impact on the society and its contribution to socioeconomic inequalities. In this context, Back (2017) contends that the plurality of differences needs to be understood if the end goal is to ensure racial equality. The assertion of equal options in the face of differences forms the basis of responses to race relations. As Hall (2000) concludes, the emergence of new ethnicities, communities, regions and genders requires the constant reassessment of racial relations across this country. Hall (1996)

welcomes the contemporary flowering of ethnic differences as an expression of evolving communities and not just social discord. He concludes that such new ethnicities act as a “non-coercive and a more diverse conception of ethnicity, to set against the embattled, hegemonic conception of ‘Englishness’ which ... stabilises so much of the dominant political and cultural discourses” (Hall, 1996, p. 444).

Racist definitions in this context need to address the plurality of perceptions where the heterogeneity or diversity amongst people of a specific colour needs to be acknowledged. Racism and its challenges, therefore, need to be addressed on the basis of gender, religion and social class to help understand the inherent challenges that different groups of people within a given race face (Frost, 2015).

A commonly ignored fact is that not all groups within a unique culture and who are minorities may be labelled as, or feel like, ethnic minorities or Black. In certain places in the UK, especially in England, groups that are known as ethnic minorities are actually in the majority, including Indian (e.g. Birmingham) and Black minorities (e.g. Toxteth) (Picco, 2016). However, none of this is without ambiguity and it is tough to label diverse communities definitively. This review of literature argues that though in some locations ethnic minority groups (e.g. Black minorities and South Asian minorities) may have a majority in terms of population representation, in the context of racial discrimination discourses, they continue to constitute ethnic minorities. As Heath and Cheung (2007) argue, ethnic stratification based on ascriptive factors including ethnicity and social origin can continue to create challenges of equal representation in the labour market. Therefore, this literature review argues that the debate on definition could be better handled by accepting the extensive and rich implications regarding the context in question

4.3 Race, Racism and Racialisation

4.3.1 Critical Race Theory and Racial Capital

Systematic forces that have been partial to minorities, often in relation to recognition and identity, have been a topic of research in several analyses of

race and ethnicity. Critical race theory is an influencing force that attempts to unearth liberal assumptions of racialised White norms and traditions that are inscribed within Western liberal democracies (Stefancic, 2016). Harris et al. (2012) coined the phrase ‘the racial state’, whereby the authors state that racial perspectives set the tone for the creation of national bodies instead of being dependent on or a partial exception to free-market policies and liberal democracy. Critical race theory emphasises the creation and reproduction of racial privilege by White groups who are often the majority, so that racist connotations related to Whiteness are put under the spotlight (Delgado and Stefancic, 2017), instead of focusing just on isolated ethnics and racial minorities. The extent to which, racial order influences the creation of modern states is recognised here in light of the imperial ambition of Western states and the ever-present hegemony of the ‘global north’ (Bhambra, 2014). The impact of post-structuralism, which provided a strong argument for liberal ‘colour-blind egalitarianism’, has diverted the focus from the consequences of developing economic inequality that have been highlighted by various economists (Stiglitz, 2012). This dilemma is expiated because economists who do such critical work concentrate less on how racial and ethnic inequalities are pushed by continual economic inequalities. With regard to the rise of cultural class analysis, the same issue is encountered (Wayne, 2016). By identifying the impact of cultural and economic capital on promoting differences in social class, this study has seen remarkable success in inculcating class into sociological analysis (Taylor, 2016). Nevertheless, racial inequalities have not been the main area of focus.

Additionally, it has been noted that scholars of ethnic divisions and race and those of cultural class analysis have somewhat similar ways of thinking (Lareau and Horvat, 1999; Wallace, 2017; Naidoo, 2004). Racialisation, racial formation and class formation are concepts with similar issues in which the focus is on traditionally dependent ways of constructing, debating and promoting social boundaries of class, race etc. In order to ascertain powerful cultural, social and political boundaries, this method of thinking is associated with sensitivity to how race is perceived (Wallace, 2017). Instead of highlighting the historical significance of the ways in which social groups are

defined, there is a need to criticise the essentialisation and reification of class and racial groups. The Bourdieusian view stresses that classes are neither structural nor objective but are created through struggles within disputed and varied domains (Sullivan, 2016).

Bourdieu's idea of cultural capital is an essential starting point here (Edgerton and Roberts, 2014). Although it has strengthened the renewal of class analysis, this has not been studied thoroughly with regard to concerns over race and ethnicity. Deep-rooted inequalities in cultural capital exist between experts on cultural capital and the people, which ascribes benefits to those with the preferred cultural traits and disfavours those without them. Even the employment system exhibits these inscribed inequalities, where individuals who feel comfortable at school and have encouraging families obtain better results, giving them the upper hand in the workplace (Edgerton and Roberts, 2014). Given this situation, how racial benefits are linked to cultural capital can be better understood. Hage (2017) made an important statement by explaining how immigrants and minorities are disregarded in the Australian context because of the lurking superiority of Whiteness. Therefore, he views cultural capital as identifying oneself with the culture of the nation and the cultural repertoires of citizenship. Bennett and Toft (2009) provide ample proof of this with several older generations of minorities in the UK who were still uncomfortable with proper British culture that still promotes Christian, White and imperial beliefs. Even with the younger generation, feelings of being excluded and not fitting in exist, although they feel less discriminated against. However, Eurocentric whiteness and the sense of cultural capital may be changing slowly.

Several studies have pointed out that migration, globalisation and the spread of media, especially digital media related to cultural change, have exacerbated cultural divides and fostered major stereotype perpetuation. Lamont (2009) argues that the middle-class taste for cosmopolitanism is not as global as was thought and now incorporates certain forms of whiteness. Therefore, the liberal assumptions made by White cosmopolitans need to be discussed in order to understand the importance of racism. Bennett and Taft

(2009) reveal that young British educated people prefer White media, especially American genres. Despite the cosmopolitan wave, we have quite a way to go before the global cultural scenario equalises; until then, the marginalisation of cultural production from non-White, foreign, capitalist countries will continue. Those who do not have economic or cultural capital may sway towards nationalist reserves as a possible answer to the cosmopolitan restriction of cultural capital. Fligstein (2008) states in his research that the majority of the working class are happy to take up nationalist positions they see as theirs because professionals in Europe are confident functioning within Europe. Prieur and Savage (2011) discuss in their European studies that this standoff between cosmopolitan, privileged people with cultural and economic capital and nationalist, cultural practices and underprivileged ranks is evident across Europe. The Brexit referendum in the UK is testimony to these tensions. This is proof that nationalism can overlap with parts of racism and proliferate in situations where such inequalities already exist. This will allow racism to grow and continue within divisions that possess economic and cultural capital.

4.3.2 Racism and Critical Race Theory: An Employment Perspective

The modern racial state is characterised by the monitoring of ethnicity, criminalising racially discriminated populations and having restricted access to economic wealth and resources. Such outbursts of racism are deeply inscribed based on the nation's political background and are altered based on the type of institution that governs it (Eze, 1997).

Critical race theory (CRT) assumes that racism is endemic and is deeply ingrained both legally and culturally. According to Gillborn, such an endemic view of racism would mean that it extends beyond the crude and obvious acts of race hatred to include more subtle and hidden operations of power where there can be long-term challenges to specific communities. The theory adopts the position that racial inequality emerges from the social, economic and legal differences that white people have created to maintain lite interests in education, healthcare, politics and overall socio-economic growth. Additionally, CRT concludes that through the lens of neutrality, objectivity and

colour-blindness, it is possible to address the impact on racism. Critical race theorists criticise the inability of traditional discourse on racism to understand the complex and comprehensive impact of racism and contend that contextual assessment of the lived life of minorities is essential (Gillborn, 2004).

There are five key notions, which attempt to define the nature of CRT. These include the view that racism is ordinary and not aberrational; that racism can be best understood when there is social construction of underlying views; and that the idea of storytelling and counter-storytelling is important to place racism in context (Fazakarley, 2016). Delgado and Stefanic (2017, p. 73) contend that:

> *…colour blindness will allow us to redress only extremely egregious racial harms, ones that everyone would notice and condemn. But if racism is embedded in our thought processes and social structures as deeply as many critics believe, then the 'ordinary businesses of society - the routines, practices, and institutions that we rely on to effect the world's work - will keep minorities in subordinate positions. Only aggressive, colour-conscious efforts to change the way things are will do much to ameliorate misery.*

CRT increases the comprehension of race as a social element by including the workplace as a place where race can be modified (Cole, 2017). The concept of racial productivity in the workplace is very simple to explain and can be easily analysed by observing how racial statistics change over time and help in the interpretation of various social meanings regarding racism (Guillaume et al., 2017). Historically, Blacks were considered inferior in terms of working in positions normally occupied by Whites. This is further supported by the mindsets of the many who consider that Blacks are good and adept at doing menial jobs. Finally, not all of these workplaces convey the same meaning about the concept of race: for instance, people accept Black professionals but not Black managers to monitor their activities (Triana et al., 2015). This indicates that employees never arrive at a workplace with

preconceived notions of race and racial discrimination. However, after they start work, their racial identities and thoughts on how to treat others tend to take shape and will be moulded by the culture of the workplace and by the institutional values instilled. On the whole, the workplace is not seen as an entity separate from the social framework of race, but rather an integral part of it (Guillaume et al., 2017).

A basic ideology of critical race theory is that racism is a phenomenon observed across various races. This is not to overrule the idea that minorities experience differentiation in a similar way. The main idea here is that racism can impact on any racial group and it is not correct to claim that racism is only towards one race: it can affect various races. In CRT, the basis of racism is the Black/White angle (Smith, 2016). The main drawback of CRT is that it fails to acknowledge the association between immigration and race, or the discrimination of immigration laws based on race. Moreover, most research deals not only with the Black and White paradigm but also with non-Black slavery. Additionally, it can be inferred that this racial discrimination transcends minority groups. The main idea is that one cannot acknowledge partiality in the treatment of any racial group without being concerned about racial minorities' oppression (Delgado and Stefancic, 2017).

Two basic concepts that help in understanding racial subordination are displacement and transference, processes which are related to the social and political background. The transference phenomenon happens when there is a racial aversion towards one specific group which is shifted to another; the displacement phenomenon happens as part of a defence process that leads to the shifting of a negative racial focus from one group to another (Ladson-Billings and Tate, 2016). A classic example of transference was observed in the popular dissent in Plessy v. Ferguson. In this dissent, it is understood that the judge in this case argued strongly against discrimination against Black people and at the same time legalised racial discrimination against people with a Chinese background. The main essence of this dissent was the population's refusal to accept people of other descent and ancestry to become US citizens (Landry, 2016).

The concept of transference in this dissent was to shift punishment of the Chinese that was intended mainly for African-Americans. To understand the dynamics of workplace discrimination, it is important to pay attention to different races and their discrimination. Black people are susceptible to discrimination partly because of pre-existing stereotypes about loyalty, race and national identity. From another angle, this can be understood as the ability of Black people to control their racial status of being associated with criminal activity, challenged mentally and even lazy. Asian-Americans must manage their status of being unreliable and alien to the country (Chou and Feagin, 2015). This implies that non-White employees encounter pressures based on their race to show their willingness and ability to adapt to a workplace filled with Whites. These findings show that there remain major challenges linked to preconceived notions. Although ideas about the paradigm of Black and White match the critiques of popular researchers on this concept should broaden their thinking on anti-discrimination theories to include the experiences of non-Whites (Reich, 2017). This perception also indicates that the discourse should increase the openness of races to understand the way in which non-Whites interact with each other or represent themselves differently and reduce their weaknesses that could present them in a bad light.

CRT in the UK has evolved as an alternative critical perspective to challenge racialised dynamics that exist in the current societal challenges. Cole (2009) concludes that existing critical lenses on racism in the UK have been inconsistent in defining the Black experience and racial dynamics. Gillborn (2005) further argues that marginalisation of Blacks in the country has led to some of the major problems in the country’s social policy. The adoption of a CRT perspective can help in identifying safe spaces to explore the views of the Black community. Chakrabarthy (2011) extend the argument on the importance of CRT and its relevance to education in the UK. The challenges of the inherent arguments of meritocracy-led employment opportunities need to be expressed by providing counterarguments on the concept. CRT pragmatics in the UK conclude that racialised politics and everyday microaggressions in the workplace, including assaults, insults and

invalidations, need to be addressed while understanding the Black experience (Hylton, 2010; Sue et al., 2007).

Chakraborthy et al. (2012) conclude that understanding the relevance of CRT in the UK helps unveil the assumptions of Whiteness, making Whiteness processes and privileges transparent with regard to education and employment. The hegemony of Whiteness and its assumptions, along with the inherent historical invisibility of the Black employment challenges, can be highlighted by addressing the true implications of CRT.

4.4 Racialisation at the Micro, Meso and Macro Levels

An analysis of the definition and conceptualisation of racism shows that there remain major challenges linked to these. In such a scenario, this research supports the use of racialisation to help understand the inherent complexities linked with such an analysis. According to Wolfe (2002), the concept of racialisation could better explain the evolution of racism, as it provides a multi-layered and multi-dimensional framework. Solomos (1989) further contends that such statements encapsulate the need to address potential assumptions linked to the perceived inferiority of racialised groups and aim to present common-sense understanding across a multi-layered framework. Cole and Maisuria (2007) further conclude that such assertions may be essential in ensuring that there is a dynamic understanding of the intersections that exist between race and other potentially challenging elements, including gender, sexuality, nationality and class. This research will therefore address the different levels on which such racial implications have evolved.

In a micro-level analysis, racialisation helps to expand individual implications of bias and racist tendencies. It is a myth that most people tend to argue about the absence of individual bias and racial discrimination in the post-colonial world. Gilroy (2005) acknowledges the presence of racism, which continues to exist despite the acceptance of people from various cultures in contemporary Britain. The micro-social theories that help people understand interactions can cast light on the level of racialisation at the micro level (Dunton and Fazio, 1997). Roberts (2006) asserts that, from an interactionist

viewpoint, face-to-face encounters and identifying agential entity have been credited with understanding the concept of racialism. Furthermore, Lal (1995) claims that during the process of comprehending the race and ethnicity of people in the context of the US, it is important to understand how people communicate based on their culture through interpersonal interactions. Such ideas were also adopted by popular universities and incorporated into their research on immigrants and how Southern Blacks adapted to urban life (Lal, 1995). Research on bias and racism has indicated the importance of social and cultural norms in which the majority (Whites) blatantly show their biased behaviour and thereby portray a racist attitude in society (Roberts, 2006; Dunton and Fazio, 1997).

Research papers indicate that violence that occurs due to racism is most commonly perpetrated by individuals who interact and live among communities and families who openly support the system of racism and ethnic hatred (Webster, 2003). Some people who have experience of welfare settings in the US have been exposed to internalised views on the common racism displayed towards minorities. On the other hand, the egalitarian ideology states that it can exist mutually with an anti-Black sentiment/ ideology that leads to distrust, fear, anxiety and hostility (Phillips, 2011). Such ideologies also identify the inherent two-facedness of bias in which people can have both negative and positive views on minority groups, which may elaborate the complicated nature of the relationship shared by biased attitudes and racial behaviour (Terry et al., 2001; Pettigrew and Meertens, 1995). Hence, it can be inferred that the impact of familial relations and commonly inscribed values, which are observed in people of various ethnicities or genders, is seen in the case of micro-level racialisation. Moreover, it is observed that such attitudes are constantly shifting rather than being static and are easily influenced by interactions with multicultural groups and local environmental factors. The arguments made showcase the inherent challenges that existed in the US society which characterised racial tension.

The concept of CRT emerged in the US in the 1980s as a framework whose goal was to understand the endemic presence of race within the US. Its key

analytical principles largely aimed at addressing the ideological claims of neutrality and meritocracy that were put forth by laws and social policies (Warmington, 2012). The use of CRT analyses ensured that the 'taken for granted' racialised processes were questioned to address the narratives and perspectives of Black people. However, as Gillborn (2008) argues, the notion of racism and its relevance to England is different from that of the US given the differences in the countries' histories. The impact of racism on the socio-economic progress of the Black community in the UK is more difficult to contextualise given the nature of imperialist history and colonial assumptions of supremacy of one group over another (Gillborn, 2008). Taylor (2016) contends that while racism can be global in its contention of White supremacy, the evolution of this political system can be attributed to the initial assumptions of European settlers who established formal and informal systems which provided privilege and socio-economic advantages to specific groups of people. Gillborn (2005) also argues that the evolution of whiteness and power in education has arguably signalled a shift in focus, which helped address, the greater generational implications of racism in England when compared to the US. Similarly, Gilroy (1993) argues that the historical dimensions of Black life offer an insight into the continued assessment that true Englishness belongs to the White natives and not the Black immigrants. Gilroy (1993b) also argues that the lack of Black subjectivities in the account of racism in Britain remains the major factor, which influences racial equality issues. Warmington (2012) also argues that racism in England signifies a strong interpretation of national pride. Gilroy (1990) also argues that Black people's representation in British history has been from an object perspective rather than a subject perspective. The importance of critical race theory in England therefore is largely to encourage subjective accounts. As Hall (1988) and Bressey (2016) argued, the notion of the Black subject needs to be further examined to understand Black people as social actors and history makers who are central to the current social formation of Britain.

Focusing more on the next level, the meso-analytical level, gives an indication that it is mainly concerned with positioning and adding context to factors that are either temporally or spatially based. The following are

considered to be parts of meso-analytical theory: socioeconomic loss, composition of the neighbourhood and its impact, discourses in political media, the implementation of political power and its enrichment and, finally, the process followed in institutions (Phillips, 2011). A spotlight on socioeconomic disadvantage and class has always been important to social policies that analyse the poverty of a society, the inequalities practised and the redistribution of all entities. The dynamics observed in the interactions among community members and the arrangements in institutions are also part of the range of theorising (Banerjee and Singer, 2017). Another key dimension in the field of racism and prejudice is political engagement which, if absent, has been considered a vital marker for social elimination in democratic surroundings (Burchardt et al., 2002). The common-sense comprehension in a person's social life that helps in acknowledging micro-level processes comprises famous discourses on how to deal with prejudice, ethnic background and racism. Psycho-social abilities tend to identify the emotional component of racism, which may be considered a threat to minority affected communities (Hoggett, 1992).

In the post-industrialised contemporary world, the nature of welfare has been changed completely. The contexts in which social welfare and services are offered to people have been influenced by deindustrialisation, owner-occupation, the increase in social housing residents, and increases in wealth, status, salaries and power. Moreover, the new face of decentralised governance and public management has completely transformed the way in which organisations in the public sector have been regulated and later converted into primary operations (Aranda and Vaquera, 2015). All of these have resulted in macro-environmental changes regarding the policy and provisions which characterise racism across the UK. Finally, on the macro level, institutional challenges need to be addressed. Notions of institutional racism almost always result in disadvantages to people who experience such racist behaviour in various surroundings, from housing to education, and even to employment agencies. Ashe and Nazroo (2015) conclude that people of colour are more likely to live in poverty and are more likely to be in insecure work without benefits when compared to their white counterparts.

Khan (2015) also argues that achievement of employment success and academic success is lower in BME communities when compared to the White population. Goodfellow and McFarlane (2018) identifies that between 2010 and 2015, the number of young people from minority ethnic backgrounds who remained unemployment was highest in the Black community when compared to other minorities. All of this supports the notion that there is a lack of targeted policies to support the needs of the Black population in the UK. Furthermore, there is also an argument that people of colour frequently experience racism in their workplace, leading to institutional challenges (Lavalette et al., 2018). The factors that determine macro-level structures showcase significant institutional macro-environmental factors which impact racial issues. As Goodfellow (2018) rightly concludes, racial injustice and anti-immigration politics in the UK further contribute to the institutionalisation of racism and its associated rhetoric. The persistence of significant racial inequalities as a product of racism creates an imperial nostalgia and a national identity that is tied to whiteness and which continues to influence the inherent challenges of racism in the country.

4.5 Evolution of Racism

4.5.1 Racism during the Colonial Era

It is evident that racism and racialisation is historically and geographically specific. Britain's colonial policy and ideology was underlined by its romanticising of racial imperialism, wherein the British supposedly had the right to rule over races in colonies they considered inferior (Richards, 1989) This was particularly seen in Africa, Asia, the Caribbean and other places where they controlled extensive territories. In the nineteenth century, the British Empire was caught up in a tumultuous and unending race to accumulate capital in order to sustain its capitalism, as there was a fear that other European countries might compete and take over smaller British colonies (Abbott, 1971). According to Appiah and Gutmann (1996), the colonial era considered rebellious natives in the colonies and labour issues as the same, but in different guises. Europe's mission to enlighten other parts of the world and its talk about barbarians were all a result of ingrained fears

in the homeland. Building on Karl Renner's idea of social imperialism, Semmel (1962) explains how the ruling class tried to create a stage for imperialism. The links between empire and nation were forged by social imperialism.

The basis of social imperialism is the idea of bringing all classes together to protect the nation and empire and convincing the poorest classes that their best interests lie in alignment with the nation (Olby, 1991). Towards the end of the nineteenth century, the idea of the British race being superior and their colonial subjects being inferior was fed to all. From the 1800s to 1914, patriotism and empire were marketing marvels, as they were the pop culture of the time (Fieldhouse, 1983). The reasons for this include Britain having transformed into an industrial and urban society where social and economic advances were happening; after the 1870 Education Act, basic state education and technical advances with an undertone of imperialism and institutional racism made Britain's imperialistic ambitions popular and acceptable in music halls, art, employment and education (Conley, 2009). For instance, textbooks propagated the survival and development of the British Empire with regard to the educational ideological state apparatus (ISA) (Cain and Hopkins, 1980). Finally, it was believed than an imperial race was necessary to protect the nation and its subjects. Therefore, Africans were seen through racist eyes as ferocious savages who were uncivilised and unhygienic, whereas free Caribbean slaves were called dangerous, lazy and incapable of work or growth unless they were forced. Likewise, Asians were called barbarians, and Indians and Afghans were commonly held to be rude and incapable of ruling themselves. With all its symptoms, racism had become part of a collective common sense (Balibar and Wallerstein, 1991).

4.5.2 The Post-Second World War Period

After the Second World War, Britain faced serious labour shortages in the post-war economy, just as in other parts of Europe, as White were taking up better jobs with higher pay in the manufacturing, engineering and service sectors. Britain saw huge numbers of immigrants who were now freely accessing the British labour market, including those from India, the British

Caribbean (former British subjects who did not undergo immigration control) and Ireland (Panayi, 2014). Asians, Blacks and other minority groups were recruited in their own nations in industries where labour was in high demand. Although a variety of immigrants from different classes arrived in Britain, most had little to no capital and had to work as labourers, where they largely took on semi-skilled and unskilled work (Banton, 1992). Moreover, most of them were recruited into manual work that called for shift working, odd work timings, poor pay and a poor work environment, as labour was short in these jobs.

Since it was not contract labour, Asians, Africans and Caribbeans were permitted to compete with British nationals for high-paying jobs (Bousquet and Douglas, 1991). However, their colonial education made employers believe that people of different races had particular characteristics that were unsuitable for their work environment. Asians were characterised as slow learners; Africans and Caribbeans were identified as lazy, undisciplined, aggressive, accident-prone and in need of more supervision than the average White employee (Miles and Torres, 2003). These disparities manifested in two ways. First, as Barker (1981) argues, when White workers were available, they were automatically preferred over Asians or Africans. Second, Schaffer (2007) further argues that a quota system was introduced to hire limited numbers of racial minorities and they were kept away from certain kinds of jobs. Employers and organised labour frequently conspired to get rid of minority workers. Parliament, the media and political parties during the 1950s were increasingly worried about the after-effects of unrestricted immigration. This led to a change in public policy, from favouring unrestricted immigration to severe regulations on the immigration of non-Whites in order to protect the social fabric and heritage of the nation from irreparable damage (Rose, 1969).

Therefore, an Immigration Act was passed in 1962, the first of many. This limited immigrants from the Caribbean and Asia only, not from the Republic of Ireland. The results of these steps were evident and the marginalisation of people of colour over other migrants who were considered ‘White’ remained (Daniel, 1968). Miles (1993) states that racial minorities came and occupied

select positions in the economic, political and ideological fabric of Britain, though within the restrictive space of the working classes. Thus, they can be zeroed down as a racial fraction because they comprise a small number of the working class (Miles and Phizacklea, 1979). After the Second World War, and in the aftermath of these racial developments, the British Cabinet, as befits its colonial history, regarded Africans and Caribbeans as people who wanted to live in poor conditions without a desire to improve (Ben-Tovim and Gabriel, 1979).

4.6 Local Engagement and Racism

The introduction of neoliberalism (free market capitalism with limited state regulation, along with the privatisation of manufacturing goods and services) is significant because it was declared the best way to run the economy. It began with the election of Margaret Thatcher as Prime Minister and the start of Thatcherism in 1979 (Lentin and Titley, 2011). Thatcher believed that the Commonwealth immigration to Britain was not a sudden move with unsure motives, but a well-calculated act based on the notion that people felt threatened by unwanted foreigners. Thatcher's approach to policy, known as Thatcherism, was a fusion of neoliberal economic policies and the rise of the new right. As Evans (2013: 3) argues, Thatcher believed in "individual rights, particularly in economic matters; private enterprise within a free market; firm, sometimes authoritarian, leadership; low levels of personal taxation; union and vested-interest bashing; simple, unqualified, patriotism" . Jessop et al. (1988) further expanded on the notion of Thatcherism and its roots in setting right-wing populism by indicating that it is a combination of neoliberalism and neoconservatism which brought in distrust of the big government, support for traditional values, and freeing of the economy from the control of the state. As Hay and Farrall (2014: p92) argue, Thatcherism supported reliance on the market as an efficient mechanism for resource distribution while ensuring that there is "an associated normative commitment to the sanctity of the individual and individual choice".

Jessop et al. (1988) characterises this evolution of the 'new right' as one which supported a neoliberal strategy which focused on the unification of a

privileged nation of 'good citizens' and 'hard workers' against a contained and subordinate nation. He argues that Thatcherism supported an image of social division based on a single vertical division, which divided the state into productive and parasitic. He argues that:

> *Tory populism is taking the form of a unification of a privileged nation of 'good citizens' and 'hard workers'. In general, the productive sector is held to comprise those who produce goods and services that can be profitably marketed without the need for state subsidies. The parasitic include not only the various pauper classes (the unemployed, pensioners, the disabled, etc.) but also those whose economic activities in the public or private sectors are unprofitable in terms of capitalist forms of accounting. Only those state employees are excluded whose activities are essential to the minimal nightwatchman role of the state—the police, armed forces, tax gatherers, etc. (*Jessop et al., 1988*: 87–88).*

These views further encouraged the argument that there were some members of the society who remained unproductive and non-engaging who did not need the support of the government.

In the 1970s, there were more modifications in the legislation with respect to immigration. During the 1970 election, the Conservative Party pledged to minimise the number of people who immigrated. Eventually, the 1971 Immigration Act was passed and was known for its differentiation of British citizens and its colonies (patrials) from the non-patrial population. The patrials had their birthright in Britain while the non-patrials had to request permission. As Solomos (1993) argued:

> *…the new Act was rightly seen as racist because it allowed potentially millions of white Commonwealth citizens to enter under the partiality clause and settle in Britain, a right denied to almost all non-white Commonwealth citizens (Solomos, 1993, p. 69).*

It is clear that the three major legislative Acts that happened between 1961 and 1971 aimed to prevent the immigration of Blacks into Britain. Although the wordings in these Acts are different and the definitions of British citizens and the conditions for entering another country vary, the inference is that the Acts did not include the Black immigrant population, and hence increased racial institutionalism.

The policies favouring racism were modified after the election in 1979, when the Conservative party led by Margaret Thatcher emphasised the threats faced. The argument made by the government was that if there were an increase in the number of immigrants, it would seriously threaten the underlying quality of life. Non-white immigrants were mostly referred to as the enemy of the British culture and its underlying social values. In the Thatcher administration, many changes were included in the immigration rules that resulted in strict control of immigration. It was primarily the 1981 British Nationality Act which classified residents as British citizens, British overseas citizens and British dependent territories citizens. However, the second category (British overseas citizens) did not account for the British people who hailed from Asia and, as MacDonald (1999) reported, the Act of 1981 did little to address prevailing racial discriminations under the immigration law system.

The impact of Black immigrants on British society has been extensively discussed (Holmes, 2015; Chessum,2017; Miles, 1993). There are two main aspects to be considered: firstly, the attitude of Whites towards the Black immigrants, and the negative thoughts they have about the issues in housing and labour due to the increase in Black immigrants that followed; and secondly, the views of the Black immigrants who felt insulted and unaccepted by the British culture and faced severe discrimination everywhere they went in Britain (Cole, 2009). The importance of local engagement in racial equality assessment soon evolved as an important agenda. In the 1980s, there were a number of theoretical debates and contentions about the racial problems and the involvement of local governments. It is not feasible to comprehend the social relations without considering the local inputs. It was then identified that racial issues should be added in the urban politics and the local authorities should act

in the light of racial inequality. Researchers argued that the local authorities should be answerable to the problems of racial inequality by addressing micro-level needs and challenges. As Solomos (1993, p. 97) argued:

> *As late as the 1970s, a common complaint of activists and community groups was that local authorities had failed to develop an adequate policy response to the increasingly multiracial composition of their populations (Solomos, 1993, p. 97).*

The British society passed through various changes in the light of racialisation after the 1960s and 1970s, and the local context of race was a core theme in contentions about the immigration. This led to local authorities solving issues faced in social services, education and even housing. The major topics were the effect of race on both national and local politics, and how media played a role in this case in response to the impact of racialisation. The solution for this issue is that the local authorities should be engaged actively in discussion on racial politics and there should be an emphasis on the politico-socioeconomic aspects of such racist trends.

4.6.1 Racial Riots

When looking at the riots, the ethnic minorities might be observed to be the victims of white racial discrimination. Hall (1993) contends that riots which involved Black people were a direct result of a lack of equality and equity engagement. He contends that:

> *For all practical purposes, the terms 'mugging' and 'Black crime' are now virtually synonymous. In the first 'mugging' panic, as we have shown, though 'mugging' was continually shadowed by the theme of race and crime, this link was rarely made explicit. This is no longer the case. The two are indissolubly linked: each term references the other in both the official and public consciousness (Hall, 1993, p. 327).*

According to Stuart Hall (1993), the official statistics state that the Black presence increased the incidences of mugging. However, he also asserts

that it was not primarily the presence of Blacks but increased due to the social conditions that were prevalent within the community. Wild (2015) also contends that this lack of framing and assessment of interrelated concepts further contributed to inherent challenges. Another fact was that there was brewing hostility between the local authorities and Blacks that led to perceptions of harassment and rising frustrations contributing to the riots. Another aspect was the increase in financial recession, with an impact of cuts in public expenses and high rates of unemployment (Olusoga, 2016),

Layton-Henry and Rich (2016) argue that crisis evolution and rioting were predominantly linked to lack of employment options, education options and overall access to socio-economic development aspects. The policing of the Blacks was given priority as it was believed that unemployed Black youths were the root cause of the trouble. The issue of policing or monitoring Blacks turned out to be a group of other issues. This is attributed to the argument that the Black community rioted due to lack of opportunities to advance and improve their overall wellbeing. Betts (2018) claims that although the Black community living in the inner cities was considered to be a social group that was described by poverty, social exclusion/racial discrimination in the perceptions of whites always results in violence and crime, and the concept of race was a gateway to social conflicts. Hall (1993) disagrees with the notion that an increase in violence derives from the question of race, as it portrays wider social aspects that resulted in the crisis of British society.

4.7 Racism and Employment

This section of the literature review discusses the evolution of two important and related forms of discrimination which can be linked to racism within the place of employment. There is significant empirical evidence that addresses the impact of racism on individual employment opportunities (Lang and Lehman, 2012), where economic consequences have been more severe for ethnic minorities (Fryer and Torelli, 2010; Chay, 1998). Furthermore, there is considerable research showing systemic racial discrimination within organisational culture which can interfere with career advancement, fair compensation and the quality of working life (Abbate and Peirol, 1997; Bell,

2018; Cox, 1990). The goal of this section is to expand on the specific theoretical relevance of such racism in the workplace.

4.7.1 Intentional, Explicit Discrimination

The various steps by which a person exhibits a negative attitude towards a racial group other than theirs are expounded by Allport (1954). The sequence proposed by the author includes verbal abuse, aversion, discrimination, physical assault and elimination. Omi and Winant (2014) expand on this view and argue that while the first common evidence of intentional or explicit discrimination is verbal abuse, this often leads to other steps in the sequence proposed by Allport (1954). In most cases, people do not progress to other steps without adequate assurance and support for their tendencies. From an employment perspective, unless there is an organisational culture that supports such implications of racial discrimination (Selmi, 2016), it is difficult for an individual to display such tendencies. In the following section, various forms of explicit bias are discussed.

Verbal antagonism includes casual racial slurs and hurtful comments. Such comments are passed either when the person targeted is present or behind someone's back (Cortina, 2008). However, these comments might be brushed off as not sufficient to be illegal or infringing freedom of speech, but are still an expression of hostility (Wodak, 2008). Along with the various non-verbal types of antagonism, a hostile situation in schools, neighbourhoods and workplaces can be created artificially (Bullard and Feagin, 1991) and there are growing challenges faced in relation to such expression of hostility, given the rise in the tendency towards racism being addressed under the notion of freedom of expression. A tense environment created by verbal and nonverbal antagonism is the first step towards discrimination among people of differing races. Such verbal abuse and nonverbal hostile expressions are authentic ways of discrimination in which the goal is to put someone down in front of others (Bartlett, 2009). These may also be preceded by various forms of physical ill-treatment, such as denying employment (Talaska et al., 2008). For instance, in a workplace, the primary bias of an interviewer based on race or community will be clearly observed in the way he/she treats the

interviewee, such as being uninterested in the answers, asking questions that may sound ridiculous and even illogical, shortening the time taken for the interview, and twisting and increasing the rounds of questions with the aim of torturing the interviewee (Bodensteiner, 2008). The performance of the interviewee is hence undermined due to nonverbal hostility exhibited by the interviewer. However, under legal conditions, both types of treatment (verbal and nonverbal) are often represented based on evidence collected to demonstrate the prejudiced state of mind of the discriminator (Bullard and Feagin, 1991). This may also comprise unlawful racially prejudiced behaviour when they move to a level where racism could make the working environment hostile.

The concept of avoidance indicates the comfort of a person to interact within their own group (the ingroup) in social places over interactions with people of a group other than theirs (the outgroup). With respect to discretionary contact settings, people may prefer to either mingle or not mingle with people from underprivileged racial groups (Talaska et al., 2008). On the other hand, under certain social conditions, people may differentiate themselves based on their race and, in their workplaces, this contact may move such outgroup members towards less important jobs or degrade the careers of those who eliminated from such informal networks (Barth and Dale-Olsen, 2009). A traditional theory known as a 'taste for discrimination' shows how hatred towards interracial contact can affect the wages offered and labour markets (Becker, 1971). The willingness of people to spend more time with an outgroup member in a given environment helps in assessing the level of avoidance they show (Bowlus and Eckstein, 2002). Various sociological studies have tried to measure avoidance in terms of reporting or observing people within social contact conditions. In legal settings, avoiding casual interaction could also be inferred as hostility (Pettigrew, 1998; Pettigrew and Tropp, 2000). Avoidance can look harmless in a given situation, but when considered as a behavioural entity, it can eventually result in long-term elimination and permanent discrimination. It can be particularly problematic in cases where social media are involved, when hiring and promoting someone, and other opportunities in the education and healthcare industries (Kosny et

al., 2017). Avoidance of a person can be as detrimental as active or direct verbal abuse.

4.7.2 Subtle, Unconscious, Automatic Discrimination

Despite various statistics showing that people have reduced their racial bias, people still tend to hold some biased attitudes arising from the old English history of prejudice (Fox, 2013). Even though such biased attitudes need not lead to discriminatory attitudes with extreme effects, the prevalence of such attitudes could lead to sub-conscious forms of racism and discrimination in more explicit ways (Jackson, 2003). Such surface-level bias is often portrayed in the media as Whites versus non-Whites and de facto segregation in occupation and education sectors.

This phenomenon surrounding subtle biases is described as a group of unconscious beliefs and relationships that impact on the behaviours and attitudes of ingroup members, such as Whites' attitudes towards Blacks or other unprivileged groups (Duckitt, 1991). An internal conflict is faced by ingroup members that leads to dissociation from hardcore racist behaviours and the social presence of such behaviours (Liao et al., 2016). Although the intentions and character of people may be good, their racial cognition and biased nature cannot be eliminated completely, the result of which is a contemporary and subtle form of bias or prejudice that goes deep and aims not to contend with the norms of anti-racism. Various subtle forms of racism and their impact on discrimination are dealt with in the following section, these being indirect, ambiguous, automatic and ambivalent behaviours (Eberhardt and Fiske, 1998). The situation in which members of the ingroup blame outgroup members for their disadvantage is referred to as indirect prejudice. For instance, outgroup members should strive harder; at the same time, they should not force themselves onto others or their ideas into places where they are not needed (Liao et al., 2016). The differences between members of the ingroup and outgroup are often emphasised more so that the members of the latter group can be shown as external entities that are only worth being ousted and avoided. This type of prejudice can result in policy support that leaves non-Whites at a loss (Vallejo, 2015).

The expression of subtle prejudice can be unconscious and spontaneous as members of the ingroup classify outgroup members based on their race, age and gender. The minute reactions of people to members of the outgroup can comprise basic fear, anxiety and a tendency to negatively stereotype relationships. People have been commonly known to respond to even minimal exposure to such uncontrollable behaviours of outgroups (Carter and Murphy, 2015). However, the social setting in which people tend to face an outgroup member can mould such responses. Outgroup members who are not so familiar, lower in grade and different never express the same reactions to those who are not known, dominant or undifferentiated (Kulich et al., 2015). Irrespective of this, a person's spontaneous reaction to members of the outgroup shows unconscious harboured bias, which leads to a hostile and differentiated environment. Such spontaneity in reactions also indicates stereotype-acknowledging behaviour (Chen and Bargh, 1997).

The main impact of subtle prejudice is to prefer the ingroup, thus disabling the outgroup. In this way, such prejudice seems to be more ambiguous in nature. For instance, bias may imply a greater liking for the majority rather than hatred towards minorities (Perry et al., 2015). From a practical viewpoint, in a zero-sum environment, the ingroup benefit often leads to similar outcomes to the outgroup loss. In general, ingroup members tend to acknowledge other members by rewarding them and hence putting the outgroup at a disadvantage (Brewer and Brown, 1998). In due course, people tend to perceive their own ingroup in a positive way, adding to its strength and improving its standards. The defects of outgroups are hence used to support the same thing. These allocations, which are random attributions, comprise another major form of subtle discrimination. From ambivalent prejudice theories, the uncertainty of subtle prejudice implies that outgroups are not always uniformly subject to antipathy (e.g. Perry et al., 2015). Although outgroups may be disregarded, they may be liked in a snobbish manner. On the other hand, outgroups may be revered yet disliked too (Eberhardt and Fiske, 1998). The reactions of Whites to Black professionals justify this outright behaviour. Some racial groups show both dislike and

disrespect. Homeless people, poor people and other welfare recipients usually invoke a hostile and certain type of expression of subtle prejudice.

