

FIRST AND SECOND GENERATION ETHNIC MINORITIES: AN
INVESTIGATION OF BLACK AFRICAN AND BLACK CARIB-
BEAN CURRENT EMPLOYMENT STATUS IN ENGLAND AND
WALES

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Table of Contents

| | |
|---|-----------|
| Abstract | 5 |
| Declaration | 7 |
| Dedication | 8 |
| Acknowledgements | 9 |
| Chapter One | 10 |
| 1.0 Introduction | 10 |
| 1.1 Background to the Study | 10 |
| 1.1 Rationale of the Study | 13 |
| 1.1.1 Persistent Employment Disadvantages Culture | 13 |
| 1.2 Aim and Objectives of the Thesis | 15 |
| 1.3 Research Gap | 15 |
| 1.4 Study Significance | 19 |
| 1.5 Study Originality | 19 |
| 1.6 Thesis Contributions to Research | 21 |
| 1.6.1 Theoretical Contributions | 21 |
| 1.6.2 Practical Contributions | 23 |
| 1.7 Personal Research Interest | 23 |
| 1.8 Structure of the Thesis | 24 |
| 1.9 Chapter Summary | 25 |
| Chapter Two: Literature Review | 26 |
| 2.0 Introduction | 26 |
| 2.1 Arrival of Visible Ethnic Minorities in the UK | 27 |
| 2.1.1 Understanding Ethnicity in the UK | 28 |
| 2.1.2 Scholarly Definitions of Ethnicity | 31 |
| 2.1.3 Earlier Studies on Ethnic Minorities' Labour Market Disadvantages | 33 |
| 2.1.4 Current Directions in Research on Ethnicity and Migration | 35 |
| 2.1.5 Labour Market Disadvantages Based on Human Capital | 37 |
| 2.1.6 Labour Market and the Impact of Human Capital Theory | 38 |
| 2.1.7 UK Data Sets That Analysed Ethnic Minority Disadvantages | 41 |
| 2.2 First Generation Ethnic Minorities' Employment Gap | 41 |
| 2.2.1 Second Generation Ethnic Minorities' Employment Gap | 43 |
| 2.2.2 First and Second Generation Ethnic Minorities' Employment Differences and Similarities | 45 |
| 2.2.3 Employment Disadvantages through Audit Studies | 46 |
| 2.2.4 The Problem of Over-Education/Over-Qualification | 48 |
| 2.2.5 Ethnic Minorities in the UK Labour Force | 50 |
| 2.2.6 Ethnic Minorities' Contributions to the UK Economy | 52 |
| 2.2.7 The Concept of Ethnic Penalties | 53 |
| 2.2.8 The Influence of Social Origins in the Labour Market | 53 |
| 2.2.9 Understanding the British Race Relations Act of 1965 | 53 |
| 2.3 A Guiding Theoretical Framework for This Thesis | 54 |
| 2.3.1 Theoretical Framework | 55 |
| 2.3.2 Human Capital Theory | 56 |
| 2.3.3 Social Capital Theory | 57 |
| 2.3.4 Reference and Acculturation Process | 59 |
| 2.3.5 Ethnic Concentration and Employment Outcomes | 60 |
| 2.3.6 The Impact of Geographical Concentration | 61 |
| 2.3.7 English Language Fluency | 62 |

| | |
|---|-----------|
| 2.3.8 Assimilation Concepts in the UK | 63 |
| 2.3.9 The Importance of Ethnic Integration | 65 |
| 2.3.9.1 The Definitions of the Term Labour Market..... | 67 |
| 2.4 Chapter Summary..... | 68 |
| Chapter Three: Methodology, Methods and Design | 70 |
| 3.0 Introduction..... | 70 |
| 3.1 Research Paradigm | 71 |
| 3.1.1 Definitions of Paradigm | 71 |
| 3.1.2 Ontological Positions..... | 72 |
| 3.1.3 Epistemological Positions | 73 |
| 3.1.4 The Interpretivist Paradigm | 75 |
| 3.2 Methodologies Considered Not Appropriate in this Thesis. | 77 |
| 3.2.1 Discourse Analysis Approach..... | 77 |
| 3.2.2 Narrative Inquiry Approach..... | 77 |
| 3.2.3 Grounded Theory Approach..... | 77 |
| 3.2.4 Case Study Approach | 78 |
| 3.3 Research Methods Considered Appropriate in This Thesis | 79 |
| 3.3.1 Qualitative Methods..... | 79 |
| 3.3.2 Justification for Adopting a Qualitative Research Method | 79 |
| 3.3.3 Advantages of using a Qualitative method instead of a Quantitative Method.... | 81 |
| 3.4 Establishing Trustworthiness in Qualitative Research | 85 |
| 3.4.1 Credibility | 85 |
| 3.4.2 Dependability..... | 86 |
| 3.4.3 Transferability..... | 86 |
| 3.4.4 Confirmability | 86 |
| 3.5 Data Collection Methods Employed in this Thesis. | 88 |
| 3.5.1 Semi-Structured Interviews | 88 |
| 3.4.2 The Advantages of Semi-Structured Interviews | 90 |
| 3.4.3 Skype and Telephone Interviews | 93 |
| 3.4.4 The Importance of Snowball Sample Technique in this Thesis..... | 94 |
| 3.4.5 Thematic Analysis | 94 |
| 3.4.6 The Structured Interviews..... | 95 |
| 3.4.7 Open-ended (Unstructured) Interview..... | 96 |
| 3.4.8 Ethical Considerations..... | 97 |
| 3.5 Chapter Summary..... | 98 |
| Chapter Four: Presentation of Research Findings..... | 99 |
| 4.0 Introduction..... | 99 |
| 4.1 Black African and Black Caribbean Labour Market Disadvantages: Issues and Re restrictions..... | 99 |
| 4.2 Black African and Black Caribbean Ethnic Minorities' Employment..... | 101 |
| 4.2.1 A Review of the Research | 101 |
| 4.3 Findings from Ethnic Minority Participants' Interviews..... | 103 |
| 4.3.1 1 st Phase..... | 109 |
| 4.3.2 2nd Phase | 109 |
| 4.4 Findings..... | 111 |
| 4.4.1 Research Objective One..... | 111 |
| 4.4.2 Core Theme: Human Capital..... | 112 |
| 4.4.3 Core Theme: Social Capital | 114 |
| 4.4.4 Black African and Black Caribbean Labour Market Participation | 115 |

| | |
|--|-----|
| 4.4.5 Core Theme: Persistent Labour Market Disadvantage Based upon Ethnic Origins | 117 |
| 4.4.6 Sub-Theme: Unequal Opportunity for Career Progression | 121 |
| 4.4.7 Core Theme: Lack of Recognition of Foreign Skills and Training | 124 |
| 4.4.8 Core Theme: Racism | 125 |
| 4.5 Core Theme: Lack of Recognition of Foreign Educational Qualifications | 130 |
| 4.5.1 Core Theme: Social Network/ Family Connection | 134 |
| 4.6 Research Objective Two | 137 |
| 4.6.1 Sub-Theme: UK Work Experience and Training | 140 |
| 4.7 Research Objective Three | 148 |
| 4.7.1 Sub-Theme: Employer’s Recognition of Elite Qualification | 149 |
| 4.8 Summary | 155 |
| Chapter Five | 157 |
| 5.0 Introduction | 157 |
| 5.1 International Migration | 157 |
| 5.2 Motivations for International Migration | 158 |
| 5.2.1 Current Population of Black Africans in the UK | 160 |
| 5.2.2 The Historical Context of the Black Caribbean Minority in the UK | 160 |
| 5.2.3 The Impression of International Migration | 164 |
| 5.2.4 Research on Ethnic Mobility in the UK and Europe | 165 |
| 5.2.5 Migration and Diversity in the UK | 166 |
| 5.2.6 Immigrants and Economic Uncertainty in the UK | 167 |
| 5.2.7 Government Policy on International Students | 168 |
| 5.3 Migration and Labour Market Consequences | 169 |
| 5.3.1 Statistical Inequality | 170 |
| 5.3.2 Direct Inequality | 171 |
| 5.3.3 Indirect Inequality | 171 |
| 5.3.5 Adverse Effects of Persistent Employment Disadvantages | 173 |
| 5.4 Chapter Summary | 176 |
| Chapter Six: Discussion | 178 |
| 6.0 Introduction | 178 |
| 6.1 Ethnic Minorities’ Labour Market Positions | 178 |
| 6.2 Ethnic Minorities’ ‘Lived Experience.’ | 180 |
| 6.2.1 Strategic Investment to Avoid Employment Disadvantages | 182 |
| 6.2.2 Over-Education in Employment | 183 |
| 6.2.3 Ethnic Social Network | 186 |
| 6.2.4 Ethnic Employment Similarities and Differences | 186 |
| 6.2.5 Ethnic Minority Language Competency | 187 |
| 6.3 Chapter Summary | 191 |
| Chapter Seven: Conclusion, Implications, Limitations and Future Research | 192 |
| 7.0 Introduction | 192 |
| 7.1 Summary of Key Research Findings | 192 |
| 7.2 Participants’ Lived Experiences | 193 |
| 7.3 Implications | 198 |
| 7.3.1 Theoretical Implications | 198 |
| 7.3.2 Recommendations | 201 |
| 7.3.3 Limitations and Future Research | 202 |
| 7.4 Concluding Remarks | 203 |
| Appendix | 204 |
| References | 206 |

List of tables

| | |
|--|-----|
| Table 1 Different ethnic groups in the UK..... | 30 |
| Table 2 Epistemological position of positivists and interpretivists..... | 75 |
| Table 3 Differences between Positivism and Interpretivism..... | 84 |
| Table 4 Criteria for trustworthiness ensuring rigour in the study | 87 |
| Table 5 Themes and sub-themes..... | 96 |
| Table 6 First and second generation Black African and Black Caribbean Interview Participants' Background Information..... | 105 |
| Table 7 Interview Questions..... | 203 |

List of Figures

| | |
|---|----|
| Figure 1 Theories used in the research..... | 39 |
| Figure 2 Conceptual Framework..... | 59 |
| Figure 3 Research Design..... | 88 |

Abstract

First and second generation ethnic minorities exhibit lower employment prospects than their native-born counterparts. However, studies on Black Africans and Black Caribbeans in England and Wales's labour market are limited. This research investigates first and second generation Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minority groups' employment disadvantages in the United Kingdom (UK) labour market. It analyses the experiences and nature of employment disadvantages faced by these ethnic minorities. It also identifies the similarities and differences between their employment disadvantages. Human capital and social capital theories were used as the main theoretical framework to interpret the findings. Qualitative data collection methods were used to obtain data. Thirty-two semi-structured interviews were conducted and presented as the primary data collection method. Ethnic and migration studies were used as secondary sources.

The findings of the research show that first generation Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minorities experience labour market disadvantages compared to second generation ethnic minorities who arrived in the UK as children or were born to their overseas parents. However, second generation Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minorities' employment disadvantages have gradually disappeared, but ethnic penalties remain. The study provides evidence that factors such as limited knowledge of the workings of the labour market, work experience, skills and lack of recognition of foreign qualifications and training, inadequate social networks, including employee referral systems, influenced the employment disadvantages of these ethnic minority groups. Similar factors were that the first and second generation ethnic minorities have the same ethnic background and are less likely to graduate from prestigious universities. They also live in similar geographical locations with limited employment prospects. Key differences between them were that the first generation ethnic minorities, lack sufficient knowledge of the UK labour market.

In contrast, the second generation ethnic minorities have pre-labour market advantages as they are more educated than the first generation ethnic minorities. Theoretically, the study confirms and extends human and social capital theories relating to the employment disadvantages of ethnic minorities. It has shown how, within the UK context, additional factors such as unequal opportunities for career progression, race, ethnic background, and deprived

neighbourhoods with limited employment prospects significantly influence the employment disadvantages of ethnic minorities.

The study concludes by providing some implications and suggestions for improvements to eradicate the employment disadvantages of Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minorities and proposes areas for future research. The insights will benefit academics and policy-makers, such as human resource practitioners, managers, and the UK government.

Declaration

No portion of the work referred to in the thesis has been submitted in support of an application for another degree or qualification of this or any other university or other institute of learning.

Dedication

I dedicate this thesis to my precious God's gift, wife Katherine, a woman God sent to my life; thank you. Many thanks go to my late parents, Bartholomew E. George and Lucy E George. I am forever grateful to my siblings for their love, prayers, and encouragement throughout this research journey. Words are not enough to thank my late grandmother, Mrs Agnes and her husband, Mr Francis, for their support and love during difficult times. This thesis belongs to you all.