The most significant point in this case is that all reactions to such races or groups need not be completely negative to increase discrimination. For instance, one might not promote or increase the wages of another due to racial bias and considering the person to be highly incompetent (Helms, 2015). However, in a similar ingroup, the member may get some more chances for extra training or support to increase their competence. In contrast, one might accept the exceptional talents and qualities of an outgroup member but not want to interact with the same person socially, and eventually fail to promote them. All forms of subtle prejudice—indirect, ambiguous and automatic—comprise barriers to equal treatment (Helms, 2015). This form of prejudice is the toughest of all to record in all its forms and the major impacts of biased behaviour are harder to capture.

4.8 Regional Implications of Racism

4.8.1 Spatial Analysis of Racism and its Impact

The impact of racism should also be addressed on a spatial variability level. Dunn and McDonald (2001) contend that there is a growing call for localised, context-specific anti-racist rhetoric that addresses location-specific needs. Castles (1996) also indicates that anti-racist strategies may only be effective as long as efforts are made to address specific racism challenges that could affect specific groups in a specific time period. Bonnett (2000) reflects on this perspective as a geographer and argues that thinking in terms of the spatial needs of racist trends identifies the need for anti-racism discussions which would only be pertinent in some locations and not others. Kivel (2017) further argues that the political task of creating anti-racist rhetoric can only be effective if location-based policies are identified. Such regionally specific anti-racism initiatives can be successful only if efforts are made to understand the scale of operations.

Bernasconi (2017) expands on the need for a scale-based analysis and concludes that scale is often used simplistically and hierarchically, wherein

structured funding regimes and policy frameworks consider various levels of anti-racism analysis. In theory-based analysis, the need for macro, meso and micro levels of racism analysis is highlighted. Expanding on this view, the construction of a 'local' approach to anti-racism has often only been at the policy implementation level rather than in policy development. Marston (2000) further concludes that the critical engagement of anti-racist initiatives needs to expand to include both social and cultural geography, and this should balance the predominant focus on economics and location-based geography. The author adds that a timely call to social and cultural geography requires focused activism on an everyday level, with applications being relevant to healthcare, social care and employment access.

Amin (2004) expands on this perspective of racism and concludes that a relational approach is essential as it can help eschew existing dangers of scale construction. There is a need for racism assessment and anti-racism initiatives that derive from national and transnational findings but are adapted to the local needs of a specific region through the use of dynamic networks. Communities are viewed as appropriate sites that can help to remedy various social problems, ranging from poverty to unemployment; therefore, any anti-racism initiatives should be adopted at this level of government (Jackson, 1987).

Brenner and Theodore (2002) reflect on this conceptualisation of localism and contend that this approach is a powerful policy that can represent a shift towards place-based social policy development, which is part of the revival of local needs. Furthermore, Amin (2005) contends that localism can help to understand the links between anti-racism initiatives and functional domains, including welfare, education and employment, as well as spatially determined portfolios, including local area planning and precinct officers. The need for local-level racism policies and anti-racism action is also linked to the growing national rhetoric of denial of racism in various countries. Nelson (2013) contends that the denial of racism by central governments around the world is driven by the desire to defend their countries against accusations of racism. This is manifested through the presence of favourable comparisons,

where one country is compared to another without addressing the inherent challenges that exist in 'pockets' within the same country. Furthermore, such spatial deflections may result in arguments that racism is worse in other countries, with a lack of consideration of local responses to racism. Gillborn (2004) concludes that local-level responses are essential as they can draw strongly on scalar notions of place, which helps all stakeholders to relate to anti-racist policies, given the ease of applicability of the same to local needs.

Community or social cohesion and its importance has been part of English policy rhetoric. Nelson and Dunn (2017) contend that national anti-racism strategies have always focused on individual and community action. Local communities have been reconstituted as governance objects, whereby major policy initiatives are drafted by local authorities to help deal with racism. Key collaborations and partnerships are created, along with the use of volunteer groups and faith-based organisations which can help in creating community-level awareness of potential racist implications and, more importantly, identify ways in which actionable polices are implemented to improve workplace diversity and productivity. Nelson and Dunn (2017) also conclude that productive diversity can help to address organisational challenges to racism by creating a strong business argument to enhance anti-racist practices. As some authors (Triana et al., 2010; Berman et al., 2008) conclude, this approach could help to reduce labour turnover challenges and absenteeism challenges, along with a reduction in the burden of complaint handling.

A local-level assessment of anti-racism policies focuses on various outcomes rather than a simple assessment of multi-culturalism and specific celebratory initiatives. As Poynting and Mason (2008) rightly conclude, the focus of specific campaigns and strategies at a national level is too often on celebratory initiatives, where there is the stereotyping of racism and the commodification of 'otherness'. Furthermore, Kymlicka (2010) argues that such plans often provide nationwide statistics or pooled statistics within a region without accounting for subtle racism and everyday racism (as discussed in earlier sections of this review). Rothenberg (2000) further concludes that the focus on such policies, which consider overarching goals

of meeting various needs (e.g. education, social care, healthcare and employment) often fails, as there are variations in the perceived impact of racism on each of these segments. Marotta (2006) also contends that such arguments do in many cases neglect economic and political inequalities. Lentin and Titley (2011) conclude that there is an emerging need to distinguish between good diversity, which should be cultivated and celebrated, and bad diversity, which rarely addresses core problems linked to the anti-racist argument.

Local councils and communities, as well as not-for-profit organisations, assume formal responsibilities for anti-racism policies which previously had been handled by central government (Lewis and Craig, 2014). Though there remain arguments regarding how such policies could be beneficial, this review would be remiss if the potential challenges were not addressed. For instance, Allen (2017) contends that the devolution of responsibilities to local authorities can create a challenge due to the lack of the dynamic capabilities needed to translate policy into practice. This is often linked to budget constraints and human resources constraints. In such cases, Nelson et al. (2011b) conclude that the sharing of responsibilities is essential for local and national authorities. Such sharing requires distributive responsibility across local and national authorities. However, national involvement should be more directed, with opportunities to modify it based on location. Nelson et al. (2011a) conclude that vertical and horizontal distribution are essential to reach the micro-politics of relationships between peer groups, families and individuals. Nash (2003) further argues that the extent to which local councils and community organisations have the capability to drive localised responses to racism continues to be a major question, given the changing politico-economic forces that constrain such local action. Evidence from the UK and Australia (Dunn et al., 2001; Nelson, 2013) also contends that the current focus on anti-racism strategies at the local level faces the challenge of not addressing underlying issues. The authors conclude that there is a reframing of anti-racist dialogue as enhancing ‘harmony’ or ‘respect’ in society, which can in turn result in denial or racism. Dunn et al. (2011) conclude that a reason for this is that local bodies often incentivise other players to

emphasise the positives in community relations. There are known examples of various political factors with respect to the anti-racism argument which, in turn, result in community workers actively rebranding ‘anti-racism’ in a positive manner to secure funding and support for it. Therefore, such localised action can also face the challenge of failing to engender responsible support whereby local actors are given limited agency in the process.

Bonnett (1993), in his research on race equality and consciousness amongst educators in the UK, made a distinction between liberal anti-racists, for whom anti-racism was based on consensus, and radical anti-racists, who aimed to gain societal transformation as a necessary prerequisite for effective anti-racism. This literature review contends that expanding on these principles is essential within the context of employment-relevant racism, wherein the focus on productivity increases and economic gain as a direct result of racism in the labour market could help to emphasise individual culpability for racism. In this literature review, there has been a major discussion of the need to address racism at distinct levels of governance by addressing employment and labour-related implications. The focus of this research is on discussions regarding racism in the context of local communities, where neo-liberal anti-racism as a key research area is essential and in line with post-racial discourses.

Neoliberal antiracism frames the importance of antiracism action in terms of productivity increase and economic gain. It would appear to the community as a discipline, which encourages individual and community level responsibilities for anti-racist practices (Nelson and Dunn, 2012). However, there can be challenges in implementing this form of neoliberal anti-racist practices. Racism in the past has been linked to capitalism, colonialism and ruralism. Lentin and Titley (2011) identified that racism and its links to neoliberalism require more attention given the rise in neoliberal tendencies around the world. There is some evidence to show that there are oppressive effects of neoliberalism, which impact multicultural policies. According to Lentin and Titley (2011), the presence of deregulation and state withdrawal from social services characterises rollback neoliberalism. In such cases the

efforts to radically shift priorities and increase local governance creates limited opportunities to address problems of discrimination in the form of spending. Social spending becomes reduced and redirected into private hands, which in turn can further shift priorities of anti-racism activities. Additionally, there is also a roll-out phase of neoliberalism there is stretching of neoliberal policies into extra market forms of government regulation and local communities are often expected to work with private players to address concerns of racism.

4.8.2 Contextualising Racism in Liverpool

The purpose of this section of the research is to highlight potential implications linked to racism within the context of Liverpool. Ramadin (1987) identifies that racial sentiments were predominant in various segments of Liverpool society in the 1930s. This was largely linked to the continued presence of economic variations in the society, with many members of the Black community having limited economic opportunities to improve their quality of life. Cousin et al. (1980) argue that the lack of opportunities available to the BME population led to dependence on low-wage employment. The emergence of technology innovations led to a fall in employment opportunities. One example is the emergence of containerisation, which was a factor in reducing employment in the docks, where over two in five jobs were held by members of the BME community. Torkington (1983) also identifies that the overall reduction in employment opportunities led to structured efforts by some employers to avoid taking on Black employees within their workforce. Torkington (1983) notes that even when Black people were employed, they were either marginalised in jobs where they had limited promotion prospects or were simply denied promotion, even if they had better qualifications. The author argues that there was a systemic effort to reduce educational opportunities for Black individuals, which led to limited employment-related options.

An analysis of government policies shows that there were various efforts that indirectly affected the employment and earnings of minority groups. Swann (1985) identifies that the community charge or poll tax was present in

Liverpool, whereby rich and nucleated families paid less in absolute terms when compared to poor extended families, which included many minority families. This tax was based on the number of adults in a household rather than the ability of members of the household to pay. There was further atomisation of Black families as young adults moved out or became non-persons whose needs were not taken into account when statistics were collated (Clarke et al., 1993).

Small (1991), in an assessment of racial relationships in Liverpool, concluded that several structural and cultural features are absent in Liverpool when compared to other cities. Small (1991) argues that this anomaly is linked to the continued presence of racial segregation within the community. The findings of the study highlight that across various attributes, including employment, housing, education and health, there remain major challenges linked to combating discrimination. Small (1991) concludes that the historical background to such rational relationships could be traced back to the slave trade and the continued importance given to Liverpool as a landing port for visitors and immigrants. The changing regional economies across the nation affect access to the right resources for minority populations, with other cities like London improving in terms of race relations, given shifting demographics and greater diversity. Small (1991) concludes that despite strong efforts to combat racism, it continues to be a major presence in Liverpool. Zack-Williams (1997) presented a case analysis of the African diaspora and its conditioning in Liverpool.

Charles (2004) conducted an analysis of potential systemic racism-linked issues in Liverpool. The author concluded that the acceptance of Black teachers within the Liverpool population was significantly low and there were multiple cases of minority teachers facing major discrimination issues. Boyle and Charles (2011) identified that there were still challenges with respect to access to teacher training, working in the right schools and the ability to achieve promotion and higher positions within schools for teachers from the BME community. A further analysis of the Liverpool teaching community was carried out by Boyle and Charles (2011). They concluded that there was still

marginalisation of the voice of Black teachers and that the pedagogies of Black teachers contribute to a dismantling of binaries and hierarchies that privilege Eurocentric paradigms of teaching. This evidence shows that within a single employment sector, education, the challenges of marginalisation and discrimination continue to be present within Liverpool.

4.9 Conclusion

The findings of this literature review highlight that there are multiple factors linked to the interplay of racism and class relations. This review has presented a comprehensive analysis of the theoretical basis of the study. The findings of this chapter show that critical race theory can be observed from the context of employment relationships, and addressing racism implications is essential at macro, meso and micro levels. To understand the context of racism in the UK, an analysis of racism through history is essential. Racism was considered through a biological lens during the colonial era. This changed after the Second World War, with efforts being made to boost integration. However, there was a continued lack of effort to enhance equality of access to basic facilities. The major factors affecting employment are linked to a lack of education and employment. The findings of this review also highlight the need for policies and practices such that racism and its implications are examined on a spatial level, where the goal is to highlight relevant segment-level issues. The findings of this review also show that there is recorded evidence of racism continuing to be a problem within the context of Liverpool. The presence of economic disadvantage is linked to a lack of education and employment opportunities. The findings show that there remain race-linked challenges within Liverpool and despite government regulations and policies, the negative impact on minority communities continues to be high. The following chapter describes the underlying research methodology and the key research methods adopted for this study.

Chapter 5

Research Methodology

5.1 Introduction

This chapter aims to define the research methodology adopted within this PhD study and explain the practices employed in the fieldwork and data analysis process. From the onset, this study has placed considerable emphasis on the work initially undertaken by the Gifford Inquiry in Liverpool in 1989. This was because the report was the only study commissioned by Liverpool City Council that investigated racism-linked implications for employment within the Liverpool Black community. A primary goal of this study was to understand the life experiences of individuals from Liverpool-born Black communities, with specific reference to racism and employment. The literature on institutional racism, as discussed in Chapter four, shows that the macro-structural processes need to be re-examined to address individual acceptance and barriers. Though there could be political, economic and social elements, which contribute to such institutional racism (Bourne, 2001), understanding individual interpretations of these elements drives the current research. Therefore, this research adopts an interpretivist research design to help understand current challenges linked to institutional racism in Liverpool. The study uses an embedded mixed methods research design by making use of written requests, semi-structured interviews and oral testimonies as primary data. Additionally, secondary data was collected by targeting specific retail stores, to understand the number of Black employees in these locations.

5.2 Research Strategy

A survey-based research strategy was selected for this study as it helps identify the various psychological processes and characteristics of individuals, including personality traits, which can influence racist behaviour, as well as helping to understand how racism manifests itself in an everyday

work environment. The use of this approach is found to provide dispositional and contextual factors in relation to human thought and behaviour. Survey research can provide qualified accounts of what people think and under what conditions they are most likely to exhibit a specific psychological behaviour (Bryman and Bell, 2015).

The use of survey research where, through either questionnaires or interviews, the inherent challenges faced by Black people regarding racism may be collected can provide information on perceived attitudes and the perceived effectiveness of effective racism-challenging discourses and anti-racist campaigns. It can also be used to understand potential attitudes towards ambivalent racism experiences, which can influence overall employment opportunities. The use of this survey strategy can also help to understand the influence of culture. For example, Markus and Kitayama (1991) argue that members of different cultures have different constructions of the concept of self and these differences can influence the nature of cognitive, emotional and motivational processes. Furthermore, Nisbett (1993) argues that there can be variations in the acceptance of what is considered 'the norm' within society. This research argues that through the adoption of this research strategy it is possible to identify how the concept of racism is perceived. In the context of the current study, the use of a cross-sectional survey method is considered ideal, as it helps in the collection of data at a single point in time from a specific sample. As Bryman (2012) argues, the use of this design can help to identify the prevalence of experiences within a given population. A cross-sectional approach is considered ideal as the goal is to assess the current relevance of policies for managing racism and the potential impact of the Gifford's report (1989) on improving the overall context of employment.

5.3 Research Method

Research methods can be either qualitative, quantitative or mixed. Within quantitative research, there is an underlying assumption that the majority of the population views the world in the same way. A quantitative research approach would be ideal if the goal of the current research were only to

report on racism and its impact on employment through an assessment of inherent determinants of racism. However, the purpose of this research is not to provide a simple exploratory research design, but rather to provide insights into *why* there is a continued presence of the ethnicity factor in relation to employment opportunities. Therefore, a purely quantitative research method is rejected in the current research.

A qualitative research design is one that focuses on non-numerical, descriptive data. A qualitative research method of enquiry is employed in academic disciplines, especially in the social sciences, to help understand human behaviour. One main type of qualitative research, which is outlined in literature, is Glaser and Strauss's grounded theory approach (Bryman, 2008), which is adapted to the current research. One of the main features of this approach is that the researcher begins a study without any predetermined notion of what they will find at the end of it. The findings of the literature review identified major challenges in critical race theory and the need for more relevant implications of ambivalent racism and modern-day racism. This indicates a need for this research to conduct a more comprehensive analysis of perceptions of racism without subscribing to one school of thought. In such a condition, the use of grounded theory can help to provide rich information on the social processes and complexities linked to perceptions of racism. As Glaser (1992) argues, the use of grounded theory can lead to a better understanding of meaning in social interaction with respect to the study of the interrelationships between the perceptions of research subjects and their actions. In line with this view, this research identifies that the use of such an approach can help to understand the meaning of symbols and the associated interpretation of these.

An example of a study using qualitative data in order to convey the voice of observers is the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry (1999), which enabled the public to convey their thoughts through 148 written submissions and 88 witness statements (Phillips and Burbules, 2000). Thus, the author was able to gather significant findings to help to draw a more reliable and valid conclusion. The approach provided a free-form narrative opportunity for those who believed

that they were oppressed to give and express their views. Therefore, using a qualitative approach, there can be an understanding of inherent perceptions in the research methods adopted. However, a potential challenge linked to the choice of only a qualitative method is that it may provide limited information on the effectiveness of potential policies and laws impacted upon in terms of actual effectiveness. This focus only on the experiences of individuals can create challenges of generalisation. In this context, the current research suggests that a more comprehensive approach should be identified whereby both quantitative and qualitative methods can be used.

The use of a mixed methods approach is considered ideal to address the overall implications regarding various forms of racism within the context of Liverpool, including the presence of both institutional and overt racism. The use of quantitative methods can be helpful in providing information about records or statistics on racism-linked employment challenges, complaints and discrimination-linked implications. However, given the need to understand personal challenges and experiences of racism, such statistics may not provide a comprehensive view. Therefore, it is essential to adopt a mixed methods perspective.

The current research adopted an embedded mixed research design. According to Creswell (2009), an embedded design enables either a quantitative or a qualitative data set to supplement another data set. One of the data sets will be allocated a dominant position and each data set collected will address different questions determined by the researcher at the outset. This design usually favours a qualitative paradigm being lodged within a quantitative design (Robson, 2011). A key feature of this design is that one data set needs to take on a minor role for the embedded design to flourish, despite the significant findings of the research. Use of an embedded design approach is effective in this study as a qualitative research-based approach can help to provide information on the inherent experiences and challenges of Black employment from individual perspectives. The embedding of quantitative data within the qualitative framework ensures that these individual perspectives are analysed based on trends.

Such a mixed methods design can be seen in Gifford et al. (1989), carried out in Liverpool, which dedicated a chapter to institutional racism and Black unemployment in the city. Many of the techniques outlined in the study of employment started with a quantitative element and then moved on to a phase of qualitative data collection. In line with this report, the current study also uses both these methods. However, in contrast to Gifford et al. (1989), the current study considers the qualitative method as the primary element, as the goal is to move beyond reported statistics. Extant literature on perceived racism within the workplace has argued that understanding the nature of minority employment requires a social constructivist focus, where context-specific analysis is required. Clearly, this requires a greater focus on qualitative methods.

Studies carried out in the new millennium that have focused on the topic of institutional racism have followed either a qualitative approach or a mixed methods approach in order for the views of individuals to be heard along with their experiences and immersion in the culture (Hill et al., 2005). This enables the researcher to develop a concise feel for the research context and the experiences of the subjects in the study, thus facilitating a more accurate conclusion through established findings.

5.4 Sampling

For the purposes of this study, the researcher selected a non-probability sampling technique. This is because within non-probability sampling not all individuals in the population have an equal chance of taking part in the study.

Non-probability sampling is preferred as it can help to elicit information from those who have faced potential discrimination at work or who are able to observe patterns of Black employment. As Denscombe (2010) argues, the selection of these participants is based on their knowledge of the research topic and with regard to the nature of the issue being investigated. This research focuses on a specific population, Black people within Liverpool. Therefore, by using non-probability-based purposive sampling, the researcher was able to identify those participants who have a very good

understanding of the issues being studied and are able to give the most pertinent answers to the research questions. The choice of participants also became easier when using this method, as the researcher could identify the most relevant study participants.

Purposive sample is a great technique to use when a wide cross-section of participants is to be included in the study. When this technique is implemented, the sample becomes a representative one (Denscombe, 2010). With the knowledge that the researcher had of the study and the type of respondents to include, participants can be chosen based on, for example, race, age or gender. Moreover, according to Denscombe (2010), when it comes to investigating a topic like institutional racism, purposive sampling may be the best method to use as it allows the researcher to be strategic and to interview those who are relevant to the research (Denscombe, 2010). However, as with all sampling techniques, one key limitation of selecting this approach that should be noted is the judgement that is shown by the researcher in their choice of participants (Etikan et al., 2016). Yet, despite this, this weakness can be outweighed by the importance of the information and knowledge that a participant will bring to the study. Therefore, in theory, the positives of using this sampling approach outweigh the negatives.

The population pool for this study included Liverpool-born Black community members. They are identified as those who are born into Black ethnic families and who have lived in the UK from birth (Wade, 2015). These members are defined as those who are from the Liverpool-born Black community and who classify Liverpool as their hometown. Findings of the 2009 census noted that Black or Black British made up 1.9 per cent of Black people in the city. Of that 1.9 per cent, 1.1 per cent were of African descent, 0.5 per cent were of Caribbean descent and 0.3 per cent were of other Black descent. Given that Liverpool is understood to have a population of around 876,000, the total number of Black people who are part of the study population is estimated at 16,644.

Within Liverpool, the majority of these individuals are located within the Liverpool 8 area, Toxteth, which has a Black residential population of 2 per

cent (Office for National Statistics, 2011). As Costello (2007), "the Liverpool Black Community is distinguished from others by its continuity, some Black Liverpudlians [in the Liverpool 8 area] being able to trace their roots in Liverpool for as many as ten generations" (Costello, 2007: 1). Participants were identified through communication with local organisations in the area, visiting their offices and publishing advertisements regarding the research on their noticeboards, with detailed information on how to participate. The researcher also advertised the research on various social media platforms and used email, sent to key organisations in the Liverpool 8 area, providing essential contact information. The use of social media has been intensively discussed amongst researchers as an emerging tool within the concept of marketing (Ismail, 2017). To obtain the necessary contact information for relevant organisations, the researcher gathered information from Liverpool City Council's website, which has a community resource unit that lists organisations that are active in the Liverpool 8 area, their remit and how they can be contacted. Moreover, as the researcher lives and works within the area of interest, this will enable them to use their knowledge of the area to contact local participants, community groups and stakeholders. This is imperative in seeking significant findings to meet the requirements of the study, and further contributing to the validity and reliability of the research.

All interviews took place in public places, e.g. coffee shops or local community hubs, as this provided easy access and took into account health and safety considerations for the researcher and participants. The researcher did not undertake any enquiries with vulnerable adults, young people or individuals who are not from the Liverpool-born Black community. In addition, as the subjects for this research were only from the Liverpool-born Black community, there was no necessity to interview participants who speak English as a second language. All those who participated in the research were provided with a consent form and an information sheet and were provided with the opportunity to discuss the objectives of the research before agreeing to take part. Many theorists have discussed both the importance and implications of consent forms in research. Nijhawan et al. (2013) contend, "informed consent is an ethical and legal requirement for research

involving human participants" (Nijhawan et al., 2013: 3). Through this process, the researcher ensures that the participants are well informed of the reasons for the study and what is expected of them, and why, in order to gain consent. Thus, prior to conducting interviews, the researcher did ensure that all consent forms were filled in accordingly; this meant that if any legal implications arose, the researcher had significant protection.

5.5 Research Instruments

5.5.1 Semi-structured Interviews

Semi-structured interviews are widely used in qualitative research (Bryman, 2012). On the one hand, they are ideal for enabling comparative information to be gathered. On the other hand, they provide the required flexibility to probe emergent lines of discourse in greater detail. This is one of the major benefits of a qualitative approach, because it curtails the potential bias of the researcher and allows the true voice of the participant to emerge (Babbie, 2015). Interviews can be a difficult instrument to use (Rowley, 2012). They primarily rely on the skill of the researcher, as well as on the quality of the questions. Therefore, a pilot is a necessity. However, when conducted correctly, interviews can generate rich volumes of data. In this case, the same coding process used for the desk study is used, i.e. the interview transcripts have been analysed via coding. However, as long as there is an interview schedule (see Appendix C) that includes key questions, prompts and closing comments, pitfalls can be avoided, as the semi-structured in-depth interview approach seems to be the most viable method to apply when trying to raise the understanding of a challenging topic (Blandford, 2013).

Additionally, the researcher interviewed local councillors and MPs in order to gather data on their viewpoints on employment and the Liverpool-born Black community (LBB). Interview requests were sent to six members of Liverpool City Council. The three main councillors for the Princes Park ward were approached, as they cover the Liverpool 8 area, which is the main residential area for the Liverpool-born Black community. The researcher also sent an interview request to the local MP for Riverside ward, Louise Ellman, and the Mayor of Liverpool, Joe Anderson, as an element of their roles involves

increasing investment and employment in Liverpool for all communities. Since Gifford et al. (1989), Liverpool has elected three councillors from the Black community, who also received interview requests: Councillor Abdul Qadir, Councillor Anna Rothery and Councillor Natalie Nicholas. As Liverpool City Council now employs 3,441 public-sector employers in the city, by interviewing those who have been elected to serve the constituents of the Liverpool-born Black community, the researcher will have the opportunity to gain clarity and understanding of this topic from those in authority.

5.5.2 Oral Testimony

Racial discrimination occurs as a result of racist behaviour, which has its own share of negative repercussions that vary from simple neglecting behaviour to avoiding people of different race or verbally abusing them in public. Therefore, oral testimony can be a powerful tool to help highlight the presence of such discrimination. Scrutinising the extant literature available on racism in Liverpool influenced the decision of the researcher to use oral testimony (Gifford et al., 1989; Dumangane, 2016). In reality, the core concept of oral testimony is clearly an influential tool for offering advice on the current issue that has not appeared in the media or official documents. By using this tool, the researcher acquired the ability to understand the daily struggles that certain races encounter in the community, which have not been recorded. Qu and Dumay (2011) assert that new information will be unearthed during the interview phase, and this increases the reliability of observation. Another benefit of incorporating oral testimony is the amount of analysis and comprehension it offers, as it encourages the respondents to assess various key events in a comfortable setting and allows the researcher to compare this testimony with the larger society.

Discussion is limited to cases in which the speaker’s words are considered to be literal rather than delivered in a playful, rhetorical or figurative tone. These limitations are imposed for concision, although the discussion is related to literal usage and the information the message carries. The law of truthfulness is relaxed here and this can be attributed to an outcome of tacit consent for uses such as social harmony and sociability (Bach and Harnish, 1979). The

use of oral testimonies provides opportunities for the researcher to gather detailed information about contributors' experiences.

According to Well et al. (1990), in the context of racism-related studies, when participants perceive bias-related instances during hiring, selection or in terms of growth opportunities within the organisation, understanding how such bias is perceived is essential, and understanding the links with culture is important. For instance, judgement of what is true or false, beautiful or bad, evil or good, and beneficial or useless is a process that is governed by culture and bound by different processes through time and space. Considering various cultural differences, classes and generations, it is vital to understand the complexity levels of the views and opinions of people and how they vary with the environment.

Using this approach in the context of racism is ideal as it can help people share their experiences and memories. There is an opportunity to provide a life-course perspective, where different instances or stages of life leading up to employment are considered. Furthermore, Faundez (2005) argues that this strategy is effective as it can elicit views on prevalent gaps in policies and provisions, which may underpin improvements in equity and equality in employment options.

In this research, the researcher identified 19 oral testimonies from participants from the Liverpool-born Black community. The choice of these participants was based on two criteria: first, thearticipant has personally experienced or witnessed potential bias or racism (either institutional or subtle) in the context of employment; and second, all participants are adults providing details on such racism-linked implications, either in their search for employment or in relation to how they are treated within the organisation after being hired. A total of 40 volunteers was initially identified to provide such testimonies, but only 21 agreed to take part, of which only 19 testimonies met the requirements. The researcher, according to Qu and Dumay (2011), is able to guide the line of enquiry as and when areas of interest appear during the process or ask for clarification of areas of ambiguity (Qu and Dumay, 2011). Apart from this, no other interventions were applied while collecting

primary data. All the oral testimonies were gathered within the Liverpool 8 area, as this is where the subject group, and their ancestors, has predominately resided for the last 400 years.

5.5.3 Written Requests

The second tool considered in this study is written requests, where the researcher sent written requests to organisations to identify their inputs on employee breakdown by race and diversity-related employment policies. The goal of written requests in the Gifford et al. (1989) report was to gather information from private employers. Compared to White employees, the unemployment rate for Blacks is double, irrespective of the level of educational achievement (Gifford et al., 1989). The use of written requests provides an opportunity to address the views of both employers and employees regarding such perceptions.

The use of written testimony attempted to determine why people have different feelings and thoughts that might affect the way they act towards others. Such a study could be done in various contexts, but in this case this research concentrated on the perspectives of both employers and employees regarding the challenges that may lead to potential racism implications with respect to employment. For example, this step helped in understanding the reasons employers give for their attitudes towards institutional racism and helped probe the perceptions of employees regarding such attitudes. Another vital point about this research approach is that it helped the researcher gain insights into how people feel and think, which may lay the foundation for a future independent qualitative study. The main role of the researcher in this written request process was to try to reach out to elicit the thoughts and emotions of the study participants. Using this approach, where the participants do not have to engage with the researcher, enhanced their willingness to identify significant areas of perceived racism and how, as employers/ employees, such situations are perceived.

In order to follow a similar pattern of enquiry, the researcher investigated the Chamber of Commerce website, where all private employers are registered,

and identified that in 2015 there were 2,156 private employers working within Liverpool. As this is a PhD study, the researcher was unable to send correspondence to all of these, thus imposing a clear limitation on the accessibility of all employees. This led the researcher to send letters to 10 per cent of this number, being 215 employers. The letters sent to these employers consisted of questions related to information concerning their employment patterns in relation to the Liverpool-born Black community. This application was solely based on respondents working in the private sector identifying themselves in data provided to their employers as belonging to the Liverpool-born Black community.

Moreover, the researcher also contacted and sent written requests to the Chair, Vice Chair and Deputy Chair of the Board of the Chamber of Commerce in Liverpool. This was done to request interviews with these individuals, to gather data on employability patterns of the Liverpool-born Black community and determine whether they are aware of the Gifford Report (1989) and any changes, which have occurred since its publication. Of the companies in existence when the Gifford Inquiry (1989) ran in Liverpool, all those involved from the private sector in meetings and the task-force process seem to have closed down or sold their stores to other companies, such as Littlewoods being sold to Primark in 2005.

5.6 Secondary Statistical Data

In relation to quantitative measures, the researcher has already undertaken an exercise involving scoping secondary statistical data from Liverpool City Council's website in relation to employment figures for the primary subjects of this research. On the website there are data available which provide an overview of employees in 3-year periods. In 1989, the Gifford Report stated that Liverpool City Council had over 30,000 employees and less than 1 per cent of those were Black (Gifford Report, 1989). In contrast, the employee profile data in 2015 show that Liverpool Council had 3,441 staff, of whom 64 females and 36 males identified themselves as being Black British. Additionally, according to the ethnic origin of staff table, 1.7 per cent of staff within the council identified themselves as being Black British. Using this

information, the researcher was able to demonstrate that despite the Gifford (1989) inquirers' recommendations having had 25 years to be implemented, changes in relation to increasing the number of people from the Liverpool-born Black community (LBB) had not taken place. One of the original recommendations delivered by the Gifford inquirers (1989) was in relation to "developing lasting policies to promote equal opportunities in its own workforce and in the services it provides" (Frost and Phillips, 2011).

The strength of using secondary quantitative data is that all Liverpool City Council employees are included in the process of providing these data, they are free to access, easy to read and allow comparisons of data on various ethnic groups working within the council (Flick, 2013). The council also states on its website, when asking employees to identify their race, that the 14 options provided were taken from the 2011 Census. Despite the advantages of using such data, there are limitations which need to be addressed by a researcher in relation to whether the data are accurate, as some respondents may find the need to tick numerous boxes when identifying their ethnicity (Fukurai and Krooth, 2003). However, despite the negative assertions attached to the use of statistical data, one issue which Liverpool City Council employment figures for the Liverpool-born Black community indicate is that the 10 per cent quota outlined in the Gifford recommendations of 1989 has not been achieved by the council and remains unattainable.

5.6.1 Head Count

This research also involves the enquirer conducting an observation exercise called a head count, which is similar to that undertaken by the Gifford inquirers (1989). This was carried out in order identify how many people from the Black community are working within the city's new retail sector, Liverpool 1. During the Gifford Inquiry (1989), the use of observation was in the form of a quantitative head count. This was implemented due to the inability to access equality data from Liverpool City Council and other employers in Liverpool concerning the ratio of Black staff they employed in comparison to Whites. "Finally, the Inquiry took initiatives of its own by carrying out headcounts of the visible counter staff in the city centre stores and in the Law

courts" (Gifford et al., 1989: 20), as the desired data could not be obtained. In the original study, the number of stores in Liverpool city centre which the panel visited was not supplied. However, in 2015, Liverpool 1, which is the biggest shopping complex in Merseyside, had 160 stores. Due to time restrictions, the researcher visited 16 of those stores, which equates to 10 per cent of the overall number of stores in the complex. In order to decide which 16 stores to visit, the researcher adopted a simple random-sampling approach. Moreover, in order to validate the findings, the researcher, on four separate occasions, visited the stores at the busiest time, which was a Sunday at noon, when most people are off work (Kneri, 2014).

To counter the problematic issue of identifying which employees belong to Liverpool's Black-born community and avoid any sort of discrimination, a number of steps were employed. First, the researcher approached individuals whom she perceived as belonging to the LBB community and conducted a 5-minute conversation in order to gauge their identity. The researcher followed a similar process when approaching possible participants in the city centre: on this occasion, the researcher, as previously stated, provided individuals that wanted to participate with consent forms. By undertaking this process, the research is ethically acceptable, as participants were informed of all aspects of the research and had an opportunity to take part or withdraw. However, there are some areas in which informed consent is hard to obtain and that a researcher should be aware of (Villafranca et al., 2017). Moreover, if an individual is mentally impaired, confused or too young to give consent, then participation should be avoided. However, despite these limitations on the process of informed consent, it is very important that all parties are aware of the central purpose of the research and take part freely.

5.7 Data Analysis Process

In order to analyse the findings effectively, the researcher adopted a grounded theory approach, which is one of the most innovative qualitative data-analysis processes available today (Berg, 2006). Over the last quarter of a century, grounded theory has had a noteworthy impact on qualitative research and continues to do so. Developed by Barney Glaser and Anselm

Strauss, “its main thrust is to generate theories regarding social phenomena: that is, to develop higher level understanding that is grounded in, or derived from, a systematic analysis of data” (Lingard et al., 2008: 459). The strategy behind grounded theory is to induce theory from lived experiences: this means that the researcher is able to extract key theories from findings. According to Robson (2011), grounded theory has two strands, one analysing collected data and one carrying out research (Robson, 2011). Both features have their own functions, which involve practices and processes. The approach was a challenge to positivists, with their scientific method, who believed that qualitative methods were no longer applicable in social science research for generating data (Weber, 2004). However, the adoption of qualitative methods within this research indicates that the grounded theory approach could be relatively applicable in generating significant findings. Despite grounded theory being an approach that is advocated for qualitative studies, many studies in the new millennium following a quantitative approach have also used this strategy for data analysis. Robson (2011) gives the example of Glasser and Strauss’ (1967) original study, which introduced this approach and had a broad quantitative-based element (Robson, 2011).

As with any data-analysis process, grounded theory has its strengths and weaknesses. One of the main strengths of this process, which can be applied to this study, is that the approach is extremely adaptable; it is methodical and can be easily managed. Second, the approach allocates precise techniques when examining qualitative facts and experiences (Robson, 2011). Additionally, as previously stated, when a theory has not been allocated to a study by a researcher, grounded theory is extremely beneficial in assisting with this. Nonetheless, in spite of these benefits, as with every approach, there are restrictions that have to be considered by any researcher when applying this strategy. Due to the flexible nature of the grounded theory approach, there are various problematic factors that, at times, can obstruct the researcher from determining which areas of the data to focus on (Hussien et al., 2014). There are also issues of how intensely and extensively a researcher should acquaint him/herself with the topic being studied. Researchers who are limited in time should not consider this approach, as

time is required to propel the emerging themes (Hussien et al., 2014). However, despite these shortcomings, grounded theory does enable the researcher to identify the values of participants and how they perceive the real world, and how feelings manifest during certain events that take place in their lives. This essentially means that the research could potentially grasp findings that are meaningful in relation to the research context.

5.8 Ethical Considerations

According to Saunders et al. (2015), it is imperative that the researcher considers any ethical issues that may arise in the course of the study (Saunders et al., 2016). Therefore, taking into account issues that might occur during the primary research stages, the analysis of the data, and the various procedures that are adopted in the application of knowledge in the study, the ethical issues which are considered in the research focus on acquiring access to participants, making sure that the participants are well informed regarding the purpose of the research study, informing contributors of any risks they may encounter by taking part in the study, and giving the participants an opportunity to make an informed decision on whether to be involved. As previously stated, these factors are imperative for consent forms and prior to conducting any primary research. Moreover, anonymity is applied to the data using the grounded theory approach of using labelling codes to identify individuals and sound ethical principles of integrity are applied at all times (Palmquist et al., 2017).

The study also considers the concept of research bias, which, in relation to the role of the research, as someone holding a dual role within my own community, is a key factor. As an insider, a researcher working within his or her own community, it is important to ensure that research bias does not exist within the research process. As Bell (2010) states, “as an insider researcher, you will need to satisfy yourself that you have done everything possible to ensure that your research is conducted in a way which complies with your own ethical principles” (Bell, 2010: 53).

5.9 Research Reliability and Validity

Reliability can be defined as the degree to which there are consistent results obtained over time and a precise representation of the population being studied. Moreover, other researchers add that reliability is the condition in which the study results can be reproduced again if the same methodology is used under the same conditions every time. The conventional criterion for validity has been to establish and identify the roots in positivist theory and, to some extent, one of the systematic theories of validity is positivism itself. Within positivist theory, results and the conglomeration of many factual concepts are observed, such as universal laws, objectivity, evidence, deduction, reality, mathematical data and facts. These can be used in a secondary data collection approach and for quantitative data but are not relevant to qualitative methods.

According to Patton (2002), two vital factors that any researcher who performs a qualitative study should be concerned about are validity and reliability. These two factors have to be borne in mind while designing research and assessment methods and while analysing the study's quality. This is mainly related to the question of how an enquirer can convince his or her audience that the research findings are worth paying attention to. The quality of a study from each perspective should be judged strictly on the criteria of a given perspective. For instance, reliability and validity are vital conditions for maintaining the quality of quantitative studies and, in the case of qualitative studies, credibility, neutrality, consistency and applicability are vital for sustaining quality.