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Chapter One

1.0 Introduction

This thesis investigates the current employment positions of Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minorities in England and Wales. Previous research indicates that there are differences in the employment outcomes between Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minorities in the UK labour Market, and there is limited research on the factors influencing the employment disadvantages of these ethnic minorities. The study thus explores the significant factors that influence their employment disadvantages. This chapter introduces the background of the study before providing the rationale of the research in the light of existing literature. Following this, the aim and objectives are presented, and the significance and originality of the study are highlighted. The research gaps identified from the literature are then discussed. Subsequently, the theoretical and practical contributions derived from the findings are outlined. The chapter concludes with a summary.

1.1 Background to the Study

Investigating first and second generation ethnic minorities' current employment positions in England and Wales is essential because different forms of inequalities experienced by ethnic minorities in the labour market have featured prominently in the UK (Cabinet Office, 2017). In the labour market, Black Africans and Black Caribbeans experience unequal treatment with higher semi-routine work and lower hourly earnings than the dominant population (Heath and Cheung, 2006; Li and Heath, 2008; Li and Heath, 2020). Research in the UK criminal justice system shows that Black British Caribbeans are treated very differently, with a disproportionately higher risk of being arrested and tried (Bowling and Phillips, 2002). Similarly, Black communities are six times more likely than the dominant population group to be stopped and searched by the police and almost three times more likely to be arrested and receive lengthier average sentences than the majority population in England and Wales (ONS, 2013; Wright, 2013).

The Department for Work and Pensions research for the Government's Equalities Review, which was created to develop a Single Equality Act, also found that:

Despite 40 years of legislation to protect people from unequal treatment, evidence suggests that there are still social, economic, cultural, or other factors that limit or deny individuals the opportunity to make the best of their abilities and to contribute to society fully (Berthoud and Blekesaune 2006, p. 1).

The UK has become increasingly multi-ethnic, with the percentage of ethnic minority groups growing nearly two-fold in the last decade (Heath and Chung, 2007; Cartney et al., 2021). Due to the growing population of ethnic minority groups in the UK and the ongoing public debates on ethnic minorities' employment disadvantages in the labour market, research studies abound (Berthoud et al., 2006; Blackaby et al., 2002, 2005; Heath et al., 2005, 2006; Carmichael and Woods, 2000; Dustmann et al., 2010; Wallace et al., 2022). First and second generation ethnic minorities exhibit lower employment prospects than their native-born counterparts. However, studies on Black Africans and Black Caribbeans in England and Wales's labour market are limited. This research investigates first and second generation Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minority groups' employment disadvantages in the United Kingdom (UK) labour market. It analyses the experiences and nature of employment disadvantages faced by these ethnic minorities. It also identifies the similarities and differences between their employment disadvantages. Human capital and social capital theories were used as the main theoretical framework to interpret the findings.

Ethnic minorities who arrived in the UK and those born to their overseas parents' employment disadvantages in the UK labour market are undeniable (Heath and McMahon, 1997; Dustmann et al., 2010; the Joseph Rowntree Foundation, 2015; Li and Heath, 2020). Ethnic minority employment disadvantages potentially threaten the country's overall economic performance, individuals and their communities. They contribute to violence and undermine social cohesion (Cabinet Office, 2003, p.5-6; Heath and Li, 2020; Battu et al., 2009). After the Second World War, ethnic minority individuals from the Caribbean began to arrive in the UK in large numbers stimulated by labour demand. Currently, in the UK, the six most significant ethnic minority groups (in descending order) are Indian, Pakistani, Black Caribbean, Black African, Bangladeshi and Chinese. However, these individuals differ in their arrival times (Dustmann et al., 2010). Ethnic minorities' employment disadvantages have attracted much attention among policymakers and academia (Carmichael and Wood, 2000; Cabinet Office, 2003). Ethnic studies have concentrated on ethnic penalties and their evolution over time and

subsequent generations for different ethnic minority groups as predicted by assimilationists (Alba and Nee, 1997; Portes and Zhou, 1993). Some other studies have focused on how these challenges impact the social mobility of ethnic minorities. These studies have focused extensively on testing whether social fluidity has increased, as predicted by the modernisation theory, has remained constant, or even declined over time due to the growing inequality. However, most of these studies have utilised descriptive analyses to shed light on ethnic minorities' persistent labour market inequality (Heath and Cheung, 2007; Blackaby et al., 2002; Heath and McMahon, 1997).

Consequently, this present thesis employed semi-structured interviews and ethnic and migration research on ethnic minorities' employment disadvantages to explore the current labour market position of first and second generation Black Africans and Black Caribbeans in England and Wales (Heath and McMahon, 1997, p.19). In this thesis, first generation Black Africans and Black Caribbeans refer to individuals born outside the UK but now have residency or citizenship status to live and work in their destination country. While second generation Black Africans and Black Caribbeans are the children born to first generation immigrants (born outside the UK) or those who arrived as children in the host country. As noted above, Black African ethnic minorities' employment disadvantages have been frequently debated in the UK (Cabinet Office, 2017; Quillian and Lee, 2023).

Based on information from the International Organisation of Migration (2017), there were nine million Africans in Europe, compared to five and a half million in 2000. In the UK, for example, the then UK foreign secretary (Philip Hammond) was quoted in *The Telegraph* (Steven Swinford, 9 August 2015) as saying, "millions of immigrants who arrived from African countries pose a threat to the standard of living and social structure of the UK and the rest of Europe". This statement from an elite politician can send a negative signal to the broader society about immigrants' presence in the United Kingdom.

1.1 Rationale of the Study

1.1.1 Persistent Employment Disadvantages Culture

Scholarly studies on immigration and integration show that a significant differential in the UK labour market shapes the pattern of assessment and exclusion (Platt and Nandi, 2020). Li and Heath (2020) indicate that ethnic minority individuals endure persistent labour market disparity and unemployment disadvantages, potentially placing them at high risk of employment loss. Policies have been made to redress these ethnic minority employment disadvantages (Byrne et al., 2020). As Her Majesty stated, "My government is committed to ensuring everyone has a fair chance in life: my government will bring forward a Bill to promote equality and fight discrimination" (Queen's Speech, 2008). Improving Black African and Black Caribbean employment positions in the labour market is high on the political agenda in the UK and internationally. One former Prime Minister (David Cameron) described ideas that focus on providing equal access to education as the 'springboard of opportunity' (Austin, 2016). Also, successive governments have implemented legislation in the UK to tackle ethnic inequalities (Cabinet Office, 2001; 2003, 2017). One former British Prime Minister (Tony Blair), while in office, set goals "that in the next ten years' time, ethnic minority communities should no longer face persistent barriers to assessing and realising opportunities for achievement in the UK labour market" (Cabinet Office, 2003, p. 13). Equally, when in office, another former Prime Minister (Theresa May) said, on 12 October 2017, that the entire society must explain or change "the persistent ethnic disadvantage faced by ethnic minorities". She further stated that it should be reviewed and rejected if labour market disadvantage could not be explained by legitimate job-relevant factors such as skills and training. However, labour market disadvantages persist (Li and Heath, 2020). The Joseph Rowntree Foundation's (2015) research concluded that the continued presence of employment challenges in the 20th and 21st centuries highlights an enduring concern for minority groups. Researchers also claim that ethnic minorities in the UK are more likely to obtain university degrees than the dominant population groups yet continue to face employment disadvantages in the labour market on average (Aglan et al., 2010; Modood, 2005; Kele et al., 2022). There is evidence that, despite decades of government legislation to protect ethnic minority groups from employment disadvantages, there are still disadvantages that indirectly restrict or hinder their opportunities to contribute to economic growth in the UK (Berthoud, 2006; CRE, 2004; Task Force on Race Equality and Diversity in the Private Sector, 2004; Cabinet Office, 2017). This thesis is a

timely intervention because it explores the employment disadvantages experienced by first and second generation Black Africans and Black Caribbeans, parallel with the ongoing discussion on equal opportunities adhered to by developed countries (Cabinet Office, 2017). The first and second generation ethnic minorities in England and Wales, who have experienced persistent labour market disadvantages, require further research to establish the success of equal opportunity enriched in the liberal democracies adhered to by developed nations. (Luthra and Platt, 2017).

In the UK and several other advanced countries, migration has been observed as the main driver of demographic change (Cangiano, 2014). Between 1999 and 2012, for example, approximately 54 per cent of the increase in population in the UK has been attributed to net migration. Ethnic studies show that first generation Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minorities continue to undergo labour market disadvantages, greater concentration in routine and semi-routine work, and lower hourly earnings than the dominant population (Health and Cheung, 2007; Kele et al., 2022). Recently, a study by Li and Heath (2020) conducted in the UK showed marked labour market disadvantages faced by ethnic minorities in education, housing, health and the labour market, and higher poverty levels.

Ethnicity researchers have continued to shed light on immigrants and their children's labour market disadvantages (Heath et al., 2007, 2018; Zuccotti, 2015; Aglan et al., 2009; Dustmann et al., 2010; Carmichael and Woods, 2000; Platt et al., 2020; Cabinet Office, 2017). Work-time underemployment is linked to financial hardship (Warren, 2015) and contributes to low wage traps; therefore, moving out of unemployment into paid work may seem like the first step on the ladder of social mobility, but taking a relatively low-level position can mean entrapment in poorly paid work (Scherer, 2004). According to the Low Pay Commission (2013), women and ethnic minority individuals are over-represented among low-paid workers, linked to their past segregation and segmentation into sectors, industries and occupations. Researchers on underemployment consequences revealed that the individual well-being of underemployed workers tends to be lower than those who are more adequately employed (Dooley, 2003; Friedland and Price, 2003; Paul and Moser, 2009). Thus, the thesis seeks to analyse the current employment positions of first and second generation Black African and Black Caribbean individuals and contribute to existing research. The research focuses on individuals who define themselves as Black Africans and Black Caribbeans currently residing in England and Wales.

1.2 Aim and Objectives of the Thesis

This research aims to understand the nature and experience of the first and second generation Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minority groups' current employment positions in England and Wales's labour market and contribute to existing ethnic and migration literature. There is a growing literature on first and second generation ethnic minorities' employment disadvantages in the UK labour market, as it seems that labour market disadvantages are still on display and have not declined (Cabinet Office 2017; Heath et al. Green 2017; Li, 2018). Therefore, considering the ongoing persistent Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minorities' employment disadvantages in the labour market, the research objectives are as follows:

1. To examine the nature of employment disadvantages of first and second generation Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minorities in the UK labour market.
2. To explore the factors influencing the employment disadvantages of first and second generation Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minorities.
3. To analyse the similarities and differences between first and second generation Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minorities.

1.3 Research Gap

The current government policies and initiatives to increase ethnic minorities' employment success have not substantially reduced labour market disadvantages between employers and Black ethnic minorities (Heath and Cheung, 2006). The reality of ethnic minorities' employment disadvantages is well-documented (Heath and McMahon, 1997; Dumangane, 2016).

Although Academic studies on ethnic minorities' employment disadvantages abound, most of these studies have used single cross-section data to contribute knowledge to theoretical de-

bates on ethnic minorities' labour market disadvantages (Van Tubergen and Kalmijin, 2005; Kalter and Kogan, 2006; Li, 2018; Heath and Cheung, 2007; Li and Heath, 2007). This literature is essential, but a key unanswered question is the current employment positions of Black African and Black Caribbean people in England and Wales. A more dynamic analysis is needed to ascertain whether ethnic minority individuals' employment has improved or declined over time (Heath and Li, 2008). This research seeks to advance ethnic and migration studies in this aspect. Research has been conducted on second generation migrants using theories of assimilation, integration, multiculturalism, social mobility, educational attainment, labour market and identity (Heath et al., 2008; Li, 2010). Also, previous studies have explored ethnic minorities' employment disadvantages in the UK (Carmichael and Woods, 2000; Aglan et al., 2010; Dustmann et al., 2010; Cabinet Office, 2017; Li and Heath, 2020). However, little is known about first and second generation Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minorities' current employment positions. Low employment is prevalent among these ethnic minority groups. For instance, evidence from ethnic studies shows that Black Caribbean, Black and ethnic minorities (BME) communities in Cardiff predominantly reside in Riverside, Grangetown and Bute-town (CODE, 2013). The ethnic minority groups in Cardiff had low levels of the working class in the capital of Wales, irrespective of the rich ethnic immigration history in the past (Dumangane, 2016). Persistent ethnic minority employment disadvantages in the UK labour market play an important role in continuing high poverty rates, housing, health and education challenges. Employment participation among ethnic minority groups has been challenged by non-governmental organisations like the Joseph Rowntree Foundation (2015), Business in the Community (BITC, 2015) and academic scholars such as Khattab et al. (2011) and Karim (2013). Consequently, analysing ethnic minorities' employment disadvantages in the labour market is crucial for the government, academia, civic society and researchers.

Employment disadvantage is the disparity in ethnic minorities' prospects of obtaining employment or higher-level jobs compared to their dominant population counterparts (Heath and Cheung, 2006; Li and Heath, 2020). Based on this employment disparity in the labour market, researchers have also termed this 'ethnic penalty' in recognition that it may reflect discrimination but also other labour market disadvantages (Berthoud, 2000; Cooke, 2007; Heath and Cheung, 2006; McGinnity and Lunn, 2011). Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minorities' persistent employment disadvantages remain prominent, and examples are as follows:

- The ability of ethnic minority individuals to get a job in the labour market as opposed to their dominant population counterparts.
- Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minorities' subsequent ability to retain their employment.
- To have a choice in the labour market (factors influencing the choice of employment, job security, etc.).
- To secure the required quality of work, such as career progression, occupation, etc. (Lambie et al., 2008; Hillage and Pollard, 1998).

The Office of National Statistics (2013) analysis indicates that employment rates for people aged 16–64 in England and Wales between 2001 and 2014 were lower for ethnic minority groups than for the dominant group with similar qualifications. According to the 2011 Census information on Black Africans and Mixed White/Black Africans, their labour market outcome remained relatively low, 14 per cent below the majority population and eight per cent below Black Caribbeans (Census, 2011). Employment participation of Black Africans was 13 per cent, and the group had one of the highest unemployment rates, eight per cent higher than the majority population when compared to Mixed White/Black Caribbeans and Black Other ethnic groups at 14 per cent. Evidence from migration literature indicates that approximately 28 per cent of Black Africans were found to be economically inactive, compared with 22 per cent of the dominant population counterparts (Census, 2011; Aspinall et al., 2016). In addition, recently, according to the Census 2021 data on employment outcomes, Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minorities had 56.5 per cent in employment. Compared to their majority population counterparts, who had 74.4 per cent in employment. The overall unemployment rate for people aged 16 to 64 was 4.4 per cent. The highest percentage of unemployed people were Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minorities at 9.3 per cent (Census, 2021).

Research indicates that an employment gap still exists between ethnic minorities in comparison to the native-born population (Barnes et al., 2005; Blackaby et al., 2005; Heath and Cheung, 2006; Heath and Yu, 2004; Cheung and Heath, 2007; Dustmann and Theodoropou-

los, 2010; Carmichael and Woods, 2000). The children of second generation ethnic minorities who have been educated in UK universities understand the Western culture and have adequate knowledge of job searching but still experience employment disadvantages in the labour market. This issue deserves more focused research, as researchers have called for further analysis (Card, 2005; Wallace et al., 2022). The unemployment rate of minority individuals in the UK has doubled in the last 40 years compared to the dominant population groups (Leslie et al., 2001; Blackaby et al., 2002; Heath and Li, 2007). Moreover, as asserted by the Equality and Human Rights Commission (2010), the current economic and social crises threaten to widen some equality gaps that might have closed in better times. Labour market reviews suggest that underemployment harms workers' health and well-being (Whitworth et al., 2016). The socio-economic background of immigrant groups and their descendants in England and Wales and their integration into the wider society affects their well-being and the country's future prosperity (Heath and Cheung, 2007; 2004).

Empirical analysis shows that ethnic minority men and women tend to have lower labour force participation rates than the dominant population (Daoud and Khattab, 2022; ONS, 2016; Blackaby et al., 2005, 2002; Strategy Unit, 2003). In the labour market, the employment gap between ethnic minorities and native-born individuals has remained an essential and vibrant topic of public debate for policymakers and academia (CRE, 2004; Berthoud et al., 2006). The unemployment gap varies as Chinese and Indian ethnic minorities have experienced soaring employment. In contrast, the gap between other ethnic minorities and Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minority groups remains more expansive than the native-born population (Dustmann et al., 2010).

Somalis who have identified their ethnicity as 'Other' have been assumed to be Black African and are included in thesis analysis (although they appear to consider themselves Arab-Africans rather than Black Africans because of their religious belief and physical features, as noted in research conducted by Elam et al. (2001). More specifically, this present thesis analysed Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minorities' labour market disadvantage rather than the broader BAME groups to bring it out of anonymity and make contributions to knowledge. It is widely acknowledged that successful employment offers individuals economic independence, planning for their future, self-esteem and the chance to develop language skills in their destination country. Also, it provides many opportunities for ethnic minorities to make social contact with people from the majority population. However, employ-

ment disadvantage has severe economic consequences. It is a clear waste of talent, leading to social injustices, social exclusion, disorder, and conflict, and carries a financial cost (Heath and Cheung, 2007; Cabinet Office, 2017; Boston Consulting Group, 2010). Ethnicity researchers show that ethnic minorities' employment disadvantage is the opposite of the normative principle of equality adhered to by virtually all developed nations (Li and Heath, 2020).

1.4 Study Significance

Most of the initial studies on the labour market have compared ethnic minority earnings, labour market assimilation, and ethnic minority employment outcomes and disadvantages (Blackaby et al., 2005; Heath and Cheung, 2006). Some studies have also examined the causes and effects of ethnic minority groups' employment disadvantages (Clack and Drinkwater, 1998; 2008; Heath and Cheung, 2006; Blackaby, 2005; Carmichael and Wood, 2000). This thesis updates the literature with findings from first and second generation ethnic minorities. Employment issues arising from ethnic minorities' disadvantages in the UK will also be addressed. It will increase knowledge to support the government, academic communities and other agencies assigned to monitor ethnic minorities' well-being in the UK in overcoming persistent labour market challenges related to employment disadvantages, in the labour market. It will enable employers and the wider society to see the importance of the growing presence of ethnic minority individuals in the UK.

1.5 Study Originality

The Black Caribbean groups formed mainly by Jamaicans represent the highest share of British-born descendants (ONS, 2013). Also, Black Africans are one of the fastest-growing ethnic minority communities in England and Wales (Census, 2011). The originality of this thesis lies in the absence of substantial evidence on Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minorities' current employment position in the existing literature (Algan et al., 2009; Dustmann et al., 2010; Zuccotti, 2015; Cabinet Office, 2017; Li and Heath, 2020). Abundant research has been conducted by social scientists and policymakers on labour market disadvantages of other ethnic minorities regarding their unemployment, earnings and intergenerational social mobility (Blekesaune and Berthoud, 1996; Heath and Li, 2008; Li, 2010; Li and Heath, 2008;

2016). However, research conducted by Heath and McMahon (1997), Heath and Cheung (2007), and Li and Heath (2020) show that ethnic minorities suffer persistent ethnic penalties in the labour market. Similarly, Black African and Black Caribbean first and second generation ethnic minorities' current labour market position remains under-researched in England and Wales (Zuccotti, 2015; Li and Heath, 2020; Dustmann et al., 2010). This research will contribute to knowledge of the current employment position of the first and second generation Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minority groups.

Assessing the necessities of first and second generation Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minority individuals is essential to know how they are faring in the destination country (Card, 2005). The researcher believes that no one will deny that first and second generation Black ethnic minorities have not experienced persistent employment disadvantages in the labour market. Therefore, investigating their current employment position is a vital government agenda since most of them may remain in the UK, work and pay their taxes to the government coffers. Furthermore, it is essential to understand the experience of newly arrived immigrants since they have different challenges in accessing public services than more established ethnic minority groups, and the educational requirements of migrant children may be different from those of the children of second generation ethnic minority groups (Koser, 2003; Aspinall et al., 2010). In addition, the originality of this thesis is because it enhances knowledge of the employment disadvantages of first and second generation Black African and Black Caribbean people who have been residents in the UK for decades (Platt et al., 2020). Scholarly literature on non-white ethnic minority immigrants in the UK labour market confirms the existence of labour market disadvantages (Blackaby et al., 2005). Research conducted by Card (2005) and Wallace et al. (2022) state that examining the intergenerational mobility of immigrant communities is more fruitful in studying immigrants' economic assimilation and calls for more research in this area because they may spend all their lives in England and Wales, paying income taxes to the nation's coffers.

In summary, exploring second generation ethnic minorities' employment disadvantages is a compelling research topic and a timely intervention for academic research and policymakers. Also, to analyse the experience of second generation employment disadvantages is prominent given the assimilation theory, which states that understanding how the second generation is faring in a particular country is vital to research because substantial numbers of them will

grow to adulthood and seek employment in the labour market and pay taxes (Zuccotti, 2015; Card et al., 2005).

1.6 Thesis Contributions to Research

1.6.1 Theoretical Contributions

The current study's findings make key contributions by extending the existing knowledge base. In particular, it provides insight into areas that have to date been underexplored, most significantly filling the gaps relating to the employment disadvantages of Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minorities:

1. Theoretically, the research has built upon established theories of human capital and social capital theories by showing how factors from each of the theories influence the employment disadvantages of Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minorities. The factors identified from the human capital theory were limited knowledge of the workings of the labour market, foreign educational qualifications, skills and experience. The factors from the social capital theory were inadequate social networks, including employee referral systems. These factors were found in the employment disadvantages of Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minorities. Additional significant factors were also identified from the research findings, such as unequal opportunities for career progression, race, ethnic background, and deprived neighbourhoods with limited employment prospects. These additional factors contribute to human and social capital theories, the employment disadvantages of ethnic minorities.
2. This study also contributes to the literature. It updates previous research findings within the UK context, currently limited to Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minorities' employment disadvantages, as there has been a quest for more research in this area (Card, 2005; Dustmann et al., 2010; Cabinet Office, 2017). Consequently, the thesis contributes to the ongoing public debate on employment disadvantages in the labour market explicitly relating to Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minorities. It sheds light on the reasons for their employment disadvantages in the UK, contributing to an under-investigated area of ethnic minority research.

3. The research findings add to the ethnic and migration literature the similarities and differences between first and second generation Black African and Black Caribbean employment disadvantages in the UK context. Also, the researcher hopes this thesis will be beneficial and influential in promoting public debates that move away from ethnic minorities as those who scrounge off benefits and pose a threat to the country's social structure towards a more positive discussion in England and Wales. The researcher equally hopes this thesis will enable second generation Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minorities to continue to work hard to succeed in a labour market that appears to fail Black Caribbean and Black African ethnic minority individuals according to previous research (Heath and Cheung, 2006; 2007; Heath and McMahon, 1997; Li and Heath, 2020).
4. It adds to the diversity and inclusion literature knowledge on Black African and Black Caribbean men and women's experience of inequalities in the labour market regarding career progression despite having UK qualifications and experience.
5. It also adds to the diversity and inclusion literature knowledge on the lived experience of employment disadvantage of Black African (first generation) and Black British (second generation) ethnic minorities due to race.
6. This study contributes to our knowledge cultural, language and ethnic influences on the employment disadvantages of ethnic minorities. The cultural background of first generation ethnic minorities influenced their employment disadvantage because they come from a different cultural background from the dominant population. Cultural norms influence recruitment processes and vary across countries. The cultural orientation of the first generation Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minorities is derived mainly from their home countries. As such, they lack sufficient knowledge of the workings of the UK labour market. Cultural differences thus impact employment disadvantages of ethnic minorities. Language also influenced their employment disadvantage due to foreign accents. Previous studies have cited a lack of English language proficiency as an employment disadvantage. However, the findings of this study confirm that poor English language skills were not a barrier because most first-generation immigrants are well-educated with UK qualifications and have lived in England and Wales for decades yet still experience persistent labour market inequali-

ty. Also, most employers prefer native English speakers to immigrants with foreign English accents. The foreign English accents are due to their ethnicity and strongly indicate their ethnic group membership. The presence of a foreign accent hinders ethnic minority individuals' chances in the labour market since foreign-accented speech can lead to negative appraisals that impact views of job fitness, recruitment referrals, and promotion prospects.

1.6.2 Practical Contributions

This research will be relevant to academics, policymakers, and social scientists in practical terms since its findings will provide knowledge on challenges faced by the Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minority groups. It aims to provide valuable insights that will inform strategies to overcome the persistent labour market challenges of these ethnic minorities. These insights are important because if the challenges remain unaddressed, they could constitute persistent inequality for these ethnic minority groups in England and Wales's labour market. Policymakers in workplaces, such as HR (human resource) practitioners and managers, could use the data derived from this thesis to shape their diversity and inclusion strategies to enhance equal opportunities. The research findings would also be relevant to the UK government in developing policies or procedures to change ethnic disparity concerning these ethnic minority groups in the labour market.

1.7 Personal Research Interest

My interest in this research programme began years ago, immediately after my postgraduate degree in the UK. After completing my master's degree, I started looking for employment in the labour market for two years with a post-study work visa. I could not find work within these two years despite my qualifications at a UK university. I attended more than 50 interviews in the Northwest of England but was still looking for a professional job in the labour market. It was a difficult period for me because, in an ideal world, all people with equal human capital should have equal access to quality employment regardless of cultural, racial or ethnic background. Although then, ethnic minority labour market disadvantages were not what I considered the problem; I presumed I was unlucky to find professional employment irrespective of my qualifications. Then, after two years without a professional job, I began to

ask questions about ethnic minorities' employment positions after graduation from UK universities.