The term 'dependability' in qualitative research studies is closely associated with the idea of reliability in quantitative studies. They also stress the enquiry audit as a step that might increase the reliability of a qualitative study. The enhancement of dependability in the context of the current study relates to the clarity and rigour of the proposed methodology. To boost dependability, this research records the overall methodology adopted with clear details on data collection and data analysis methods. This can be used to analyse the product of research and the process involved for the sake of consistency.

Along similar lines, Seale (1999) and Clont (1992) support the concept of consistency along with dependability in qualitative research. Consistency will be attained in analysed data when the research steps are thoroughly checked by assessing the raw data, reduction products and process details.

The trustworthiness of the study has to be examined to ensure reliability in the case of qualitative research. Seale (1999) asserts that while trying to prove the good quality of studies with the help of parameters such as validity and reliability in qualitative studies, the research's trustworthiness is essential. Trustworthiness is enhanced through triangulation. Moreover, the data-verification process can use a triangular approach, as utilised by this researcher. With the help of triangulation, the researcher can easily verify the results obtained with the methods used. Inter-reliability and internal consistency tests are used by researchers to authenticate a research study. Bryman (2012) defines triangulation as the use of various methods to perform research on the same topic and same unit of analysis to ensure that the results are verified and the reliability of the study is enhanced.

5.10 Philosophical Considerations in Research

In theory, the philosophical ideology in the study acts as a key component to achieve the desired results. As illustrated by Weber (2004), this aspect of research allows the researcher to develop a significant understanding, within its natural setting, of the background to the context (Weber, 2004). That said, it is imperative that the researcher comprehends the philosophical ideology that best suits the study before conducting it. Creswell (2009) argues that this perspective acts as an essential stimulus that drives the research.

Within sociology, there are two competing paradigms that support social research. When investigating a quantitative paradigm, the philosophy of positivism is closely intertwined with this approach, as is social constructionism, which is closely interwoven with a qualitative paradigm (Robson, 2011). These concepts consider how the social world should be investigated given different social positions and how each individual sees the world.

The positivist view aligns itself with traditional research values and favours quantitative research rather than the written format of qualitative enquiry (Creswell, 2013). Many within this paradigm call this research scientific practice as it contests the belief that assurances regarding truth cannot be given when examining the actions of humans (Robson, 2011). The essence of positivism is to look at the factors that influence the conclusions reached within research. These factors are achieved via testing that is measured, monitored and numerically reported (Creswell, 2013). Once reported, these outcomes should be reliable, credible and verifiable in order to provide a conclusive understanding of the domain being studied (Robson, 2011). This scientific approach to data collection and the production of evidence enables researchers to claim to enact true statements based on facts that have been certified. However, limitations of the research method do exist. For instance, Bryman and Bell (2015) argue that positivism as an epistemology relies on knowledge to be absolute. However, a challenge with this approach is that there can be different aspects, including experiences of individuals, which cannot be assessed using such an absolute knowledge driver. Additionally, Hammersley (2013) concludes that it could be impossible to measure phenomena associated with people's intentions, attitudes and thoughts as they cannot be explicitly measured and tested in terms of reliability. This can cause some constraints related to the abstract conceptualisation that is developed around human relationships. Thirdly, the fundamental theoretical perspective of positivism can be a challenge. The objective positioning of positivism aims to ensure that the researcher's outlook and attitude do not interfere in the research. As Bryman (2012) contends, while this approach can be useful in scientific experiments, it can be challenging in social research where the researcher's understanding and interpretation can be a key element contributing to the research effectiveness.

In the context of the current research, the choice of a positivist approach can be troublesome, as racism as a concept involves understanding the inherent complexities that exist within the society with respect to the interaction between races (Well et al., 1990). For example, while there is an argument to be made that there are studies that track employment across ethnicities in

the UK along with potential discrimination claims, these only refer to those racist experiences that are reported (Lavalette and Penketh, 2014). As Parutis (2014) argues, there is often ambivalent racism experience, which many people of colour experience where there is conflict between beliefs of equality and sympathy for those oppressed and a general attitude that individuals are responsible for what happens to them. In such instances, the experiences of individuals play a key role, and addressing these experiences is very important. The research cannot ensure that there is limited engagement with the study subjects, as one of the primary research questions of the study is to understand the barriers that the Liverpool-born Black community faces in accessing employment.

The researcher's father came to Liverpool in the 1950s as a merchant seaman from Somaliland, part of a British protectorate, and her mother soon followed. This provided unique experiences while growing up in Liverpool as the daughter of a Black immigrant. Personal experiences linked to education and employment-based challenges, including being asked to do work that was not part of the researcher's job description, have provided insights into evidence of overt racism and institutional racism. Additionally, lifelong experience and judgement with respect to education and employment have given rise to personal perceptions. It is therefore essential that the researcher uses these experiences while addressing the preferred data-collection methods. A purely objective approach, as recommended by the positivist paradigm, cannot, therefore, be adhered to.

As positivism has many limitations, there are alternative philosophies that can provide more clarity and focus for the research subject. This paved the way for the introduction of post-positivism, which is not a connected school of thought but includes philosophers who impart a similar array of views to their predecessors (Robson, 2011). Unlike positivism, post-positivist techniques acknowledge that when researching a topic, the enquirer can have an impact on the outcomes of observation, along with historical knowledge of a situation that the researcher may have. In order to overcome this bias, post-positivists pursue impartiality in their work through affirming that imperfections already

exist in the world that they are researching, which is one of the enquirer's weaknesses (Robson, 2011). Post-positivism supports 'certain pluralism', wherein there is balancing of positivist and interpretivist approaches. It focuses on researching issues and addressing the context of research experiences (Panhwar et al., 2017).

According to Sheppard (2014), post-positivism invites a mixed methods approach as post-positivists tend to reject what is considered a false dichotomy between the positivist-quantitative and interpretivist-qualitative research paradigms. Post-positivism holds that research strategies should not be driven by commitment to a specific epistemological doctrine and that there should be pragmatic concerns about the effectiveness of generating knowledge and solving problems. Therefore, post-positivism supports McKendrick's (1999: 40) comment that one's "epistemological position only determines how methods can be used: it does not preclude the use of particular methods".

However, despite acknowledging the limitations that exist within the world, post-positivism still pursues the same agenda as its predecessor, as science is still very much dominant in the research-collection process, allowing theory to strengthen or refute a hypothesis; and if an acceptable conclusion is not reached that supports the theory, further testing is prescribed. Therefore, it allows the researcher to arrive at adequate conclusions that best test and evaluate the hypotheses developed at the start of the thesis. Nonetheless, post-positivism is a view that is governed by facts and theories and supported by like-minded researchers who carry out studies in the same area; it can achieve outcomes that are more certain than previous work (Robson, 2011). Still, anyone using this philosophical approach when researching the social world will have the limitation of control hindering the research, along with attaining impartiality, making this type of research extremely rigid in the real world (Robson, 2011).

When delving into the philosophical keystones of qualitative research, a wide variety of sources exist, social constructionism being the most conventional of this paradigm. In contrast to positivism and post-positivism, the

constructionist philosophy pursues a qualitative agenda and believes that the world is structured through social contact. This interaction between people requires interpretation, and this is what social constructionist researchers pursue (Robson, 2011). Pioneers of this theory include Mannheim's or Lincoln and Guba's enquiries in 1985, and more recently Mertens (2003). All these sociologists focus on the subjective implications involved in their work and the complex understanding attached to it (Robson, 2011). Instead of examining statistical information and trying to find meaning in the data, social constructivists allow the words of individuals to be constructed via interaction. According to Creswell (2013), social constructivists like to explore the living and working environments of participants, to give understanding and background to the data being collected and interpreted. Unlike post-positivism, theories do not exist when originating data but are generated during the research process. The underpinnings of social constructivism are determined through how the population communicates and understands the world. Meaning cannot exist in isolation; rather, it occurs when human beings intermingle and individuals engage with the world (Robson, 2011). Social constructionists see individuals as conscious, thinking human beings who are subjectively aware of the world around them. In essence, this ideology is perceived as interpretivist thinking, in which the interpretivist undertakes their research by concentrating on how those who are in the world comprehend the different elements within it (Burr, 2003). Therefore, it is recognised as an effective means of research that allows the researcher to adequately perceive the reality of the context of the research, rather than see it as an objective or exterior phenomenon (Anderson, 2003).

The choice of a social constructivist lens through which to conduct racism research is ideal. With specific reference to the current research, the choice of a constructivist philosophical stance will provide the researcher with the opportunity to understand views on racism from the perspective of the subjects of the research. At no point in the researcher's life in the fire service or in her other roles in Liverpool did she have the pleasure of working with a Black manager, except in the voluntary/community sector. As Constantino (2016) argues, it is not easy to ignore professionally what one experiences

personally. Therefore, personal experiences drive this PhD-related study choice. In undertaking this research, the researcher looks to see whether the barriers that she has faced in employment in Liverpool extend to others from the Liverpool-born Black community and, by recording their experiences, if it is possible to improve structured responses to such racism.

Previous racism research has documented how the rise of ambivalent racism and subtle or everyday racism (Whitehead and Stokoe, 2015) has created various modes of hardship faced by people of colour. One objective of the constructivist approach is that, given that individuals perceive reality differently, there is a need to acknowledge these differences (Robson, 2011). In racism research, these differences in reality perception can be linked to variations in experiences of racism, and the potential 'acceptance' of subtle racism, which may go unreported (Winant, 2018). Furthermore, as Bryman and Bell (2015) contend, the nature of the constructivist research paradigm is that it helps in creating an engaged conversation or discussion between researcher and research subject. Using this approach can enable the author of the current research to discuss both direct and indirect experiences of discrimination in employment linked to racism and identify the challenges that exist in existing policies and provision in Liverpool regarding racism. The constructivist approach will also ensure that meaningful and purposeful findings from discussions with research participants can be compared with recorded evidence of racism and recorded statistics gathered using governmental and non-governmental records.

The choice of a constructivist methodology supports a transformational approach to studying racism. This theory enables disadvantaged groups in society who are facing oppression, racism and inequality to be studied outside the confines of post-positivism (Creswell, 2013). With the introduction of a transformative world view, researchers believe that the injustices experienced by marginalised groups can finally be addressed, as the constructivist approach does not go far enough to comprehend the various issues. When conducting research with a transformative philosophy, one must align such enquiry with a social or political agenda (Creswell, 2013).

This type of research attempts to alter the lives of those being researched, who may be oppressed or isolated, and will take an inclusive approach, with participants being involved in the interview or focus-group process (Robson, 2011). One of the main advantages of this type of approach is the opportunity of expression given to enquirers, as their voices or opinions can be heard possibly for the first time, leading to their own personal consciousness being raised (Creswell, 2013). For instance, an example of this method that is utilised today is the Jeremy Corbyn campaign, which raised people's consciousness, especially among the young, through a social justice platform. Kentish (2017) claims that "Jeremy Corbyn's unexpectedly strong performance in the general election was caused by the highest turnout among young people since 1992" (Kentish, 2017: 1). The use of a transformative approach can help in improving inclusive research, addressing the inherent needs of social diversity and the acceptance of multiculturalism. Adopting this perspective within the context of the current study can assist in understanding the advances made with respect to racism rhetoric in the UK.

Despite the optimism attached to using a transformative approach, one of the limitations of implementing this philosophical style within research is the time commitment required. Additionally, data generated when using a transformative approach need to be dense, but is the only way that reliability can be achieved in a study of any size (Hossenfelder, 2012). Due to these limitations, studies in this field, along with financial constraints, have been unable to reach the potential required to enable transformative research to become an accessible choice for all enquirers which, consequently, has a detrimental influence on the overall findings and conclusions in the study. However, it can be perceived that the positives outweigh the negatives in this approach, and thus this could be an essential technique within the study.

5.11 Research Approach

The way a researcher approaches their study entails a crucial decision-making process, which allows the reader to follow the line of enquiry and understand the methods that will be applied within the investigation (Creswell, 2013). As this research examines institutional racism within the context of

employment, its intention is to provide knowledge and understanding about the topic. There has been significant importance ascribed to locating racism and its challenges beyond individual beliefs and attitudes, and addressing its implications for institutional responses. Williams (1985) argued that higher level entities, including social processes, forces and institutions, need to be examined, as addressing racist challenges in such entities can bring about individual shifts in attitude. The theories of institutional racism give analytic primacy to taken-for-granted policies, practices and organisational norms and structures which show signs of inequality based on race. Institutional racism therefore refers to general and particular instances of racial discrimination, inequality, exploitation and domination in organisational and institutional contexts most often represented in the labour market. Henry (1990) contend that while there is some evidence of institutional racism being overt (e.g. in the form of clear evidences of excluding applicants of specific race), it is more often used to explain cases of disparate impact where there could be informal practices within the organisation which may exclude minorities from specific opportunities, including leadership. The underlying processes and opportunities which enable such a disparate impact constitute institutional racism, and these factors can be systemic in nature.

As Christian (1998) rightly concludes, understanding individual identity and individual spaces within such white racial frames could help in reducing the potential unconscious biases which contribute to systemic racism. Therefore, the adoption of an interpretivist approach can help in the assessment of institutional spaces by interpreting individual views. As Ashe and Nazroo (2015) conclude, racism remains a common feature within British society. In order to refute or verify this claim, the research approach selected needs to form the foundation of the study by revisiting existing theories like the theory of institutional racism and its relevance to the current research. Within research, there are two main research approaches: inductive and deductive.

5.11.1 Deductive Research

In theory, Bryman (2008) illustrates that deductive research allows the testing of a known theory to take place (Bryman, 2008). Deductive reasoning is

based on principles and laws which enable a researcher to start with theories and work their way through the study (Soiferman, 2010). Researchers who adopt deductive reasoning within their research develop a premise prior to the study, which they attempt to prove or refute. The use of a deductive approach aims to test prior concepts and views of research within a given context (Bryman, 2012). The change in the main manifestation of racism shows that new themes and patterns are required, and that existing theories need improvement or reassessment. Therefore, a purely deductive approach is not ideal in the context of this study.

5.11.2 Inductive Research

Bryman (2008) illustrates that an inductive approach allows a researcher to generate new theories and outcomes from research findings (Bryman, 2008). Enquirers pursuing an inductive approach are typically engaged in qualitative research, which enables them to use the interview or focus group tools. The use of an inductive approach helps to provide more context-specific arguments which are relevant to a given context. For example, McConahay (1986) argues that understanding the presence of racism in a modern-day context requires understanding the need for change in existing policy structures. Similarly, as Henry (1990) argues, understanding the need for affirmative programmes or a change in the structure of incentives for employment linked to enhancing diversity and equal opportunity requires an assessment of the everyday experiences of Black employees. This can drive a better understanding of racism theories. The use of such an inductive research approach can aid in revisiting existing assumptions of race-related theories to better situate the views of the individual who has faced racism in their workplace or in the larger context of the labour market.

5.12 Reflections

As an insider researcher, conducting research within the community where she lives, she believes that the experiences expressed by participants can at times be regarded as shared encounters when trying to access employment in Liverpool, and this has led the researcher to consider the insider and outsider debate, which appears in social research (Bulmer and Solomos,

2004). This debate questions whether the role of the researcher, who is seen as an insider by the community, enables the researcher to avoid inherent research bias and collect data from participants without becoming an advocate or culturally constrained during the process. As with any role within research, the researcher believes that challenges have emerged which highlight the limitations and benefits of the insider/outsider dichotomy (Bulmer and Solomos, 2017). One of the merits that have aided the research as an insider is in the area of access to participants. As the population involved in the study is aware of the researcher’s role within the community, the issue of trust has already been established, allowing others working within the community to direct and advertise the project to potential participants. Thus, the role of insider researcher has enabled the researcher to gain rapid access to participants despite the research topic, a courtesy that might have been refused to an outsider.

Another advantage of being classed as an insider by participants has been the ability to access personal experiences from the population being studied. As stated by Dwyer and Buckle (2009: 54) in their work on bereaved parents, “participants might be more willing to share their experiences because there is an assumption of understanding and an assumption of shared distinctiveness; it is as if they feel you are one of us and it is us versus them (those on the outside who don’t understand)”. This ability to relate to participants’ experiences can at times also be portrayed as a negative aspect of being an insider researcher, as it can lead to participants not wanting to provide explicit details about experiences, as they believe that the life experiences encountered by the researcher may be the same as those of the participants. These notions of understanding, which are based on “assumed insider connections” (Bulmer and Solomos, 2004), can circumvent the natural process of data delivered and, at times, make the role of the insider researcher seem redundant, as key issues associated with bias, like objectivity and neutrality, can be contested.

Subsequently, despite this research at times leading the researcher to classify herself as an insider researcher, there is the belief that the main

element of the quantitative research allowed the researcher to get a feel of how an outsider researcher functions in their role. This provides the researcher with more insights into the experiences of the participants, as there are first-hand insights via both types of research. Sadly, one observation witnessed by the researcher during the initial head count pilot study, was that whilst walking around city centre retail stores, the researcher was followed on one occasion for quite some time around a store by a security guard. The researcher approached the security guard, who seemed very anxious, as he followed her from the ground floor to the third floor. Due to this incident, the researcher believes that she was able to gain some insight into the different levels of racism encountered by participants from the Liverpool-born Black community within the city centre on a daily basis, as initially explained in the Gifford Report (1989). When the researcher approached the security guard, she initial asked him if everything was okay. He stated yes, which led the researcher, to query why he was following her. He responded by stating, he was not and was just doing his job, which the researcher then countered by stating, that this may have been the case on the ground floor, but to follow a person from the ground floor to the third floor when they can visibly see you, was not just someone doing their job but could be seen as security staff racially profiling a customer. At this point, the security guard pleaded that he was not racially profiling the researcher. This led the researcher to make a conscious decision to not file a complaint, but to reveal her role by presenting her university ID to the security guard. The security guard then apologised and seemed very embarrassed at the situation. This experience enabled the researcher to see that being an "outsider does not create immunity to the influence of personal perspective and furthermore, one does not have to be a member of the group being studied to appreciate and adequately represent the experience of the participants" (Dwyer and Buckle, 2009: 54).

Chapter 6

Quantitative Findings

6.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to report the quantitative results of the study, where the focus is predominantly on secondary statistical data and head counting. The findings of this chapter predominantly aim to provide information on the existence of racism with respect to employment within the Liverpool-born Black community. The chapter also presents findings from the pilot study to help identify the key themes that need to be disclosed through the research.

Before undertaking the data-collection process, the researcher pilot tested two of the data-gathering tools. The two techniques that the researcher piloted were a head count (see Appendix A) and interview questions (see Appendix C). This section of the research presents an analysis of the quantitative elements associated with the pilot study. Additionally, as the head count is unique to the Gifford Report (1989), a pre-trial enabled the researcher to overcome any access or security issues that might arise in city-centre stores to be frequented.

There were no participants involved in the quantitative component of the pilot study, as the head-count instrument was observational. Using a random sampling system, the researcher attended 6 stores located within Liverpool city centre. Visits to these 6 shops took place on two separate occasions, at the same time of day, and the researcher was physically looking for Black staff working in the stores. According to Gifford et al. (1989), a head count is the only way to identify visible counter staff in city centre stores, as statistical information in this area does not exist.

Preliminary findings of the two observational visits were that no Black staff could physically be seen working behind the counters in any of the 6 department stores visited. To conclusively verify these findings, the

researcher decided to visit a total of 16 selected stores, which was 10 per cent of the 160 stores located in Liverpool 1 on six further occasions. The lack of Black employees at any level of the organisation is an indication of both explicit and implicit racial discrimination. Talaska et al. (2008) conclude that differentiation based on race is evident in the place of employment where there are limited efforts taken by the organisation or employers to integrate diversity as part of their hiring and selection practices. On the other hand, Barth and Dale-Olsen (2009) conclude that there are some implicit discriminatory actions wherein people may differentiate themselves based on their race; in their workplaces, this contact may move such out group members towards employment options that are not preferred by the majority of the population. While conclusions on the nature of such employment cannot be arrived at in the context of the pilot study, it is important to identify if forms of implicit or explicit bias exist in the organisation.

6.2 Main Research Findings

Despite the abundance of research in Liverpool in the 1980s exploring the high unemployment levels amongst the Liverpool-born Black community (e.g. Ben-Tovim et al., 1980) there has been minimal research focusing on the fortunes of this community in the new millennium. In 1978, it was reported to South Liverpool Personnel that over 50 per cent of job seekers from the Liverpool-born Black community who were registered with that agency had been discriminated against when seeking employment in Liverpool (Ben-Tovim et al., 1980). By the late 1980s, after the Gifford Inquiry, this figure increased, as more members of the local Black population in Liverpool outlined their grievances to the inquiry. With these high levels of discrimination being reported throughout Liverpool by the Black community, recommendations were swiftly made, asking statutory and private employers in the city to take action and implement new measures that would tackle inequality (Gifford et al., 1989). Another study reporting on Black youth employment opportunities is that by Roberts et al. (1994). The authors concluded that there existed inferior labour market conditions which were attributable to the concentration of the Black community in the inner city, their social class background, and the lack of efforts to improve education

attainment in the community. The findings reported that though actual evidence of unfair discrimination was limited (less than 5%), there was an inherent inhibition-associated anticipation of discrimination and rejection, as well as a fear of racial hostility among members. The authors concluded that there are systemic challenges in providing the right support in the wider labour market. Given that this study was published after the Gifford Report (1989), there clearly remain challenges in its implementation.

With the turn of the new millennium, research in this area came to a halt and no longer focused on the city and the high unemployment levels of the Black community. This is because, despite the launch of specific regeneration initiatives, the location-specific and ethnicity-specific needs of different Black and other racial minorities were not met. This contributed to the underperformance of the Liverpool BME population (Pemberton et al., 2006). By 2010, the UK had introduced the Equality Act, which provides the working age population with some protection from discrimination in the workplace. As part of this Act, protected characteristics became part of legislation shielding gender, race and sexual orientation; this was closely followed by Public Sector Equality Duty in 2011, which aimed to ensure that those classed as belonging to a protected group had greater involvement in employment within the public sector. However, despite these changes in legislation, jobs for the Black community in 83 per cent of councils across the country dropped below the proportion of BAME people in the population, as indicated in the 2011 Census data. Evidences show that this shortfall is across the country, with the widest gaps in Luton BC, Redbridge and Newham LBC (ONS, 2019). An analysis of the percentage of civil servants in the UK shows that 88% of them are white (Figure 6.1). The Black community represents only 3.2 per cent of all civil servants in the country (UK Government, 2018).

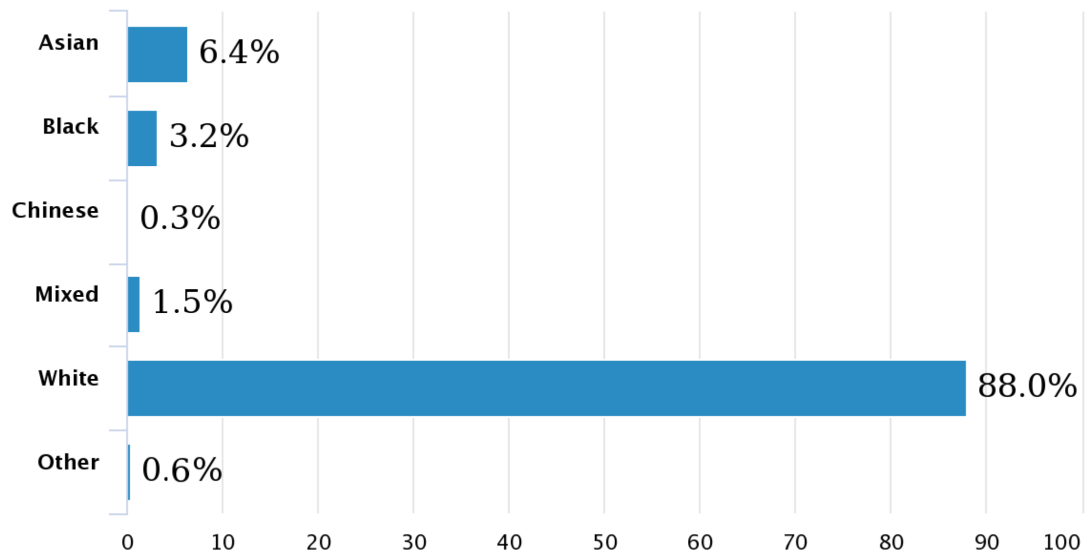


Figure 6.1. Percentage of civil servants by ethnicity

Source: UK Government (2018)

With this underrepresentation of the Black population in one area of the public sector, and figures in the private sector in Liverpool being unattainable, a rationale emerged for this study, which was to investigate how widespread racial discrimination by employers was, and is, within Liverpool.

6.2.1 National Data

Racial Disparity Audit (2017)

Over the last century, the White population in the UK has decreased and the number of people identified as being from ethnic minority groups have increased. At the last census in 2011, only 80 per cent of the population identified as White, which represents a decline in this statistic from 87 per cent in 2001. The Racial Disparity Audit (2017), published by the Prime Minister, identified that 7.5 million people, which equates to 13.5 per cent of those who reside in the UK, were born outside the country. The data on the remaining 86 per cent of the population, who were born in the UK, revealed that 98 per cent of the White population indicated that the UK was their birthplace, while 94 per cent of the mixed and Black Caribbean population were also born in the UK. Additionally, over 50 per cent of those from second-generation Pakistani and Bangladeshi communities were born in this

country. Those who identified as other White in government data figures were less likely to have been born in the UK.

Smith (2018) contends that to address the nature of employment effectively it is essential to consider some systematic challenges, ranging from education and health to social capital. The Race Disparity Audit (2017) identified that, within the Black population, only 54 per cent of Black Africans and 43 per cent of Black Caribbeans met the expected standards for reading and writing. The audit also identified that free school meal eligibility was higher amongst the Black population when compared to the White population. The findings showed that in 2016, Black people were three times more likely to be eligible for free school meals (FSMs) when compared to the White population. Furthermore, it is also seen that those children who were eligible for FSMs show lower attainment than non-FSM pupils.

The findings of this audit show challenges, in access to social-welfare outcomes in the Black population. There has been an increase in the various social groups that have sought welfare services due to the erratic changes in demography that occurred as a result of migration (Marquez and Moore, 2017). Aranda and Vaquera (2015) identify social welfare as an element that has seen higher ethnic divides in the twenty-first century. The authors argue that with industrialisation and globalisation there has been a complete transformation in expectations, with ethnic minorities improving their educational status through access to a wide range of employment opportunities. Strand (2015) concludes that the gap in educational achievement by ethnic minority groups has narrowed significantly in the last 20 years. Using the Youth Cohort Study (YCS), the author concludes that between 1991 and 2006, ethnic minority groups made significant efforts to meet educational attainment goals set by the major population.

At the same time, the authors also identify that, despite educational attainment at primary and secondary levels, access to higher education remains a challenge. Furthermore, there is a prevalence of ethnic differences in affordability and the need for access to additional support. Bhattacharyya et al. (2003) also highlight that the income differential between the minority

and the majority has continued to increase. Parsons and Thompson (2017), in their examination of ethnic disadvantages and educational attainment, conclude that access to FSMs is often highest for ethnic minorities, who are in the low-income group and quartile. In education, a succession of announcements by the government in 2009–2010 led to a shift in focus from income-driven assessment of educational incentives and support to one that was focused on race. The authors contend that the British coalition government sought to present the true racial victims of education as being White working-class children (Gillborn et al., 2012). This resulted in a multiculturalism-driven assessment of educational policies without addressing the ethnicity-poverty gap. As a result of this effort, various multicultural educational efforts which sought to improve child access to education and an improvement in overall social wellbeing were suspended (Gillborn, 2009).

UK Government (2018) data (Figure 6.2) show that 13 per cent of pupils in Key Stage 4 were eligible for free school meals (FSM) in 2016–17, including 22 per cent of Black pupils and 12 per cent of White pupils. A comparison of the Black and White populations shows that with free school meals, there was an improvement in Black pupil performance (39.7%) when compared to white population (32.3%). However, without free school meals, White pupils performed better (47.7%) when compared to Black pupils (46.1%).Overall, the national average for White pupils (45.9%) and Black pupils (44.8%) was the lowest when compared to other ethnicities.

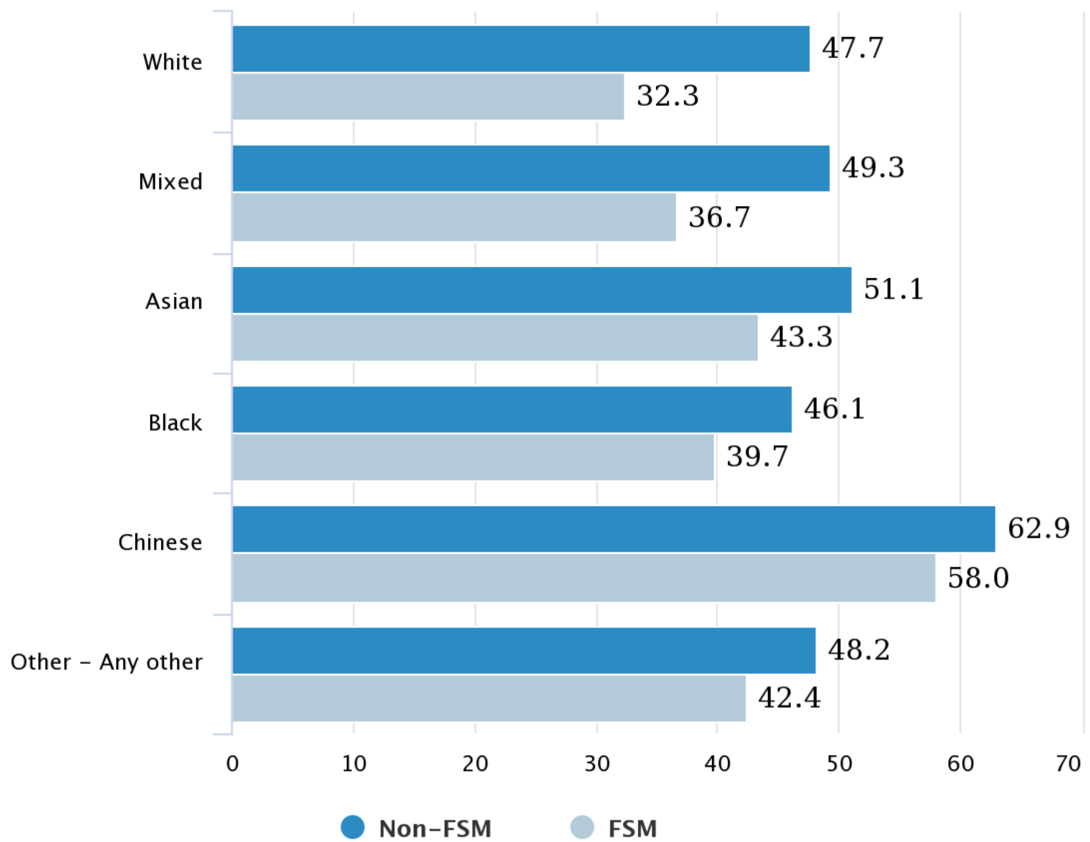


Figure 6.2. Attainment scores by students who are eligible for free school meals

Source: UK Government (2018)

Apart from education, engagement in civic society with opportunities to address systemic needs can show the overall acceptance of a specific ethnicity and race within the community. The overall social capital of members of various ethnicities is identified in the following Figure 6.3.

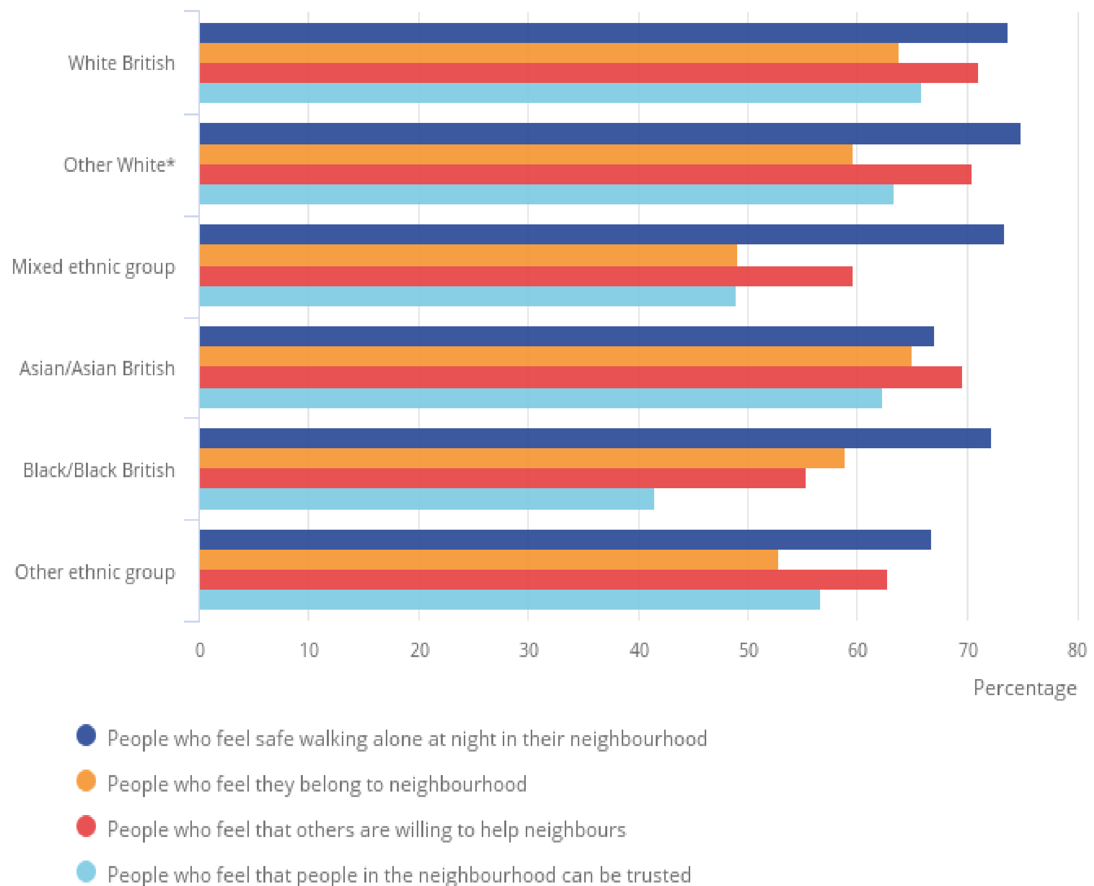


Figure 6.3. Selected social capital measure by ethnic group

Source: UK Government (2018)

The findings show that individuals who identify as White were most likely to feel positive about their neighbourhood when compared to people from other ethnic groups. For example, if one considers the indicator 'people are willing to help others in the neighbourhood', there is 16 per cent difference between the White community (71.4%) when compared to the Black community (55.4%). Similarly, the audit shows that perceptions of safety vary between the White and Black communities. When asked to rate if they feel they can trust in those in their neighbourhood, the White community (65.56%) believed in it better than the Black community (41.5%). The findings show that Black adults in particular may not trust their neighbours or believe that they will provide them with help. The overall ability of Black adults to contribute to decisions and policies within the neighbourhood was also moderate (UK Government, 2018).

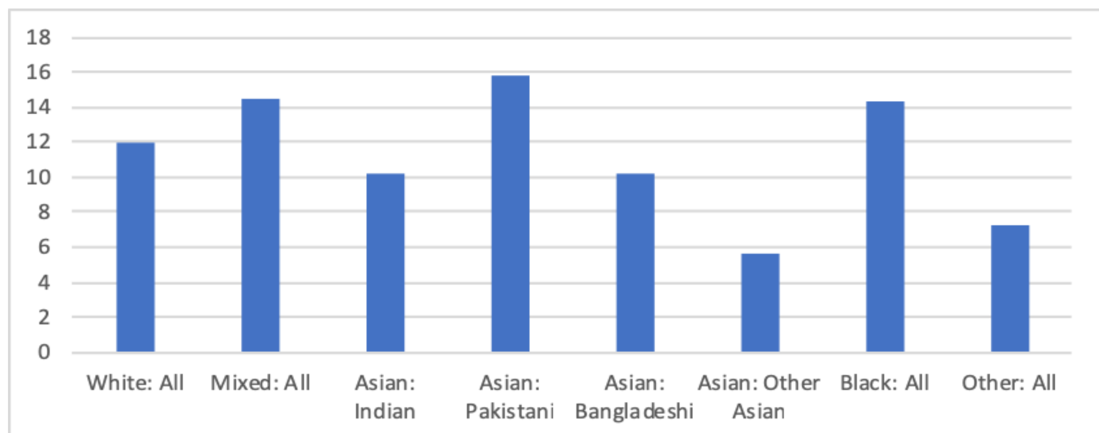
These views further support arguments of lack of feeling of acceptance in neighbourhoods by the Black community. Previous findings have shown that there is some perception of a lack of 'Englishness' of immigrants. Hunter (2017), in an assessment of communities and their power structure, concludes that there are multiple and contested boundaries that demarcate geospatial definitions of a community from the community's acceptance of all its members. Furthermore, as Burchardt et al. (2002) conclude, a key dimension in the field of racism and prejudice is political engagement. The subtle presence of racism and lack of civic engagement of all people within a community or a region may continue to result in a lack of representation of all its members. This could also be linked to the overall perception of various communities and their contributions. Schuster and Solomos (2004) identify that members of ethnic minorities are in some cases considered to be opportunists who rely on welfare, rather than being contributors to economic wealth. Such perceptions may have contributed to a feeling of lack of engagement by members of the civic community.

Education, employment or training-related assessment at the age of 16–24 years is most important, as unemployment rates and limited higher education options are most evident in this age group. Given these challenges, national level data on the number of young people not in education, employment or training (NEET) were collected (ONS, 2018) (Figure 6.4). The findings are based on data collected for the racial equality audit. The findings show that 14.3 per cent of Black youth collectively were not in education, employment or training when compared to the White population (5%). This is found to be the second highest NEET rate when compared to the Pakistani population in the UK. This situation could have been compounded by a shift in the rhetoric of British policy. For example, Cameron (2011a) concluded that there should be equal benchmarks set for children of all ethnicities and groups with respect to gaining employment. He remarked in his speech that:

> *I am disgusted by the idea that we should aim for any less for a child from a poor background than a rich one. I have contempt*

for the notion that we should accept narrower horizons for a Black child than a White one. (Cameron, 2011b)

While this shift towards convergence of community members and equity for all was commendable, various steps were taken to reduce actual drivers of equality. For example, as the BBC (2012) reported, new policies are no longer expected to be subject to equality impact assessments. This could complicate access to education and training for minority Black groups, as there was no effort to assess if new educational policies or drivers would have a negative impact on minoritized groups. Clearly, this could have contributed to the rise in the number of youths who are unemployed and also not in education. Prior evidence has also shown that the lack of urban equity safeguards can contribute to the rise of racism in employment and can have negative implications for specific communities (Gillborn, 2014). The author concludes that this shift in policy has created a rise in the number of unemployed youths across the country. Ideas and policies are expressed which attempt to explain closing the equity gap. At the same time, this rhetoric is not necessarily supported by actual policies. The continued support for dominant neoliberal perspectives may stress an individualist approach towards ingroup differences.



Source: ONS (2018)

Figure 6.4. Percentage of NEET (not in education, employment or training)

An analysis of ONS data on racial inequality with respect to the nature of employment shows some interesting trends. The data identify the proportions

of employed people in each of the five broad ethnic groups broken down by SIC2007 section letter and division. For example, ONS (2018b) identifies that compared to the White population, the Black population shows a significantly lower percentage of appointments across different industries, as highlighted in the following Table 6.1. Flemmen and Savage (2017) identified that until 2000, professionals, employers and managers were likely to admit some level of prejudice and racism when applied to skilled employment over unskilled employment. Interestingly, Markey and Tilki (2007) also show that clear class differences have opened up, with overt prejudice being evident amongst professionals and managers. The authors conclude that such observations give strong grounds for appeal to a class-centric interpretation of racism, where the majority believes it has lost ground and attributes some of its loss of status and position to these other nationals.

Table 6.1. Sector-specific assessment of employment of White and Black community

Sector	White	Black
Manufacturing	92	1
Construction	94	1
Wholesale and retail trade	87	2
Transportation and storage	82	4
Accommodation and food service activities	83.	2
Information and communication	89	2
Financial and insurance activities	86	3
Professional, scientific and technical activities	90	2
Administrative and support service activities	87	5
Public administration and defence; compulsory social security	91	3
Education	91	2
Human health and social work activities	85	5
Art, entertainment and recreation	93	2
Other service activities	91	2

Source: Employment by Ethnic Background (House of Commons Report by Powell, 2018)

The House of Commons Report by Powell (2018) identifies that the overall unemployment rate in the UK, when examined through the lens of ethnicity, indicates a rate of 3.8 per cent for White ethnic groups when compared to 7.1 per cent for people from Black, Asian and minority ethnic backgrounds. The following Figure 6.5 presents a comparative analysis of unemployment rate by ethnic background since 2002.

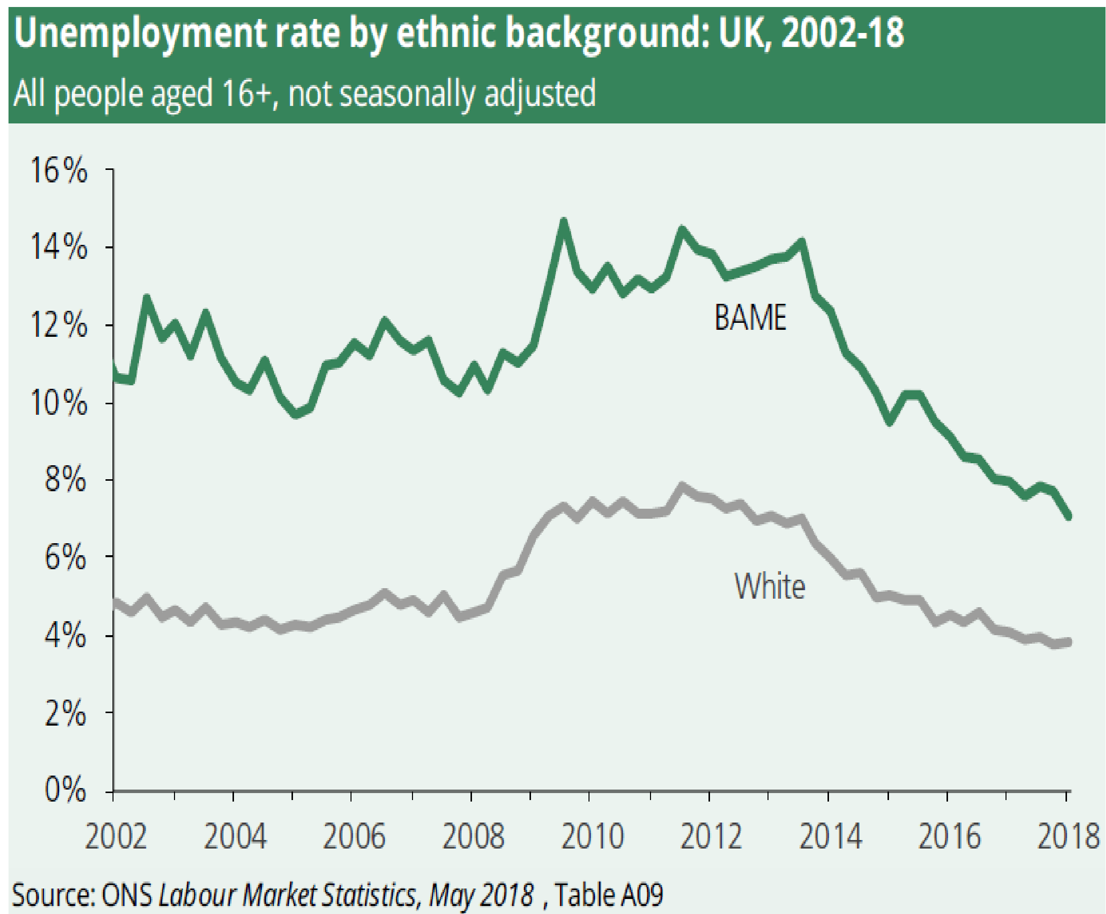


Figure 6.5. Unemployment rate by ethnic background (2002–2018)

With specific reference to unemployment by ethnic background, it is evident from Table 6.2 that the rate of unemployment is second highest for the Black community (at 9%).

Table 6.2. Ethnic background and unemployment

Unemployment by ethnic background, UK January to December 2017		
	Total (16+)	
	000s	Rate
White	1,140	4%
Black/African/Caribbean/Black British	90	9%
Indian	50	6%
Pakistani	50	9%
Other ethnic group	40	8%
Mixed/Multiple ethnic groups	30	7%
Bangladeshi	30	12%
Any other Asian background	30	6%
Chinese	10	4%
Total	**1,460**	**4%**

Source: ONS Annual Population Survey microdata

A comparison based on demographics shows that the highest rate of unemployment amongst Black groups is in the age group 16–24 years, at 23 per cent. This is comparable to other ethnicities, as the employment rate is highest at the youth level. When examined from a gender perspective, the unemployment rate is found to be higher for Black women (10%) when compared to Black men (8%). In contrast, the White population shows no gendered differences. These findings are visible in the following Table 6.3.

Table 6.3. Age and gender data

Unemployment by ethnic background and age: UK, January to December 2017								
	16-24		25-49		50+		Total (16+)	
	000s	Rate	000s	Rate	000s	Rate	000s	Rate
White	420	11%	470	3%	250	3%	1,140	4%
Black	30	23%	50	8%	<10	6%	90	9%
Bangladeshi/ Pakistani	30	25%	40	7%	<10	8%	70	10%
Indian	<10	15%	30	5%	<10	4%	50	6%
Other ethnic backgrounds	30	16%	60	6%	<10	5%	110	7%
Total	**530**	**12%**	**640**	**3%**	**290**	**3%**	**1,460**	**4%**

Source: ONS Annual Population Survey microdata

Note: All numbers rounded to nearest 10,000 and may not sum due to rounding. Estimates based on survey responses so subject to sampling error.

Other ethnic background includes those who responded Chinese, other, other Asian background and mixed/ multiple ethnic groups

Table 6.4. Ethnicity and gender data

Unemployment by ethnic background and gender: UK, January to December 2017						
	Male		Female		Total	
	000s	Rate	000s	Rate	000s	Rate
White	650	4%	500	4%	1,140	4%
Black	40	8%	50	10%	90	9%
Bangladeshi/ Pakistani	40	8%	40	14%	70	10%
Indian	20	4%	30	7%	50	6%
Other ethnic backgrounds	60	8%	40	6%	110	7%
Total	**800**	**4.5%**	**660**	**4.2%**	**1,460**	**4%**

Source: ONS Annual Population Survey microdata

Note: All numbers rounded to nearest 10,000 and may not sum due to rounding. Estimates based on survey responses so subject to sampling error.

Other ethnic background includes those who responded Chinese, other, other Asian background and mixed/ multiple ethnic groups

An analysis of the overall labour market unemployment rate is shown in the following Table 6.4. It is evident that the unemployment rate across the White

and Black community (YOY) is found to decrease across most years. The overall reduction in unemployment is found to be higher in the Black community when compared to the White community (ONS, 2018c).

However, an assessment of inactive members of the labour market shows some interesting trends. There continues to be a rise in the number of inactive members as part of the Black ethnic group (e.g. 5.7% in 2018) when compared to the White majority (0.6%).

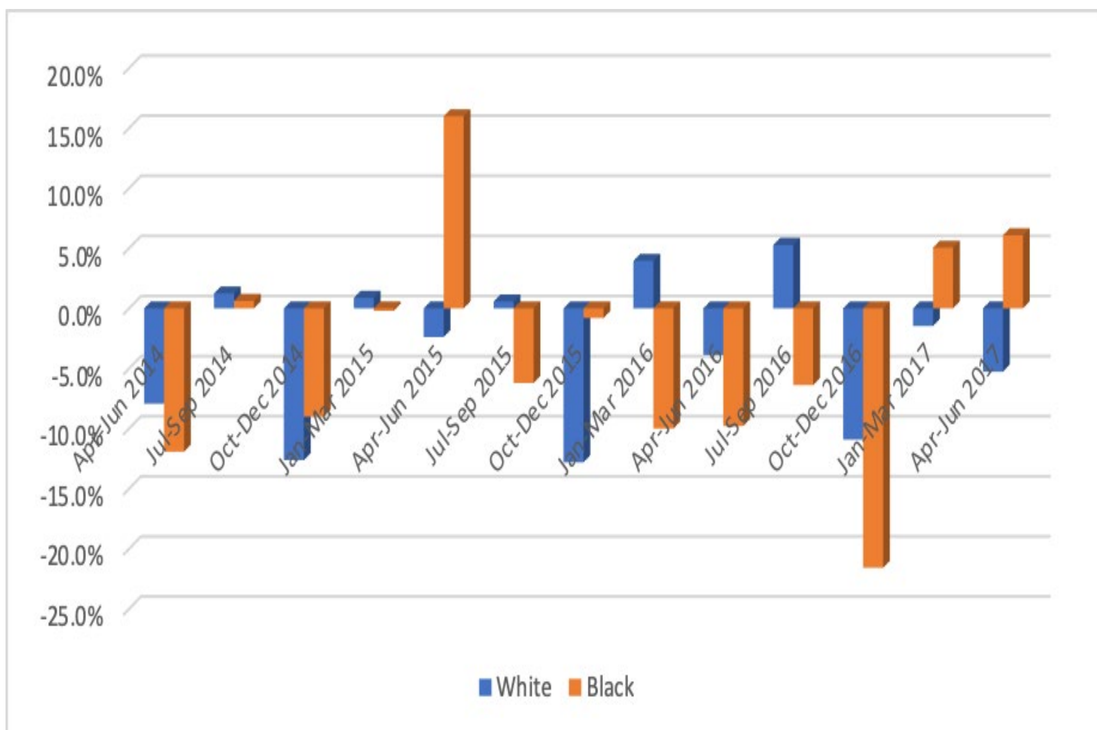


Figure 6.6. Unemployment: White versus Black

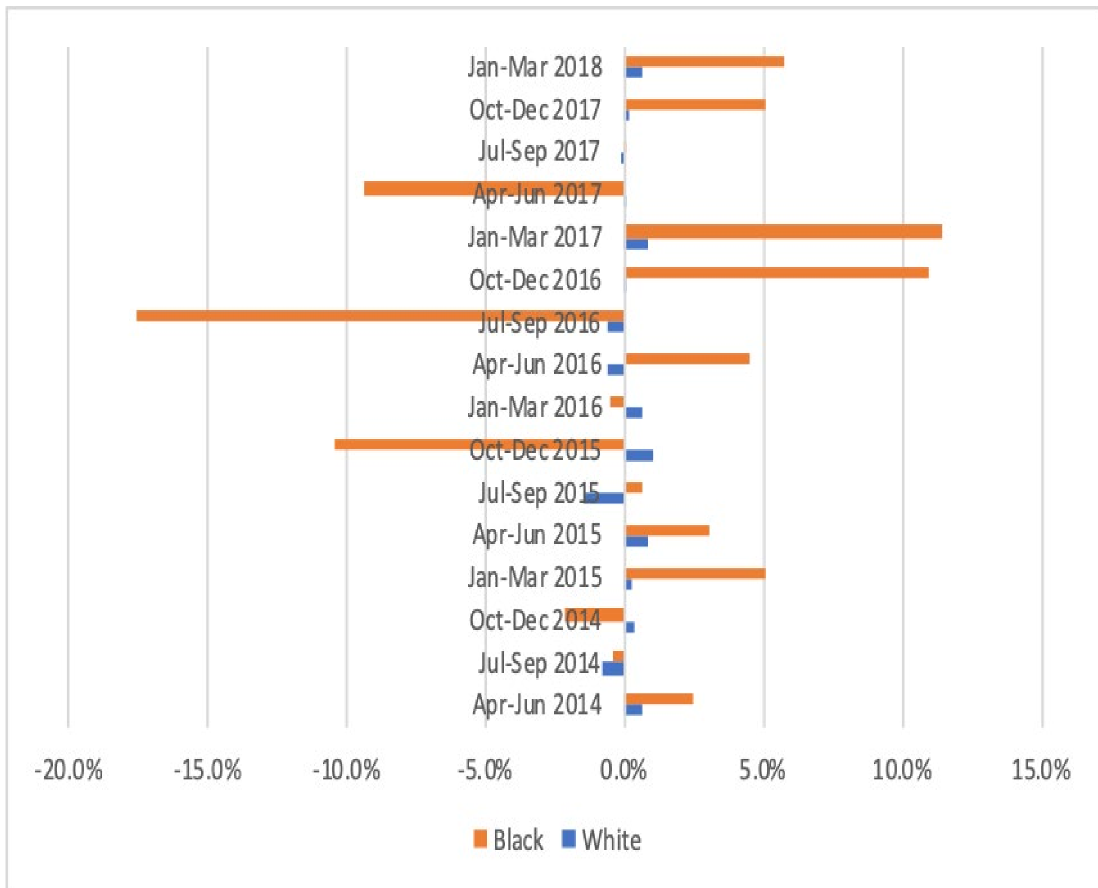


Figure 6.7. Inactive people in the UK: White versus Black

While the above evidence provides the latest (2018) data on existing trends in education and unemployment amongst the Black ethnic group, other studies have identified significant variations based on cross-tabulation. For example, the TUC (2018) reported that unemployment rates for qualified BME workers were much higher than for the White workers.

The findings from Table 6.5 show that the level of unemployment for BME graduates is 2.5 times higher than for the White population. It is also observed that amongst those with vocational qualifications, the gap is just as severe. The unemployment gap between BME and White workers with HNC/HND and BTE qualifications is over 5 per cent.

Table 6.5 Unemployment rate for qualified White and BME

Qualification	White(%)	BME(%)
Higher degree	2	5
First degree/foundation degree	3	7
HNC/HND/BTEC higher, etc.	3	9
City & Guilds Advanced Craft/Part 1	3	8
Trade apprenticeship	6	29
A Levels or equivalent	5	16

Source: TUC (2018)

To better understand the potential implications associated with employment, the TUC (2018) conducted an assessment of insecure employees. The report defined 'insecure employees' as those living on the periphery, including those who have temporary employment and zero-contract work hours. The findings show that, overall, members of the Black and minority community were more likely to be insecure employees than their White counterparts. Most strikingly, one in eight Black employees are in insecure work (this is double the average of one in 17), and one in 20 for the White community.

Another key aspect that needs to be discussed is evidence of the national-level pay gap in various sectors and industries. For example, University and College Union (UCU, 2014), in their assessment of HESA staff data for 2010–11 indicate that only 7 per cent of non-teaching staff were from the Black and minority community. The report argued that if BME staff were represented in the professoriate in the same proportion as they are represented among non-professorial academic staff, there would be 2,130 professors of BME origin. A comparison of White and BME staff figures is highlighted below. The situation is worse when BME academic staff are identified. Amongst UK nationals, only 1 per cent of Black employees are in academic positions of which only 0.4 per cent are in professorial employment. These findings further highlight the challenges that exist in academic institutions.

An analysis of national-level data provides positive evidence. This analysis identifies that at all levels of qualification, BME workers face more severe

unemployment challenges when compared to White workers. This is evident with respect to education, employment and wages. According to previous literature (Blackaby et al., 2002; Lindley, 2002), there are various issues that may highlight the presence of employment and wage-gap problems that exists. These include adapting to a new environment and acculturation. Other findings include occupational downgrading due to lack of recognition in the host market (Lindley and Machin, 2011). This focus, however, is on the immigrant pay gap. Many members of the BME community are from the UK. Therefore, potential issues including problems associated with language and knowledge of institutions or qualifications may not apply. Therefore, the presence of such a pay gap, which is linked to systemic challenges of access to education and employment, needs to be discussed further. There is now a substantial evidence base which points to not only the existence, but the persistence over time, of ethnic inequalities in employment. Labour-market inequalities between ethnic and gender groups, as well as between geographical areas, are a policy issue for government (Bourne, 2001). Given that there is a systemic challenge that exists, it is essential to identify the key triggers that contribute to such labour-market inequalities. High unemployment to date has been notable within the Black community even when compared to other ethnicities, like Asian communities. Furthermore, apart from labour market entry-related challenges, there are also other issues that need to be highlighted. In addition to ethnic inequalities in entry into the labour market, there is evidence that inequalities in the labour market can arise for those in work, including in certain occupation types (e.g. high skill levels), contract types and stability, wage differentials, hours worked and levels of part-time and self-employment. These findings address the need for an assessment of Liverpool-specific demographics to develop further insights regarding perceived challenges.

The findings of these national-level data provide evidence regarding the systemic challenges faced by ethnic minorities in relation to employment. Previous evidence from research in the UK argues that there are declining levels of racist sentiment in general across the UK. This has been attributed to a rise in awareness and the increasing presence of a multicultural society (Kapoor, 2013; Redclift, 2014). Valluvan and Kapoor (2016) conclude that the

decrease in White racism and overt and explicit racism, while being positive for the country, has not been able to reduce the implications of other forms of racism. The authors conclude that neo-liberal and performative modes of racism, which cannot be easily identified through survey responses, continue to flourish and need to be better understood. Virdee (2014) concludes that this could be due to a rise in understanding of how law and legislation work, and an increased reluctance amongst the ethnic minority population to make reports, fearing loss of employment and other issues. Flemmen and Savage (2017) further contend that there remain challenges with respect to region-specific variations in population and sentiment. These findings support the need for a Liverpool-level understanding of the labour market and its challenges.

6.3 Labour Market: Local Impact on Merseyside

6.3.1 Demographic Overview of Liverpool

According to the 2011 census, Liverpool's population was 466,415, a 6 per cent increase in the population since the previous census in 2001 (ONS, 2011). This information can be seen in Tables 6.6 and 6.7 below.

Table 6.6. Census population summary

	Liverpool		Merseyside		North West	
	Number	% of total	Number	% of total	Number	% of total
Total Population	**466,415**	**/**	**1.381.189**	**/**	**7,052,177**	**/**
Males	230,483	49	671.034	48.6	3.464.685	49
Females	235,932	51	710,155	51.4	3,587.492	51
Children (0-14 years)	72,668	16	228,290	16.5	1,236,664	18
Working age (15-64 years)	328,281	70	915,042	66.3	4,644,358	65
Older people (65+ years)	65 .466	14	237.857	17.2	1,171.155	17

Source: LCC (2019)

Note: During the 2011 census, Liverpool had a population total of 466,415 (33% of the Merseyside total] and a 6.1% increase on the 2001 Census population. The population is split into 49% males and 51% females. Liverpool has a lower proportion of children (17%]

and older people (14.0%] and a higher proportion of working age residents (70%) than the Merseyside averages.

Table 6.7. Census 2011 summary

		Liverpool		Merseyside	
Ethnicity		**Number**	**% of total**	**Number**	**% of total**
White	British	395,485	84.9%	1,266,277	91
	Irish	6,729	1.4%	13,342	1
	Other	12,457	2.7%	23,664	2
Mixed	White and Black Caribbean	3,473	0.7%	6,395	1
	White and Black African	3,164	0.7%	4,894	0.4
	White and Asian	2,263	0.5%	4,638	0.3
	Other	2,636	0.6%	5,027	0.4
Asian or Asian British	Indian	4,915	1.1%	7,896	1
	Pakistani	1,999	0.4%	2,566	0.2
	Bangladesh	1,075	0.2%	2,366	0.2
	Other	3,436	0.7%	6,023	0.4
Black or Black British	Black Caribbean	1,467	0.3%	2,066	0.1
	Black African	6,490	1 8%	9,792	1
	Other	2,3511	0.5%	2,694	0.2
Chinese or other ethnic group	Chinese	7,978	1.7%	11,554	1
	Other ethnic group	8,277	1.8%	9,975	1
Total		**466,415**	**100.0%**	**1,381,189**	**100.0%**

Source: LCC (2019)

Note: BME includes all other ethnicities besides White. Within Liverpool, 89% of the population has a White ethnic background, which is a lower proportion compared to the Merseyside average; 11% of the Liverpool population has a BME background, which is double the proportion compared to the Merseyside average.

6.3.2 Combined Authority Economic Indicators

At the beginning of the millennium, some devolution of power took place with the establishment of the Greater London Authority. Since 2015 and the election of a Conservative government, devolution in Manchester, Bristol,

Birmingham and Liverpool has been spearheaded with the election of metro mayors in these cities. With this devolution of power by central government, in part to build the 'Northern Powerhouse', responsibility for policy and funding has been transferred to the metro mayors within these city regions. This has also led to combined authorities, which are strategically led and seek opportunities for economic development within this region.

The nine combined authorities identified in July 2017 are outlined in Table 6.8.

Figure 6.8. Combined authorities

Source: CASS (2017)

Of these nine authorities, data concerning which industries are prevalent in each region are shown in the following Table 6.8.

Table 6.8. Combined authority data

Combined Authority	Manufacturing (C)	Distribution, transport, accommodation and food (GHI)	Information and communication, financial and insurance activities. business service activities (J, K, MN)	Public administration, education, health (OPQ)	Other Sectors
Greater Manchester	10.2	21	24	20	24.8
Liverpool	14.1	20	20	25	20.9
Peterborough and Cambridgeshire	12.9	17	27	20	23.1
Tees Valley	13.5	18	18	25	25.5
West Midlands	14.8	19	21	21	24.2
West of England	10.1	17	30	20	22.9
UK	10.1	19	26	19	25.9

Source: ONS (2017)

Table 6.8 reveals that, within the Liverpool city region, employers with the highest output have been public administration, education and health, with 25 per cent of the region's jobs being in these sectors (ONS, 2018). Of the employment sectors present in Liverpool, manufacturing has the lowest output at 14.1 per cent, which relates to the car industry, mainly the Halewood plant. Liverpool's gross value added (GVA) relates to goods and services produced in the city, which between 1998 and 2006 increased by 12 per cent. In 2017, Liverpool GVA stood at just under 2 per cent, as can be seen in Figure 6.9 below.

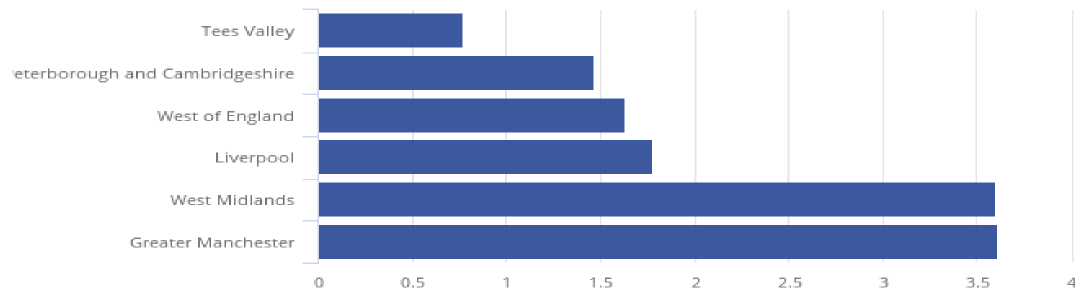


Figure 6.9. Gross value added as percentage of UK GVA

Source: ONS (2017)

6.4 Liverpool City Council: Quantitative Findings

After undertaking a pilot study, the first stage of a wider investigation in this study was to examine the data available from Liverpool City Council. As a government body, one of the principal recommendations of the Gifford Report (1989) was that Liverpool City Council should adopt an equal opportunities policy and publish monitoring data on its employees. Nelson (2000) reiterates this point, stating that Liverpool City Council's monitoring procedures have not provided precise data on the ethnic profile of the workforce due to inaction in this area by management departments.

Liverpool City Council is a major statutory employer: there are 4,836 people working within its remit and providing services to the public. Over the last nine years, the central Conservative government has asked Liverpool City Council to make savings of £ 420.5m, which it is in the process of doing. This is due to end in 2020. This, in turn, has led to a 64 per cent revenue reduction. In order to preserve its service provision, the council has had to modernise its services and reorganise its staff. Redundancy and retirement schemes have been enacted, resulting in some indispensable roles within the organisation. This can be seen in the figures provided by the council, which show that, over the last two years, 2,264 staff have been released from their roles, which is a 31.9 per cent reduction.

The information provided below in Tables, 6.9, 6.10 and 6.11 is the first stage of analysis of the quantitative data and directly responds to the research question of whether Liverpool City Council has been able to reach "its

declared target of 10%" of representation of BME groups (Gifford et al., 1989: 87) in relation to jobs. Liverpool City Council's staff profile data from 2016 and 2017 clearly demonstrate that this objective was not achieved and that, since 1989, there has been a reduction in the number of staffs from all ethnic groupings in Liverpool, from 251 in 2016 to 248 in 2017. However, the percentage of staff from all ethnic groupings remained constant during the period 2016 – 17 at 6 per cent.

Table 6.9. Liverpool staff profile for October 2017 and 2016

Race	Staff (2017)	Staff (2016)	2011 Census	
			Liverpool	Liverpool City Region
Asian or Asian, British/ Black or Black British, Chinese or Other Ethnic Group, Mixed	248 (6.0%)	251 (6.0%)	11%	5%
White British/Irish/Other	3,807 (94.0%)	3,911 (94.0%)	89%	95%
Total	**4,055**	**4,162**		

Source: LCC website (2017)

Table 6.9 presents the Liverpool City Council staff profile in 2016 and 2017 against the 2011 census. In 2016 and 2017, 6% of the total staff remained representatives of the BME community. This is lower than the 2011 representation of the Liverpool average employment rate. The proportion of staff in 2017 who provided information on their race was 84 per cent, while 4 per cent declined to do so. Working within the council in 2017 were 248 employees, or 6 per cent, who identified as belonging to an ethnic group.

Table 6.10. Liverpool City Council: ethnic origin of staff

Ethnic Origin	%
White British	91.2%
Black British	1.8%
White Irish	1.6%
Other White background	1.0%
Other	0.6%
Chinese	0.6%

Ethnic Origin	%
Mixed White and Black African	0.5%
Mixed White and Black Caribbean	0.4%
Other Mixed Background	0.4%
African	0.4%
Asian British	0.3%
Indian	0.2%
Mixed White and Asian	0.2%
Other Black background	0.2%
Nigerian	0.1%
Somali	0.1%
Yemeni	0.1%
Caribbean	0.1%
Pakistani	0.1%
Other Asian background	0.1%
Bangladeshi	0.0%
Gypsy	0.0%

Source: LCC website (2017)

The above Table 6.10 from the staff profile section of Liverpool City Council data for 2017 examines the ethnic origin of staff individually: 2 per cent of the staff working for the council in 2017 identified as being Black British; 0.5 per cent of the council workforce identified as mixed White and Black African; 0.4 per cent of the staff at the council identified as mixed White and Caribbean. Self-referring respondents also identified African as a single category at 0.4 per cent, while other African groups (e.g. Somali) also had their information provided separately, at 0.1 per cent. Information for 4 per cent of staff is missing from this table, as they preferred not to say, and 15 per cent of staff did not provide any information, as the information is not compulsory. As race and ethnicity are not scientifically defined, it can make these elements challenging to measure. Census data display that permitting respondents to select more than one ethnic category can result in marked variances in subsequent statistics (Kaneshiro at al., 2011).

Table 6.11. Liverpool City Council: staff, race and salary

	Less than £15,000	£15,000 to £29,999	£30,000 to £44,999	£45,000 to £59,999	£60,000 to £74,999	Over £75,000	No Payment	Total
White	<5	2,133	1,204	241	30	25	171	**3,807**
Asian or Asian British	0	11	11	<5	0	<5	<5	**28**
Black or Black British	0	52	36	<5	0	<5	5	**98**
Chinese or other ethnic	0	29	21	<5	<5	0	7	**62**
Mixed	0	30	24	<5	0	0	<5	**60**
Prefer not to say	0	92	67	7	<5	0	23	**191**
Unknown	0	341	150	36	0	6	57	**590**
Total	**<5**	**2,688**	**1,513**	**297**	**33**	**33**	**269**	**4,836**

Source: LCC website (2017)

The above Table 6.11 provides key findings and a further breakdown of information from Liverpool City Council staff profile data for October 2017. Employed during this period were 4,836 employees, of whom 98, or 2.0 per cent of employees, identified as Black or Black British, compared to 2 per cent of the total population of 466,000 in Liverpool. It is clear from the information obtained from the council that Black working representation within the council is insignificant. From the table, it is observed that high earning members (more than £60,000 per annum) were higher among the White community (n=55) when compared to the Black community (n<5), indicating a significant gap in earnings across ethnicities. This point is further reinforced by Boyle and Charles (2011: p.427) in their study – i.e. "how can only 18 Black teachers work in Liverpool" after they "analysed the council's overall workforce ethnicity data" – which demonstrated the minimal Black representation in all areas of council employment, the data evidencing that only 2 per cent of the Liverpool council workforce is Black. This previous research illustrated a Liverpool City Council workforce with 93 per cent White employment, "an embodiment of White supremacy and White hegemony"

(Gillborn, 2005: 465; Boyle and Charles, 2016: 873). Additionally, in this table, 60 people identified as mixed, which is 1.25 per cent of the data collected in the table. These 60 respondents could also be classified as belonging to the Black population but identify as mixed or prefer not to say, which could distort the statistics and bring uncertainty to the data (Marston, 2000).

The findings of this section of the research show that with respect to employment there remains limited representation of Blacks within the Liverpool public sector. Access to employment, the types of skilled employment available to various ethnicities and the differentials in wages all show major racial level inequalities. Despite various statistics showing that people have reduced their racial bias, people still tend to hold some biased attitudes arising from the old English history of prejudice (Fox, 2013). Even though such biased attitudes need not lead to discriminatory attitudes with extreme effects, the prevalence of such attitudes could lead to subconscious forms of racism and discrimination in more explicit ways (Jackson, 2003). Such surface-level bias is often portrayed in the media as Whites versus non-Whites and de facto segregation in occupation and education sectors.

It is a reasonable assertion that there are some challenges in the approach of the Liverpool public authorities to implementing policies that support equality across races. This could be a result of automatic and subtle discrimination. Even though such biased attitudes need not lead to discriminatory attitudes with extreme effects, the prevalence of such attitudes could lead to subconscious forms of racism, and discrimination in a more explicit way, which could account for differences in employment and educational access. Gallagher (2003) concludes that efforts are being made regarding colour-blind egalitarianism, where the rhetoric against discrimination and racial inequality continues to focus on various social-level indicators. However, the author concludes that the problem with this approach is that it has detracted attention from the implications of economic inequality. Economics researchers (Atkinson, 2015; Stiglitz, 2012; Piketty, 2014) conclude that economic inequalities often drive all other racial

inequalities. Bennett et al. (2009) also conclude that from a cultural class-analysis perspective, economic capital-driven racism needs to be better understood and acknowledged. Such social-capital analysis can also help to understand the rising attribution of indirect prejudice. Liao et al. (2017), in their reflection on member-level challenges regarding indirect prejudice, conclude that the situation in which members of the ingroup blame outgroup members is a growing challenge caused by neoliberal policies in many Western countries. The idea is that outgroup members should strive harder; at the same time, the idea they should not force themselves or their ideas into places they are not needed endures. The lack of civic engagement of members of various classes and ethnicities may reflect the limited number of Black citizens who feel that they are integrated into the community. As Bhatt (2016) concludes, such a lack of engagement in questions of race within cultural-class analysis is a key factor that drives concerns regarding the Whitening of sociology's agenda. The findings of the current study conclude that there is a need to shift from independent assessment of employment in the public and private sectors, education, income and other SES characteristics to look at social boundaries and assertions. As Omi and Winant (2015) conclude, the stress on historical contingent ways of creating social boundaries of race and class has continued to relate these elements to national identity. Therefore, to create a shift in racially driven employment and educational access, it is important to revisit the understanding of region-specific implications of social, cultural and political boundaries.

6.4.1 Head Count Data: 2016

After considering the preliminary findings gathered from the observational exercise of a head count in the pilot study (in the introductory section and the methodology chapter), the next phase of this research involved visiting stores on an additional six different occasions. The 16 stores, which were randomly selected, are listed below in Table 6.12.

Table 6.12. Head count 2016

Store Visited	Dates
1. Accessorize	(Pilot: 22/03/15, 12/04/15) 10 May 2015, 21 June 2015, 20 September 2015, 4 October 2015, 15 November 2015, 20 December 2015.
2. Apple	10 May 2015, 21 June 2015, 20 September 2015, 4 October 2015, 15 November 2015, 20 December 2015
3. Beauty Bazaar	10 May 2015, 21 June 2015, 20 September 2015, 4 October 2015, 15 November 2015, 20 December 2015
4. Disney Store	10 May 2015, 21 June 2015, 20 September 2015, 4 October 2015, 15 November 2015, 20 December 2015
5. Home Bargains (Lord Street)	(Pilot: 22/03/15, 12/04/15) 10 May 2015, 21 June 2015, 20 September 2015, 4 October 2015, 15 November 2015, 20 December 2015
6. Karen Millen	(Pilot: 22/03/15, 12/04/15) 10 May 2015, 21 June 2015, 20 September 2015, 4 October 2015, 15 November 2015, 20 December 2015
7. LFC Shop	10 May 2015, 21 June 2015, 20 September 2015, 4 October 2015, 15 November 2015, 20 December 2015
8. Schuh	10 May 2015, 21 June 2015, 20 September 2015, 4 October 2015, 15 November 2015, 20 December 2015
9. Next	(Pilot: 22/03/15, 12/04/15) 10 May 2015, 21 June 2015, 20 September 2015, 4 October 2015, 15 November 2015, 20 December 2015
10. Sports Direct	10 May 2015, 21 June 2015, 20 September 2015, 4 October 2015, 15 November 2015, 20 December 2015
11. Post Office	10 May 2015, 21 June 2015, 20 September 2015, 4 October 2015, 15 November 2015, 20 December 2015
12. Debenhams	(Pilot: 22/03/15, 12/04/15) 10 May 2015, 21 June 2015, 20 September 2015, 4 October 2015, 15 November 2015, 20 December 2015

Store Visited	Dates
13. Warehouse	10 May 2015, 21 June 2015, 20 September 2015, 4 October 2015, 15 November 2015, 20 December 2015
14. Topshop	(Pilot: 22/03/15, 12/04/15) 10 May 2015, 21 June 2015, 20 September 2015, 4 October 2015, 15 November 2015, 20 December 2015
15. Urban Decay	10 May 2015, 21 June 2015, 20 September 2015, 4 October 2015, 15 November 2015, 20 December 2015
16. Zara	10 May 2015, 21 June 2015, 20 September 2015, 4 October 2015, 15 November 2015, 20 December 2015

The findings of this observational head count were consistent with those delivered in the Gifford Report nearly 30 years ago, in 1989. Within all 16 stores, the researcher observed no visible staff from the Liverpool-born Black community working in them. All the staff present and on view in the stores looked visibly White, and no other ethnic minority communities were observed working in any of the city-centre stores that the researcher visited on the occasions noted above. On several occasions, the researcher was treated with what seemed like suspicion when frequenting the stores. This suspicion could be seen via security officers closely monitoring the researcher, or staff politely asking whether the researcher was looking to buy items from the store or had another reason for her visit. Each time the researcher stated that the objective of the visit was browsing.

The findings from this observational head count are almost identical to the views outlined by Belchem (2014), who states: “in Liverpool, a city with possibly the oldest Black community in Britain, a multi-racial country, hardly a non-White face is to be seen serving shops of Lord, Dale and Church Street. Yet, many of the city’s local born Blacks live within half an hour’s walk” (Belchem, 2014: 238).

From the head-count analysis, it was evident that there was no observed presence of Black employees within the workplace. These findings support the argument made in the quantitative study, which identifies the need for

systemic changes in research regarding access to the right employment. The researcher believes that access to and progress within employment is central to the participation of the Black community. In the context of the UK (at the national level) and in Liverpool (at the local level), the findings show that elimination of racial discrimination in the labour market is needed. There is clear evidence of a potential increase in the exclusion of members of the Black community from long-term stable employment. The head-count analysis was predominantly conducted in the retail sector, but the findings are comparable to those across industries. Therefore, it is believed that there is a need for measures to tackle the employment crisis faced by members of the community. Furthermore, from the Liverpool-based data, it is evident that despite the higher presence of Black community members as part of the population, the public sector shows higher differences and ethnic gaps. The government should take measures to tackle the insecurity in the labour market, which has a disproportionate impact on Black and minority ethnic workers. Institutional racism and discrimination in the labour market underlie this evidence. Serious and urgent measures are required to prevent the further entrenchment of racial inequality into the labour market.

However, to build further on the findings from the quantitative data and see whether employment in the private sector resembled the head-count observational exercise data in Liverpool, the researcher made written requests to 215 private employers in the city requesting data regarding their Black employment recruitment figures (Table 6.13). All requests were made in a formal letter and then followed up with an email request. The results are outlined below.

Table 6.13. Private sector employee data

Private Employers	Responses
215 formal letters originally sent	Four formal data responses received
Second formal request for data sent via email	45 emails were returned to sender, despite using company information
Researcher contacted a number of private employers by telephone and was assured data would follow, but this was not the case.	60 private employers did not respond, despite a second follow-up email
	Finally, 142 email responses were sent to the researcher after private employers received a second follow-up email. Each of the 142 private employers stated that information had been forwarded to management or their HR department.

Initially, for the quantitative element of private employers, formal letters were sent by post to 251 employers: 26 responses were received by the researcher, with private employers stating that letters had been forwarded to regional or head offices. None of these private employers actually forwarded any of the data requested or sent a follow-up letter.

The researcher then found email addresses for all 251 private employers and decided to send an email requesting this information electronically. As stated in the table above, information was only received from four private employers in Liverpool. Forty-five emails were returned to the sender; alternative email addresses were requested in telephone conversations with private employers, but data were still not received. Sixty private employers received the initial email but did not respond, despite a second email being sent. While 142 employers received the initial email and responded that a designated person within the company would provide the information requested, this did not happen. Examples of emails received stating that data were not available can be seen below.

Example 1

Dear Amina,

Thank you for contacting us here at Caffè Nero.

We pride ourselves on having a very diverse workforce. We hire people from all over the globe. In this instance however we are unable to provide you with the information that you require.