In my opinion, the way to resolve the difficulty of getting a job was to return to my country of birth and resume my employment with a bank. Still, an employee at one of the employment agencies advised me to keep searching. However, I refused his advice because I was tired of the countless interviews. Also, several of my university graduate friends were still without professional employment, though some had relocated to other Western countries. One good day, I attended a job interview with a bank in Chester, and, in the interview room, one of the interviewers advised me to consider a PhD programme in the UK because, based on his observation, he thought I would fit better in academia. I took this up, and my PhD programme has been an amazing experience since it commenced. I will use the knowledge and experience gained from my research to encourage Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minorities in the UK to work hard and seek employment in the labour market. Although the thesis findings show first generation Black African and Black Caribbean immigrants are mostly over-represented at the bottom of the socio-economic structure, hard work pays.

1.8 Structure of the Thesis

The structure of this thesis is as follows:

Chapter One: Introduction

Chapter one of this thesis introduces the background to the study, the rationale, its aim and objectives, significance, and contributions of the research to theory and practice.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

Chapter two discusses previous studies on the employment disadvantages of ethnic minorities, theories on migration, justifications for combining two theories (human capital and social capital theories) as the theoretical framework and the research gaps identified.

Chapter Three: Methodology, Methods and Design

Chapter three discusses research methodology and methods, justification of methods used, research philosophy, design, strategies, approaches, sampling techniques, data collection and analysis tools, and ethical considerations.

Chapter Four: Presentation of Research Findings

This chapter presents the study's findings through a thematic analysis of semi-structured interviews. It uses previous studies to confirm or disconfirm findings to validate the research findings.

Chapter Five: Research Context

Chapter five gives an overview of the UK as the research context; it discusses the UK labour market, migration to the UK and factors influencing employment disadvantages in the labour market.

Chapter Six: Discussion

This chapter discusses the research findings with the existing literature and describes the significance of the research findings.

Chapter Seven: Conclusion

The chapter summarises the study's objectives, research method, findings, recommendations, contributions, limitations, and areas of further research.

1.9 Chapter Summary

This chapter has presented an overview of the research. It introduces the thesis. The thesis concentrates on the factors influencing the employment disadvantages of Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minorities in the UK labour Market. The main motivation or rationale

for this research is to explore the employment disadvantages faced by Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minority groups due to the adverse consequences of unemployment and the need for further research experienced by these ethnic minority groups to establish the success of equal opportunity adhered to by developed nations. The chapter proceeds to clarify the aim and objectives of the study and the research gaps arising from the disparity in employment between these ethnic minority groups and their dominant population counterparts. It then highlights the significance of the research. Subsequently, the chapter briefly summarises the key contributions derived from the research before proceeding with some discussion on the structure of the thesis, which briefly summarises the rest of the thesis. The chapter concludes with a summary which guides the reader through the thesis. The following chapter will review the theoretical literature underpinning this research.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

2.0 Introduction

Inequality has, of course, been a persistent theme in the social sciences; it has never disappeared as an object of social theory and social research (Brubaker, 2015, p.15).

This chapter presents scholarly definitions of ethnicity, earlier studies on labour market disadvantages of ethnic minorities, current areas of research interest, migration theories, justifications for selecting the two theories (human capital and social capital theories) as the theoretical framework and the research gap identified in the literature review. As noted in the introduction, research on persistent employment disadvantages in the labour market has featured prominently in recent decades due to the ongoing migration from developing countries to the UK (Cabinet Office, 2003; 2017). This thesis focuses solely on first and second generation Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minorities who are UK nationals and those who have acquired legal immigration status to live and work within England and Wales. The thesis excludes mixed children, ethnic minorities who may face English language barriers or lack familiarity with UK institutions, full-time students, and those looking after families.

There are several reasons to explore ethnic minority employment disadvantages. Firstly, the UK is positioned among the top migration nations in Europe, as well as being an old immigration nation within mainland Europe with an abundant and documented history of second generation ethnic minorities that will enable the researcher to analyse second generation minority individuals' employment disadvantages in the labour market (Zuccotti, 2015; Daley, 1997). Old immigration nations started experiencing frequent migration arrivals immediately after the Second World War (Daley, 1997). The UK is one of the countries in Europe with the highest number of immigrants (OECD/European Union 2015; Arcarons, 2017).

Ethnic minorities are the main topics in public debates concerning the disadvantages of immigrant communities (Commission for Racial Equality Annual Report, 2004), and ethnic minorities make up significant percentages of the UK labour force (Dustmann et al., 2010; LFS, 2001). The UK presents a differentiated migrants-native compositional structure concerning nations in mainland Europe, where ethnic minorities are most likely to be over-represented in routine and semi-skilled employment. In addition, research shows that ethnic minority individuals are over-represented in high and very low-skilled jobs, which translates to ethnic penalties (Heath et al., 2008; Reyneri and Fullin, 2011; Heath and McMahon, 1997). Investigating the current employment positions of ethnic minorities and their children is not just a matter of upholding the principle of equal opportunity and social justice as espoused by the law or mitigating the consequences associated with being unemployed but also safeguarding the nation's prosperity and economic sustainability bearing in mind the increase of ethnic minority individuals in the UK (Li, 2018; Li and Heath, 2020).

2.1 Arrival of Visible Ethnic Minorities in the UK

After the Second World War, the UK began experiencing an influx of ethnic minorities to fill employment positions in the transport and manufacturing industries. Since their arrival, researchers have paid much attention to their socio-economic status, indicating their contribution to the economy through employment (Daniel, 1968). Considering the importance of ethnic minorities in the UK, government and scholarly surveys have also been regularly conducted to analyse the conditions of ethnic minority individuals (Li and Heath, 2010). Researchers have offered numerous reasons why ethnic minorities, especially first generations,

have suffered employment disadvantages since arriving in the UK (Heath and Cheung, 2007; Heath and Li, 2008). For their first time in the UK, ethnic minority individuals often find employment in low-skilled jobs and experience employment impediments in moving into high-skilled or professional jobs over time. This pattern may indicate more significant challenges in subsequent generations (Piore, 1979).

Impediments to obtaining professional jobs are the most discussed subject in the public discourse since migration research shows that labour market disadvantages might endure for future generations. Although, some studies suggest that might improve in the future (Ballarino and Panichella, 2013). The debates on human capital have highlighted the importance of education and skills for labour market positions such as employment, occupational class and earnings (Becker, 1964). They indicate that on arrival in the UK, ethnic minority immigrants lack English language fluency and have limited knowledge of the workings of the local labour market; the majority of immigrants who arrive in the UK may have a short-term, "sojourner" orientation to their stay to return home and start a business. Further public debates on ethnic minorities' labour market disadvantages are that immigrants' descendants who were born and educated in the UK continue to experience labour market disadvantages (Li and Heath, 2020). Thus, the pretext of human capital is regarded as an empty shield (Researcher, 2023). Furthermore, regarding sojourner orientation, many need help to invest in contemporary human capital (Dustmann, 1993; Li and Heath, 2010).

2.1.1 Understanding Ethnicity in the UK

In the UK, understanding the statistical representation of ethnic minority individuals has been a priority for the government. Since 1976, the government has implemented a system at the Office for National Statistics to identify individuals by ethnicity for statistical purposes. The introduction of the Black African category in the 1991 census was also for analytical purposes (Daley, 1991). The Census (2001) also used group categories for statistical analysis. However, considering the complexities of ethnic identity and concerns for political correctness, the group categories have often been subjected to amendment over the years (ONS, 2003; Lalith et al., 2008). The researcher preferred to explore first and second generation Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minorities currently residing in the UK (in this thesis, Eng-

land and Wales) due to the prolonged presence of these ethnic minority individuals in the UK. In particular, Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minority groups have been in the UK longer than other ethnic minorities (though they arrived at different times); this will enable the researcher to explore their first and second generation current employment positions. There are various ethnic groups in the UK, as shown in Table 1 below.

Table 1 Different ethnic groups in the UK

| Ethnic group | Classification |
|-------------------------------|--|
| White | British |
| | Irish |
| | Other White background |
| | |
| Mixed | White and Black Caribbean (included in this present analysis) |
| | White and Black African White and Asian |
| | Other Mixed background |
| | |
| Asian or Asian British | Indian |
| | Pakistani |
| | Bangladeshi |
| | Other Asian background |
| | |
| Black or Black British | Caribbean |
| | Black African (included in this present analysis) |
| | Other Black background |
| | |
| Chinese or other ethnic group | Chinese |
| | Other Chinese background |

This table shows ethnic categories in the UK, and the researcher selected first and second generation Black Africans and Black Caribbeans for the analyses. People from the mixed ethnic group also experience employment disadvantages compared to the dominant population. However, the researcher chose to focus on Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minorities who face persistent employment disadvantages in the UK labour market to enable the researcher to manage the research scope due to available resources and time.

2.1.2 Scholarly Definitions of Ethnicity

What is ethnicity, and who are ethnic groups? According to Max Weber, studies in the early decades of the 20th Century identified defining features of ethnic groups when he wrote: “we shall call “ethnic groups” those individuals that entertain a subjective belief in their common descent because of similarities of physical type or customs or both, or also because of memories of colonisation and migration; this belief must be important for the propagation of individuals formation; equally, it does not matter whether or not an objective blood relationship exists” (Weber, 1978, p. 389). Ethnic membership differs from the kinship group precisely by being a presumed identity, not a group with concrete social action, like the latter (Weber, 1978; Nandi et al., 2008). The definitions of ethnicity abound in literature (Modood, 2016; Nandi et al., 2008). Ethnicity has been defined as a constructed individual’s or even political perception that has always been used to determine the shared backgrounds of a group of individuals (Modood, 2016). Ethnicity or ethnic identity is the ‘term’ often used when a social group is gathered based on their shared cultural norms or values, national beliefs, identity or physical traits (Modood, 2016). Research by Hall (2000) states that the term ‘ethnicity’ recognises the place of history, languages and culture in constructing subjectivity and identity. Also, Fenton (2003) defines ethnicity as encompassing a society that has a shared ethnic origin, culture and nation in common. In the context of this thesis, Black Africans and Black Caribbeans are considered one of the most diversified groups in the UK, with rich cultural and ethnic backgrounds from different countries that share beliefs and identities.

It is well understood and documented that an ethnic group or ethnic origin is a socially defined category of people who identify with each other based on common ancestral, social and cultural experiences (Oxford English Dictionary, 2014; Smedley and Smedley, 2005). For

example, membership in an ethnic group appears to be observed by a shared cultural heritage, ancestry, language and dialect that can manifest itself through symbolic systems such as how people dress in their communities, physical appearance and religious belief (Peoples and Bailey, 2011). Also, ethnicity is usually described as an essential determinant of individual behaviour, often perceived as operating through contextual factors such as community structures and social networks (Cebolla-Boado, 2007). Membership in an ethnic group tends to be defined by a shared cultural heritage, ancestry, language and dialect that can manifest itself through symbolic systems such as dressing style, physical appearance and religious belief (Peoples and Bailey, 2011).

Hall (1988) asserts that ethnicity is a strategically necessary concept because it acknowledges the place of history, language and culture in the construction of subjectivity and identity, as well as the fact that all discourse is placed, positioned, situated, and all knowledge is contextual. Representation is possible only because enunciation is always produced within codes that have a history, a position within the discursive formations of a particular space and time (Hall, 1988). Amalia (2013) defines a minority as a group of individuals who, due to their physical appearance or cultural beliefs and values, are singled out from other dominant majority populations in the society in which they live for differential and unequal treatment and opportunities, and who therefore regard themselves as objects of collective unequal treatment in the society. ‘‘The existence of a minority in a society implies the existence of a corresponding dominant group enjoying higher social status and greater privileges’’ (Wirth, 1945, p.347, quoted in Meyers, 1984). Also, ethnicity is frequently anticipated to be the cultural identity of a group, often based on language and tradition (Dumangane, 2016). For this thesis, first and second generations of Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minorities are those groups of individuals whose ancestry, history and culture differentiate them from their majority counterparts or are persons whose nationality and country of birth are different from the country in which they currently live (Amalia, 2013; Censuses, 1999-2011; LFS, 2001).

In this thesis, ‘immigrants’ is also used to refer to first and second generation Black Africans and Black Caribbeans who arrived in the UK from African and Caribbean countries decades ago. While second generation ethnic minorities are those who arrived as children or were born in the UK to overseas parents (Census, 1999). Literature evidence shows that first and

second generation ethnic minorities endure persistent labour market disadvantages. An ethnic group has also been defined as a community whose heritage offers important characteristics in common among its members, making them distinct from the dominant majority communities (Modood et al., 1997). According to Modood et al. (1997 p.7), “ethnicity is a multi-faceted phenomenon based on physical appearance, subjective identification, cultural and religious affiliation, stereotyping and social exclusion”. This definition explains the ethnic groups analysed in this study.