Kind Regards,

Example 2

Dear Amina,

Thank you for your recent enquiry.

Unfortunately we will not be able to accommodate your request on this occasion.

We do however, wish you all the best with your studies.

Kind regards

These findings further support the critical race argument, which has evolved to account for scale-based assessments. The findings of the head-count analysis and the letters to the private employers show two trends. The first is that, despite arguing about the support for diversity by various retail outlets, the available data on the same continue to be limited. Any reporting that is done by major outlets continues to refer to overall numbers and percentages. This further supports the need for diversity, as identified by Zeynep (2017). The author concluded that scale-based analysis is often used simplistically, which could be the reason why racial challenges are often unaddressed at micro levels. The lack of any visible presence of Black employees shows that the construction of anti-racism has been at policy development and overall rhetoric levels, without critical engagement with policy implementation. As Marston (2000) concludes, critical engagement of anti-racist initiatives needs to expand to include both social and cultural geography. This should balance the predominant focus on economics and location-based geography. There is a definite need for economic and locational geography-based assessment of access to healthcare, social care and employment in Liverpool, which should reflect local-level challenges.

Another employer in the public sector that submitted data after a request was Merseyside Fire and Rescue Service, which outlines its data in Table 6.14 below. Currently, the Merseyside Fire and Rescue Service has a staff team consisting of 1,045 employees, of whom four identify as Black African, two as Black Caribbean, five as other Black background, three as mixed White and Black African, and four as White and Black Caribbean. Adding these categories together, 18 employees

working for the Merseyside Fire and Rescue Service identify as belonging to a Black ethnic group, which is just 1.8 per cent of its employees.

Table 6.14. Ethnicity

Ethnicity	Total	% of workforce	Valid %
White British	985	94.26	94.71
White Irish	10	0.96	0.96
Other White background	7	0.67	0.67
Black African	4	0.38	0.38
Black Caribbean	2	0.19	0.19
Other Black background	5	0.48	0.48
Chinese	2	0.19	0.19
Other Asian background	3	0.29	0.29
Mixed White & Black African	3	0.29	0.29
Mixed White & Black Caribbean	4	0.38	0.38
Mixed White & Asian	G	0.57	0.58
Other mixed background	3	0.29	0.29
Other ethnic group	2	0.19	0.19
Prefer not to say	4	0.38	0.38
No stated	5	0.48	
Total	**1045**	**100.00**	

Source: MF&RS data (2016)

For 2017, the Merseyside Fire and Rescue Service data in Figure 6.10 show the distribution of ethnicity by generic role.

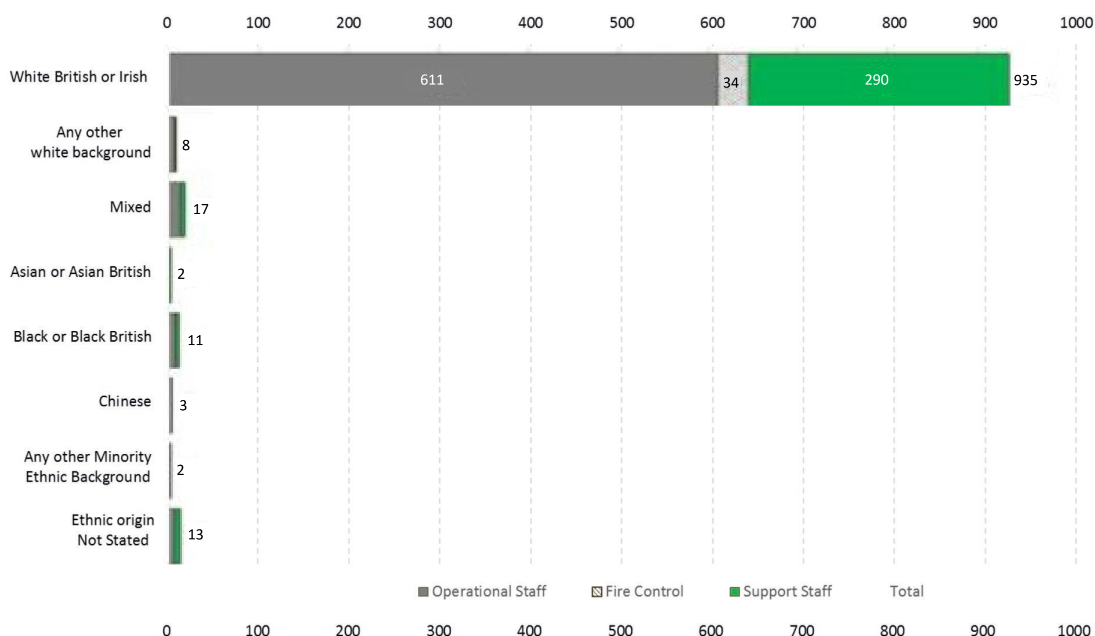


Figure 6.10. Distribution of ethnicity by generic role

Source: MF&RS data (2017)

As can be seen from the data, there has been a reduction in the overall number of staff working for the Merseyside Fire and Rescue Service, from 1,045 to 991. This reduction is in line with austerity and the reduction in public-service provision across the country (EDR, 2017). Figure 6.10 also displays the number of staff working within the Merseyside Fire and Rescue Service from different ethnic backgrounds. Eleven members of staff identified as belonging to the category of Black or Black British, which accounts for 1.2 per cent of staff in 2017. Furthermore, the table demonstrates that all staff identifying as Black or Black British are located in support roles and are not operational staff.

The Merseyside Fire and Rescue Staff states in its equality data report for 2017 that "equality objective 1 is designed to increase the diversity of our workforce and volunteers at all levels across the organisation and this will focus on providing positive action in supporting BME and female staff to apply for development and promotion as they are currently underrepresented in operational roles in WM and above roles" (EDR, 2017: 10). However, when examining its new starter figures for 2016 –17 displayed in Table 6.15, below,

all 17 firefighters recruited identified as White British or any other White background.

Table 6.15. Breakdown of new starters by ethnicity

Position	New full-time fire-fighters	New support staff	Total
White British or Irish	16	21	37
Any other white background	1		1
Mixed			0
Asian or Asian British			c
Black or Black British		1	1
Chinese			0
Any other minority ethnic background			0
Not stated		5	5
Total	**17**	**27**	**44**

Source: MF&RS data (2017)

The explanation provided by the Merseyside Fire and Rescue Service for the above table states that two new starters had been recruited by the organisation identifying as BME; however, the table only displays one, unless any other White background can be acknowledged as BME.

The above data suggest that within the grouping of employers in Liverpool who were contacted and responded, no one was able to show an employment rate higher than 7 per cent in relation to all BME categories of staff. When examining figures for those from the Liverpool-born Black community, due to the constriction of categories introduced by the census, data retained by participating employers did not display levels of employment for that community, as this community now has 15 categories to choose from in order to define one’s race in the UK. However, the quantitative data does show that employment rates for the Black community in Liverpool remain at under 6 per cent for Liverpool City Council and under 2 per cent for the majority of private employers in the city. These findings suggest that racial discrimination could be at the heart of employment in Liverpool for Black people, and this has still not addressed the question regarding what barriers

have prevented members of the Liverpool-born Black community finding employment in the city.

6.5 Employment in Universities

The next part of the quantitative data-collection process involved the researcher collecting data on the three main universities in Liverpool. These three main universities, which participated and provided data, were the University of Liverpool, Liverpool John Moores University and Liverpool Hope University. All three of these universities are classed as private employers, despite receiving public funding. This point is candidly reiterated in Knight's (2006) article, which explores which sector universities belong to by stating "technically, the state still regards universities as private sector. They must comply with all the rules that control private bodies" (p. 2). The data supplied by the universities showed that in the 2014–15 academic year, the University of Liverpool had 22,666 students enrolled, of whom 7,752 (34.2%) classified themselves as BAME (Black, Asian and minority ethnic) This information is outlined in Table 6.16 below.

Table 6.16. University of Liverpool student data

	2002/3	2003/4	2004/5	2005/6	2006/7	2007/8	2008/9	2009/10	2010/11	2011/12	2012/13	2013/14	2014/15
White	11248	12035	12359	12739	12537	12528	12450	12476	12839	13077	12926	13196	13816
BAME	2121	2633	2750	2721	2900	2895	3194	3778	4511	5123	5862	7016	7752
Unknown	1858	1235	795	631	524	537	658	729	720	786	801	929	1098
Asian	1501	1877	1893	1840	1938	1896	2093	2626	3293	3799	4497	5333	5839
Black	264	346	353	350	372	355	381	386	421	501	526	620	653
Mixed	162	235	321	331	367	396	429	462	496	521	511	602	641
Other	194	175	183	200	223	248	291	304	301	302	328	461	619
White	11248	12035	12359	12739	12537	12528	12450	12476	12839	13077	12926	13196	13816
Unknown	1858	1235	795	631	524	537	658	729	720	786	801	929	1098
Asian - Bangladeshi	33	39	38	33	50	59	60	64	63	65	82	79	92
Asian - Chinese	619	852	863	836	754	633	758	1259	1887	2398	3107	3848	4198
Asian - Indian	445	518	470	449	485	479	491	518	540	524	541	588	635
Asian - Pakistani	180	188	187	186	231	257	294	294	328	310	332	340	369
Asian - Other	224	280	335	336	418	468	490	491	475	502	435	478	545
Black - African	156	197	208	212	227	238	253	269	297	354	379	440	450
Black - Caribbean	38	44	46	51	56	47	38	32	34	36	47	54	76
Black - Other	70	105	99	87	89	70	90	85	90	111	100	126	127
Mixed - White & Asian	64	86	113	122	126	145	138	171	184	189	183	207	194
Mixed - White & Black African	31	49	75	S3	59	67	79	75	78	87	82	93	86
Mixed White & Black Caribbean	21	24	35	43	57	63	68	79	87	89	85	109	135

	2002/3	2003/4	2004/5	2005/6	2006/7	2007/8	2008/9	2009/10	2010/11	2011/12	2012/13	2013/14	2014/15
Mixed - Other	46	76	98	113	125	121	144	137	147	156	161	193	226
Other - Arab	1	1	1	3	3	7	8	12	16	25	87	176	313
Other - Other ethnicity	193	174	182	197	220	241	283	292	285	277	241	285	306
White	11248	12034	12358	12738	12535	12526	12449	12476	12839	13077	12926	13195	13816
White - Gypsy traveller	0	1	1	1	2	2	1	0	0	0	0	1	0
Prefer not to say	43	43	50	57	116	188	357	455	538	603	457	367	277
Unknown	1815	1192	745	574	408	349	301	274	182	183	344	562	821
TOTAL	**15227**	**15903**	**15904**	**16091**	**15961**	**15960**	**16302**	**16983**	**18070**	**18986**	**19589**	**21141**	**22666**

When examining the figures regarding employment, however, the University of Liverpool in fact employed 6,198 staff in all departments, of whom 74 were classified as Black in January 2017. This means that less than 1 per cent of staff at the University of Liverpool were from the Black community, despite the university enrolling a large proportion of students identified as BAME. The figures in Table 6.17 show that the University of Liverpool records for BAME show this difference in level.

Table 6.17. University of Liverpool employee data

Age %	Jan 14	Jan 15	Jan 16	Jan 17
16–21	37	62	49	33
22–29	715	672	735	804
30–39	1597	1650	1778	1910
40–49	1432	1413	1431	1465
50–59	1249	1291	1326	1375
60–59	503	522	542	546
70+	43	48	62	65
Total	**5576**	**5658**	**5923**	**6198**

Age %	Jan 14	Jan 15	Jan 16	Jan 17
16–21	0.66	1.10	0.83	0.53
22–29	12.82	11.88	12.41	12.97
30–39	28.64	29.16	30.02	30.32
40–49	25.68	24.97	24.16	23.64
50–59	22.40	22.82	22.39	22.18
60–59	9.02	9.23	9.15	8.81
70+	0.77	0.85	1.05	1.05
Total	**100.00**	**100.00**	**100.00**	**100.00**

Disability Status %	Jan 14	Jan 15	Jan 16	Jan 17
Known	185	189	176	219
Unknown	5391	5469	5743	5979
Total	**5576**	**5658**	**5924**	**6198**

Disability Status %	Jan 14	Jan 15	Jan 16	Jan *17*
Known	3.32	3.34	2.97	3.53
Unknown	96 68	96.66	97.03	96.47
Total	**100.00**	**100.00**	**100.00**	**100.00**

Ethnicity %	Jan 14	Jan 15	Jan 16	Jan 17
Asian	295	298	327	358
Black	48	51	61	74
Mixed	86	83	81	90
Other	35	38	48	58
White	4934	4971	4992	5340
Decline	76	72	72	84
Unknown	102	145	343	194
Total	**5576**	**5658**	**5924**	**6198**

Ethnicity %	Jan 14	Jan 15	Jan 16	Jan 17
Asian	5.29	5.27	5.52	5.78
Black	0.86	0.90	1.03	1.19
Mixed	1.54	1.47	1.37	1.45
Other	0.63	0.67	0.81	0.94
White	88.49	87.86	84.27	86.16
Decline	1.36	1.27	1.22	1.36
Unknown	1.83	2.56	5.79	3.13
Total	**100.00**	**100.00**	**100.00**	**100.00**
% Non-White BAME of Known	**8.60**	**8.64**	**9.38**	**9.80**

Another trend that the data reveal is that, since 2014, there has been a small increase in the number of staff employed from the Black community, which can be seen in Table 6.17. In 2014, 48 staff were employed in all departments; in 2017, this had risen to 74. The majority of Black staff are in support and central professional services positions, as can be seen in Tables 6.18 and 6.19 below, with 27 staff members in each.

Table 6.18. Central professional services: all standard employees

Ethnicity	Jan 14	Jan 15	Jan 16	Jan 17
Asian	37	42	54	59
Black	16	17	20	27
Mixed	30	22	25	25
Other	6	9	9	7
White	1667	1700	1697	1754
Decline	17	17	16	12
Unknown	31	64	128	69
Total	**1804**	**1877**	**1953**	**1957**

Source: University of Liverpool CPS data

Table 6.19. Support staff posts (clerical, manual, technical): all standard employees

Ethnicity	Jan 14	Jan 15	Jan 16	Jan 17
Asian	39	46	53	59
Black	15	16	19	27
Mixed	34	31	33	30
Other	4	6	5	4
White	1925	1963	1927	2009
Decline	16	15	15	14
Unknown	30	66	133	68
Total	**2063**	**2143**	**2185**	**2211**

Source: University of Liverpool SS data

Table 6.20 provides data from the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, which has the fewest Black staff at eight, though this has increased by two over the last few years.

Table 6.20. Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences: all standard employees

Ethnicity	Jan 14	Jan 15	Jan 16	Jan 17
Asian	33	37	39	43
Black	6	5	6	8
Mixed	15	13	10	13

Ethnicity	Jan 14	Jan 15	Jan 16	Jan 17
Other	8	7	6	6
White	609	621	638	726
Decline	17	19	19	22
Unknown	11	17	38	21
Total	**699**	**719**	**756**	**839**

Source: University of Liverpool H&SS data

Academically, in 2017, the University of Liverpool employed 2,235 academic staff, but only 20 of these academics recorded their ethnicity as Black, as can be seen in Table 6.21 below. This means that, as the university had 22,666 students in 2017, dividing the 20 Black academic staff into this number, for every 1,133 students, there was one Black academic staff member.

Table 6.21. Academic posts: all standard employees

Ethnicity	Jan 14	Jan 15	Jan 16	Jan 17
Asian	134	128	161	188
Black	16	14	20	20
Mixed	25	20	22	27
Other	23	22	29	39
White	1648	1600	1680	1827
Decline	37	36	38	41
Unknown	49	50	132	93
Total	**1932**	**1870**	**2082**	**2235**

Source: University of Liverpool academic data

Table 6.22 provides data of the Liverpool John Moores University data across a period of four years. It is seen that from a trend perspective, the increase in BME employment percentage is limited.

Table 6.22. Liverpool John Moores University staff

	2012	2013	2014	2015
Female	1281 (55%)	1243 (54%)	1240 (53%)	1267 (53%)
Male	1067 (45%)	1073 (46%)	1112 (47%)	1124 (47%)
Total	**2348**	**2316**	**2352**	**2391**
Minority ethnic staff (Asian/ Black/ Chinese) and dual heritage / other ME staff	108 (5%)	117 (5%)	137 (6%)	130 (5%)
***information refused**	*40 (2%)	*37	*31	*32(1%)
Gay/ Lesbian/ Bisexual staff	22(1%)	27 (1%)	48 (2%)	52 (2%)
***information refused**	*1203 (51%)	*1,070	*855	*790 (33%)
Disabled staff	38 (4%)	30 (4%)	139 (6%)	139 (6%)
***information refused**	785 (34%)	*0	*561	*526 (22%)
Religious beliefs	370 (24%)	577 (25%)	708 (30%)	681 (28%)
***information refused**	*43 (2%)	*77	*148	*136 (6%)
Maternity	31 6% female staff)	37 (5% female staff)	36 (5% female staff)	59 (5% female staff)

Source: LJMU Staff employment data

The data regarding employment at Liverpool John Moores University appear in Table 6.22, above; they are recorded to allow equality and diversity monitoring and are produced on an annual basis. The information for Black staff can be found under the category for minority ethnic staff, which includes Asian, Black, Chinese and dual heritage/ other ME staff. In 2015, Liverpool John Moores University employed 130 staff members who identified as belonging to the Chinese, Asian, Black, dual heritage or ME categories. By combining all five ethnic groups under one heading and one category, the data provided by Liverpool John Moores University involve duplicity, as they enable the university to avoid its responsibility of providing clear data on all ethnic groups, as outlined by legislation. “Under the Equality Act 2010,

universities have a duty to ensure and record equal opportunities data for those who may be discriminated against or under-represented", the DfE states. Additionally, in total in 2015, Liverpool John Moores University employed 2,391 staff in all departments. By stating that the university employs 130 minority ethnic staff and not separating this number into individual categories, it allows Liverpool John Moores University to declare in its staff equality and diversity data that 5 per cent of its staff are from minority ethnic communities. Whether these communities include only one Black staff member and 129 Asian staff members cannot be differentiated, because of how the data are presented. Furthermore, 32 staff members, which equates to 1 per cent, refused to engage with ethnicity monitoring, meaning that if this number is added to the 130 outlined in the table above, the numbers for minority ethnic staff working at the university are still below 7 per cent.

6.6 Liverpool Hope University

Finally, the data supplied by Liverpool Hope University relate to Black staff employed at the university during the academic year 2017-18 and appear in Table 6.23, below. The university's ethnicity group data are provided separately and divided between academic and support staff. As the table below outlines, in 2018, there were 362 academic staff working at the university

Table 6.23. Academic staff head count data

Faculty	Arts & Humanities	Education	Science	Other Areas	Total
September	167	93	84	6	**350**
October	175	101	83	6	**365**
November	176	101	85	6	**368**
December	172	100	85	7	**364**
January	173	101	86	7	**367**
February	170	103	86	6	**365**
March	169	102	85	6	**362**

Source: LHU academic data

Additionally, as shown in Table 6.24 below, of the 362 academic staff, 1.93 per cent identified as belonging to the Black ethnicity group, which is just six members of staff.

Table 6.24. Ethnic group

Ethnic Group	Asian	Black	Chinese	Mixed	Other Ethnic Group	White	Unknown / Refused	Total
September	5.14%	1.71%	1.14%	2.00%	1.44%	86.00%	2.57%	**100.00%**
October	4.93%	1.64%	1.37%	2.19%	1.64%	86.03%	2.19%	**100.00%**
November	4.89%	1.63%	1.36%	2.17%	2.17%	85.60%	2.17%	**100.00%**
December	4.95%	1.65%	1.37%	2.20%	2.20%	85.44%	2.20%	**100.00%**
January	4.90%	1.63%	1.36%	2.18%	2.18%	85.56%	2.18%	**100.00%**
February	4.93%	1.64%	1.37%	2.19%	2.19%	85.48%	2.19%	**100.00%**
March	4.97%	1.93%	1.38%	2.21%	2.21%	84.81%	2.49%	**100.00%**

Source: LHU academic data

Furthermore, the information for support staff working at Liverpool Hope University appear separately and are outlined below, in Table 6.25.

Table 6.25. Support staff head count data

Faculty	Research & Academic Development	Resource Management & Planning	Student Support & Well-being	University Secretary	Other Areas	Total
September	12	205	123	16	63	**419**
October	12	207	125	16	60	**420**
November	12	207	127	16	61	**423**
December	13	205	127	14	64	**423**
January	13	205	127	14	64	**423**
February	13	202	131	10	105	**461**
March	13	202	139	0	103	**457**

Source: LHU SS data

In March 2018, 457 support staff members worked at the university. The data for ethnicity groups also appear separately and are outlined below in Table 6.26.

Table 6.26. Ethnic group

Ethnic Group	Asian	Black	Chinese	Mixed	Other Ethnic Group	White	Unknown /Refused	Total
September	0.95%	0.24%	0.00%	0.95%	0.48%	96.42%	0.98%	**100.00%**
October	0.95%	0.24%	0.00%	0.95%	0.48%	96.43%	0.95%	**100.00%**
November	0.95%	0.24%	0.00%	0.95%	0.47%	96.45%	0.95%	**100.00%**
December	0.95%	0.24%	0.00%	0.95%	0.47%	96.45%	0.95%	**100.00%**
January	0.95%	0.24%	0.00%	0.95%	0.47%	96.45%	0.95%	**100.00%**
February	1.08%	0.22%	0.00%	0.87%	0.43%	96.31%	1.08%	**100.00%**
March	1.09%	0.22%	0.00%	0.88%	0.44%	96.28%	109%	**100.00%**

Source: LHU SS data

In March 2018, 0.22 per cent of support staff working at the university identified as Black, which amounts to only one member of staff. However, in the data provided for the previous academic year, outlined in Table 6.27 below, 410 support staff worked for the university.

Table 6.27. Faculty

Faculty	Research & Academic Development	Resource Management & Planning	Student Support & Well-being	University Secretary	Other Areas	Total
September	14	200	100	16	64	**394**
October	13	203	113	16	65	**410**
November	13	202	114	16	65	**410**
December	14	199	116	16	78	**423**
January	14	194	118	17	76	**419**
February	14	207	127	17	91	**456**
March	14	207	126	16	81	**444**
April	14	207	122	17	81	**441**
May	15	204	118	16	64	**417**
June	14	204	115	13	63	**409**
July	14	206	113	14	63	**410**

Source: LHU SS data 2016

Of these 410 support staff, figures for ethnicity groupings in Table 6.28 below show that, in September 2016, 0.51 per cent of the staff identified as Black, equating to two Black staff working at the university. However, by March 2018, a decrease in this area had occurred, leaving only one Black member of staff working at the university.

Table 6.28. Ethnic group

Ethnic Group	Asian	Black	Chinese	Mixed	Other Ethnic Group	White	Unknown / Refused	Total
September	0.76%	0.51%	0.00%	0.76%	0.51%	96.45%	1.01%	**100.00%**
October	0.49%	0.49%	0.24%	0.73%	0.49%	96.59%	0.97%	**100.00%**
November	0.49%	0.49%	0.24%	0.73%	0.49%	96.59%	0.97%	**100.00%**
December	0.47%	0.95%	0.24%	0.95%	0.47%	95.98%	0.94%	**100.00%**
January	0.48%	0.48%	0.24%	0.95%	0.48%	96.42%	0.95%	**100.00%**
February	0.44%	0.44%	0.22%	0.88%	0.44%	96.71%	0.87%	**100.00%**
March	0.45%	0.00%	0.23%	0.68%	0.23%	97.51%	0.90%	**100.00%**
April	0.45%	0.23%	0.23%	0.68%	0.23%	97.05%	1.13%	**100.00%**
May	0.48%	0.00%	0.24%	0.72%	0.24%	97.36%	0.96%	**100.00%**
June	0.49%	0.00%	0.24%	0.73%	0.24%	97.31%	0.98%	**100.00%**
July	0.73%	0.24%	0.00%	0.73%	0.49%	96.83%	0.98%	**100.00%**

Source: LHU SS data 2016

Furthermore, as outlined by Khan (2017) when investigating the employment prospects for Black academics at UK universities, it is claimed that if your face does not fit then the chances of getting a job at these higher education establishments are limited. She acknowledges that the number of students from BME communities has increased, but this has not translated into comparable recruitment of staff (Khan, 2017). She recognises the importance of Black students having role models to whom they can relate within the university sector. Khan claims that the “lack of BME academics does have an impact on the welfare of the student body because representation is so important; if we can’t see ourselves in the people we are studying or the people that are teaching us, that can lead to intense feelings of alienation” (2017: 2).

An analysis of the university-level data shows that less than 1 per cent of staff at the University of Liverpool were from the Black community. The findings also show that the majority of Black staff are in support and central professional services positions. Clearly, there is a challenge in equal representation. Political and legal pressure has created an environment whereby UK universities are bound to assure fair and consistent treatment of all ethnicities and social groups (Schwartz, 2004). The focus on the admission of students and creating educational opportunities has resulted in limited focus on academician challenges. Previous studies have examined the presence of racism in the UK workplace. Boliver (2016) concludes that understanding why ethnic minorities are so disadvantaged in being represented within academic circles remains a main area of debate. One reason that authors like Pilkington (2013) and Turney et al. (2002) present is that since universities tend to remain particularly liberal and progressive places, there is an inherent assumption that prejudice and discrimination are absent. However, independent surveys on ethnic minority students and staff in the UK have shown that racism is commonplace in universities (Equality Challenge Unit, 2011). From a Liverpool-specific educational perspective, Boyle and Charles (2011) identified that there were still challenges with respect to access to teacher training, working in the right schools and the ability to achieve promotion and higher positions within schools for teachers from the BME community. Boyle and Charles (2016) also concluded that there was still marginalisation of the voices of Black teachers and that the pedagogies of Black teachers contribute to a dismantling of binaries and hierarchies that privilege Eurocentric paradigms of teaching.

6.7 Implications

The purpose of this chapter was to present a quantitative analysis of the study findings. The research has drawn attention to the instabilities that exist in employment and educational access for the Black and minority communities in Liverpool, as well as in the UK. The key theme that can be identified through this research is that there is an obvious presence of racism, as most organisations, counties and cities have clear anti-racist policies. The presence of subtle or automatic racism is often driven by

neoliberal policies. This thesis argues that there is no unitary kind of definition of racism within the workplace. Although efforts are being made to challenge imperial nationalist trends, the presence of subtle racism is a challenge that still needs to be addressed.

Another important observation made in this research is the intense difficulty associated with the measurement of racism. The need for localised assessment and improvements in data collection is evident. Though organisations indicate that they have diversity policies in place, there is no transparency in the disclosure of the numbers of Black employees within them. As Amin (2004) rightly argues, there is a need for racism assessment and anti-racism initiatives in Liverpool that derive from national and transnational findings but are adapted to the local needs of a specific region using dynamic networks. The lack of community-level statistical data and the unwillingness of private organisations to disclose their data shows key challenges. As Phoenix et al. (2017) conclude, issues ranging from poverty to unemployment can be best addressed at the community level. To achieve such change, there is a need for more transparency in access to data.

Third, this research disputes the focus on obvious racism and calls for more systemic efforts to identify inherent racism. While there is evidence to support the notion that working-class individuals may appear to be more racist, the impact on employees and students is caused by elite decisions. There is a need to move away from the argument that there is a unitary kind of nationalist or racist framing amongst the cohort of Britons. As Flemmen and Savage (2017) rightly conclude, there is a need to understand and deconstruct different forms of nationalism and racism. If one is to understand the complex politics of populism, it is essential to acknowledge that racism exists through different forms of representation. The shift away from a Universalist definition of racist challenges can help in understanding context-specific issues. One way to do this is to support independent research and statistical data collection at the local level. The use of combined vertical and horizontal distribution is essential to reach the micro-politics of relationships between peer groups, families and individuals (Nelson et al., 2011). The

findings of this chapter have therefore presented evidence of racism-linked challenges in employment in the UK. The chapter has also highlighted the need for local-level operations that can support more research on the subject. In order to find answers to these questions, the next part of this study records the findings of the qualitative data, which involved reaching out to the community and recording people's experiences. The next chapter will present additional evidence that can help to assess independent stakeholder views on racism and focus on more local-level data.

Chapter 7

Qualitative Findings

7.1 Introduction

The focus of this chapter is on presenting the qualitative findings of the research. The chapter details the study findings gained through semi-structured interviews and oral testimonies to determine participants' views on the challenges they face as ethnic and minority members of the society. Once the interviews and oral testimonies were conducted, the researcher transcribed the data, providing each participant with a code name to anonymise the work and prevent identification. As is evident from the following tables, a total of 19 oral testimonies and 27 semi-structured interviews were conducted. Most of the participants were Liverpool-born black employees. Of the interviewed participants, 13 were men and 14 were women. Of the participants who gave oral testimonies, 12 were women and seven were men.

Table 7.1. Oral Testimony Participant Profile

Interviewees Code	Age	Gender	Level of Education	Employment Status	Ethnic Origin	Self-Identification	Parents' Ethnicity
24. BE24	33	2	None	Currently employed	Liverpool-Born Black	Mixed Race	Mother (White) Father (Black)
25. BE25	51	2	A Levels	Currently employed	Liverpool-Born Black	Somali	Mother (Irish) Father (Somali)
26. BE26	40	Female	Degree	Currently employed	Liverpool-Born Black	Black British	Didn't want to specify
27. BE27	26	Female	Degree	Currently employed	Liverpool-Born Black	LBB	Mother (Black) Father (Black)
28. BE28	33	Female	Degree	Currently employed	Liverpool-Born Black	Black British	Mother (African) Father (Sudanese)
29. BE29	42	2	GCSEs	Currently employed	Liverpool-Born Black	Black African	Mother (Somali) Father (Somali)
30. BE30	49	2	None	Currently employed	Liverpool- Born Black	British Arab	Mother (Arab) Father (Arab)
31. BE31	56	2	O Levels	Currently employed	Liverpool-Born Black	LBB	Mother (White) Father (Black)
32. BE32	29	Female	Master's	Currently employed	Liverpool- Born Black	Black British	Mother (African) Father (African)
33. BE33	38	Female	Degree	Currently employed	Liverpool- Born Black	LBB	Mother (Black) Father (Black)

Interviewees Code	Age	Gender	Level of Education	Employment Status	Ethnic Origin	Self-Identification	Parents' Ethnicity
34. BE34	35	Female	Degree	Currently employed	Liverpool- Born Black	LBB	Mother (Somali) Father (Somali)
35. BE35	43	Female	A Levels	Currently employed	Liverpool- Born Black	British Arab	Mother (Arab) Father (Arab)
36. BE36	36	Female	GCSEs	Currently employed	Liverpool- Born Black	Somali	Mother (Arab) Father (Somali)
37. BE37	30	Female	Degree	Currently employed	Liverpool- Born Black	Black British	Mother (White) Father (Black)
38. BE38	34	2	None	Currently employed	Liverpool- Born Black	Black British	Mother (African) Father (African)
39. BE39	39	2	GCSEs	Currently employed	Liverpool Born Black	Biracial	Mother (White) Father (Black)
40. BE40	57	Female	None	Currently employed	Liverpool- Born Black	Black British	Mother (Black) Father (Mixed Race)
41. BE41	25	Female	Degree	Currently employed	Liverpool- Born Black	Black British	Mother (African) Father (Sudanese)
43. BE43	40	Female	Degree	Currently employed	Liverpool- Born Black	LBB	Mother (Black) Father (Black)

Table 7.2. Semi-structured Participant Profile

Interviewees Code	Age	Gender	Level of Education	Employment Status	Ethnic Origin	Self-Identification	Parents' Ethnicity
1. BE01	48	1	A Levels	Currently employed	Liverpool- Born Black	Mixed Race or LBB	Mother – White (UK) Father – Black (African
2. BE02	29	1	Degree	Currently employed	Liverpool- Born Black	LBB	Mother – (Somali) Father (Somali)
3. BE03	31	2	Degree	Currently employed	Liverpool- Born Black	Mixed Race	Mother (White) Father (African)
4. BE04	69	2	GCSEs	Currently employed	Liverpool- Born Black	LBB	Mother (African) Father (African)
5. BE05	38	1	PhD	Currently employed	Liverpool- Born Black	Biracial	Mother (White) Father (Somali)
6. BE06	62	2	Degree	Currently employed	Liverpool- Born Black	LBB	Mother (White) Father (African)
7. BE07	27	1	A Levels	Currently employed	Liverpool- Born Black	Black British	Mother (Somali) Father (Somali)
8. BE08	34	1	Degree	Currently employed	Liverpool- Born Black	Black African	Mother (African) Father (African)
9. BE09	41	1	Degree	Currently employed	Liverpool-Born Black	Black British	Mother (Black) Father (African)
10. BE10	36	2	GCSEs	Currently employed	Liverpool- Born Black	LBB	Mother (Black) Father (Sudanese)
11. BE11	48	2	PhD	Currently employed	Liverpool- Born Black	LBB	Mother (White) Father (African)

Interviewees Code	Age	Gender	Level of Education	Employment Status	Ethnic Origin	Self-Identification	Parents' Ethnicity
12. BE12	28	1	Degree	Currently employed	Liverpool- Born Black	Does not like to label	Mother (Somali) Father (Somali)
13. BE13	25	2	Master's	Currently employed	Liverpool- Born Black	Black African	Mother (Sudanese) Father (Sudanese)
14. BE14	63	1	A Levels	Currently employed	Liverpool-Born Black	LBB	Mother (Black) Father (Black)
15. BE15	44	1	Degree	Currently employed	Liverpool- Born Black	Arab	Mother (Yemeni) Father (Yemeni)
16. BE16	52	2	Degree	Currently employed	Liverpool- Born Black	LBB	Mother (White) Father (Caribbean)
17. BE17	19	1	GCSEs	Currently employed	Liverpool- Born Black	Black British	Mother (African) Father (African)
18. BE18	45	2	Degree	Currently employed	Liverpool-Born Black	Black British	Mother (Arab) Father (Somali)
19. BE19	53	2	A Levels	Currently employed	Liverpool- Born Black	African	Mother (African) Father (African)
20. BE20	20	2	A Levels	Currently employed	Liverpool- Born Black	Arab	Mother (Yemeni) Father (Yemeni)
21. BE21	46	1	Master's	Currently employed	Liverpool- Born Black	Black British	Mother (Somali) Father (Somali)
22. BE22	32	1	None	Currently employed	Liverpool- Born Black	Mixed Race	Mother (Black) Father (White)

Interviewees Code	Age	Gender	Level of Education	Employment Status	Ethnic Origin	Self-Identification	Parents' Ethnicity
42. BE42	49	2	Degree	Currently employed	Liverpool- Born Black	Black British	Mother (African) Father (African)
44. BE44	N/A	1	Degree	Currently employed	N/A	White	N/A
45. BE45	N/A	2	Degree	Currently employed	N/A	White	N/A
46. BE46	N/A	1	Degree	Currently employed	N/A	White	N/A
47. BE47	N/A	2	Master's	Currently employed	N/A	Liverpool Born Black	N/A

7.2 Interview and Data Analysis

As grounded theory was the approach adopted by the researcher to examine the data, a detailed scrutiny of the transcribed documents was conducted as the next stage of the process. The researcher began by acquainting herself with the data by reading and rereading the transcripts from the interviews and the oral testimonies. This allowed the researcher to better comprehend the words, experiences and meanings expressed by the participants (Denscombe, 2011). Additionally, the researcher referred to field notes taken during the interviews, which were documented. Delving through the transcripts and notes enabled the researcher to position herself within the experiences and the data collected. "Although qualitative research relies heavily on a research participant's shared experience to gain understanding and an insider's emic frame of the participants' life world" (Charmaz and Henwood, 2008: Headland et al., 1990), it was also critical that, as a researcher, "I had my own external dissociated 'etic' theoretical understanding of the accounts that were shared with me" (Constantino, 2016, p. 101).

Subsequently, the researcher proceeded to identify concepts and theories appearing in the data: this stage permits meaning to be extracted from the data, as the researcher examines and interprets them (Charmaz, 2003). While rigour is implicitly built into the system, along with transparency, when using grounded theory, it is, additionally, incumbent on the researcher to reflect on the process during interviews or oral testimonies in order to interpret the data and the philosophical premise (Charmaz, 2003).

When using grounded theory to analyse the data, the researcher for this study first initiated a three-stage coding strategy. As Charmaz (2003) states, a three-stage coding process usually occurs over two separate phases. In the first stage of analysis, coding allows categories to be formed using a memo-writing procedure. The coding method continues, "with emergent theories developed from analytical processes to explore data, and theoretical explanations validated by comparing and contrasting back to grounded data" (Walker and Myrick, 2006, p. 98; Charmaz, 2008). This exploration of the

data lets the researcher become familiar with the data and refresh her knowledge of them. The second phase of the process enables the researcher to return to the data using an inductive approach, to cross-reference the material with any field notes collected during the interview process and make memos (Denscombe, 2011).

7.3 Analytical Procedure Pursued

The researcher transcribed all the interviews and, to familiarise herself with the data, engaged in a continuous process of repetition. By listening to the interviews and focusing on the transcripts, the researcher was able to connect categories found in the data with fieldnotes. To ensure the data remained fresh in the researcher's mind, all interviews and oral testimonies were transcribed within a short time of collecting them. Reflection at this point was extremely important to allow the researcher to connect information in written form with sound data, which continued to resonate in her mind. By transcribing the data quite early on, the researcher was able to see what themes were emerging and whether these data correlated with the pilot-study findings in the first phase of the research. Observations made during this process centred on how the participants' tone changed at times when talking about difficult situations or how anger festered and could be seen on the faces of certain participants when discussing hardships. Pauses were another key factor, as participants displayed uneasiness when certain questions were posed.

Making sure that the data were correctly coded was the next phase of the process. Codes, which are labels, were connected to the data that had been gathered. By coding data, recurring events can be captured. At this point, I was able to explore and examine emerging themes in the data, especially in parallel with the oral testimonies and interviews. With the data in front of me, I was able to align certain themes with others and place these in categories. Dominant themes became apparent in the data and could be seen in the pilot study, also in the second phase of data analysis. This process enabled the participants' experiences to be captured, along with their spirit and feelings.

Once themes had developed, the next stage of the grounded-theory approach was to check and recheck the data to ensure that the findings were reliable (Charmaz, 2003). The 'data analysis spiral', as outlined by Denscombe (2011), enables each individual step in the process to be retraced, polished and expanded on. The diagram below, from Denscombe (2011: 286), demonstrates the escalation of codes, categories and themes, and eventually the production of theory.

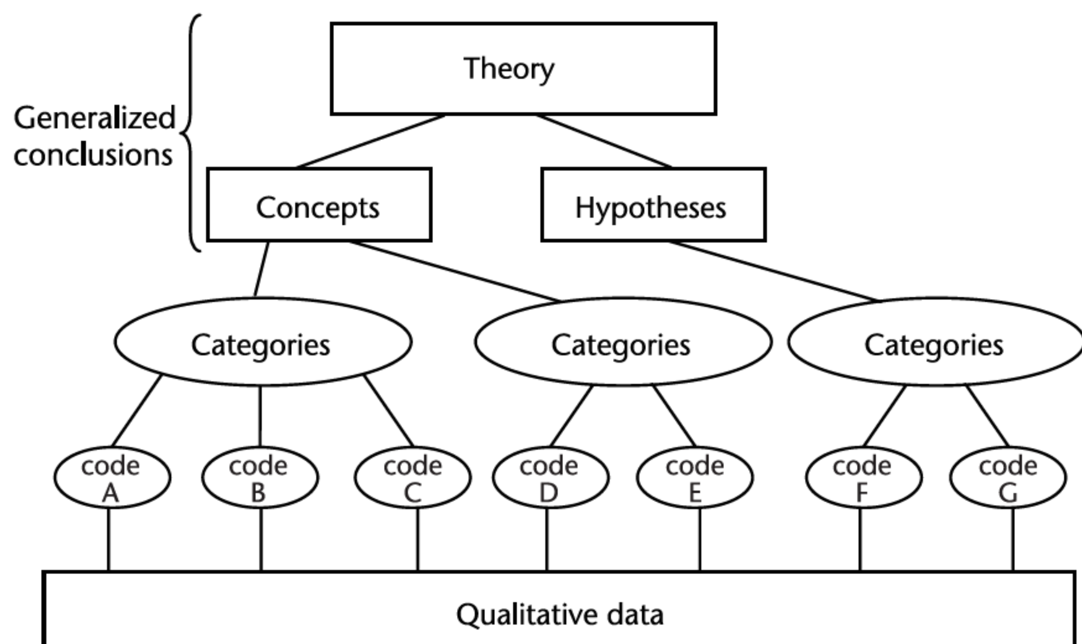


Figure 7.1. Grounded Theory Approach to the Analysis of Qualitative Data

Source: Denscombe (2011: 286)

The whole point of this process is that themes provide an original understanding of the research and create the fundamentals required for any possible theory associated with the data or universal deductions to develop or arise from the enquiry (Denscombe, 2011). For this research, the basis for exploring grounded theory was to see what experiences, attitudes and behaviours would appear when reflecting upon the experiences encountered by participants and how these could then be connected to available theory. The premise behind grounded theory is not to test a proposition but to see whether the same theory emerges from the data collected. "The strength of this classic method is that it enables the ability to implement accessible,

pragmatic methodological guidelines through a set of processes that give rise to the spawning of theory” (Dumangane, 2016: 128).

7.4 Data Analysis Process

The document below outlines the procedure applied during the coding process, which enabled the researcher to immerse herself in the data and understand the true meaning of the experiences encountered by the participants. As Smith & Firth, (2011: 3) claim in their work, that it is important to “immersing oneself within the data to gain detailed insights of the phenomena being explored”.

Table 7.3. Stages in developing in-depth knowledge and familiarity with the data

Stage	Description
• First Stage: Examining	This part of the process starts by examining the data individually, line by line.
• Second Stage: Open coding	Confirm preliminary observations. Inspect notes documented in the field.
• Third Stage: Dissecting the data	Determine the core and subcategories.
• Fourth Stage: Creating your story	Identify patterns in the data, which display actions, relations and communications.
• Fifth Stage: Outcomes and inconsistences	Identify strategies and concerns.
• Sixth Stage: Stories	Construct the narrative and place the data back together.
• Seventh Stage: Interpretation	Interpretation of the data into stories, which gives meaning to the participants’ experiences.
• Eighth Stage: Findings	Write up the findings of the data and provide evidence for the findings via quotes from participants.

7.5 Racial Discrimination

The first theme discussed is the presence of racial discrimination, which was evident across various experiences ranging from the nature of employment to challenges faced with respect to education. This section of the research will discuss these elements to provide information on the data gathered. A commonly observed theme was the presence of racial discrimination, which

led to feeling excluded and being targeted. The interviews and oral testimonies identified this perspective. For example, in one instance, a youth with a promising career in football felt isolated from his teammates, as is evident in the following comment:

> *"… but the way that they treated him and the names that they called him, he left …"*
>
> (BE06 INTERVIEW, AGE 62, MALE, SELF-IDENTIFICATION LBB)

There is also a general argument that, based on the colour of one's skin, major stereotypes remain. Respondents believe that this has negatively impacted on their employment opportunities and that there is a generally negative attitude towards Black employees. These views are evident in the following arguments.

> *"[The] stereotypes people have concerning Black men are extremely detrimental and have prevented me from getting a job."*
>
> (BE10 INTERVIEW, AGE 36, MALE, SELF-IDENTIFICATION LBB)

> *"The whole way that they talk to you and look at you lets you know that you are never going to get the job."*
>
> (BE06 INTERVIEW, AGE 62, MALE, SELF-IDENTIFICATION LBB)

This constant stereotypical view of the Black community and perceptions of lack of education or qualifications has led individuals to adapt to a hard life, starting their own business and becoming entrepreneurs. As one interviewee remarked:

> *"…people judging you, stereotyping you, looking down at you and not giving you a job because they are racist."*
>
> (BE10 INTERVIEW, AGE 36, MALE, SELF-IDENTIFICATION LBB)

The presence of such systemic discrimination has led to limited opportunities for employment, with established structures like recruitment agencies requesting change in identity through having more English names. For example, an interviewee remarked:

> *"An experiment that the recruitment agency asked me to participate in was to change my name to an English name and send out a CV. Five employers in Liverpool that I had previously applied to contacted the recruitment agency within an hour, all offering me interviews for the same positions. If that is not racism, then what is?"*
>
> (BE13 INTERVIEW, AGE 25, MALE, SELF-IDENTIFICATION BLACK AFRICAN)

Clearly, these findings suggest that in education, in employment and in the search for employment, there are major challenges linked to systemic discrimination.

Another theme linked to discrimination is the acknowledgment of lack of diversity. Two interviewees acknowledged that a lack of diversity in Liverpool was evident across sectors. One interviewee believed that, while employed in Liverpool, she was in a significant minority, while another argued that while employers in other cities examined the work ethic of the individual, those in Liverpool made assertions about their capabilities and this was largely due to a lack of exposure to diverse employees. These views are explained in the following comments.

> *"… she was the only Black person working within her whole team of 200+."*
>
> (BE07 INTERVIEW, AGE 27, FEMALE, SELF-IDENTIFICATION BLACK BRITISH)

> *"Other cities looked at how hard I worked and that I was able to do the job and not the colour of my skin."*
>
> (BE02 INTERVIEW, AGE 29, FEMALE, SELF-IDENTIFICATION LBB)

The employees also present various evidence which relates to a hostile work environment and a lack of acceptance within it. One interviewee argued that racism was persistent across employers and that discrimination was very evident as, whatever the nature of the job they applied for, their queries were never answered. For example:

> *"…menial jobs like cleaning in the community I was able to obtain, but even when I applied for cleaning jobs in the city centre, no one got back to me."*
>
> (BE02 INTERVIEW, AGE 29, FEMALE, SELF-IDENTIFICATION LBB)

Two other individuals argued that such challenges of open discrimination were evident across both private and public sectors. They believed that despite applying for a range of employment options with various levels of skill or expertise, no one got back to them on gainful employment-related interviews. For example:

> *"Well, that was not the case. I applied for hundreds and hundreds of jobs to statutory organisations and the city council, just anything that I could find in the Liverpool Echo and even the Guardian, but no response."*
>
> (BE27 ORAL TESTIMONY, AGE 26, FEMALE, SELF-IDENTIFICATION LBB)

> *"I went down to the local job centre in Toxteth and how they treated me was unbelievable. They at first spoke to you like you were stupid and when I showed them my CV, they were like, who cares? You couldn't get a job."*
>
> (BE42, ORAL TESTIMONY, AGE 40, FEMALE, SELF-IDENTIFICATION LBB)

Two other interviewees argued that even after gaining employment, it was not possible to gain career advancement as there were still major challenges linked to access to promotion. They argued that name-calling was a common in the workplace. These views are evident in the following statements:

"After a while, I could not take the name-calling … I waited for the complaint to be heard and it was not upheld, and still, the silent treatment and the name-calling continued. In the end, I left work due to ill health."

(BE25 ORAL TESTIMONY, AGE 51, MALE, SELF-IDENTIFICATION SOMALI)

"Also, there is the straight-up racism, when people call you all these names and still expect you to work within this hostile environment."

(BE10 INTERVIEW, AGE 36, MALE, SELF-IDENTIFICATION LBB)

The findings also show that racial discrimination is present across various levels of qualifications and educational experience. Some employees believed that even if they stayed on in further education or signed up to find employment through recruitment agencies, they would have been unable to get gainful employment. For instance:

"I know some of my friends who stayed on in further education and got the qualifications required have also found it really hard to find jobs."

(BE10 INTERVIEW, AGE 36, MALE, SELF-IDENTIFICATION LBB)

"I went for promotion sometimes and even though I was qualified I was turned down."

(BE27 ORAL TESTIMONY, AGE 26, FEMALE, SELF-IDENTIFICATION LBB)

The findings from this section revolve around the overarching presence of racial discrimination. The key themes identified include feelings of exclusion and being targeted based on ethnicity; negative perceptions and stereotyping; and limited opportunities for employment. From a critical race-theory perspective, Caselli and Coleman (2013) argue that there could be implications for racism if there is a lack of acceptance of all cultures and ethnicities and if efforts are being made to support the exclusion of specific

out-groups. The interviewees participating in this research provide various evidence of such exclusion. The experiment regarding a change of name showcased practical examples of widespread stereotyping. At the same time, it also acknowledged challenges in the system, which frustrates Black employees. There is such systemic presence of employment-level discrimination that many of them discuss it as a way of life. From a critical race-theory perspective, existing anti-discrimination laws and policies impose an unfair burden on the individual to prove that discrimination occurs based on race (Freeman, 1978). As Noon (2018) rightly argues, the existing definition of anti-discrimination policies is structured such that they view discrimination as an action caused by an individual. This leads to challenges, as the historical legacy of discrimination and stereotyping makes it challenging for members of minority groups to provide discrimination-related evidence.

Another theme is the lack of diversity, which could contribute to a well-adjusted workplace. There is typically a hostile work environment and limited options for career development. The findings in Chapter Four attempted to counter the argument that racism was only present at the level of low-skill labour. This chapter supports this argument. The interviewees indicated that racial discrimination is present across various levels of qualifications and educational experience. A common aspect highlighted by most of the interviewees is the presence of micro-aggression and subtle racist evidence. As Sue et al. (2007) argue, micro-insults are covert expressions of verbal and non-verbal that show a lack of sensitivity towards issues faced by minorities. The lack of diversity within the workplace may create additional options for the expression of such micro-insults. Many interviewees believe that their career development options have been supressed due to the presence of discrimination at work. As Sue et al. (2007) note, this could be attributed to the presence of micro-invalidation. Micro-invalidation is a form of discrimination that invalidates the challenges faced by employees. Ong et al. (2013) conclude that the lack of diversity in the workplace could further create out-group exclusions, which may result in a lack of acknowledgement of the systemic challenges faced by minority employees. This lack of

diversity, when examined from a CRT perspective, can identify inherent challenges that exist within this discourse. As Smith (2017) concludes, minorities experience differentiation, which is often less understood by the majority and can continue to create major challenges.

The following figure presents a thematic map of the various ideas identified in this section.

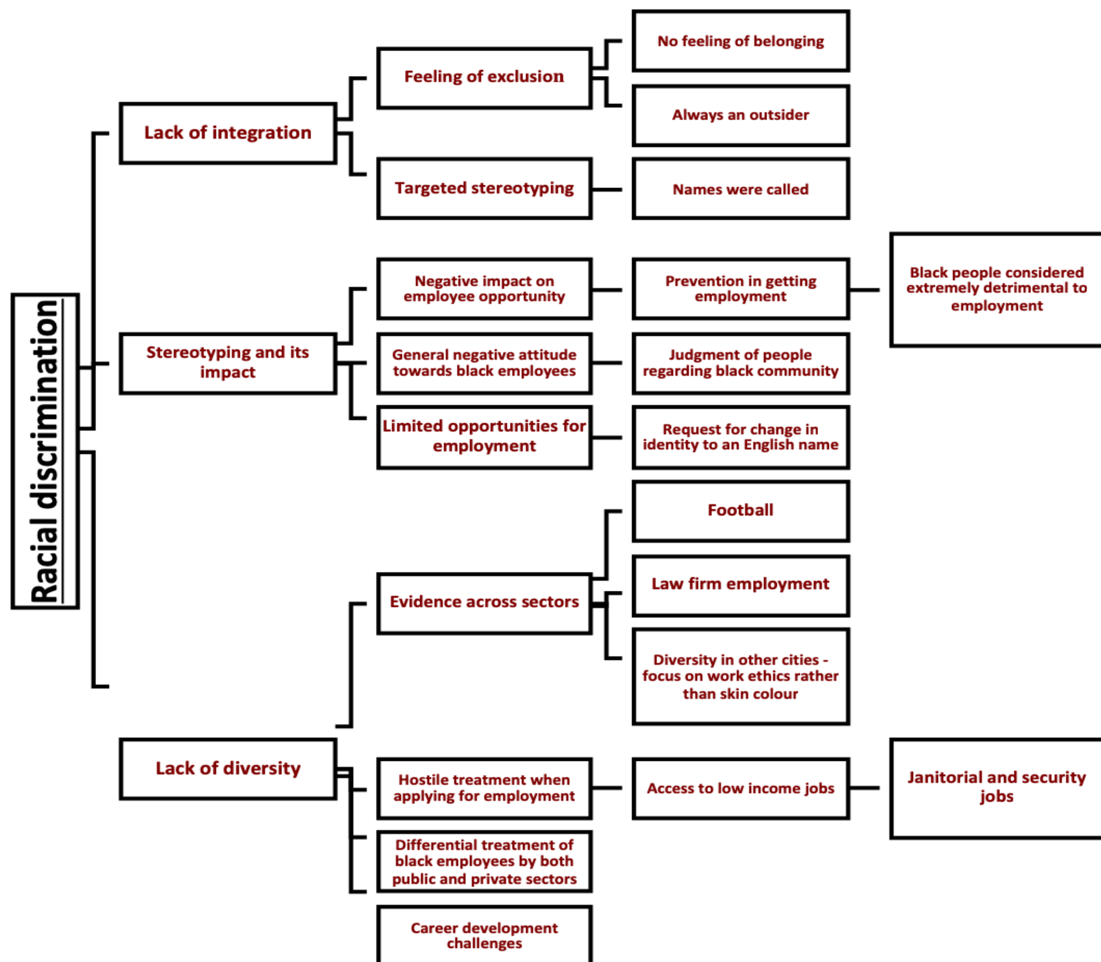


Figure 7.2. Racial Discrimination

7.6 Institutional Racism

An analysis of participants' views showed that while general elements associated with racial discrimination were identified, there was other evidence linked to institutional racism. For example, many participants concluded that there are systemic challenges that underlie the expression of racism, and that understanding these challenges requires understanding the

nature of such institutions and their impact. Institutional racism was first identified by Carmichael and Hamilton (1967), who claim that institutional racism refers to general instances of racial discrimination, inequality, exploitation and domination in organisational or institutional contexts, such as the labour market or the nation-state (Clair and Denis, 2015: 860). Over the years, at global and local levels, there has been a rise in importance ascribed to institutional racism, with much legislation and many policy measures attempting to define how individuals should be treated equally across a range of organizations to ensure that there is strict enforcement against racist remarks or actions in any institution. In this study, the respondents identified the persistence of institutional racism and the barriers they had faced from institutions in Liverpool, which prevented them finding employment or even entering higher education.

The first common theme identified is linked to gaining access to employment or education. The findings in this study show that individuals often faced challenges in gaining access to education. One respondent pointed out that even though she had the requirements to get onto a specific programme, she was not initially granted admission:

> *"I thought I would receive an offer from Liverpool John Moores University. When I did not and was also rejected by this university, my mother decided to find out why, as my grade prediction was above their asking grades. She contacted the School of Law and spoke to the admissions coordinator."*
>
> (BE28 ORAL TESTIMONY, AGE 33, FEMALE, SELF-IDENTIFICATION BLACK BRITISH)

Two other respondents also argued that despite having the right qualifications, they rarely gained access to interviews, and this was characteristic of the organisation they were applying to. They questioned the validity of available institution level transparency, given the lack of access to the ease of employment opportunities available to White people. Their views are summarised below:

> *"I applied for a support worker's job at the Council, but I didn't even get an interview. I also applied for the same type of work in the NHS a number of times, but never got an interview and I couldn't understand why."*
>
> (BE17 INTERVIEW, AGE 19, FEMALE, SELF-IDENTIFICATION BLACK BRITISH)

> *"I have found it extremely difficult to find employment in Liverpool. I have signed up to a recruitment agency to find employment."*
>
> (BE13 INTERVIEW, AGE 25, MALE, SELF-IDENTIFICATION BLACK AFRICAN)

Participants constantly mentioned Liverpool city council and other statutory service providers in the city. Their inability to obtain employment, or even be asked to attend an interview, despite filling in applications for roles which the interviewees were qualified for, was a key term of reference.

> *"I even applied for the jobs at the council for Black people after the Gifford report (1989) but no one got back to me because they probably think I am too old and that I know nothing".*
>
> (BE06 INTERVIEW, AGE 62, MALE, SELF-IDENTIFICATION LBB)

> *"I have even applied for basic clerical jobs at the council to get some more experience behind me, but I never get an interview. Hundreds and hundreds of applications but no response, but why? Because my name tells you that I am Black and not White."*
>
> (BE33 ORAL TESTIMONY, AGE 38, FEMALE, SELF-IDENTIFICATION LBB)

The second element associated with existing challenges in research regarding the presence of institutional racism is that there were no transparent policies to address complaints of racism. As one respondent remarked, there were clear indications that racist overtures led to the lack of an offer letter from a university.

> *"She [admissions coordinator] was shocked that it was my mother and apologized profusely for not contacting her, but she stated that she was waiting on the law department to respond concerning the non-offer. When my mother asked what the mistake had been, the admissions officer could only say an oversight. She stated that an offer would be made via UCAS and that she could only apologise, as decisions were made by each department and not the admissions section."*
>
> (BE28 ORAL TESTIMONY, AGE 33, FEMALE, SELF-IDENTIFICATION BLACK BRITISH)

Another participant spoke about the practices of the local government-run job centre regarding Black claimants. Those who looked for support from employment agencies were asked to give constant evidence of applying for employment every week. The standards set for White and Black people varied significantly. The following comment highlights this view:

> *"One day, as I was waiting for an advisor, I asked a young man how many jobs he had been asked to provide, and he said five per week. Over the weeks, I spoke to others who were White, and their numbers did not go above eight, whereas the Black population was submitting 18–20."*
>
> (BE42, ORAL TESTIMONY, AGE 40, FEMALE, SELF-IDENTIFICATION LBB)

Another individual argued that employment agencies openly acknowledged the presence of racism and negative assumptions based on ethnicity and colour. The respondents were asked to deliberately change their names to ensure that they were not rejected at the point of entry. As the respondent rightly identified, this was considered a common practice, with a lack of questioning of the validity of such an assumption. For example:

> *"Additionally, as I have a name which many see as non-British, this is another barrier to employment and even the woman I*

have been working with at the local employment agency asked whether we should do an experiment and change my name."

(BE05 INTERVIEW, AGE 38, FEMALE, SELF-IDENTIFICATION BIRACIAL)

To verify this claim, the participant spoke to White claimants to enquire whether the same rules were being applied to all benefits applicants. Through her investigation, she found that 'race' practices within the institution were skewed for Black attendants in relation to their White counterparts. The less favourable treatment that takes place as regards race discrimination at work can be very evident when seeking work and working for an employer, as claimed by Acas (2012).

As identified as part of the racial discrimination argument, the findings of this research also show that access to employment opportunities is extremely limited and that, despite having applied for various employment options within the council, there was scant access to potential interviews or employment options.

"It hasn't help me get promoted, as I have applied for a number of positions within the Council, when people have left or been promoted, and yes, I have been interviewed but still never got the job."

(BE18 INTERVIEW, AGE 45, MALE, SELF-IDENTIFICATION BLACK BRITISH)

As mentioned by interviewees 17 and 18, they both consciously tried to apply for jobs advertised by the statutory sector, and Liverpool city council, but they had not been successful in obtaining employment or, if they had, it had been via positive action programmes. They believed that even if they were able to gain access to employment, there was significant social pressure and social isolation due to a lack of acceptance of Black employees within the workspace. They believed that there was a lack of understanding of their independent values and their assertions, which in turn led to challenges to assumptions. For example:

> *"At first. some people would say hello and smile, but others would just ignore me when I entered the kitchen or communal dinning area. I think my colleagues just thought I was strange and didn't drink or go out due to my culture or something."*
>
> (BE41 ORAL TESTIMONY, AGE 25, FEMALE, SELF-IDENTIFICATION BLACK BRITISH)

> *"He was like, yes, but what can we do about these kinds of people? They are insane and want everyone to be a goddamn Muslim. He then stuttered, as he realised I was wearing a hijab, went red and excused himself. This was the last time he spoke to me."*
>
> (BE40 ORAL TESTIMONY, AGE 57, FEMALE, SELF-IDENTIFICATION BLACK BRITISH)

The findings show that institutional racism is linked to systemic challenges in access to education and employment. Iganski and Mason (2018) acknowledge that institutional racism and ethnic inequalities continue to exist in UK society. The interviewees highlight arguments whereby they are often perceived to have lower standards. This further supports arguments of microdilution, where the struggles of minorities go unacknowledged. Terry et al. (2001) also conclude that there is an inherent two-facedness of bias, in which people can have both negative and positive views on minority groups regarding out-groups, and this could result in negative perceptions. It was also argued in the interviews that there is a limited number of policies that address the challenges of institutional racism. According to Jones (1934), at its core, institutional racism not only identifies as a negative attitude or outlook, but also addresses social power, which may result in disparate outcomes for specific ethnicities and is often linked to a lack of institution-level action. Banerjee and Singer (2018) conclude that socio-economic disadvantage and class remain an institutional challenge, with welfare organisations and public sector organisations making limited efforts to address the widespread presence of racism. Phillips (2011) concludes that in response to the presence of racist trends, institutions set subtle differences in

expectations for majority and minority groups. The blatant presence of policies which set differing requirements for Black and White employees is also evident. As is evident in these findings, asking employees to change their names or setting different employment targets for White and Black employees supports this assertion.

The employees highlight institutional racism challenges by linking them to issues of lack of diversity and expectations. The difficulties faced by White employees in understanding the culture of minorities is identified through the interviews. This supports the need for diversity training. As Rowden (1996) concludes, diversity training is an essential element of the modern day workplace. Alhejji et al.(2016) reflect on diversity training from the perspective of CRT and conclude that outward manifestations can change only when there is an acceptance of racism and racist tendencies by majority groups. The authors conclude that diversity training can be successful only when there is acknowledgment of a problem. Greene and Kirton (2015) also argue that diversity training can be seen as a superficial response to legal and social guidelines, without efforts to make discrimination visible to those in power. From chapter Four, we identified evidence of lack of transparency in diversity management and hiring practices from private employers. Clearly, the findings of this chapter support the continuing challenge of diversity management associated with this lack of transparency. CRT calls for the systematic deconstruction of perceptions, assumptions and paradigms that help to understand both causes and interventions to overcome such institutional racism.

The following figure presents a thematic map of the various ideas identified in this section.

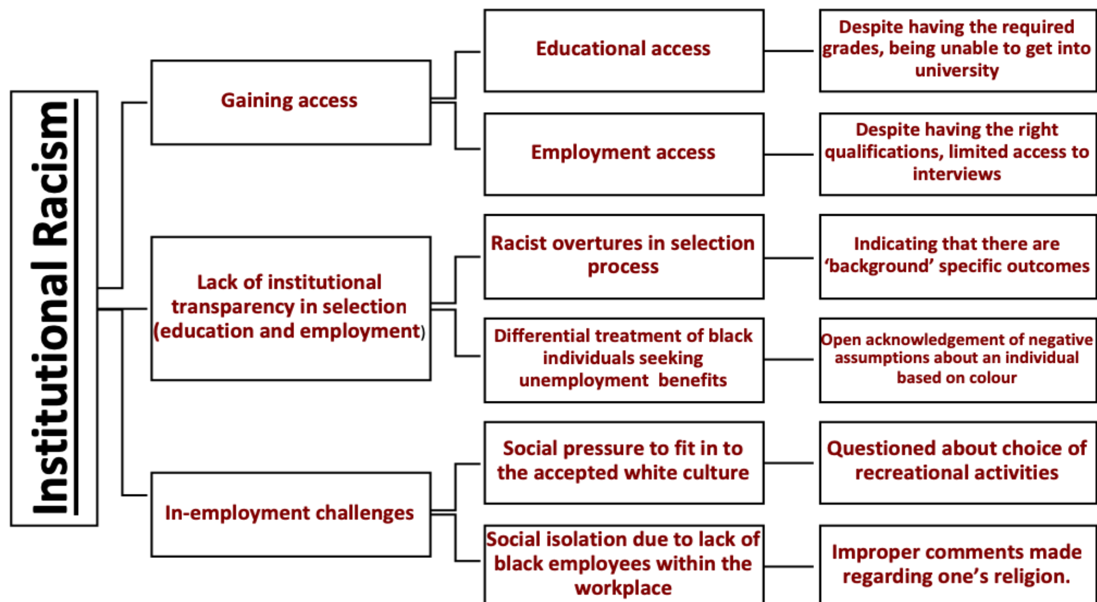


Figure 7.3. Institutional Racism

7.7 Systemic Racism

An analysis of inherent discrimination highlights the challenges and lack of opportunities for Black people due to systemic favouritism. Extant literature has identified the presence of favouritism in the workplace in the form of three distinct elements: nepotism, cronyism and patronage (Pektas, 1999). Nepotism is evident when there is support for family members. Many see this as an unprofessional practice, which hinders the system of human resources and equality of opportunity within a company or organization (Feagin, 2013).

The most common form of nepotism identified in this research is nepotism-based hiring decisions in private organisations. Across various types of organisations (private and public sector) such nepotist trends were evident. For example:

> *"but in Liverpool everyone who worked in the store were family or related somehow."*
>
> (BE7 Interview, Age 27, Female, Self identification Black British)

> *"The barriers that I have found are nepotism, which plays a big part in how people get jobs in this city."*
>
> (BE10 INTERVIEW, AGE 36, MALE, SELF IDENTIFICATION LBB)

> *"I was lucky enough to get a temporary job in one of the statutory organisations in Liverpool and on my first day I noticed that my manager was related to another manager working on the same floor."*
>
> (BE22 INTERVIEW, AGE 32, FEMALE, SELF IDENTIFICATION MIXED RACE).

Across all organisations (private and public) the presence of nepotistic tendencies and policies is evident. The participants acknowledge that this presence of favouritism was not an ideal approach and was in fact not accepted in most other cities. Favoritism reveals unfair treatment in organizations. While favoured individuals are awarded privileges, others (individuals who are not favoured) are punished or neglected. There are many attitudes and behaviors in organizations that are apparently legal but which are, in fact, examples of implicit favouritism. Nepotism in the form of implicit favouritism is evident in this context, where preferences are made based on social capital and associated arguments. For instance:

> *"One construction firm I worked at had the dad, mum, aunt, cousins, son and daughters all working within the same business, receiving government contracts, and funding."*
>
> (BE10 INTERVIEW, AGE 36, MALE, SELF IDENTIFICATION LBB)

Familial nepotism is not only associated with family-run organisations, is also evident other organisations where managerial attention was found to be diverted to nepotistic views. For example:

> *"In the other store that I worked in it was not allowed and I was told rules get broken in Liverpool, Tesco has the same policy*

but family works in Liverpool and this has been brought to my attention."

(BE7 Interview, Age 27, Female, Self identification Black British)

The second element to be focused on is cronyism. Cronyism in organizations is unjust because it gives various advantages to certain people despite their not deserving such privileges and because such behavior harms other people's good intentions. Favouritism damages transparency because it is generally shown secretly. The major dilemma of favouritism is that many people do not perceive it as a problem (Nadler and Schulman, 2006). Favouritism in many organizations is one of the most important reasons for inefficiency. Interviewee accounts of cronyism include:

"I have friends who have found it, like, hard to find a job after graduating, and I mean by hard that they had to wait a month or two before finding a job. However, when their mum or dad said let me talk to Jim or Tom, who owns that company, business or factory, the next week they were offered an interview and then a job. Without those connections they would be in the same situation as me, but because they know people who have businesses or work in companies, they are able to help their children get jobs and careers. Black people don't have that and I think it's a problem."

(BE14 Interview, Age 63, Female, Self identification LBB).

"I passed the exam entrance well, friends or associates at school were able to ask their parents, or an uncle or relative within the family or friends of the family to arrange work experience. Some students assisted in a dental office, a GP's office or in banking or government offices high up. Whereas I was placed at the local Boot's in town, as I knew no one or anyone that my family or relatives could ask. It really made me feel worthless, as I was unable to use any connections, as I didn't have any."

(BE21 Interview, Age 46, Female, Self identification Black British).

Even in the oral testimonies, one participant could provide an early example of how his friend was able to use social capital to get a job as a newspaper delivery boy, but when that participant tried to do the same, ‘race’ became an issue:

> *“That’s when the shopkeeper said, ‘Listen, boy, I already have someone working for me and let’s be honest there is no way that I would give you a job, as your type would probably run off with the newspapers and never come back.’ At this point I was like, ok, I understand what you are saying but what do you mean by my type and asked him, and the shopkeeper looked me straight in the eye and told me, ‘You know, I just don’t give jobs to “niggers” or Black bastards.’ This really upset me, and I ran out of the shop (participant’s voice alters to one of sorrow).”*
>
> (BE38 ORAL TESTIMONY, AGE 38, MALE, SELF IDENTIFICATION BLACK AFRICAN)

Systemic racism and the acceptance of the same within society has also been attributed to apartheid by some individuals. They believe that there is systemic racism which supports active segregation. Many individuals had felt active violence and hatred towards them, not only from individuals but also from the system. For instance:

> *“When I applied for part-time jobs to help me with my study expenses, no one wanted to employ me, and that really hurt my confidence. I use to go home and cry: Why me, why me? And my mum used to say that’s Liverpool babe, a racist city, and it’s no different to living in chains like slavery or living with apartheid. I then began to understand that my biggest challenge wasn’t getting an education in Liverpool but securing a good job in this city and overcoming the barrier of race.”*
>
> (BE12 INTERVIEW, AGE 28, FEMALE, SELF IDENTIFICATION NONE)

> *“Family members, mainly men, have worked in low-level jobs in this part of the city, but they have been racially abused and*

threatened with violence, which has led to them leaving, due to feeling unsafe, especially when it comes to having to return home in the winter and it's dark at night. Family members have said that Liverpool is segregated, as the Black community lives in Toxteth and the White community has the rest of the city. Apartheid is going strong in the new millennium in Liverpool."

(BE16 INTERVIEW, AGE 52, MALE, SELF IDENTIFICATION LBB)

The findings of this section of the research also highlight evidence of systemic racism due to favouritism. The findings support the presence of nepotism, cronyism and systemic efforts to differentiate one group of people from another. Nepotism is seen as a key factor that has led to limited opportunities for members of the Black community. Wight (2003) concludes that the definition of institutional racism requires differentiation between the outcomes and causes of race-related challenges. The recognition of agential overt and unwilling practices can lead to institutional racism, as there remains an argument that discrimination occurs at the individual level. Policy officials and lay audiences may be more willing to accept explanations of ethnic inequalities in welfare outcomes based on individual decisions rather than admitting the presence of a systemic challenge (Greene and Kirton, 2015). They further conclude that discrimination often compounds with nepotism, given the years of dominance by the majority. In this context, the intersectionality between race and nepotism often goes unacknowledged. As the interviewees of this research identify, there remain inherent challenges of in-group preferences. Apart from nepotism-linked favouritism, there is also the presence of cronyism. Many interviewees believe that contacts in the outside world are essential to get the right internal placements at the end of a bachelor's or master's education programme. Condrey (2002) concludes that the presence of cronyism in organisations may be an antecedent to racism, as it supports favourtism towards relatives and friends within specific groups. Khatri et al. (2006), in their differentiation of horizontal and verticial cronyism, conclude that choices made based on favouritism may support an unconscious bias towards specific ethnic groups, as performance is not

included as an element in selection. Diefenbach (2009) also concludes that non-merit based employment practices are grounded in preferential treatment for acquaintances. Unethical practices of favouritism may result in differential impact on crony-favoured and non-favoured individuals. This, accompanied by lack of a diversity within the workplace, supports continued and systemic practices of racial discrimination.

Likupe (2006), in their assessment of Black African nurses in the UK, concludes that there is racism which is so evident that nurses wonder if employers go out of their way to ignore racist tendencies. Similarly, Alexis and Vydelingum (2004) conclude that there are everyday experiences of discrimination for minority employees in the UK and that there is an acceptance that this systemic issue will continue or remain. The authors conclude that nurses experience systemic racism, are treated differently and must perform certain unsavoury tasks as part of NHS culture. The findings of the current research show similar levels of despair to those exhibited by other employees. There is a belief that racism as an attitude is system-wide and they cannot escape it. Smith et al. (2011) conclude that micro-agression is deeply intertwined with institutional practices of racism across various legacy organisations like the NHS. This has resulted in long-term perceptions of stress and emotional abuse by various ethnic minorities in the UK who feel the continued impact of racism as was evident during the colonial era.

The presence of social apartheid and its perception has been associated with evidence gathered from research. According to Adams and Bengtsson (2017), there remain open remarks made by individuals in power regarding the need for social discrimination and continued dominance in selection for White students at elite insititutions like Oxford and Cambridge Universities.

The following figure presents a thematic map of the various ideas identified in this section.

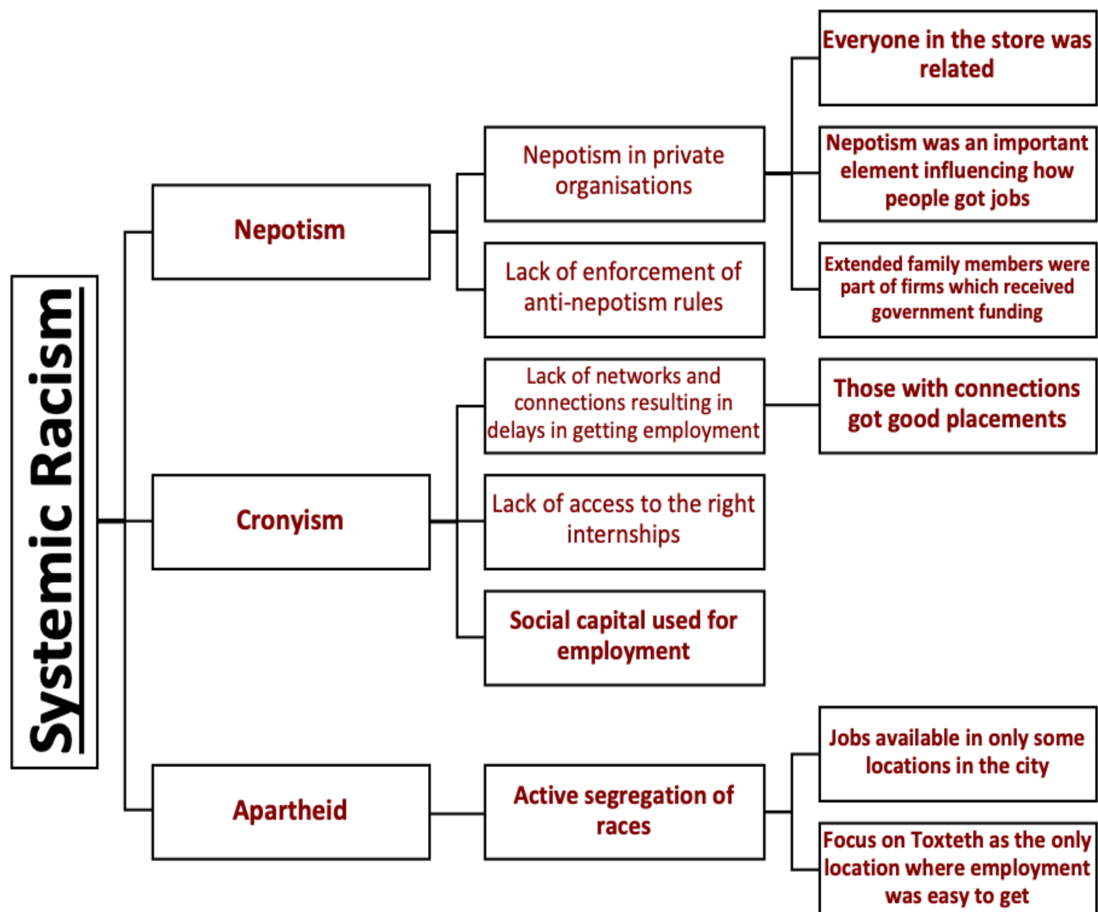


Figure 7.4. Systemic Racism

7.8 Impact of Racism

Previous sections of the study have highlighted arguments which identify the causes of racism and its implications for the Black community. The purpose of this section of the results chapter is to understand the impact of racism and its implications. A common effect highlighted in research is the presence of ostracisation and feeling rejected by society. Twenty-six participants out of 42 in this study cited a lack of motivation as a psychological factor of racism, which had hindered their ability to find employment in Liverpool. These respondents felt ostracised by society and referred to feeling socially rejected. Examples provided by the participants included:

> *"My experience of finding employment in Liverpool has been extremely depressing and very disheartening. I apply for jobs, which, yes, I have the skills and experience for, and still I am not employed by these companies. I now know it's because I*

am Black; otherwise, where are all the Black people working in Liverpool?"

(BE16 INTERVIEW, AGE 52, MALE, SELF-IDENTIFICATION LBB)

"Being constantly judged by people is the reason why I don't have to apply any more."

(BE10 INTERVIEW, AGE 36, MALE, SELF-IDENTIFICATION LBB)

"I have been racially abused, which was extremely scary. Crackheads have chased me, called me names, and also White gangs in the North of the city. Every so often a car will go past and shout a racist slander; eggs have been thrown at me; balls of ice have been thrown."

(BE20 INTERVIEW, AGE 20, MALE SELF-IDENTIFICATION LBB)

The participants believe that there continues to exist a toxic environment with respect to employment options. They have been subjected to additional hurtful verbal taunts, which impact on their overall attitude and their motivation to continue to look for employment. As Bartlett (2009) concludes, the presence of a tense environment created by verbal and nonverbal antagonism is the first step to discriminate between people of different races. Such verbal abuse and nonverbal hostile expressions are authentic ways of discrimination in which the goal is to put someone down in front of others.

The respondents also believe that such lack of acceptance from the society at large has led to a sense of resignation and acceptance. Participants believe that only other members of their own community understand and accept the implications of being Black.

"Even new acquaintances from the Yemeni- or Arabic-speaking community, who have been here for over 10 or 15 years, have found it very difficult to gain employment and enter the voluntary sector, which is really sad."

(BE02 INTERVIEW, AGE 29, FEMALE, SELF-IDENTIFICATION LBB)

"We are just one big group of people who are linked by colour and unemployment, the only time I felt like I fit, is when I'm in Toxteth."