2.1.3 Earlier Studies on Ethnic Minorities’ Labour Market Disadvantages

Earlier studies on ethnic minorities’ socio-economic outcomes were those of Chiswick (1980) and Stewart (1983). Since then, there have been numerous studies of ethnic minority individuals’ labour market disadvantages (Blackaby et al., 1997; Modood et al., 1997; Clark and Drinkwater, 2007; Elliott and Lindley, 2008), which also highlighted differences between first and second generation ethnic minorities. Some other studies, such as Blackaby et al. (2002, 2005), analysed the importance of language competency. Leslie and Lindley (2001), Lindley (2002), and Dustmann and Fabbri (2003) explored rates of assimilation and Bell (1997), and Clark and Lindley (2006) showed the role of religion instead of ethnicity. Lindley (2002), Zaiceva and Zimmermann (2007) and Heath et al. (2007) analysed differences in time use. These studies have advanced research with knowledge about immigrant groups’ disadvantages using cross-sectional data sets. However, the evolving presence of ethnic minority individuals in the UK has continued apace or increased, with the proportion of working-age individuals increasing twofold to 4.6 million or 7.9 per cent of the UK’s total population (LFS, 2001; Dustmann et al., 2010). As a result of the growing numbers of ethnic minority generations in the UK, previous research using data from Understanding Society (a Longitudinal Household Study) and Labour Force Data to explore various activities of minority groups’ employment disadvantages in the labour market has increased substantially in the past decades (Blackaby et al., 1994-1997; Bell, 1997; Duncan and Hoffman, 1981; Chiswick, 1980; Carmichael and Woods, 2000; Clark and Drinkwater, 2007; Clack and Drinkwater, 1998; Frijters et al., 2006; Shields and Price, 2002; Heath and Cheung, 2007; CRE, 2004; Berthoud et al., 2007; Clack and Drinkwater, 2009). More research on ethnic minorities’ employment disadvantages in the labour market can also be found (Lindley, 2009; Kucel and Byrne, 2008; Dex and Lindley, 2007; Battu and Sloane, 2004; Alpin et al., 1998; Blackaby et

al., 1998, 1999, 2002, 2005; Strategy Unit 2003; Owen et al., 2000). Similarly, recent decades have witnessed many informative reviews of theoretical literature on ethnic minority immigrants' low labour market participation (Heath and Cheung, 2007; Heath and McMahon, 1997; CRE, 2004; Berthoud, 2000, 2002; Smith, 1976; Brown, 1984). For instance, Heath and Cheung (2007) and Blackaby et al. (1998) have used the National Surveys of Ethnic Minorities to examine the relative unemployment disadvantage of various minority cohorts in Britain. Blackaby et al. (1998), Disney (1999) and Heath and Cheung (2007) have also analysed the employment prospects of minority white males and three other ethnic groups. Clack and Drinkwater (2002) and Berthoud et al. (2006; 2007) decomposed ethnic minorities' geographical concentration and persistent labour market disadvantage. Bantu et al. (2003) and Li and Heath (2018) studied oppositional identities in the labour market and job satisfaction. This indicates that the discussion on ethnic minority immigrants' economic outcomes in the UK has come to the fore, given the evolving populations in the UK (CRE, 2004; Platt et al., 2010; Barnes et al., 2005; Cabinet Office, 2017). Scholarly literature also shows that much of the previous research on ethnic minority communities has focused solely on the socio-economic conditions of immigrant groups (Carmichael and Woods, 2000; DWP; 2004; 2002; Dale et al., 2002; Dale, 2000; Heath and Li, 2004; Brook, 2005; Heath and Cheung, 2007; Dustmann et al., 2005).

In summary, in the UK, previous research examining the current employment positions of first and second generation ethnic minorities' employment is limited. Algan et al. (2009), Dustmann et al. (2010; 2006), Zuccotti (2015) and Li and Heath (2020) show that an employment gap remains in the labour market. Thus, this thesis seeks to fill this gap by using qualitative research methods to analyse first and second generation Black African and Black Caribbeans' current employment status in England and Wales's labour market and contribute knowledge to ethnic and migration studies.

2.1.4 Current Directions in Research on Ethnicity and Migration

In recent decades, researchers have continued to show labour market disadvantages between third generation ethnic individuals and their native-born counterparts in the UK, United States of America (USA) and Australia (Borjas, 1994, 2006; Connor et al., 1996; Blackaby et al., 2002, 2005; Dustmann and Theodoropoulos, 2006; Messinis 2008a, 2008b). Their findings suggest that ethnic minority individuals experience employment disadvantages in the labour market and may be more vulnerable to the intergenerational transmission of disadvantages. Research by Connor et al. (1996) and Heath et al. (2020) indicate that second generation ethnic minority graduates are most likely to experience employment disadvantages imposed by employers despite their educational attainment. Furthermore, Blackaby et al. (2002, 2005) report that native ethnic minorities perform better than their first generation parents, and, in reporting their findings, they are generally pessimistic about the potential of the UK-born ethnic minority individuals to escape employment disadvantage. Similarly, Dustmann and Theodoropoulos (2006) compare different ethnic minority individuals born in the UK to their parents' generation and to equivalent groups of native-born individuals; their analyses show that second generation ethnic minorities are, on average, more educated than their parents and the dominant population but exhibit lower labour market probabilities than the dominant population (see also Nandi and Platt, 2020 for similar findings).

Nonetheless, research findings on first and second generation ethnic minorities have produced contradictory results regarding their labour market positions (Lindley, 2009; Kucel and Byrne, 2008; Dex and Lindley, 2007; Battu and Sloane, 2004; Alpin et al., 1998; Blackaby et al., 1998, 1999, 2002, 2005; Bell, 1997; Duncan and Hoffman, 1981; Chiswick, 1980). Research by several scholars (Blackaby et al., 1998, 1999, 2002, 2005; Duncan and Hoffman, 1981; Alpin et al., 1998; Battu and Sloane, 2004; Kucel and Byrne, 2008; Lindley, 2009) shows that both immigrants and specific ethnic minority individuals occupy unequal and disadvantaged positions in the labour market. Research by Bell (1997) and Clark and Lindley (2005) suggest that, on average, immigrants do better than natives in employment and earnings in the labour market. Nevertheless, while these studies find that immigrants perform better, clear ethnic penalties remain among first and second generation ethnic minority individuals compared to native populations. Since their introduction into the UK's 1991 national census, Black African, Black Caribbean, and Black Others ethnic minority groups have resulted

in much ethnicity research (Modood et al., 1997). Understanding how ethnic minority groups are faring in the UK is crucial for the government.

While studies on labour market disadvantages continue, other areas of current migration studies include interest in understanding and grasping the transnational (Waldinger, 2015) and cross-national features of migration (Crul and Schneider, 2010; Diehl et al., 2016; Nandi et al., 2018). In the UK, public debates on ethnic minorities' labour market integration remain prominent among policymakers and social scientists (Cabinet Office, 2017; Dustmann Frattini and Lanzara, 2012; Alba and Foner, 2015; Diehl et al., 2016; Casey, 2016). These concerns for the ongoing public discourse are due to the increasing migration crisis across the world (Holmes and Castañeda, 2016), high levels of hate speeches, and negative attitudes towards minority individuals by far-right political parties in developed countries; for example, parties such as United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP), the British National Party and the English Defence League in the UK, and many in France, Germany and the US (Czaika and Di Lillo, 2017). Further areas of concern are fears about the impact of terrorism and cultural changes (Card et al., 2012) and Western diversity management theories (Akobo, 2016). Similarly, migration studies that observed the future of ethnic minorities' generation and subsequent generations have evolved significantly in recent years due to the growing numbers of second generation descendants and even their grandchildren and their future (Portes and Rumbaut, 2001; Heath et al., 2008; Crul et al., 2012). Yet, the outcomes and the experience of ethnic minority children in the labour market are varied and occasionally complex and require continuing analysis (Nandi and Platt, 2020).

In the UK, as ethnic minorities' children reach adulthood, a younger generation of ethnic minorities reaches maturity, analysis more fully incorporates relevant background factors (Dustmann et al., 2012; Zuccotti, 2015; Li and Heath, 2016) and as the institutional and economic situation itself is subject to changes (McGinnity et al., 2018), the society then develops a fresh understanding of how minority generations are coping in the country of their destination. This new understanding will now be observed as a symbol that indicates the extent to which integration and government legislation on equality of opportunity have been achieved and as successful (Nandi and Platt, 2020). In recent years, migration inflow in the UK and the public outcry have caused many concerns. Based on the migration crisis, both policymakers

and academia have continued to update the literature on how ethnic minority individuals react to changes in migration policies and government legislation and as well as institutional characteristics of context and labour market situations (Kogan, 2006; Ersanilli and Koopmans, 2010; De Haas, 2011; Luthra and Platt, 2016). Equally, empirical studies have shed light on the integration and assimilation of ethnic minority groups (Alba and Nee, 1997; Portes and Zhou, 1993; Rumbaut, 2008). Others have indicated that there are differences in the time of arrival of these ethnic groups and how they are accepted in society (Portes and Rumbaut, 2001; Dustmann and Weiss, 2007; Crul and Schneider, 2010; Haberfeld et al., 2011; Ichou, 2014; Luthra Soehl and Waldinger, 2017). Some areas of concern in the literature are education (Kristen and Granato, 2007; Heath and Brinbaum, 2014; Strand, 2014; Fernández-Reino, 2016), income and wealth (Fisher and Nandi, 2015; Shapiro, 2017), health and mortality (Scott and Timæus, 2013; Wallace and Kulu, 2015), life satisfaction and belongings (Raijman and Geffen, 2018).

2.1.5 Labour Market Disadvantages Based on Human Capital

Ethnic minorities' employment disadvantages in the labour market have been a growing concern in many developed countries (Heath and McMahon, 1997; Cabinet Office, 2017). In the UK and other developed countries, ethnic minorities are less likely to find a job or be employed in managerial positions due to inequality in the labour market (Heath and Cheung, 2006). Likewise, second generation ethnic minorities born and educated in the UK also experience employment penalties (Rafferty, 2012; Li and Heath, 2020). As a result of the ongoing labour market disadvantages, several approaches have been used to explain the existence of ethnic minorities' labour market disadvantages such as human capital theory (Becker, 1964; Borjas, 1985; Dustmann, 1993; Chiswick and Miller, 1995), social capital theory (Granovetter, 1973; Putnam, 2000; Lin, 2000) and the theory of reference groups and acculturation processes (Ruciman, 1966; Kasinits et al., 2008). Ethnic studies have made several attempts to shed more light on ethnic minorities' labour market disadvantages through multiple data sources; these studies have focused on estimating the average ethnic disadvantages in the labour market, such as the net gap, which means outstanding outcomes after controlling for demographic, human capital, social capital and other related characteristics using statistical analysis of secondary data (Berthoud, 2000; Carmichael and Woods, 2000; Heath and McMahon, 1997).

Ethnicity and social disadvantages studies have also highlighted the prevalence of ethnic minorities' employment disadvantages through hiring field experiments, where employers would target minority individuals when making hiring decisions (Neumark, 2018; Quillian et al., 2017; Zschirnt and Ruedin, 2016). In summary, most of these studies have focused on the six most significant ethnic minority groups in the UK: Black Caribbean, Black Africans, Bangladeshis, Chinese, Indians, and Pakistanis. However, little research has explored the current employment disadvantages of the first and second generation Black Africans and Black Caribbeans in England and Wales. The present study addresses this gap.

2.1.6 Labour Market and the Impact of Human Capital Theory

Literature review evidence (Li, 2010; Heath et al., 2007) shows that certain factors affect first generation ethnic minorities' labour market performance since arrival, although second generation ethnic minorities have seen employment progress in recent years. The following have been the most debated factors for ethnic minorities' labour market disadvantages:

- **Human capital theory:** some ethnic minorities have lower educational attainment and skills than the native-born majority population. However, research suggests this trend is changing (Nandi and Platt, 2020) with second generation employment success.
- **Social capital theory:** ethnic penalties in the labour market by employers are based on race, religion and national origin that present further barriers to labour market employment (Bourdieu, 1984; Putnam, 2000). Bourdieu's social capital concept is one of the most popular models for researchers interested in addressing and improving societal inequalities. According to Bourdieu (1984; 2001), social capital is mainly observed as an array of resources or assets entrenched in networks that social scientists' researchers can access. Employing Bourdieu's framework, academic scholars have found social networks to be sources of social capital whereby individual family members can potentially influence their employment success as opposed to those from less

affluent families (Devine 2004; Horvat et al., 2003; Lareau and Weininger, 2003; Bourdieu, 1983, 2001; Li, 2010). This theory will inform the findings and analysis as the theme of social networks will be analysed by drawing on the concept of social capital. The concept and empirical data will guide the researcher in interpreting the role of social networks as an employment disadvantage. Going back and forth between the theory and the empirical data will enable the researcher to understand and present the influence of social connection as a factor which constitutes an employment disadvantage during the analysis of the findings (Dubois and Gadde, 2002). The researcher will note meaningful segments of data and document patterns and themes. The themes will be created inductively (data-driven themes). Such a process leads to plausible explanations, that is, new insight and interpretation of the research. This process endorses a detailed development of knowledge from the data to explain how social network/family connection influences the employment disadvantages of Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minorities.