(BE37 ORAL TESTIMONY, AGE 30, FEMALE, SELF-IDENTIFICATION BLACK BRITISH)

As Okazaki (2009) concludes, there is often an implicit presence of racism which often goes unacknowledged by members of other groups. This results in continued preferences for in-group communities. The lack of recognition of such practices without intent to harm can lead to major racial divides. This is because the White population often does not recognise the impact of privilege and power and, even if they do, the systemic presence of such challenges makes it impossible for individuals to make a difference.

This isolation and loneliness that participants felt when applying for jobs in Liverpool led to them losing motivation and affected their belief in their identity of whom they are. Those respondents who felt excluded often explained how this negatively influenced their motivation and overall desire to seek employment in Liverpool. As acknowledged in the recent Race and Equality Study (2010), 'a lack of expectation can lead to lack of motivation in psychological terms'. Whether this is true or not, the belief that participants carried this view outweighed arguments against this theory. The perceptions held by respondents were real, connected to negative experiences, and had a direct impact on their employment choices in the future in Liverpool. By exploring and expressing these viewpoints, participants in the study were displaying their vulnerability and weakness and connecting these negative feelings with racism and discrimination they had personally suffered. This in turn 'greatly affected their motivation to succeed' (Race and Equality Study,

2010: 55), as they acknowledged that career progression in Liverpool would be stifled by the impact of institutional racism within the employment sector.

The findings of this research also identify issues linked to self-confidence and self-esteem as outcomes of racism in the Liverpool community. The continued rejection that many of the members face leads to low self-esteem and low motivation to pursue alternative ways to gain employment. For instance:

> *"I have done everything within my power to change my situation and the situation of my family. It still isn't enough and it's just so depressing, and sometimes I just don't want to leave the house or my bed. If it wasn't for my kids, I don't know what I would do."*
>
> (BE05 INTERVIEW, AGE 38, FEMALE, SELF-IDENTIFICATION BIRACIAL)

> *"Why would you go into a place of work, where your colleagues treat you like a criminal, disrespect you and make their own private jokes, which you are the focal point of? It makes you not want to come into work and question what you are. Am I an animal who can be made fun of?*
>
> (BE18 INTERVIEW, AGE 45, MALE, SELF-IDENTIFICATION BLACK BRITISH)

> *"It's just part of living in this city and it's very disheartening and makes you want to go elsewhere, where 'race' isn't an issue and people see you and not the colour of your skin."*
>
> (BE20 INTERVIEW, AGE 20, MALE, SELF-IDENTIFICATION ARAB)

Many individuals believe that the only place where they feel accepted is in Black-dominated communities including Toxteth. This continues to create marginalisation and lack of engagement with other members of the society.

> *"'Toxteth', which has become a haven for many but a notorious postcode."*
>
> (BE04 INTERVIEW, AGE 69, MALE, SELF-IDENTIFICATION LBB)

> *"I am always in Toxteth because my family live there. Everyone I know from the Black community has been unable to find a decent job in this city. No one works at the universities or in the shops in town or at the city council, or even the offices in the town, like the passport office. We are just one big group of people who are linked by colour and unemployment. The only time I feel like I fit, it's when I'm in Toxteth."*
>
> (BE37 ORAL TESTIMONY, AGE 30, FEMALE, SELF-IDENTIFICATION BLACK BRITISH).

Clearly, these findings show that there is questioning of the identity and helplessness felt in continuing to live within a racist society. As specified in the work of Fontaine (2013), there are three aspects that configure a person's identity: their kinship, their community and the society around them. These factors determine how that person is raised and whether they advance in confidence or develop self-esteem issues. When a child or even an adult is constantly bombarded with negative influences concerning their 'race', this can then lead to issues of low self-esteem or low confidence, as the individual is constantly asking the world 'Why me?' and 'What is wrong with being Black?' This socialisation of racial difference can lead to issues of anger, frustration and, in turn, perplexity at their own racial identity (Fontaine, 2013). Prior evidence in research highlights the continued challenge of racism and its impact on the self-esteem of the individual. According to Greene et al. (2006), continuous experience of racism from an early age can result in resignation regarding one's position and a lack of willingness to look for ways to succeed. The authors contend that there is experience of poor mental health associated with emotional problems when compared to White counterparts. Large discrepancies between self-image and the ideal self-continue to exist for all individuals. Harter (1999) contends that when external evaluation continues to support and supress a lower image of the self, it can influence one's overall motivation to succeed. Knowles et al. (2010) conclude that when there is a continued systemic presence of discrimination and perceptions of racism, preferences of ethnic in-grouping occur. They argue that certain circumstances give rise to race and ethnicity issues based on people's location, along with

other social markers like gender, class etc., which impact on individual lives. According to Hallsworth and Young (2004), Black and minority young people may feel immobilised at the bottom of the economic ladder and feel adrift due to lack of acceptance within mainstream society. This acute social marginalisation can result in continued feelings of powerlessness and preferences for ethnic in-groups. This results in the creation of a range of alternative social and cultural values, which may contribute to the normalisation of gang membership and violence (Hallsworth and Young, 2005).

7.9 Islamophobia

The following figure 7.5 presents the thematic map of the various ideas identified on Islamophobia.

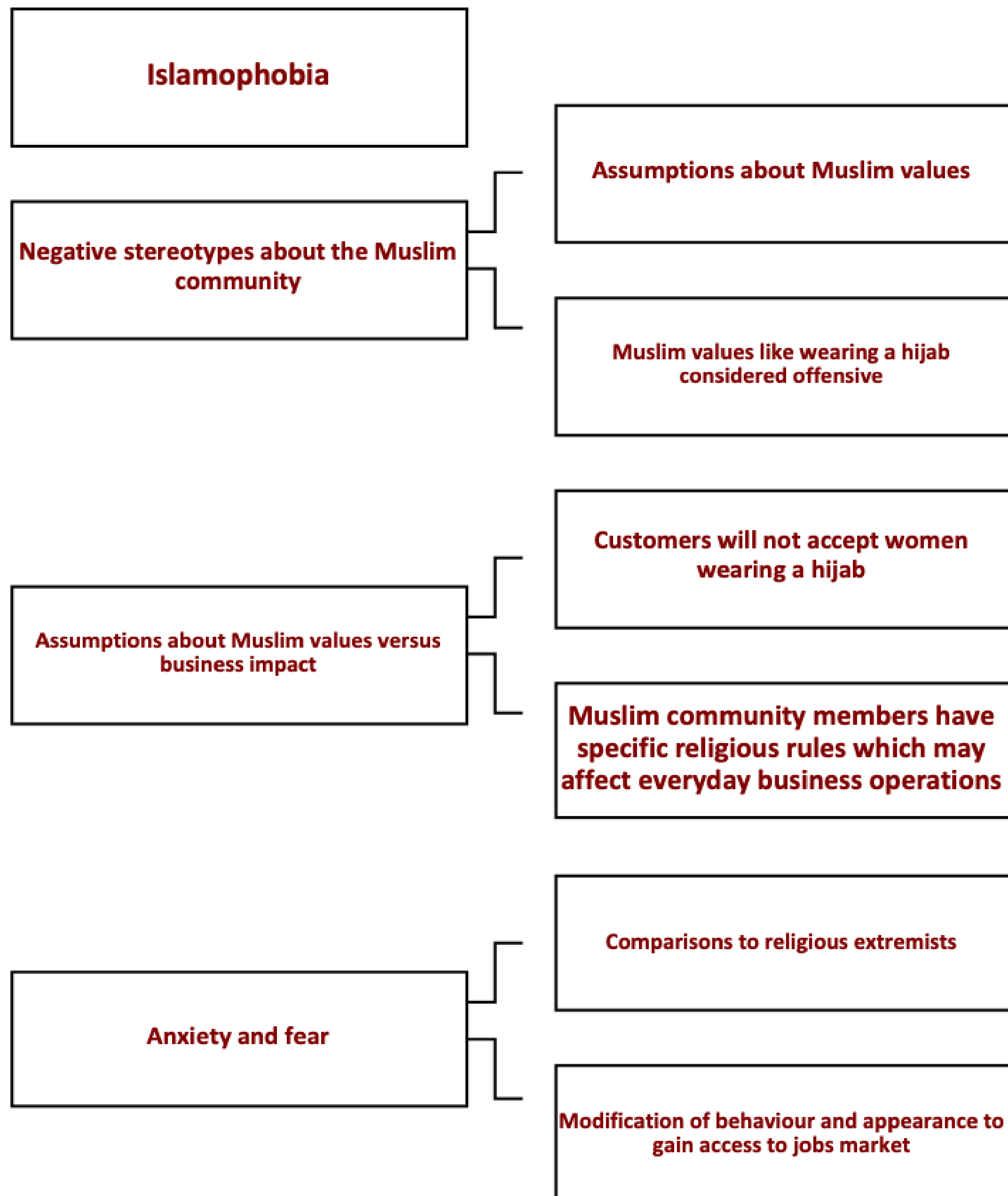


Figure 7.5. Impact of Racism

The next sub-theme that emerged from the data was Islamophobia and how some respondents believe this issue had thwarted their ability to find employment in Liverpool. In 1997, a Runnymede Trust report captured this concept. The report identified the notion in two vital ways: first, Islamophobia embodied an illogical fear of Muslims; and second, a detestation of Islam. This in turn was conveyed to Muslims in several different ways, ranging from negative references to verbal or physical attacks in public or discrimination when seeking employment. The emergence of Islamophobia has occurred

‘over recent years, the identifier for prejudice and discrimination has been seen to shift towards religion than race, colour or nationality’ (F.A.I.R., 1).

Respondents in this study argued that despite the United Kingdom having legislation and recommendations outlined by the Macpherson report to assist the Muslim community, chances have been squandered in relation to the ‘Race Relations Act’, which could have been modified to incorporate religion along with race (Muir & Smith, 2004). As stated in Muir’s & Smith’s (2004) report, for many affected by Islamophobia, it is ‘just racism with a spin’ (4), or as another respondent stated in this report, ‘same shit, different lyrics’ (Muir & Smith, 2004: 5). Participants in this study stated that negative stereotypes attached to the Muslim community were affecting their ability to find employment in Liverpool. Interviewees argued that employers were making decisions concerning whether interviews were granted to certain candidates by linking names that were synonymous with the Muslim community. Two interviewees stated:

> *“In Liverpool, despite having the right qualifications it’s so hard to get a job. It’s a barrier having a Muslim name as well because I know once employers see my name on a CV they say no thank you. Friends who work in recruitment have said that I need to change my name to get a job in Liverpool because when they see Muslim names on CV’s they place the CV’s in the bin”.*
>
> (BE02 INTERVIEW, AGE 29, FEMALE, SELF-IDENTIFICATION LBB)

> *“Having conducted an experiment with the recruitment agent, I am very sure that racism is the reason why I have been unsuccessful in finding a job in Liverpool. Not only am I suitably qualified but also as soon as I change my name and make it sound less Islamic I am asked to attend interviews, which means that it can only mean that racism and Islamophobia is prohibiting me from finding a job. The recruitment agent did say that it could be that employers possibly think that I do not know*

anything about HR policies in the UK, but this cannot be true as they would only have to look at where I received my degree."

(BE13 INTERVIEW, AGE 25, MALE, SELF-IDENTIFICATION BLACK AFRICAN).

Despite discrimination based on religion or race being unlawful (Richardson, 2004), the above participant was still able to verify his belief, with the help of a recruitment agent that the reason why he was unable to find employment in Liverpool was due to religious and racial discrimination by employers. This left the interviewee with feelings of alienation and no connection to the city or country he had called home since birth.

Other interviewees stated that employers see the appearance of Muslims as awkward or offensive, and this can lead to applications being disregarded. An interviewee who wears a hijab stated:

"Well, being Black is a barrier, being a woman is a barrier, wearing a hijab is a barrier, as employers look at the way that you dress and assume that you will offend their customer base. I had one lady ask me whether I could remove the thing on my head, as customers in the shop did not want to approach me or come in here because I looked weird and I said, "Do you mean different?" and she did not respond."

(BE17 INTERVIEW, AGE 45, MALE, SELF-IDENTIFICATION BLACK BRITISH)

As stated in Sayyid et al.'s (2013) work on Muslims in the labour market, 'the appearance of Muslims is constructed as problematic and unacceptable in the employment sphere, thus we are seeing a move towards many Muslim youth attempting to modify their behaviour and appearance to gain access to the job market' (9). Another participant spoke about the anxiety and fear of entering the workforce, which also came from wearing traditional Muslim male clothes and having a beard. He stated:

"I am an example of the propaganda in the media and how it can be linked to Muslims, it is because I have a full beard and

wear an Islamic cap. This identifies me as a Muslim from the start and I have heard customers at the takeaway that I own say doesn't he look like that bomber, you know, the one in the newspaper and on the telly the other day."

(BE23 INTERVIEW, AGE 38, MALE, SELF-IDENTIFICATION BLACK AFRICAN)

Comments like this from the public concerning Muslims amplify islamophobia since, despite being born in the United Kingdom and believing they are part of the system, participants in this study saw integration and acceptance as never being fully achievable, as the White population would always see others as outsiders. As stated by Sayyid et al. (2013) in their study, 'Muslims are confronted with racism, harassment, abuse, stop and search measures and surveillance. As such it is only fair to point out the situation for Muslims in the UK is extremely vulnerable, however they have very little protection, especially in the workplace' (15), for those who are able to attain workplace employment.

A further sub-theme that appeared in the data focused on the issue of anger and emotional redness. This is a theme that Soon (2012) in his study of Liverpool and the Chinese community focused on. Emotional redness and anger in his work are described as the ability to detach oneself from a situation and be mentally prepared for racial discrimination. This mental redness, which he describes, enabled his participants to concentrate their anger internally and take any discrimination in their stride (Soon, 2012). Interview respondents in this study also spoke about the anger they felt when being discriminated against, especially in relation to employment, but also how they had become able physically not to react to situations. The excerpts below are examples provided by the interview participants:

"As I have been discriminated against and called all types of names, I don't react anymore. I am usually prepared for a no when I go for a job, or for people to be looking at me funny, or even for someone to call me racist names on the bus home. I have learned to channel my anger inwardly and not react. When I was younger I

did react and got into trouble with the police, and who benefited but the other person calling me the names, so I promised myself no more, and I have focused my mind not to react."

(BE23 Interview, Age 38, Male, Self-identification Black African).

"Racism, direct or indirect, within Liverpool has been a factor which has stopped me from achieving my goals. Institutional racism exists, otherwise I would be a teacher in one of the local schools, where most of the children face a language barrier, and I speak their community language. I think I have learnt to accept rejection and not get angry where someone can physically see it but be constantly mentally disappointed, as it seems it will always be a no in Liverpool."

(BE05 Interview, Age 38, Female, Self-identification Biracial)

"I think race has been detrimental in helping me find employment. When it comes to my name, people know that I am a person of colour and that's the reason why I have been unable to get a job in the public sector. This makes me angry, as I shouldn't be judged because of my colour but as I have gotten older I have come to accept this is how things are in Liverpool and I am ready for it."

(BE09 Interview, Age 41, Female, Self-identification Black British).

The interview respondents in this study seemed to have adjusted their attitudes to accept the reality of their situation. Due to the frequency of discrimination, as Soon (2012) states, respondents 'know that they are a minority in the host society, so they already anticipate some degree of discrimination. Being mentally prepared, they are more likely to take racism in their stride. Some of them are even accepting of such actions and say that these are perfectly normal and rational behaviours since they are minorities here' (212). This type of acceptance, allied with a feeling of being an outsider, enabled interviewees in the study to balance their reactions to

racism and form an emotional barrier around their reactions, which allows them to continue to live in Liverpool, despite feeling like second-class citizens in their own land.

7.10 Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter was to present the findings of the qualitative interviews conducted and observations made in this research. The findings of this research chapter show that the overall acceptance of diversity and racial tolerance in the Liverpool society is low. When questioned about various drivers of education and employment, the participants concluded that there remain systemic challenges regarding access to the right support.

An assessment of racial discrimination and its presence shows that there remain issues of limited integration, stereotyping and the continued presence of a hostile work environment. Similarly, the findings for systemic racism as well as favouritism shows that there is a potential dominant hegemony that exists in this societal context. As Apple (2004) argues, this dominant hegemony indicates that there is an organised assemblage of meaning and practices, which are central to an effective and dominant system of values and actions. From within this system of hegemony, there remains the challenge of an achievement gap. In Liverpool, this gap is self-evident across employment and education.

According to Hill (2008), differences in educational and social outcomes of races are rarely based on authentic assessments of individual capabilities, like intellectual ability and academic potential. He argues that the continued presence of White hegemony results in lack of acceptance of achievement drivers of other races. The author concludes that the achievement gap is a belief system whereby values, beliefs and the behaviour of White society are the norm, to which all other groups and individuals are measured and compared. This results in an assumption that other community members are abnormal or inferior (Hooks, 1997).

Another common theme, which is reflected in the course of this chapter, is that despite constant efforts by stakeholders to improve their educational

access or improve employment options, there continues to be a culture that holds the individual to blame. This includes wearing a hijab, having a non-English sounding name as well as having to go the extra mile and prove that an individual has had more interviews to claim unemployment benefits. Gorski (2010) concludes that such an assumption is based on a deficit perspective. This perspective blames victims and communities rather than a hegemonic system that has been designed to perpetuate the myth of one race's superiority over another. The findings of this chapter also highlight that racial stereotyping and institutional racism have led to the internalisation of oppression, which has created anxiety and low motivation. There is also presumed incompetence due to structural hegemonic thoughts, which contribute to racial and social inequality. From a critical race theory perspective, such deficits and challenges can be overcome if there is an assumed blindness to race. As Valdes et al. (2002) conclude, blindness to race will eliminate racism and ensure that such social stratification is avoided.

The adoption of critical race theory can also help to explain the adoption of a deficit ideology. Jennings (2004) concludes that the core of such an ideology is that inequality is not due to social conditions, including systemic racism, but is a result of cultural and behavioural deficiencies. From a CRT perspective, if all races are considered equal and there is racial blindness, then such comparisons may not exist. This chapter concludes with the argument that stereotypical threats continue to reside within an individualist paradigm that dictates that racial stereotyping is associated with assumptions of a higher race. This assumption has contributed to a structural hegemony in the city and one where there is a lack of acknowledgment in the private and public sectors of the factors of oppression, racial inequality and social inequality. The continued presence of such stereotypical threats has contributed to the systemic barriers faced by Black people in Liverpool. The final chapter presents the implications of the study along with the research recommendations.

Chapter 8

Conclusion

8.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to conclude the study by presenting the study's implications and research recommendations for both employers and government. The chapter also presents an assessment of the underlying research limitations and future research directions.

8.2 Research Implications

The purpose of this section is to revisit the research questions and discuss them, considering the study's findings. The first research question attempted to define if racism was still apparent within the employment sector for the Liverpool-born Black community. To answer this research question, the researcher first examined the seminal Gifford Report (1989) to understand the key implications of racism that were identified in the report. The purpose of the Gifford Report (1989) was to assess employment with respect to policing, housing, education and healthcare services. The report presented a contextualised analysis of racism and how prejudicial practices were administered by public- and private-sector employers in Liverpool. The findings showed that race had impacted on the Black community's access to employment. The findings also identified that race had restricted their progress in their current employment. This report was published in 1989.

Certain elements of the methodology adopted in the report were replicated in an effort to assess current challenges linked to Black employment in Liverpool. To assess racial inequities in access to social welfare, including healthcare, education and employment, national level reports were examined. The findings of national-level assessments showed that there were challenges in access to social-welfare outcomes in the Black population. There has been an increase in the various social groups that have sought welfare services due to erratic changes in demography that

occurred as a result of migration. Similarly, sector-specific employment comparing the Black and White populations identifies that industry-level challenges remain across all sectors. The most recent indicator of unemployment shows that the unemployment rate was at 3.8 per cent for White ethnic groups as compared to 7.1 per cent for people from Black, Asian and minority ethnic backgrounds. These findings support the argument that, 30 years since the Gifford Report (1989), on the national level there are still employment challenges for Black employees. To address Liverpool-specific information, the researcher also used public-sector, university-level and head-count data analysis. The findings showed that there was no visible presence of employees in private employer records. There was also a significant challenge in public-sector employment, where representation of the Black community was minimal. In Liverpool's universities, most of the Black employees held non-teaching jobs, a similar pattern to that in the Gifford Report (1989). These findings support the notion that Black employees continue to face disadvantages in terms of access to employment.

The continued presence of similar disadvantages faced by the Black community requires that there is an assessment of the policies that have shaped access to employment by the Black community since the Gifford Report (1989). Vulnerable communities across Liverpool were affected by the restructuring of the wider UK economy in the 1980s and '90s. There were significant de-industrialisation cutbacks in the government's fiscal responsibilities and an increase in income tax (Pitts, 2007; Uduku, 1999). Efforts were made to overcome access to employment due to globalisation and a shift in manufacturing. However, in an effort to address employment regeneration, the focus on local government-backed Black community-specific regeneration schemes was limited (Speake and Fox, 2008). There were clear deprivation patterns, which continued in the 1990s, with Liverpool showing some of the biggest inequities in employment and income distribution. There were efforts made at a regional level to reduce this inequity. For example, Murden (2006) identified grants that sought to improve destitute parts of the European Union and which were made available to Liverpool.

Despite the presence of such grants, the city centre showed a lack of effort to support numerous marginalised and in-need communities like that of Toxteth (Belchem, 2006; Jones and Heeg, 2004). Uduku (1999) identifies that the city-wide perception of Toxteth being a problem 'Black area' continues. The large number of ethnic minorities who have continued to reside in the neighbourhood is largely due to a lack of access to employment and acceptance in other regions (Uduku, 2003). Since, then there has been a shift in demographics. According to Frost and Phillips (2011), though Toxteth was one of the most striking locations in Liverpool since 1981, since then there has been a significant dispersal of Liverpool born black community members and an influx of black and minority ethnic groups. Frost and Philips (2011) identified that the Liverpool 8 community or the Granby community has a significant black population. Therefore, it is essential to extend the argument beyond the focus of Toxteth and identify challenges faced in other areas of Liverpool. Hence, one can argue that there is a lack of structured policies at the central and local-government levels can be identified as an important challenge that may have perpetuated the disadvantages that the Black community face across the country.

Another important research question sought to understand the barriers that the Liverpool-born Black community faces in accessing employment. The findings of the qualitative and quantitative chapters present overwhelming evidence that racism remains a key challenge, which can affect access to employment. The findings of the Gifford chapters (1989) identified that the inequality and discrimination that existed within the workforce were disturbing to the Black community. The institutional and individual racism encountered by the community caused a large majority of Black inhabitants to believe that they were invisible, as Black workers constantly received the same daily message when searching for employment: "Sorry, the job's just been filled" (Webber, 1990: 102).

An assessment of the qualitative findings showcases similar trends. The augmented presence of racial discrimination means that there was a systemic effort to support lack of access to employment. The study has

identified that there are feelings of exclusion and being targeted based on ethnicity, negative perceptions and stereotyping, and limited opportunities for employment. The findings of the study also support the presence of institutional racism, whereby clear discrimination exists in terms of the expectations of potential Black and White applicants.

The biggest challenge that was identified in terms of racial inequality was the presence of favouritism. The continued lack of efforts to aid communities like Toxteth, which has created a socially disintegrated community, is reflected in trends of favouritism. Kenyon and Rookwood (2010) conclude that a lack of effort to make structural changes and reduce the marginalisation faced by ethnic minorities has led to a blatant disregard for rules. The authors conclude that Liverpool is behind most other cities with respect to integrating ethnic communities within the population. There is a systemic lack of efforts to provide employment options across sectors, with continued preferences for the dominant majority. This is reflected in the qualitative findings, where favouritism and cronyism dominate. The quantitative findings chapter also supports this with head-count findings and secondary data on sector-specific employment of the Black community.

The Gifford Report (1989) concluded with the argument that there needs to be access to better employment. This includes positive-action programmes that would enable Black people to apply for jobs in the council; advertising of council vacancies to be moved from the local council newspaper (*Liverpool Star*) to the *Liverpool Echo* (a universal local newspaper). Furthermore, the advertising of any vacancies should be forwarded to the only employment agency that represented the Black community, South Liverpool Personnel. By making these recommendations to the council, the Gifford Report (1989) expected employment in Liverpool to become more open and readily accessible to the Black community. The findings of the qualitative research show that the existence of such policies has not worked. Despite constant efforts made by many Black community members, gaining employment in the public sector remains difficult. Access to employment agencies further complicates the problem, as there are differences in standards set for Black

community members and White community members. There is also evidence to show that even if proper channels are followed, a negative response is often given regarding the efforts made by Black community members. All this shows that the recommendations of the Gifford Report (1989) have not worked. The presence of such policies has shown limited impact as there are clearly ongoing inherent challenges in enhancing equity in employment. In this context, critical race theory is effective. The presence of racial stereotypes and assumptions, as identified in the qualitative findings, also shows that there is some support for White hegemony. The notion of a colour-blind society may help to remove such double standards and in reducing such instances of racial hegemony that exist within society. The focus on CRT can ensure that there is a transition from a simple Black-White ideology to the recognition of lived experiences and racial realities. Empowerment policies and diversity programmes have not had a big impact. The findings of this research support the argument that a number of challenges faced in 1989 continue today. Therefore, a CRT approach to understanding these challenges could help to shift the direction of conversation and attempt to provide better programmes and policies. There should be active efforts to evolve the racial constructs and meanings. As Abrams and Moio (2009) report, by attempting to keep racial constructs and meaning fluid, it is possible to rework existing stereotypes about the Black community. This is dependent on the historical, economic and social context to better define the needs of the community and help them escape the dominant White hegemony that creates these racial stereotypes.

The third question sought to determine if the Liverpool-born Black community was well represented in the public and private-employment sectors in Liverpool. The quantitative and qualitative findings show that there is a definite lack of representation in these sectors. Public-sector employment records are available for analysis, and findings from both the council and local universities show that there is a definite challenge to equality in employment. In the private sector, there is a definite lack of information on employment. The head-count data provide negative findings, with a clear lack of representation. The independent emails sent to the organisations

highlighted a lack of transparency and willingness to disclose diversity initiatives.

Emerging research on the representation of a diverse group of employees in the public sector has identified that public administration needs to have a representative bureaucracy. This bureaucracy is driven by a focus on the presence and extent of passive and active forms of representation. Passive representation refers to the presence of specific groups within the public workforce, while active representation refers to efforts made to ensure that the needs of individual group identities are not ignored. In Liverpool, the challenge that is evident is that while there are some efforts to meet passive representation, active representation remains a challenge. The qualitative findings show that the presence of favouritism in the public sector, or private sector which gains funds from the public sector, is evident. This creates major barriers to active representation of the needs of various communities. Viewed from the perspective of CRT, it can be argued that functionality and consequences with respect to power and privilege may create challenges for racial and ethnic minority populations. It is essential to reconstruct systems of power and privilege (Coello et al., 2004). This can be achieved only when existing dominance within the system is acknowledged and efforts are made to move beyond representing minorities based on specific diversity programmes and to attempt a true equalisation of power and privilege.

The final question sought to understand how racism as a whole can be addressed in the context of employment in Liverpool in order to overcome the challenges faced by the Black community. The following section makes key recommendations that can be adopted.

8.3 Research Recommendations

8.3.1 Employer-level Recommendations

Equality and diversity documents and training. The findings of the qualitative study showcase significant challenges in access to diversity-driven training. There is clear evidence of social isolation and lack of knowledge amongst White employees on how to speak to and interact with Black employees. If

employers are keen on attaining equality, fairness and diversity, the existence of racial inequality and racism should make them think seriously about how the goals and objectives of diversity and equality documents are executed in practice. It is vital to understand the potential shortcomings of policy documents, plans, activities and other training programmes. This involves analysing whether there is any gap between what documents convey and what employers actually do, and any limitations that are present (Alhejji et al., 2016). Employers need to utilise race-equality policy documents as expressions of commitment, indicators of good performance and proof that diversity has been attained in this aspect. A symbol of the commitment of employers can be observed in the way that both employers and practitioners of equality and diversity communicate on this issue. For instance, if employees discuss diversity and equality only with respect to legal compliance, this may be inferred as a sign of weak commitment to the values given, hence reiterating the fact that the encouragement of equality and diversity can also mask a lack of diversity and equality in the organisation (Fujimoto and Hartel, 2017). These documents can also mask the indifference of employees, if not their lack of volunteering to address these concerns, and thereby contribute to the regulation of racism, inequality and exclusion.

Along similar lines, one has to ensure that all staff receive same sort of training on equality and diversity and that attending training modules is made compulsory for all. Specifically, it should not be concluded that these training activities are a statement of fact that the employer is doing well and they should not be considered as proof that equality has been achieved. Ashe and Nazroo (2016) argue that it is also important that equality and diversity should not be simply clamped together as a single entity. Although the demographics of the company or workplace may be very diverse, this does not guarantee any less racism and inequality. Hence, it is important that identifying and being proud of a diverse workforce does not deter employers from probing whether inequality and racism are a problem and if taking appropriate steps is required. This research argues that there is a requirement to analyse the extent to which employers truly show commitment to equality and diversity in racism or whether these are actually barriers to

identifying the nature and degree of racism at work, hence restricting the resources, space and challenges for diversity workers to challenge the concept of racism.

Equality and diversity audits. The findings show that there is lack of transparency in assessing diversity and representation in the private sector. This, accompanied by the head-count analysis, showcases the need for equality and diversity audits. It should become essential to determine and conduct an effective diversity audit, which can enhance the assessment of diversity challenges. It should also be compulsory for employers to analyse what such assessments actually measure. For example, do they determine demographics in the workplace or do they simply measure equal representation across different levels of the workplace (Ashe and Nazroo, 2016)? Do such reviews and audits even attend to the nature and extent of racism in workplaces and do they analyse the satisfaction of employees with respect to the way racism is managed by the employer?

Unconscious bias training. The findings of this research also show that there are differences in standards expected for White and Black employees. This is evident in the assessment of how Black employees are treated by recruitment agencies; it is also evident in how Black employees are asked to change their names. In the current scenario, the testing of implicit attitudes and unconscious bias training has emerged as popular among employers.

Noon (2018) concludes that it is important to understand how unconscious bias may occur, what has changed and what has remained the same. There is a need to address pending work that needs to be completed. The continued existence of racism and its related inequality should force employers to implement a critical way of dealing with different activities and training programmes to encourage equality, fairness and diversity. By listening to the views of ethnic minorities in the company regarding unconscious bias, one can understand the extent to which efforts are needed to completely achieve equality at work, maintain diversity and be fair in the workplace. Additionally, it can be contended that having a policy on equality and diversity, and having promotional activities in place, does not necessarily

mean competence in sustaining race equality; nor should this be taken as a suggestion for overcoming racism. This can only be judged by realising equality and understanding the views of people who have undergone this phase of racism through analysing their emotions as to whether this issue has been dealt with in a satisfactory manner. This requires ensuring that there is training to reduce unconscious bias (Smith, 2015).

However, it is vital to take account of some strong criticisms that have been made in relation to methods. Concentrating only on implicit attitude testing and bias training as an answer to racial inequality and racism characterises the problem as being more structured and highly systemic in nature. Akram (2018) argues that more than addressing concerns over racism and racial inequalities, such training forms can teach people what they can and cannot publicly say, while giving them a set of rules as to what is actually acceptable and acknowledged and what they cannot talk about in relation to racism. Another criticism of detailed attitude assessments and unconscious bias training is that they have normalised the acceptance of unconscious bias over racism as the meaning of inequality during hiring and career growth. Furthermore, it has also been recommended that racial inequality can be completely eradicated if we are aware of inner attitudes and conscious biases. However, this condition would only be useful to personalise an issue that is both systematic and structural in nature. It is important that we ensure that attitude testing and unconscious bias practices do not reduce racism to a group of attitudes or thoughts. A result of doing so would be to mask the actual nature of racism as a group of relationships or structures with the authority to differentiate and generate inequalities among races. This research concludes that while training in unconscious bias and attitude-testing may result in a change in how ethnic minority workers are treated at work, these activities do not give any assurance that any modifications to behaviours or attitudes will be long-term. Therefore, it is important to balance such training with other activities.

Improve top management engagement. It is important to appoint a senior person in the organisation who is well trained or has enough experience to

deal with the current requirements of the company to be anti-racist and demonstrate equality and diversity policies. This policy should be further shared with staff, contractors, external stakeholders, customers and clients. Senior leaders in the workplace should also make unequivocal statements that indicate that the company has implemented a zero tolerance approach towards racism (Hatipoglu and Inelmen, 2018). Such public avowals should also clearly reject the idea that the customer is always right and dismiss comments about casual racism in the form or jokes or banter. The agreements procured from clients and external contractors should also include a responsibility to oppose racism and to treat all the staff with respect and dignity. It is vital to assure that these senior leaders commit to a policy agreement that describes the equality and diversity roles and responsibilities that practitioners have to satisfy, especially having time to probe different reports on racism. Such agreements should also ensure that the role of these practitioners is not restricted to only offering some sort of induction and drafting documents of commitment.

Improve reporting capabilities. Employers should ensure that the channels through which acts of racism are reported are easy to access and transparent and that all employees are informed prior to any actions or decisions on the part of the company. In some countries, prevalent legislation allows employers to find new ways to respond to racism that revolve around experience and outcomes from the viewpoint of people who have experienced some form of racism. In similar cases, those employees who have encountered racism should not be forced to work with people or a team who have been racist towards them.

8.3.2 Government Level Recommendations

There is a clear presence of institutional systemic challenges. Therefore, employer-level recommendations need to be supplemented by government policies.

The first step is to make a commitment to completely remove inequalities with respect to racism in the labour section by establishing an annual review

that determines the progress made in this area (Sullivan and Sketcher, 2017). This should generally consist of inspecting various organisations and companies in which racism has been recognised as a compulsory feature of the workplace culture, as well as an investigating body examining racial inequalities with respect to paying salaries and bonuses.

A new law should be enacted with respect to the procurement of contracts across government and the public sector to ensure that all tenders are covered by an Equality Impact Assessment. This assessment should analyse whether companies have an easily accessible and transparent policy on equality and diversity, and an unequivocal statement that highlights their non-tolerant approach to racism (Fischer et al., 2018). Following this, there should be clear proof of performing instantly available audit analyses with regard to the suggestions made by employers. Finally, there is a need for a plan of action and timeframe to attain equality and diversity targets by which progress can be determined and tenders that follow can be analysed (Green and Kirton, 2015). This law should also ensure that the results of these employer assessments are publicly accessible.

Furthermore, there is a need to conduct more research dedicated to presenting a detailed review of whether employers are satisfying their equality duties and how employers respond to different forms of racism at work. Both of these examples should concentrate more on recognising additional support systems for employees, especially when they feel they are unable to complain about any sort of racism in the workplace (Armstrong et al., 2016). This research should also emphasise whether there is a gap between documents of equality and diversity, what these employers actually do, and the various limitations they face.

8.4 Future Research Directions

This research recommends that future research should have multiple dimensions of representation. This study has examined the challenges faced by employees in the Black community. Future research should examine multiple stakeholder representations through the use of questionnaires and

focus-group interviews. This can overcome the uni-dimensional representation challenges faced in Liverpool. Furthermore, to contextualise the Liverpool Black community's challenges, future research should also examine representations from other cities. A comparison between the challenges faced in other locations in the UK (e.g. London, Manchester) can present local and central gaps in policy implementation and improve the existing framework to promote racial equality.

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Appendix A

Stores visited for the Pilot Study

Store Number	Type of store	Number of black employees seen on first visit	Number of black employees seen on second visit
1.52 - Accessorize.	Fashion	0	0
2. 56 - Home Bargains	Retail/Food	0	0
6. 12 - Karen Millen	Fashion	0	0
9. 18 – Next	Retail	0	0
12. 35 – Debenhams	Fashion/Food	0	0
14. 22 – Top shop	Fashion	0	0

Preliminary findings of the six observational visits were that no black staff could physically be seen working behind the counters in any of the 6 department stores visited. To conclusively verify these findings, the researcher would have to visit the selected 16 stores on six further occasions.

Appendix B

Participant Information Sheet

Title of study: *Is Liverpool still entrenched in the racism outlined nearly 30 years ago in the Gifford report – A case study of employment in Liverpool?*

Introduction

My name is Amina Elmi, a student at the University of Liverpool and I would like the opportunity to invite you to take part in this research study. Before you decide whether to participate, it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take the time to read the following information carefully and feel free to ask us if you would like more information or if there is anything that you do not understand. Please also feel free to discuss this with your friends, and relatives, if you wish. I would like to stress that you do not have to accept this invitation and should only agree to take part if you want to.

What is the purpose of the study?

The purpose of this study is to examine whether employment patterns for the Liverpool born black community has changed nearly thirty years after the Gifford report was published in 1989. This information will help researchers to understand employment patterns in Liverpool for the black community and see whether attitudes and stereotypes have changed over the last three decades.

Why have I been chosen to take part?

The study is open to all and anyone who is interested to learn more about the research being carried out. All participants have to be over the age of 18 and

be willing to answer questions, which will address ‘race’ and racism. Do I have to take part?

No, you are not obliged to take part in this study. If you decided to take part you will be asked to indicate so by signing a consent form. Your involvement is voluntary and you may withdraw at any time. If you decide to take part you are still free to withdraw at any time without giving a reason. A decision to withdraw will not affect your rights in any way.

What will happen to me if I take part?

If you decide to take part we will either be asked to take part in a one to one interview or provide information via an oral testimony.

- You will be asked to take part in a one to one interview or
- You will be asked to provide an oral testimony of your experiences concerning employment in Liverpool.

Expenses and / or payments?

As this study is a PhD study, participants will not be reimbursed.

Are there any risks involved in taking part?

There are no risks associated with taking part in this study.

What if I am unhappy or there is a problem?

“If you are unhappy, or if there is a problem, please feel free to let us know by contacting Amina Elmi at her email address *a.elmi@liverpool.ac.uk* and we will try to help. If you remain unhappy or have a complaint which you feel you cannot come to me with then you should contact the Research Governance Officer at *ethics@liv.ac.uk*. When contacting the Research Governance Officer, please provide details of the name or description of the study (so that it can be identified), the researcher(s) involved, and the details of the complaint you wish to make.”

Will my participation be kept confidential?

If you consent to take part in this research, the information you provide will be kept strictly confidential. All personal information you provide will be kept secure and separate from other information you provide and will be destroyed by shredding or electronic deletion six months after completion of the study. Furthermore, the results will generally be analysed on the group level, so that no individuals will be described or can be identified.

Contact Details of the researcher:
If you have any questions about the research study please contact:
Amina Elmi.
*Email: A.Elmi@liverpool.ac.u*k
University of Liverpool, Sociology, Social Policy and Criminology
Eleanor Rathbone Building, Bedford Street South, L69 7ZA.

Committee on Research Ethics

Participant Consent Form

Title of Research: Is Liverpool still entrenched in the racism outlined nearly 30 years ago in the Gifford Report?