Both human capital and social capital theories will be employed in the findings and analysis of the research. Concepts from human capital theory, such as limited knowledge of the workings of the labour market, educational qualifications, skills and experience, will be used to analyse the data and provide insights into the employment disadvantages of Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minorities. The figure below depicts the theories used in the research.

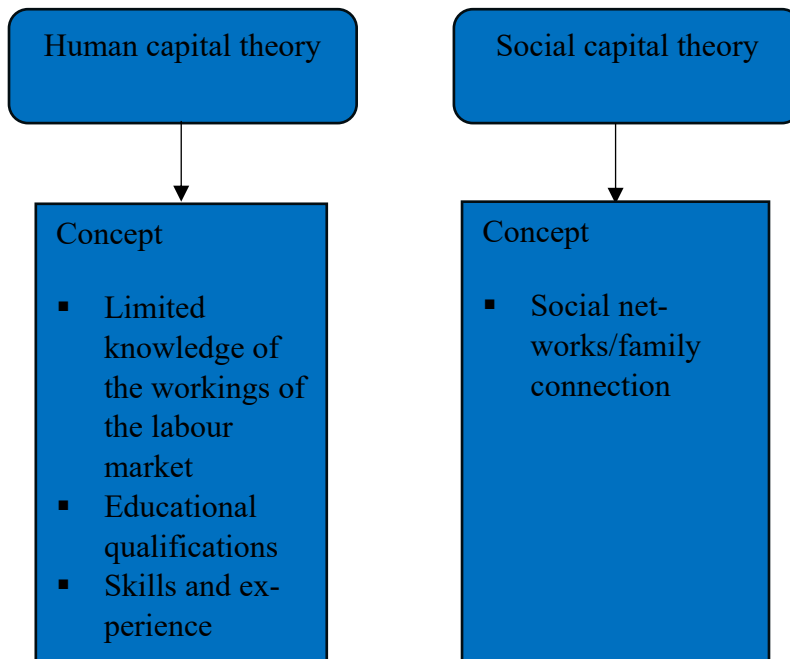


Figure 1 Theories used in the Research.

Other factors for ethnic minorities' labour market disadvantages include the below.

- **Reference and acculturation processes:** ethnic minorities may be highly disadvantaged and lowly educated, but they are determined, obstinate and diligent (Runciman, 1966).
- **Ethnic concentration:** numerous minority groups live in areas of high deprivation with few employment opportunities (Clark and Drinkwater, 2002).
- **Cultural factors:** cultural practices and religious beliefs in some ethnic minority individuals may discourage members of such groups from participating in the labour market (Li, 2010; Lin, 2001; Blackaby et al., 2005).

2.1.7 UK Data Sets That Analysed Ethnic Minority Disadvantages

Samples of anonymised records (SARs) for the 1991 and 2001 Censuses significantly promoted ethnicity studies in the UK. Researchers who have employed SARs and other government surveys show that ethnic minority individuals experience persistent disadvantages in education, housing, health, economic activity, and occupational status (Karn, 1997; Iganski and Payne, 1999; Model, 1999; Berthoud, 2000; Carmichael and Woods, 2000; White, 2002; Rothon and Heath, 2003; Dustmann and Fabbri, 2003; Dustmann and Theodoropoulos, 2006; Li, 2004, 2007; Lindley et al., 2006; Cheung and Heath, 2007; Heath and Li, 2007, 2008; Li and Heath, 2008; Li et al., 2008). These empirical studies have shed light on the disadvantages ethnic minorities face in UK institutions, particularly in gaining access to schooling, housing, and the labour market. Recently, research by the Cabinet Office (2017) and Li and Heath (2020) showed that ethnic minority individuals experience disadvantages in UK institutions ranging from education, housing, poverty, health, and labour market positions. Similar analyses of ethnic penalties are found in Berthoud (2000) and Carmichael and Woods (2000), that ethnic minorities in the UK labour market experience persistent employment penalties. Research by Cheung and Heath (2007) shows that most second generation ethnic minorities experienced difficulties gaining access to the labour market compared to their majority counterparts, particularly concerning obtaining senior positions. Nevertheless, most of these studies did not focus solely on first and second generation Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minorities' current employment positions in England and Wales. This present thesis seeks to advance the literature on current employment positions of both generations in England and Wales's labour market due to limited research.

2.2 First Generation Ethnic Minorities' Employment Gap

Migration literature analysing ethnic minorities' labour market disadvantage has generally focused on calculating average ethnic penalties (Heath and McMahon, 1997). This includes the net gaps in outcomes remaining after considering demographics, human capital, social capital, and other related characteristics using government surveys such as understanding society and Labour Force Survey data (Berthoud, 2000; Carmichael and Woods, 2000; Heath and McMahon, 1997). Within the past decades in the UK, successive governments have in-

creased funding and other resources to improve the socio-economic position of minority individuals. Yet, studies and statistical data show that there is still an employment disadvantage in the UK labour market (Li and Heath, 2020; Heath and Cheung, 2006). At the national level, for instance, the National Audit Office (NAO, 2007) shows an employment gap of 14.2 per cent between the employment rates of ethnic minorities and the dominant majority population. In addition, Li and Heath's (2020) research indicates that nearly 24 per cent of Black Caribbean and African men were around twice or one and a half times as likely to experience unemployment. This persistent employment gap among ethnic minorities poses a significant challenge not only to the UK's overall economic performance but also at an individual and community level (Li and Heath, 2020).

Also, unemployment contributes to poverty and unrest observed in the northwest of England and can undermine social cohesion (Battu et al., 2005). Ethnic minorities' labour market disadvantage has been one of the debated issues in recent decades. For example, reports published by the government (Cabinet Office, 2003; 2017) show that Black African, Black Caribbean immigrants, Bangladeshi and Pakistani communities, in particular, fare poorly in the UK labour market compared to their native counterparts. Regarding Black African and Black Caribbean labour market attainment, the employment gap remains wide despite equality of opportunity legislation the government has implemented to improve ethnic minorities' economic activities. Additionally, ethnic and migration research shows a second generation employment gap in the labour market (Rafferty, 2012; Zuccotti, 2015; Heath et al., 2018). Other analyses equally claim that ethnic minority women such as Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Chinese and Black Africans continue to bear the brunt of the labour market's unequal treatment (O'Donnell et al., 2008).

Studies have found that during a recession, ethnic minority individuals bear the brunt of unemployment, are the first to experience employment redundancy and are the last to find re-employment (Lindley, 2001 and Lindley, 2005). Hence, the analysis of this present thesis focuses primarily on the labour market disadvantages of first and second generation Black African and Black Caribbean people.

Following the analysis of ethnic minorities' labour market outcomes in the UK, the ethnic penalties for Black Caribbean, Black African and Bangladeshi men are apparent, with the risk of not being employed around 2.5 to 3 times the risk of not having contracted employment than their majority counterparts (Li, 2018). In general, for ethnic minority men and women, unemployment rates tend to be around 10 per cent to 15 per cent higher than those for natives (Li, 2018). Studies conducted by Dustmann et al. (2010) and Algan et al. (2010) show that there is a great overall employment disadvantage of 5.8 per cent for second generation ethnic minority immigrants in comparison to their dominant counterparts. This is due to the lower employment participation of Pakistanis and Bangladeshis, with their employment rates of 25.2 and 26.7 per cent, respectively, lower than their counterparts. Literature evidence shows that the employment difference between native individuals and all ethnic minorities in the UK is approximately 9.8 per cent, as 56 per cent resulted from differences in characteristics (Blackaby et al., 2005). It is certainly clear that there is a research gap, and this current thesis seeks to fill this gap by employing a qualitative research method and broad ethnic and migration literature, telephone semi-structured interviews, making contributions to the under-researched area of the first and second generations of Black Africans and Black Caribbeans. In recent years, research conducted by Duatmann et al. (2010), the Cabinet Office (2017), Li (2018) and Li and Heath (2020) showed that the population of ethnic minority groups is currently 15 per cent; most of these people are children from ethnic minority groups or even their third generation who are of age, and they are entering the labour market in large numbers.

2.2.1 Second Generation Ethnic Minorities' Employment Gap

Labour market participation of second generation ethnic minorities has attracted much research among scholars and mainstream policymakers across developed nations. For instance, from the US (Farley and Alba, 2002; Portes and Zhou, 1993), Australia (Maani, 1994), Canada (Boyd and Grieco, 1998) and Western European countries, such as Austria, the UK, Denmark, Germany, the Netherlands, Switzerland and Sweden (Algan et al., 2010; Crul and Vermeulen, 2003; Heath et al., 2008; Van Tubergen, 2004). All these researchers established that second generation ethnic minority individuals had surpassed the first generation migrants' employment in the labour market; nonetheless, labour market disadvantage remains when compared to their native majority population. There is an increase in research on sec-

ond generation labour market disadvantages because the second generation ethnic minority groups are born and educated in the same country as the children of the dominant population (Gracia et al., 2014; Zuccotti, 2015). Exploring the current employment status of second generation ethnic minorities is fundamental because most of these individuals would spend their entire life in the country of their destination, working and paying income tax (Card, 2005). Also, understanding ethnic minorities' employment opportunities concurs with the principle of equal opportunity for all as embraced by the UK government (Cabinet Office, 2017; Li and Heath, 2020). However, based on literature review evidence, research on the second generation has not provided a comprehensive result on why the children of immigrants are disadvantaged in the labour market, despite the ongoing research in this direction (Heath et al., 2008; Thomson and Crul, 2007). Although some studies have investigated whether minority education influences the labour market differences between second generation ethnic minorities and their native-born counterparts and found that while second generation ethnic minorities possess similar education as individuals with native-born parents, they have continued to experience employment disadvantages in the labour market (Heath and Cheung, 2007).

Given the government's effort to eradicate unequal treatment in England and Wales's labour market, the Black African and Black Caribbean second generation employment gap remains, even when considering their family background, educational level, and skills compared to that of individuals of the dominant population (Heath and Cheung, 2007; Rafferty, 2012; Carmichael and Woods, 2000; Zuccotti, 2015). Many years ago, several violent incidents occurred in the UK between mainly South Asian youths and the police (Battu et al., 2009). According to the outcome of the investigation of the leading causes for the violence, a lack of shared civic identity to bring together different communities and increasing segregation of communities on economic, geographic, racial and cultural lines were documented as the reasons for the disturbance (Battu et al., 2009). Human capital and education have hindered successful first generation employment; however, the fact that immigrants' children (second generation), who were born and educated in the country, still experience labour market disadvantage would suggest that equality of opportunity signed into law by the UK government has been an empty shield, despite multiple efforts from policymakers.

2.2.2 First and Second Generation Ethnic Minorities' Employment Differences and Similarities

Researchers have made several attempts to explain employment differences between second generation ethnic minority individuals, the dominant population groups and immigrants in the UK labour market (McGuinness et al., 2009). Mismatched literature shows that second generation ethnic minorities occupy a more advantageous employment position than first generation ethnic minorities in the labour market. However, the reasons for these labour market successes are based on the theory that the second generation has experienced pre-labour market integration in the UK education system (McGuinness et al., 2009). Also, the second generation has earlier exposure to the English language, labour market institutions and culture, so it is likely to assume that these individuals who have taken advantage of the Western education would escape labour market disadvantage in comparison to their parents who arrived in the UK and entered the labour market directly (Kossoudji, 1989; Blackaby et al., 2002). However, these authors suggest that second generation employment improvements are due to the implementation of anti-discrimination laws by the government. In other words, Australian research shows that second generation labour market success is based on the ability to communicate fluently in the host country in what is a second language, and, taking into consideration language proficiency, they have access to new ideas and can access tacit knowledge, which has enabled them to overtake their first generation, who arrived without pre-labour market experience (Messinis, 2008a, 2008b).

Research by Blackaby et al. (2002, 2005) and Dustmann and Theodoropoulos (2006) suggest that second generation ethnic minorities' employment inequality results from sub-standard university education, which would explain lower returns to education. Furthermore, unobserved characteristics, such as first generation labour market motivation, could also play a role (Blackaby et al., 2002; 2005). Blackaby et al. (2002; 2005)'s findings indicate that integration might have come at a cost in terms of lower labour market motivation to succeed, which second generation immigrant children observed in their parents, as studies often state that minority individuals are motivated and are of relatively higher ability (Chiswick, 1978; Carliner 1980; Borjas, 1994). Also, Clark and Lindley (2005) focused on immigrants who arrived in the UK for education. They found that integration/assimilation is mostly strong for non-native dominant groups relative to non-native migrants but did not compare them to na-

tive ethnic minority groups. Ethnicity literature also suggests that ethnic differences in work-related achievement, earnings, and unemployment cannot fully be explained by differences in human capital or demographic characteristics; consequently, the remaining components which cannot be fully explained by researchers have been referred to as ethnic penalties in recognition that the unexplained factors may be as a result of unequal treatment or another form of employment disadvantage (Berthoud, 2000; Cooke, 2007; Heath and Cheung, 2006; McGinnity and Lunn, 2011; Heath and Li, 2018). Labour market similarities between first and second generation minorities are based on human capital and social network.

2.2.3 Employment Disadvantages through Audit Studies

It is well documented that first and second generation ethnic minorities experience persistent employment disadvantages in the labour market compared to their majority counterparts (Heath and Cheung, 2006; Zwysen et al., 2020). However, establishing whether employment disadvantage exists in the labour market is essential, although the process is daunting. In a developed country like the UK, the only sound approach to establishing labour market disadvantage is to conduct field experiments such as those carried out by Daniel (1968), the CRE (1996), Noon (1993) and Noon and Hoque (2001). In the UK, employment disadvantage in the labour market is usually measured using many methods. On the one hand, ethnic penalties studies have used multiple government data sources and established that minority individuals in the UK have, on average, lower chances of being employed in the labour market and possibilities that they are in routine semi-occupations than the majority population, even with similar educational qualifications (Berthoud, 2000; Carmichael and Woods, 2000; Heath and McMahon, 1997).

Similarly, ethnicity studies reveal through field experiments that ethnic minority individuals in the UK are less likely to receive positive interview outcomes from employers from their job applications than their counterparts (Heath and Di Stasio, 2019; Wood et al., 2009). Employment disadvantage has been at the centre of debate in the UK and other developed societies since minority individuals are less likely to find jobs commensurate with their educational qualifications and skills (Heath and Cheung, 2007; Cabinet Office, 2017). In the UK labour market, hiring disadvantage means that ethnic minority individuals are less likely to be pro-

cessed in the hiring process than the majority population, even with similar educational qualifications and work experiences (Heath and Cheung, 2006; Zwysen et al., 2020).

The methods that are tested during hiring inequalities are generally in two forms: audit studies and correspondent tests. In audit and correspondent studies, fictitious applicants' CVs are sent in response to job adverts, with the only difference being the ethnic background (Zwysen et al., 2020). Differences in the labour market are then measured as the average difference in the responses that majority and minority applicants receive to their applications (Zwysen et al., 2020). The primary strength of audit and correspondence tests is that they employ the key experimental feature of random assignment to treatment while taking place in real labour market contexts (Pager, 2007; Pager and Shepherd, 2008). For this reason, they are viewed as the gold standard for labour market inequality studies, though they have some limitations. In UK field experiments, research evidence shows that ethnic minorities' applications experience unfair decisions by employers at the hiring point; keeping all else constant, individuals from ethnic minorities endure persistent employment disadvantages, and they are less likely to receive positive interview feedback from employers as opposed to the majority population when seeking or applying for jobs (Bagley and Abubaker, 2017; Heath and Cheung, 2006; Heath and Di Stasio, 2019; Wood et al., 2009).

However, in the labour market, employment disadvantage does not affect all ethnic minorities to the same degree: Research claims that South Asians' employment prospects are favourable compared to Black Africans and Black Caribbeans. Abundant evidence from literature has established that ethnic minorities suffer persistent employment disadvantages in the UK and in terms of occupational status (Blackaby et al., 2005; Cheung, 2013; Dustmann and Theodoropoulos, 2010). Field experiments were carried out in the UK in the 60s to investigate employers' hiring decisions and establish the causes of employment disadvantages (Daniel, 1968; Jowell and Prescott-Clarke, 1970; Zschirnt and Ruedin, 2015). Zschirnt and Ruedin (2015) assert that fifty years after the first British Race Relations Act of 1965 challenging disadvantages in public places, their research findings show that employers' interest in disadvantages through the hiring process continued unabated. Indeed, recent scholarly studies that used field experiments to investigate ethnic minority immigration background, social origin,

and other minority statuses suggest that unequal treatment remains a problem (Riach and Rich, 2002; Bendick, 2007; Pager, 2007; Pager and Shepherd, 2008; Rich 2010, 2014).

In summary, research shows that minority individuals in the UK and other developed countries are usually less likely to be employed in the labour market or to have good jobs in comparison to their majority native-born counterparts, even after considering their family background, education and skills (Heath et al., 2008; Van Tubergen et al., 2004). Research conducted by Heath and Di Stasio (2019) and Wood et al. (2009) established that ethnic minority individuals are less likely to receive positive employment feedback or responses to their applications than their identical majority counterparts with similar qualifications. Existing migration studies show that first- and second generation ethnic minorities continue to experience labour market inequality (Blackaby et al., 2005; Cheung, 2013; Dustmann and Theodoropoulos, 2010). Ethnic minorities' lack of employment in the labour market has been the main debate in the UK and other European countries for decades. The discussion aims to establish a consensus enabling minority communities to integrate with the majority groups (Berthoud, 2000; Carmichael and Woods, 2000; Heath and McMahon, 1997).

2.2.4 The Problem of Over-Education/Over-Qualification

There have been numerous academic studies on the labour market performance of ethnic minority individuals in the UK, Europe and North America. In the UK, it is well documented that ethnic minority groups often experience employment disadvantages in the labour market, lower earnings and lower occupational attainment relative to their native-born counterparts (Blackaby et al., 1998, 1999). Moreover, research studies of over-education or over-qualification show that the majority of ethnic minority men and women currently working in the UK labour market are employed in jobs that are lower than the qualifications they have obtained in the UK (Chiswick and Miller, 2010; Green et al., 2007; Nielsen, 2011; Budria and Martinez-de-Ibarreta, 2021). Over-education/qualification in the workplace occurs when individuals from ethnic minorities hold qualifications above their employment needs. Many have asserted that overeducated ethnic minorities exhibit earning penalties (Hartog, 2000), low job satisfaction (Battu et al., 1999) and higher turnover (Sloane et al., 1999). Other studies have considered over-education as qualification inflation, where employers upgrade job

requirements when screening candidates in response to rising educational attainment (Brynin, 2002; Rafferty, 2012).

In the UK, as in many developed countries, ethnic minority individuals are observed to be victimised in the labour market and are more likely to be employed in jobs that do not equal their educational qualifications (Battu and Sloane, 2004; Lindley, 2009. Alpin et al., 1998; Battu and Sloane, 2002, 2004; Lindley, 2009). The public discourse on over-education suggests that patterns of over-education by ethnicity may reflect differences in skill underutilisation due to labour market disadvantage (Battu and Sloane, 2002). In contrast, according to research conducted by Green and McIntosh (2007), over-education does not necessarily solely reflect skill underutilisation but wider differences in skills, and, in most cases, the quality of education and individuals' grades may prove otherwise. Also, Lindley (2009) argued that differences in over-education between ethnic groups could, therefore, partly reflect aspects of education quality often not fully captured in survey data. Over-education in the labour market happens when individuals hold educational qualifications and experiences over those required for their jobs. In comparison to those better matched to their job, research indicates that over-educated individuals exhibit salary penalties (Hartog, 2000), lower job satisfaction (Battu et al., 1999) and higher turnover (Sloane et al., 1999). Empirical evidence shows that Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minority individuals are over-represented in low routine employment due to ethnic origin (Heath and Cheung, 2006).

Equally, Riach and Rich (2002), summarising UK field experiments, have established that around 30–40 per cent of job applications made by ethnic minority candidates were unsuccessful solely because of their race and ethnicity. It was also analysed that ethnic minority individuals can only get a job in the labour market if they have greater qualifications than majority ethnic applicants (Alpin et al., 1998) and are less likely to be promoted (Battu and Sloane, 2002), experience performance evaluation unfairness (Castilla, 2008) and have no equal opportunity for training. Such practices could lead to higher levels of over-education. Over-education in the labour market could also arise where individuals from minority communities are overlooked during employment recruitment, making some people more likely to accept employment at a lower level than appropriate for their level of qualification or instead decide to spend a long time unemployed and seeking better-matched employment (Rafferty,

2012). Over-education or over-qualification experienced by Black Africans and Black Caribbeans is solely based on social origin or ethnic background (see employment penalty findings in Heath and McMahon, 1997).

In summary, research conducted by Modood (2005) shows that most ethnic minority individuals in the UK are more likely to be educated and attend universities than their majority counterparts. Also, mismatch and ethnicity research (Colding et al., 2009; Heath et al., 2008; Modood, 2005) suggests that most ethnic minority groups attend university to avoid (statistically) unequal treatment by employers in the labour market. Education appears to be an enabler to a successful labour market advantage; however, for Black African and Black Caribbean, despite their higher educational qualification, ethnic difference perseveres (Heath et al., 2018). In the UK, research by Rafferty (2012) postulates that ethnic minority graduates are less likely to find employment than their majority counterparts and are likely to be employed in non-professional career jobs. Similar findings by Battu and Sloane (2004) and Lindley (2009) show that ethnic minority workers, including second generation people born in the UK, are more likely to be over-educated for their jobs and be paid less than most native-born workers for their higher qualifications.

2.2.5 Ethnic Minorities in the UK Labour Force

Scholarly research shows that individuals from ethnic minorities currently residing and working in the UK have low labour force participation (Chung and Heath, 2006). Based on information from the 1991 Census, their overall labour force participation was substantially less than that of the majority population for both males and females. The analysis shows that Black Caribbean individuals mainly worked in transportation, communications, engineering, and distribution industries (Census, 1991). Again, ethnic minority women tend to be over-represented in public healthcare sectors and education services. Similarly, Black African men were observed in service sector industries, most notably in similar jobs such as transportation and communication (Chung and Heath, 2006), while women from Black African origins were over-represented in textiles and all service sector industries. The analysis shows that two-thirds of individuals of Caribbean heritage were in manual employment and, overall, were the lowest in managerial and professional careers (Modood et al., 1997; Chung and Heath, 2006;

Awusu, 2013). Alongside this, research by Heath and Cheung (2007) and Li and Heath (2020) shows that the overall unemployment rates for non-native ethnic minority Black African and Black Caribbean men and women were 10 per cent and 8 per cent, respectively; nearly a quarter (24 per cent) of Black Caribbean men and over a quarter of Pakistani women (26 per cent) were unemployed. For other minority groups, Bangladeshi and Pakistani men were approximately twice or one and a half times as likely to experience unemployment (Li, 2018). In the aftermath of the recession, 26 per cent of Black Caribbean men and 21 per cent of Black African men were unemployed, which is around 2.5 and two times higher than for the majority population men (Li and Heath; 2011; 2015; 2018; Li, 2018). Pakistani and Bangladeshi women were 29 and 25 per cent, respectively, close to an official estimate by the Annual Population Survey (Cabinet Office, 2017; Li and Heath, 2018).

It has been shown that during the recession, ethnic minority individuals suffer the impact of unemployment and are also the first to experience job redundancy and the last to find re-employment (Lindley, 2001 and Lindley, 2005). Following the analysis of ethnic minority labour market outcomes in the UK, the ethnic penalties for Black Caribbean, Black African and Bangladeshi men are evident, with the risk of not being employed around 2.5 to 3 times the risk of not having contracted employment than their UK counterparts (Li, 2018).

In general, ethnic minority men and women's unemployment rates tend to be around 10 per cent to 15 per cent higher than those of natives (Li, 2018). In a similar vein, studies conducted by Dustmann et al. (2010) and Algan et al. (2010) show that there is a remarkable overall employment disadvantage of 5.8 per cent for second generation ethnic minority immigrants in comparison to their native-born counterparts. This is due to the lower employment participation of Pakistanis and Bangladeshis, with their respective employment rates of 25.2 and 26.7 per cent lower than their counterparts. Literature evidence shows that the employment difference between native individuals and all ethnic minorities in the UK is approximately 9.8 per cent, as 56 per cent resulted from differences in characteristics (Blackaby et al., 2005). It is certainly clear that there is a research gap. Consequently, this thesis seeks to fill this gap by employing qualitative instruments to update ethnic and migration literature on Black African and Black Caribbean employment positions in England and Wales's labour market.