Project: Investigating Employment Patterns of the Liverpool Born Black Community

Researcher: Amina Elmi

		Please initial box
1.	I confirm that I have read and have understood the information sheet dated [DATE] for the above study. I have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and have had these answered satisfactorily.	
2.	I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason, without my rights being affected. In addition, should I not wish to answer any particular question or questions, I am free to decline.	
3.	I understand that, under the Data Protection Act, I can at any time ask for access to the information I provide and I can also request the destruction of that information if I wish.	
4.	I agree to take part in the above study.	

Participant Name	Date	Signature
Name of Person taking consent	Date	Signature
Researcher	Date	Signature

Student Researcher:

Name: Amina Elmi

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Optional Statements

Statement	
• The information you have submitted will be published as a report; please indicate whether you would like to receive a copy.	
• I understand that confidentiality and anonymity will be maintained and it will not be possible to identify me in any publications **[or explain the possible anonymity options that you are offering participants and provide appropriate tick box options accordingly].**	
• I agree for the data collected from me to be used in future research and understand that any such use of identifiable data would be reviewed and approved by a research ethics committee.	
• I understand and agree that my participation will be audio recorded /video recorded **(please delete as appropriate)** and I am aware of and consent to your use of these recordings for the following purposes **(which must be specified)**	
• I understand that I must not take part if… **[list exclusion criteria, for example pregnancy]**	
• I agree for the data collected from me to be used in relevant future research.	
• I would like my name used and I understand and agree that what I have said or written as part of this study will be used in reports, publications and other research outputs so that anything I have contributed to this project can be recognised.	
• I understand that my responses will be kept strictly confidential [only if true]. I give permission for members of the research team to have access to my anonymised responses. I understand that my name will not be linked with the research materials, and I will not be identified or identifiable in the report or reports that result from the research.	
• I understand and agree that once I submit my data it will become anonymised and I will therefore no longer be able to withdraw my data.	

Appendix C

Title of study: *Is Liverpool still entrenched in the racism outlined nearly 30 years ago in the Gifford report – A case study of employment in Liverpool?*

Wally Brown Interview Transcript

1. In which city where you born?

   Liverpool. My dad was a seaman and my mother was English. My dad wanted me to be a skilled tradesman and this is why education was important to him. He knew that if I had a trade I would be taken on and provided with a job. I went to University, as a mature student and many people from the black community from my generation went to University as mature students. Gideon Ben Tovim was the one who pushed us, the black community towards education, as he made us aware of the options available. He was also reprimanded by the University for being too successful and brings to many students through.

2. What can you please tell me about your employment history in Liverpool?

   I left school at 15 and there were jobs in these but they were mundane factory jobs. You didn't really get career advice, there was some where they come out for ten minutes and they would give you some cards to go to the factories, which was were you would get jobs but I was lucky before I left school they brought out an examination the 16 plus, which was mainly for boys. The test to go into engineering I passed it and went to what's called west derby comprehensive, which was a technical school with scholarship for people, who have passed the 16+. At the end of this I started applying for apprenticeship for engineering, I applied for two and did not get an interview. Then I applied again to a big engineering company and I applied, passed the interview, and got the job. They took on 16 to 20 apprenticeships. When I started to work there 20 were in the

group and they would never seen a black person before, as it was outside the city. I moved on in the apprenticeship to be a shop steward, and moved on to junior management, as I spent my first 16 years there. I then got an evening job as a part-time youth worker at the Methodist youth club on Beaconsfield Street. I use to do 2 or 3 nights a week. They then offered me a fulltime post but I did not have the qualifications. With the support of the Methodist church he got funding for me to go back to University to become a qualified youth worker and then for me to come back and work on a qualified youth workers' salary, so I did. I left the Methodist Centre after a few years and then when to work as a youth worker in Manchester in moss side. I then left and went to London, was there for 8 years head of a large education Centre and then ran the district for community education in Manchester. Went to London at Lambeth, as head of adult education and youth service. I then left and came back to Liverpool, as principal of Liverpool community college. My career has gone in 16/17-year blocks, as I had 16 years in engineering, then 16 years as community youth worker and then 16 years as the principal of the college. I have been back to University since and I now have a Masters. My school experience was poor, as I lived in north Hill Street and I would pass the University every week but I did not know what it was. The guy who lived next door said to me once that his cousin Stuart had gone to University and I was like why has he gone to University and not got a job. What is university for? And obviously as you work through the system you become aware. I use to say that a good education is like you have a blinker on your eyes and someone takes them off and you see everything different. I use to say the kids at youth club like Steven small, who was one of the kids at my youth club, you can do anything you put your mind to it. Middle class families, they don't just say to their children you go to University, they say which University they are going to and choose which place they will attend and we in the black community have to do the same, so our children don't see university, as something that is for others and achievable for us and this is something I use to do when I was in the college.

3. What was actually occurring at the time that the Gifford report was produced?

Unlike now in those days there where a lot of organizations. There was the Merseyside race relations' council and it was funded to work with communities and cover all issues of life. We also had the Merseyside anti-racism alliance, which I chaired at one time and fight against racism. There was also the Liverpool born blacks was Liverpool's main community but the governments policy, in race was geared towards West Indian new comers and Caribbean's. And it was focused on the problems people were having due to different culture and language issue's. And the whole reason they were saying people could not get jobs was not racism but because they do not understand the culture or they have language issues and this was the government's policy. But we, in Liverpool were like this does not match, as we all speak with a Liverpool accent, as we are black scousers with mixed heritage, so our culture is double because we may have a culture from our father but our mothers are English/British and this country is there culture. So, there was a number of organizations involved dealing with issues in Liverpool for the black community, there was also at the time that Liverpool city council set up the race advisor group. This was only advisor and did not have any powers, but also that was a time that following after the London model but Ken Livingstone, they were pushing the boundaries on equalities, making London council a equal opportunity employer and we were pushing Liverpool to follow suit. Eventually they agreed for all those things to be in place. Unemployment, from my experience with young black people at the Methodist that it was impossible, to get a job despite having a good career guy, who would come into the Centre and take the lads in his car, brought two suits that he would alternate at the Centre for when one need it and take them to interviews in his car. He would try to get employers in but it was very difficult and he couldn't prove it was racism. There were also issues in terms of housing, as you could not get houses from the housing associations. We even got the council for racial equality involved in the process. These things were taking place and we were pushing and

pushing forward. I had left Liverpool, when I was asked to come back and sit on the Gifford panel. I think maybe the council had a number of problems like housing, jobs, and the police. The police on a regular basis, being told to empty their bags on the floor and the police would kick it around and this was happening on a regular basis and these were the issues affecting young people, was harassing young black people.

4. What did you actually think you would achieve after the Gifford report (1989) as the main culprit in all areas was racism?

To be honest, when we started by saying that racism was the issue and I knew what the outcome was as I lived it but you are hoping there will be some sort of process that employers would make changes. One of the big problems with Liverpool is that, I don't know if you know Manchester as its 40 minutes down the road in a car but its like you go to a different world. London as well, its like it's a different world with black people everywhere working with decent jobs and yes, racism does exist in Manchester and London but black people are able to still get good decent jobs. So why is the question, 30 miles down the road from Liverpool is it so different. I think I am not giving people an excuse but a weak economy is a big issue in Liverpool. When there is a weak economy and high unemployment you don't need to advertise for jobs because a job becomes available and someone in the company will say, oh are Charlie or Mary can do that or my nephew or cousin can do that and if there is no black people within that company, then you will never get change. (Social capital). If you are an employer and you have 20 sewing machines and I need 20 seamstresses and I only have 10 seamstresses working at the time and I have 10 machines empty, I have to fill those machines to make money and do you think I care if the people are black, white or blue, no I will just employ anyone and this is what happened in the midlands, where black people where able to get jobs because employers just need to employ people but if you look history of racism in the workplace in this country, wider country, one of the main perpetrators was the trade unions, because there members could see competition for jobs so they

tried to stop people. Black people were fine in the jobs that whites did not want but they cannot work on skilled jobs, as we cannot have black people working on those jobs. Liverpool for some reason has always had this apartheid and the other reason for Liverpool's lack of opportunity and having negative views on race, is the geographical nature of this city because many cities that don't back onto a river, have a city Centre. Liverpool backs on to the river Mersey and has the docks, were the original black community settled in the south of the city and the city Centre is in the middle. Now if you lived in the North you would come into the city Centre but you would never see a black person because you would never come into the south or into black communities in Liverpool. In the south, if you lived in Aigburth, Childwall etc., if you come in you come into the black communities and you see them and you become use to their situations. So those from the North have views of black people that they have gotten from elsewhere, as they have never come into contact with the black community or been close to a black person until they are possible over 16. Father Austin nephew at his funeral said in his eulogy that we would visit my uncle and when he moved to Liverpool, we came to see him in Cairns Street and I was about 14/15 years old and it was the first time I had seen black people.

5. The Gifford report was nearly 30 years ago, do you think anything has changed?

My own view is that nothing has changed. I say here this is a report and people in the workplace will say let's check that and we will do something but there is no better check then your own eyes. You don't need a report you just go and luck. I use to say to people at the college, just look around why is there no black people working here. Just look at Liverpool one, you can see with your own eyes that the people are not there. I think, as I don't have any evidence and I don't know how many people have gone to University now, and when I did my Masters I did a thesis on how many black people in Liverpool had gone to University via Liverpool schools and then to separate those who had gone to University via the

traditional route, those who had gone to University via mature route of working and then entering University. I found very few who had completed school and gone the traditional route. The few I found a lady who had pushed and pushed for her child not to go to Paddington School and refused for her to accept this place. She fought and in the end found out about a place at a new school in Gateacre School. She did not mind about the distant but she made sure her daughter did not go to Paddington school and by her going to Gateacre school, she went to University via the traditional route of A 'levels and GCSE's. The point I am making is that Paddington and Gateacre School were built at the same time and they were brand new schools, with gym and sports hall and facilities second to none. Paddington was supposed to take kids from north and south Liverpool and one of my colleagues in work; his kids were going to Paddington. He was invited into the school and it looks fantastic but kids from the north did not choose to go to that school, so kids from the black communities were placed here. The school was built for 1200 kids but it was always half empty, as no more then 600 kids went to the school. There was also a school on Darning road, called Edge Hill secondary modern. When they built Paddington, this was one of the schools that would close but the parents in Edge Hill mainly white said they would not let their kids attend Paddington. The council at the time was Liberal democrats who were in charge and the chair of education was Lord Alton, so what he did was not close the school but they put port cabins on the school playgrounds to enlarge it so these white kids did not have to go to Paddington School. Not only me but also the black community protested the non-closure of this school and I received a letter from Lord Alton's solicitor Rex Makin saying if you don't stop criticizing David Alton you will sue by him. But that's what happened and Paddington died a death, as there were not enough kids to go to the schools. I think that I was an issue but I do believe education is better now look at Calderstones, which is better but other schools in this area are still failing like Kings Academy but categorically when it comes to employment, I can see with my eyes and there has been no improvement. For example when I worked at Moss Side they use to say if

you look at the University at 6am in the morning all the people going in are black e.g. the cleaners and all the people going in at 9am e.g. are white, which is the teaching staff. If you now look at Liverpool University all the staff going in at 6am are white because black people in Liverpool cant even get a cleaning job. I know from running the college and other center I ran that the cleaning staff were black but in Liverpool that's not the case, as the economy is so weak that even low skilled jobs with poor pay is taken by whites, as there is no better jobs. When there are better paid jobs, then blacks get the low skilled jobs but when whites encompass the poor jobs then there are no jobs for blacks whatsoever.

6. In the Gifford report in 1989, you stated that there were 30,000 people working for Liverpool city council but the economy was weak at the time different to the austerity we face today, so why weren't the black community able to get jobs?

Its racism and you can even look at academics like Small and Christian who were academics from this city with great educations but unable to get jobs in this city. I think as well that researchers are not investigating or examining this topic anymore, when Gifford (1989) occurred the black community was united and active but today this is not the case. People will say that we find it extremely difficult to employ from the black community and I am sure that you will find that and say black people don't apply. When they built Liverpool one, the council could have provided targets concerning the BME population and the same with building firms. You are trying to investment into the region, as many do not want to come to Merseyside, if we start applying pressure concerning BME, then investors will just go elsewhere. The construction industry, as you will never see a black person on a building site and before there were big construction companies like Wimpey's and when I went to college there were all lads training in engineering, plumbing etc. and you would be employed. By now everyone is subcontracting their own electricians who can do it at a lower prices, which makes it more difficult to not just get BME people but also local people because they were also

complaining at the time of the Gifford report (1989) concerning jobs, as vans would come down from Manchester to do a Liverpool job like the garden festival when it opened, all outsiders doing the jobs. Also there was the issue with black kids in care and their being no social workers who were black. I am not saying that black kids should not be with white families, like I have a white mother and white side of my family but where possible you should try to place children in a family were they can identify. But when you place black children with white families, they require understanding of the culture and some parents have done this well and some haven't. When those children turned 14, 15 and 16 the tensions then began within the family. As the children come home and tell the parents this occurred at school due to their skin colour and the parents/white family cannot relate. Kids would be told sticks and stones can break my bones but names can never hurt you but it's not true. This is one of the issues that occurred. My brother was a social worker and he had to place a girl around 14 in Liverpool. But I met her a few years later and she said I remember your brother, as he was the first person who gave me an Afro comb. So there was issues there and everywhere that you looked there were problem and if some reviewed this issue now, then I think the problems are still alive.

7. Do you think the role of the Council was to actually continue to review the issue and work with the black community?

If you are a council and you make decisions on were money should go, as we had no black councilors, the decisions being made are those who have no knowledge of black issues from any black community.

8. What do you have to do in Liverpool to change the situation?

Well I was recently at a event to do with the riots and the Princes Park ward councilor was there, Anna who was getting stick from the attendees, but I stood up and said well if you don't get involved, then you cant change it. Some people believe that its selling out but you have to and it takes time. If you look at Manchester's list of Councilors and Liverpool

you will see the difference, as the diversity is different in Manchester, they have strong big Caribbean and Asian communities, Muslim and Sikh communities, who all want their share of what is taking place but Liverpool has a mix communities initially West Africans, then a smaller mix of Caribbean people and then later Asian and then later the Somali community. And now the communities ate fragmented and when I was involved in the community like your dad their would be a march every week and we where all united. In Manchester the community is stronger and they may not all be together because they live in different parts of Manchester like moss side or the north of the city, but they fight the corner for there community when required. We are not only one homogenous group but people need to understand and work together for a common cause and Liverpool in the old days, we were in it together but now the council has restricted funding to a lot of community organisations and everyone is fragmented. There is no leadership now, if you ask anyone and whom do you ask the questions to. We knew who to ask the questions to and we challenging despite what the outcome was. For example look at this ward now as we have Louise Ellman as MP representing the largest Muslim population in the city of Liverpool and she is Jewish. Do you think this is fair and appropriate representation for the communities located here and it's due to people will not get involved and change things? I can understand because when I was younger people would say why not enter politics but I refused because you have to modify your views and being elected is the only important point but we did try years ago to rally the black community in Liverpool 8 but its like fighting a losing battle. Look at the new metro mayor of Liverpool, how many black people are working for him? Unless people get organized like in Manchester and decide on whom the candidates are and from the communities they want then an alternative point of view will prevail. Liverpool, I don't know what the answer is I am in my 70's now involved for the last 40 to 50 years and there has been no progress, as its gone backwards. Also its not helped that money going into race relations has now gone, but nevertheless we had black groups that fought as one and looked at the wider issues but the communities now do not have elders

who are banging on the door for change looking at the wider issues. It's a disgrace and the city is in apartheid, go on Granby Street there is no facilities for people. Lodge lane is coming up but it's from private money, not anything that has been given by the Government. Moss side in Manchester has been regenerated twice since the riots in Liverpool, its been knocked down and rebuilt, but what has gone into Liverpool nothing, a major project is need looking/examining this would display the stark reality of what's occurred in Liverpool compared to Manchester. When Michael Helstine decided to look at the issue as minister for Merseyside and he is placing investment in St Helen's what does that have to do with Merseyside? You can say you have investment 20 million in Merseyside but its in St Helen's or the Wirral, but that's not Toxteth. It has been nearly 30 years since the Gifford report was produced and we have still not gotten to the core root of the problem, in Liverpool a solution has never been found when it comes to tackling Racism.

Appendix D

Louise Ellman (MP)

Interview Transcript

1. Are you aware of any issues or problems with reference to employment for the black?

Yes I am, but the term black is used to cover a number of communities and I think it is wrong to look at the issue of employment for the black community as being the same for all black communities. For example I am aware of unemployment in the Somali and Yemeni Communities, which have not been addressed in part and I have raised this in parliament and with local authority. I do believe there has been some improvement but also there are other issues with further access to higher education and young people who are not made aware of career choices, don't get proper career information and I think there has probably always been an issue and there continues to be as people don't see themselves as having equal opportunities and they don't feel they get the chances at different stages of their lives. There are also not continuously at school, children who are taken out of school and taken to the place that their families are originally from and taken out of school and not helped to catch up but that is something that changes and does not apply to everyone. I think there are a whole range of issues and that I have just mentioned some of them and they do not apply to everyone under the category of black because there are very different communities, different people and different individuals.

2. Are you aware of any issues or problems with reference to the Liverpool born black community?

That is a very specific group of people. People feel that they are discriminated against and certain jobs are not seen as being for them. I

hear people talking about that less now, then a few years ago, but I still think it is a phenomenon.

3. Over a quarter (28.3%) of the working age population are claiming benefits in the Princes Park ward, why do you think this is?

Sometimes jobs have not been available and there are now more jobs available, people do not have the skills to take up those jobs, and sometimes its discrimination as people don't apply as they don't think they will get a fair chance, they sometimes have applied and feel they have been discriminated against. It's a mixture of all those things.

4. Do you think black communities in Liverpool are able to access employment? If not, why?

It depends were it is. I haven't see any up to date definitive study, which looks at this in great detail and this is the only way you would find out through a proper constructive study but talking to people, my impression from talking to people is that people feel that something's have improved but that they feel that in some areas, some retail sectors particularly Liverpool One that they feel they are discriminated against but it does need a definitive study to look at the facts.

5. As you have been MP for the Riverside Ward in Liverpool for the last 17 years, have you seen any changes within Liverpool One?

I have seen changes in things people say to me but I am not aware of any definitive study which needs to be that has been carried out and I hope that you are able to do that in your work, as well as getting people's opinions like mine and people who are involved in the community that you are able or someone is to construct a proper study and get to the bottom of this and find out where the problems are.

6. The Princes Park ward historically has the largest concentration of BME incumbents at 51.2%. The Labour party has had the majority of elected councilors and MP's in this area. What has the Council been able to

accomplish for the Liverpool born black community in relation to employment?

You have to ask the Council but actually your statement is not true, as the Liberal Democrats have been in power for a long time in Liverpool, either sole or in combination with others, so your statement is not correct.

7. The Gifford report (1989) highlighted that 'race' was fundamental in unemployment for the Liverpool born black community; do you think this is still the case?

Yes, I think it is part of it but instead of being anecdotal, that it depends who you talking to and reflect on what people are saying have told me and I have seen changes over the years and what people actually say to me but I think it needs a definitive study, a properly constructed study like Gifford did to look exactly what is actually happening and that is required.

8. Gifford (1989) argued that racism and 'no go areas' in parts of Liverpool led to high levels of unemployment for the Liverpool black community. Is this still the case?

My impression is that this is part of the problem but I also talk to people who did live in that area and have moved out and say to me that at times in their lives they would have never moved out because they felt insecure anywhere else but now they feel much better and they have got jobs and have moved out of the area, so there is a bigger picture there.

9. Gifford (1989) recommended a 10% quota in Council employment for black workers. Do you think this has been achieved?

You have to ask the Council.

10. What do you think the City of Liverpool can do to become a more effective equal opportunity employer?

To give people confidence, to identify where the problems are, if there is direct discrimination to approach employers and make them aware,

sometimes employers are not aware of what they are doing, they need to be made aware, and to promote diverse communities. It needs to be done in a general way and also a very specific and individual way.

11. Do you think this is something that MP's and Councilors should be taking on?

I think everyone should be doing it and I think it's a joint endeavor with the communities involved. I think it is a very important issue that should be addressed.

Appendix E

Title of study: *Is Liverpool still entrenched in the racism outlined nearly 30 years ago in the Gifford report – A case study of employment in Liverpool?*

Employers Interview Transcript

1. Do you have any notion of how many of your employees are from the black community?

Well, one of things I would say to you is how we define employees here is quite tricky. We have core staff of about 75 people of which 2 people have identified themselves as BME, one is a local person and one is from outside the area and we then have a team of 150 people essentially on zero hour contracts. That's because the nature of our work is very much, we will need sometimes 20 people a night, when we have a show on her and a show on the play house, so its very difficult to engage people in a different way. So of that 150 I think there are approximately 10 people who identify themselves as being black or mixed race. We then have companies of actors, so that can be 20 people in a show or it can be 2 people in a show. Its very varied and we submit a lot of data. There is a great term at the moment called diversity in the arts, it's a difficult nettle to grasp, as it's a very white middle class industry and you find that people become uniformed in their approach. A lot of people come in and think I am very the white middle class background but actually I am scouser but it does become homogenous. Partly its due to funding reasons and partly, human reasons but there is a big movement throughout the arts, people are aware that this is not ok and people need to be represented on the stage as well as everywhere else. It needs to be a very broad spectrum, rather then carrying on doing the same old, same old of four white actors doing the importance of being earnest. But that said movement is slow and there are difficult considerations within it. There is a conscious choice especially with the acting companies, which is the

area we have more control over in a way but they should not be all white males straight companies. It is not who we are.

2. Does your company/organisation find it difficult or easy to recruit from the black community?

Again its quite varied, I think the difficulty and one of the things I find difficult is because we are a slightly niche industry, its very much about experience not qualifications. For me its kind enough not to say that we have a couple of black cleaners not ok we need to have a black producer, there needs to be in more senior jobs and this is were we have struggled. We have not necessarily had a lot of applicants from who are black for those senior roles and gain, I think this is a problem within the industry, and very much something we are trying to address, as we are aware that it's the entry point, which is the important point. We have done a lot of work around that, so in 10 years time we may have a choice of 6 people who apply for a job and are black, because they have started as an usher or started in our bar or they have joined are young everyman and playhouse scheme, and the entry points are there but it will just take time but that's not really ok but you don't want to put someone into a job because of the colour of their skin. Its difficult and we struggle with it, as I deal with all HR and recruitment and its something I am very aware of and also the legality of it as you are not allowed positive discrimination but you can take positive action and we do a lot of positive action and we are very careful that we don't tip over into discrimination.

3. How important is diversity to your company? Because I have just been through the foyer and the first number of people that I have seen, in front of house were all white like people serving in the café or sitting in the café, those selling tickets and the only black person I do see is the cleaner, what do you think?

Its one of our real priority areas and what I am saying is that it is not alright that we have two support staff and one identifies themselves as black. Also the other person who identifies as black has a much more

senior position but its still not ok. It is very important but its taking time to change certainly in the box office. When a show is on a lot of our ushers are black and I know none of them are working today but that's not ok either. So it is quite important and we have the working group and it has diversity strategy. When the building reopened there were two areas, which we really wanted to concentrate on, one was diversity in terms of ethnicity and the other was disability, as the old building was not accessible. We worked with a couple of consultants who had worked with theaters extensively; also with arts council trying to diversify the workforce and we did a lot of work around this. As I have said we do a lot of work in the area of positive action and I am very unhappy with the results so far but I don't know what to do next, as you are right its not ok. Well its very far from ok its upsetting is the word and it's a chance you have come on a day, when it is all white staff and that's not always the case. I also wish I knew who to ask for advice, as I find it difficult as a white person to not come across patronizing saying we do that because that's not what we are trying to do and people are quite coy about having that conversation and we have conversations locally and nationally about it but no solutions have come up. We do have an engagement officer who is the diversity champion and they I am involved as I deal with all the recruitment, and I do as much as I can to make sure that we put it out there and diversity is a consideration when recruiting. It certainly goes into everyone job description now; I think a lot of staff members have realized now what it is because they have been to workshops held on this issue. Including the artistic team, which it was a revelation for, as they need to think about this and be involved. We have had some success and its not quick enough and large enough.

4. Do you have any positive action programmes, which would enable your company to actively recruit more people from the black community?

Yes, we have done quite a variety of things. I will talk about YEP – Young everyman, playhouse and its for people age between 11 and 25, anyone in that age bracket can sign up and there are different strands of it, young

actors, young producers or young writers or young technicians or young comms, so its quite a variety of activities. We do have quite strict targets about who we want to target to be part of that membership, its all free except for the young actors, which is heavily subsides and gain if a young person cant afford it, then they don't have to fill out a form, they just have a word and we take care of that. A lot of the YEP stuff is about getting people to work and work in the industry, and at the moment we have a scheme that one of our trainees will become the YEP assistant producer, a paid job for 12 months and its only minimum wage, but the experience is kind of invaluable and getting people that little bit of experience gives them a foot up. We are very aware that it is a largely white industry and we would like to change that. We do that and we do a lot of open days, because I use to work, I don't know if you know the history of the building but we had the old building and we had the bistro and I use to work for the bistro, along with the theatre for a long time, and I use to go that a quarter of the staff from the bistro were black, so why is someone coming along for a job and going there but they are not coming up here and that's not ok. One of the things that we are very keen to do is work with people who are on our doorstep like Toxteth on that side and Kensington on this side. We have done open days, which will allow you to come out and find out a little about the job, targeting specific groups, which we work with through our outreach programme like the Unity youth center or it may just be that I put a card up at Tesco in part road, just to kind of it not being a formal thing but come and talk to us and meet us and kind of know its ok to come in. People can find out a little bit about the job and sign up for alerts when jobs are being advertised and again its one of those areas in which we are very conscious of particular our front of house roles or Stewards on the doors, that if people see someone from their own community there its brilliant. We have had some hit and miss experiences. We have tried to do taster sessions, which would let people apply for roles and we were working with a group of ladies who were asylum seekers largely from Somali and they arrange some shadow ships for them, and I had a absolute panic, as I knew two of them had come from a very violent area and they put them on to shadow on a

show, stage version of the 1984 Orwell novel, which is incredibly graphic torture and I was like this will not be a positive first experience, so we had to slight rethink that. It wasn't just about seeing a show but it was about you can come and work here. I really just about making sure that there is progression for people because as I say it's those more senior jobs. There is far more diversity in the applicants then the entry level ones.

5. Does your organization have an equal opportunities policy? And if so how is this applied when vacancies are identified within your company?

Yes, we do. If a role becomes vacant or is created, we very much written in the equality act, so there is a way we look at every vacancy that we cant positively discriminate but we can take part I a lot of positive action and that what we try to do. For example we opened this building, which is completely accessible as we work a lot with DAR DAR (Disability & Death Arts) based at Bluecoat and they said you never say its fully accessible. Then we had a lady who was a wheelchair user work in the box office and we realized that the doors where to heavy for her and she cant make a cup of tea by herself. Well in terms of equal opportunities, yes we advertise as far as wide as we can. We make things available in different formats, and we have a completely anonymous shortlisting process, were all personal information is removed. We asked people to not put their names on the personal statements and the biggest change we had since doing this is that we have started interviewing a lot more men for admin jobs. Don't know if that's a good thing but there was a change, which I found interesting. I think one things people find frustrating is they can not say that name seems foreign so I would like to interview them as personal information has been removed but I don't think that would help as my partner is black but his name sounds welsh. It is tricky but that is the most positive change we have found with more men applying for Admin jobs. All of our candidates invited for interview, we will make any adjustments we can, we will have a gender balance panel and one thing I do is make sure that everyone who applies gets a reply. I spend a lot of time giving people feedback and I think that's a really important part and

partly because we are a public funded organization and it something that we should do but also because its awful when someone applies for 6 jobs and its just because they cant fill out the form, but they don't get a chance. Equally with the front of house application we have mostly got rid of the form and that's for a number of reasons, due to diversity of the people and is it because its about making it an easier process and some people don't write good applications but miss out on the job, so we do have a more open process for the front line jobs and people just sign up, very short tour of building and then they do a math's test, a short one because they have to do sales. It is very much a basic test but it also does put a lot of people off. There is a short application form to fill out with contact details and the interview is all scenario-based situations. There is no real right and wrong answer but how people react towards things. Its not knowing about what the right thing is but about thinking it through and those open questions is what we try to pursue in all interviews. We want it to be a transparent process and not an awful experience for anyone.

6. Where does your organization advertise its vacancies?

I think it's a industry wide problem not just us, as I think if I am going to advertise for a producer and anyone who has the relevant experience to be a producer here is looking at the guardian or on the stage or arts jobs, that's were they will look no matter the background is. When it comes to our more generic jobs again we try really hard to advertise in the right place, where ever that is, we looked at a lot of research that we were given and its out of date now, as the world had changed a lot and it was after the Gifford report, we had someone who worked here who also worked for the police and one of the most interesting things they found was the most widely read newspaper by the black community in L8 was the Guardian, and that's kind of what I personal would have thought but also that's also that's were would put advertise. I tend to put advertise in as many places as I possible can, in order to get as wide a coverage as I possible can, put things around a lot of national contacts but if I knew

where else to advertise I would. One of the issues in the arts is the salaries are really poor, and I mentor a couple of ladies who are HR managers and one works with creative people and one works in legal and they both earn a lot more then me. The reason why I am saying this is my job is very HR focused and it's a generic job like finance or IT less industry specific and one of the girls that I mentor is black and I say there is no way that if I left she would apply for my job as she would have to take a massive pay cut and that's not attractive to her. So when you try to unpick it I don't thinks it's as simple as it seems but if there was a way that I could find a solution I would. I think its just encouraging people to come into the organization because there is a perception of us as being a slightly snobby theater darling atmosphere. I know my ex partner is black and lives in L8 and he would never cross the door even though its on his door step because he thinks it's a load of people who are self involved. A lot of it is about perception and that's where the open days come from.

7. Do you face any barriers when trying to recruit from the Black community?

I think the perception of the organization and what we do and there is perception of who knows us and who doesn't. One of the things that has always struck me is late in the 1960's or 1970's, they put a play on with the poster having a black guy and a white girl, holding hands, and people put breaks through the glass and absolutely outreached by it. That was thirty years ago and its not that long ago but mostly its about perception, I know back when we were in the old theatre and the bistro there was a massive distinction between who worked upstairs and who worked downstairs and in my belief there was very little distinction between the two companies having worked for both for me there was much less distinction, in the theatre then there was in the bistro in loads of ways. I think we have an image problem, which is partly to do with the industry, and we have the shutters on the front and it was really important that everyone was represented on the shutters and we did a session at the Unity, Kirkdale and other places, and it's a big symbol of that we are the

everyman and we are their for everyone. It’s hard, convincing people of that without sounding patronizing.

8. Do you think that your vacancies are accessible for the BME Communities?

I think in London theatre is different as there is a big diverse pool to choose from but in Manchester as I work closely with at the Royal exchange, they are having the same conversations and they also try the open day approach. We have people from BME backgrounds who are under represented in our industry and we would like this to change, please come to out open day. I think that was a nice way of putting it without sounding, like will you be our token black person, as that is not what we want. I think it’s a nice open way to do things.

9. Is there anything else that you would like to say regarding employment in Liverpool for the black community?

I suppose its really we are on this journey and we are finding things out all the time and I wish I could find a solution. I think the thing I find really difficult is as an organization we build people up and then they get to a certain point and unless someone leaves they have no were to go and they leave. So we have lost a lot of good people who have gone elsewhere into really good jobs and for us is how we retain that talent but yes I guess its ones of those things that we will never stop trying but I don’t think we are necessarily getting it right.

Appendix F

Title of study: *Is Liverpool still entrenched in the racism outlined nearly 30 years ago in the Gifford report – A case study of employment in Liverpool?*

Princes Park Ward – Councilor Interview Transcript

My name is Councillor Alan Dean and I represent the Princes Park ward for the Labour Party and I am Labour party Chief Whip and I have been a Labour Councillor since 1987.

1. Are you aware of any issues or problems with reference to employment for the Liverpool Born Black community?

   Yes, there is clearly a misrepresentation of the BME Community in a lot of industries and especially the service industries and one of the concerns the City Council has had and I share this concern, is the limited visibility of BME Community and employees in the City Centre. When you look at the stores within the city Centre, they are multi national stores by in large, they are stores, which have outlets in every major city in the UK and by in large when you visit those cities they are by far more BME employees within those company stores in those cities, you see a lot more women with hijabs, Sikhs, you don't see that as much in Liverpool city Centre and there is a significant percentage of my residents who are unemployed and don't have access to employment opportunities and this is a concern for the city council and for us as its representatives.

2. Over a quarter (28.3%) of the working age population are claiming benefits in the Princes Park ward, why do you think this is?

   Again, it's a difficult issue to deal with and understand. There are clearly barriers, which exist, quite a few which we are aware of, and it certainly can't be because of educational attainment, as quite a significant percentage of the people unemployed have clearly have good qualification and in some cases exceptional qualifications, but for some

reason that aren't able to access the job market. Whether it's the way organisations advertise the vacancies, or whether their recruitment practices need to be reviewed, or it's a combination of both but certainly its fair higher then it should be in relation to representation across the city.

3. The Princes Park ward historically has the largest concentration of 51.2% of incumbents from the black community. The Labour party has had the majority of elected councillors in this area. What has the Council been able to accomplish for BME Communities in relation to employment?

I think again its something that we are aware of and have looked at but not had a great deal of success in. As the statistics show, when I was first elected in 1987, it was an issue then, I did not represent this ward at that time, I represented a city Centre ward, one of the first things we looked at was how we as a city council improve and encourage recruitment from BME communities, we started a positive action training programme, where we actively went out and through South Liverpool Personnel at the time to recruit BME employees into a whole range of areas within the Council, it wasn't just manual it was office staff, it was right across the board, those staff were integrated and were given training through South Liverpool Personnel and other agencies, it worked very well and the targets we set were achieved and exceed, the law at that stage prohibited us from offering permanent contracts, and at the end of the traineeship but I made it very clear as Chair of personnel that we were not spending that amount of money for people to be trained and then left to go back to the unemployed register and we did everything within our power to recruit all those trainees and we did successfully into vacant posts. Sadly after a very short period of time, those trainees who became permanent members of staff started to leave the Council, and it got to such a stage that I asked the Director of Personnel to start doing exit interviews with the trainees, and the few that came across, which seemed to be the majority that they still perceived Liverpool city council to be racist organization, which wasn't particular helpful to us but it was a fact of life

that they perceived it and I think to my knowledge none of those trainees currently work for Liverpool city council.

4. Since the Gifford report (1989) was published, the Princes Park ward has been controlled by Labour for much of this time. Statistically it has had and continues to have one of the highest rates of deprivation in the city. As Labour party Councillor why do you think this is?

During that period as you say it has had Labour Councillors apart from one brief period when we had Lib Dem. Labour, hasn't always controlled the council for 12 of those years the Lib Dem council controlled the city, so it's a failing of all political parties. A significant amount of money has been spent in Princes Park and the South end of the city, so you can argue for the north end of the city that we get more then we should, and that's the councils argument that we have politically. But we have tried, we have all with the limited powers that we have, we have certainly tried to improve the area in its physical state and we have tried to do what we can as an organization to address the unemployment situation but we don't employer that many people these days and we cant create the jobs that we would like to and we have tried to work with private sector companies, we have tried to encourage them to address the imbalance and certainly when Liverpool 1 was being developed was in the planning stage, Liverpool city council, worked with the developers and the companies that were coming in to try and address the imbalance, in terms of BME representation in the workforce but as I said early, you can see that has not worked and I cant for the life of me, understand why that is the case, because those same companies, use the same recruitment practices in other cities that you go to McDonalds in Manchester, Birmingham, Leeds and Sheffield, and you will see in some centres an overrepresentation of BME community and you don't see that in Liverpool. We tried to address that and we were given some assurances but we cant control how companies recruit and we cant make them recruit differently and we cant make them address the imbalance, we can

only make them try to persuade and influence and sadly, those efforts have not been that successful.

5. The Gifford report (1989) highlighted that 'race' was fundamental in black unemployment; do you think this is still the case?

I would say so and how you get to the bottom of that, there is a view that has been expressed and again its similar to the positive action trainees that we had, speaking to some members of the community, its there few that residents don't apply for jobs because the company that is advertising them will not recruit them anyway because they are racist. But some people just say its not worth the effort because I know that they wont recruit me but I have no idea whether that's true, but if it is a valid statement or not, there is some evidence if the name on the application form doesn't sound foreign, you may be better place to get an interview. I have no positive or definite information or evidence but it is empiric evidence, which people say to us, that is the case.

6. Gifford (1989) recommended a 10% quota in Council employment for black workers. Do you think this has been achieved?

It's not far of it. I mean we have been through significant changes, as everyone has because of the governments austerity programme and we have downsized significantly. I don't know whether we have actually hit the 10% I could be wrong. Its something that we have recently reviewed and one of my colleagues Natalie Nicholas is involved in this and I know that she is keen to see things change. In addition to that we have had, a couple of reports from again years ago, I have suggested to the body that has done the review, that it would well be worthy our time to dust that report off and get the public bodies together and say this is what you said years ago and come and have a look the recommendations or the view that you took has been addressed, as I think the answer would be no and I honestly don't know the reason for that.

7. Would you be shocked to know that Liverpool City Council has 3441 employees and of those 3441 employees, 64 are black females and 36 are black males? So its only 100? 0.5%

I thought it was a lot more then that. I don't think that acceptable. At the current time I think its very difficult to address that as we are not in a position of recruiting staff, and its more likely that we will be downsizing even more, so in the current climate it will be difficult to address that imbalance except for vacancies that do come up and we can positively encourage people to apply for them.

8. What do you think that can be done when it comes to private employers?

When it comes to the Universities its unacceptable their levels of black staff and it something that the city council should and could raise, but again we have no real power to make them do anything.

9. What do you think the City of Liverpool can do to become a more effective equal opportunity employer?

Well it needs through the city council, the trades council, business organisations to seriously sit down and try to address the recruitment practices of every employer in the city. Whether its private sector or whether it's the voluntary sector or whether it's the city council and try to encourage recruitment from underrepresented sections of the community and that includes people with disabilities, BME Community and others. But it will only take a concerted effort by all agencies to do that. If we can't get the business community around the table, then we will not be able to influence them.

Appendix G

Title of study: *Is Liverpool still entrenched in the racism outlined nearly 30 years ago in the Gifford report – A case study of employment in Liverpool?*

Interview Questions for Participants

1. In which city where you born?
2. Do you have any qualifications and work experience?
3. What can you please tell me about your employment history in Liverpool?
4. Have you worked in the public or private sector?
5. What has been your experience of finding employment in Liverpool?
6. What types of jobs have you applied for and what kind of jobs have you worked in?
7. If you have been unsuccessful finding employment in Liverpool, why do you think this is?
8. What barriers have you found to employment in Liverpool?
9. Have any family or friends had problems gaining employment in Liverpool?
10. Do you think 'race'/'ethnicity' has helped or hindered you in finding employment?
11. Are there any geographical areas in Liverpool, which you would not seek employment in? If so why?
12. Is there anything else that you would like to say regarding employment in Liverpool for the black community?