2.2.6 Ethnic Minorities' Contributions to the UK Economy

Labour market outcomes of Black African and Black Caribbean people have been widely documented by academia, the mainstream political institutions, elites, and the general public in the past decades (Blackaby et al., 2002; Carmichael and Wood, 2000; Heath and Chueng, 2007; Dustmann et al., 2010; Aglan et al., 2010). However, the discussion on ethnic minority individuals and the government welfare system has dominated most public debates. The debates have continued to make the main headlines because most individuals assume that ethnic minorities and their UK descendants came to the country for the UK's generous welfare system and not to engage in employment to contribute to the nation's coffers. The UK government introduced the welfare society to prevent social exclusion (Boeri, 2010; Drinkwater and Robinson, 2013; Dustmann and Frattini, 2014). Literature evidence suggests that the UK and Europe are among the redistributive countries in the world today due to their generous welfare system (Nawaz, 2017). The main reason for the redistributive policy is to promote social inclusion, which tends to be the core value of the European Union (Nawaz, 2017; Boeri, 2010). The concerns and the fear that immigrants and their children have not contributed to the nation's economy have triggered neo-liberal politicians in the UK and European Union to suggest that austerity measures would be an alternative to restrict individuals from receiving benefits. In the UK, for example, the Conservative government announced a £12 billion welfare cut to tackle the nation's deficit, another ongoing discussion (Nawaz, 2017). These cuts are alternative methods to restrict ethnic minority groups from getting support from the government. Still, studies have established that immigrants have contributed massively to the growth of the UK economy. Empirical studies show that ethnic minorities (immigrants) from the European Union and Black Africans and Black Caribbeans in the UK have made tremendous contributions to the nation's treasury by working longer hours, paying taxes, and bringing skills that the UK may lack (Rowthorn, 2008; Liebig and Mo, 2013; Dustmann and Frattini, 2014).

Recently, many public debates and headlines in contemporary societies are that immigrants collect welfare from the government and focus on the impacts of immigration on native workers' wages, employment, cultural changes, etc. (Ottaviano and Peri, 2012; Manacorda et al., 2012; Dustmann and Frattini, 2014). Nonetheless, in a socio-economic meltdown, most

people overlook the long work hours, paying taxes, and thriving capabilities of knowledge resources such as human capital.

2.2.7 The Concept of Ethnic Penalties

The conceptualisation of ethnic penalties discussed in this thesis refers to the differences in labour market outcomes between first and second generation Black African and Black Caribbean minorities and the majority population that remain after controlling for human capital and social background (Heath and Cheung, 2007). It also includes processes of disadvantage experienced by ethnic minorities for belonging to a specific ethnic category. For example, employers employ or promote job candidates not based on their labour market skills, such as human capital, but on ethnic or cultural attributes (Heath et al., 2007; Carmichael and Woods, 2000). Labour market ethnic penalties may suggest unequal treatment for being an ethnic minority individual compared to the majority population. For example, research claims that ethnic minorities find it difficult to purchase a house as opposed to the majority population.

2.2.8 The Influence of Social Origins in the Labour Market

Employment disadvantage based on social origins is discussed in detail in this thesis as it is widely acknowledged and documented that individuals from ethnic minorities experience unabated labour market disadvantage due to insufficient economic resources allocated to them in comparison to their privileged peers with sufficient resources (Blau and Duncan, 1967; Boudon, 1973; Goldthorpe, 2000; (Zuccotti, 2015). For example, individuals with influential high-status parents are usually more likely to attend better universities/colleges, achieve higher educational levels, access better social networks, and have adequate financial support anytime needed.

2.2.9 Understanding the British Race Relations Act of 1965

The British Race Relations Act of 1965 was debated and implemented by the UK government in 1965 to prevent unequal treatment in public places such as the labour market, housing, ed-

ucation, etc. (Zuccotti, 2015). One of the numerous reasons for this equality legislation was to guide against unequal treatment in labour market outcomes of people from minority communities. Nevertheless, despite legislation prohibiting unequal treatment, field experiments found that irregularity in hiring decisions remains high (Zwysen et al., 2020; Daniel, 1968; Clack et al., 1970; Ruedin et al., 2015). Similarly, despite the legislation that seemed to prohibit ethnic inequality in public places, the most significant ethnic disadvantages are found in terms of economic inactivity, non-employment, under-employment, and low pay regarding immigrants' children during the economic recession of the 1980s-early 1990s and the recent sub-prime mortgages financial crunch that began in 2008 (Berthoud, 2000; Dustmann et al., 2003; Li and Heath, 2020).

Persistent ethnic minority employment disadvantages experienced mainly by Black Africans and Black Caribbeans tend to conflict with the UK's Race and Relations Act implemented decades ago. This is because employers' inability to acknowledge first generation ethnic minorities' human capital undermines the principles of equal opportunity and meritocracy, which developed nations usually adhere to (Dustmann et al., 2010; Heath and Cheung, 2007; 2018). Given the ongoing employment differential treatment of ethnic minorities and their UK descendants, one would argue that most employers have not fully embraced the equality law implemented and signed into law by the UK government decades ago. Decades after the Race Relations Act was introduced in the UK prohibiting unequal treatment in the labour market, housing, education, and other public places, research evidence shows that ethnic minority employment disadvantages remain an ongoing agenda within the government and academia (Cabinet Office, 2003; Li and Heath, 2020). In summary, it is also essential to understand that ethnic minorities' employment disadvantage is detrimental and could equally impact poor health and crime and hinder the nation's prosperity and social inclusion (Battu et al., 2005).

2.3 A Guiding Theoretical Framework for This Thesis

This current thesis will combine approaches from different empirical studies and migration and ethnic research (Zuccotti, 2015; Dustmann et al., 2010; Blackaby et al. 2002; 2005; Heath and Cheung, 2007; Aglan et al., 2009; Li and Heath, 2020). As previously stated,

Black African and Black Caribbean first-generation ethnic minorities explored in this thesis are those born abroad and who have migrated to England and Wales for employment, further education, and other vocational training. In contrast, second generation Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minorities refer to individuals who arrived in the UK as children or were born to their overseas parents (Censuses 1991-2011).

2.3.1 Theoretical Framework

This study draws insights from human capital and social capital theories as the theoretical framework of the research. The human capital theory highlights the importance of acquiring education, skills, experience, communication skills, and English language competency for access to and advancement in the labour market (Becker, 1964; Borjas, 1994; Dustmann et al., 2003; Li, 2010; Heath and Cheung, 2007). It shows that ethnic minority groups are disadvantaged because they lack human capital such as language, education, and experience, preventing them from attaining professional jobs or leaving low-skilled employment, the only alternative for their survival with their children. In addition, previous research using human capital theory has shown that employers in the UK did not readily recognise the qualifications obtained by ethnic minorities in their home countries (Heath and Cheung, 2006). These ethnic minorities were also regarded as having limited knowledge of the workings of the local labour market (Dustmann, 2003; Li, 2010; Heath et al., 2018). This study thus considers characteristics such as educational qualifications, skills, and experience of Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minorities in England and Wales to ascertain whether they influence their employment disadvantages. It further examines instances where these ethnic minority groups possess educational qualifications and experience in their destination country, the UK, but still face employment disadvantages in the labour market (Heath et al. 2018; Zuccotti 2015; Rafferty, 2012).

As stated above, the importance of skills and educational qualifications in the destination country is crucial for success in the labour market (Li, 2010; Becker, 1964; Borjas, 1994). Education and human capital play fundamental roles in modern UK economics, and based on this, firms in the UK and developed countries have continued to focus on skills incentives to increase services and maximise utility (Owusu, 2013). Besides this, human capital is per-

ceived to be an integral part of ethnic minorities' investment strategies to overcome (statistical) disadvantages in the labour market, as it involves investment in education, job-related training, and skill acquisition, which constitute critical components of ethnic minorities' employment success (Colding et al., 2009; Heath et al., 2008; Modood, 2005).

2.3.2 Human Capital Theory

The human capital theory explains the importance of investment in education and skills, which predict higher employment levels in the UK labour market (Dustmann et al., 2010; Dustmann, 2011). Previous research indicates that first generation Black Africans who arrived in the UK for higher education without the UK's human capital have remained disadvantaged in the labour market (Heath et al., 2007). Furthermore, Black Caribbean who arrived in the UK during the post-war labour shortage and those of African origin who came in the UK as seafarers with low levels of human capital have stayed in the bottom levels of managerial and professional positions (Nafukho et al., 2004). Human capital is considered a large aspect of the knowledge economy as it suggests that knowledge is the trading asset of many service-based organisations (Owusu, 2013). Human capital is crucial to first generation minorities as this has been abundantly documented as a barrier to employment opportunities in the labour market (Dustmann et al., 2010). Debates on first-generation Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minorities' labour market disadvantages have focused on employers' inability to recognise formal qualifications, skills, training and experience obtained from their countries of origin (Heath et al., 2007; Zuccotti, 2015).

In the UK labour market, human capital, including educational qualifications, is seen as an enabler for successful employment, but research evidence shows that second generation ethnic minorities who were born and raised in the UK continue to experience ethnic penalties (Li and Heath, 2020; Heath and Cheung, 2007; Zuccotti, 2015). This theory suggests that individuals' human capital, personal abilities, and job experience influence their labour market outcomes (Becker, 1993; 1964). It indicates that employers rationally select the job candidates with the highest levels of human capital (Chiswick, 1991) without considering 'normative' or 'ideological' criteria (Heath and Cheung, 2007). Thus, it is argued that ethnic minority employment disadvantages in the labour market can be caused by human capital, not cultural or

ethnic-type attributes. In migration literature, for example, human capital is divided into two components, 'education' and 'skills', and these have impacted Black African and Black Caribbean first-generation employment since their arrival decades ago (Heath and McMahon, 1997; Heath and Cheung, 2007). The human capital theory thus provides insights into different factors influencing employment disadvantages of Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minorities, such as limited knowledge of the workings of the labour market, educational qualifications, skills and experience. However, these factors only partly explain their employment disadvantages. Hence, the social capital theory is combined to ascertain other factors influencing their employment disadvantages.

2.3.3 Social Capital Theory

Ethnic minorities in the UK have witnessed an unprecedented persistent socio-economic disadvantage in the last decade due to inadequate social capital networks compared to their ethnic majority counterparts. The social capital theory acknowledges the importance of human capital but emphasises the resources set in public structure and social contacts (Bourdieu, 1984; Granovetter, 1973; Lin, 2001; Lin et al., 1981; Putnam, 2000). It proposes that information shared among households and friends (bonding social capital) tends to be limited and not broad enough to search for employment. However, the information provided by friends of friends (bridging social capital) may provide access to various employment opportunities if these connections have different or higher-level jobs (linking social capital). Yet, ethnic minority immigrants usually have limited relationships, mainly consisting of fellow ethnic minority groups who could be both disadvantaged and in dire need of employment to survive (Portes and Sensenbrenner, 1993).

Scholarly literature has defined social networks as the foundation of social capital (Bourdieu, 1986; Coleman, 1990; Lin, 2001; Putnam, 2001; Li, 2015). Social capital resources include qualities that represent relationships with counterparts, subordinates and superiors (Owusu, 2013). Empirical studies analysing the importance of investing in social capital have shown that the more extensive the ethnic minority immigrants' network, the easier it will become for them to get employment through a job referral system (Montgomery, 1991). Also, the job search referral system has benefited ethnic minorities in the United States (Munshi, 2003;

Groot et al., 2004). According to Bourdieu (1985), social capital is a strategy for social reproduction whereby privileged individuals in societies assist their families in educational and occupational careers. The author's definition of social capital reflects Black African and Black Caribbean socio-economic activities in the UK, where ethnic minority communities with less social capital network have continually struggled in the labour market. In simple terms, Bourdieu's concept of social capital is rooted in the stratification tradition where social capital, just like economic theory and cultural capital, serves mainly as an exclusionary device.

First generation Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minorities with little formal or informal contact with their ethnic majority counterparts have remained at the bottom of the social ladder and have unsuccessful labour market outcomes. On the other hand, middle-class families can combine social, economic, and cultural capital to influence their children's educational achievement with higher opportunities for professional jobs and occupational attainment in the labour market, which Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minorities and their descendants have lacked since they arrived in their destination country.

Most importantly, the powerful in the society would demonstrate their wealth by empowering their offspring to enrol in prestigious universities, moving them to well-industrialised cities with more extensive job prospects and expensive houses that minorities cannot afford, as it has been suggested that most ethnic minorities reside in a neighbourhood with low employment opportunities with short-term employment contracts (Zuccotti, 2015; Modood, 2005; Rafferty, 2012). Furthermore, enclave studies show that ethnic minorities tend to live in poorer neighbourhoods with short-term employment (Bourdieu, 1986; Li and Heath, 2011). Social capital is vital beyond possessing university degrees because, when privileged children enter the labour market, most parents will use their social network background to influence their descendants' higher employment position, which ethnic minority groups do not have. The social capital theory indicates that factors such as inadequate social networks, including the employee referral system, influence the employment disadvantages of ethnic minorities. Thus, the researcher can explain the different factors influencing their employment disadvantages by drawing on insights from human capital and social capital theories. This will also allow the comparison of these factors to ascertain the similarities and differences between

first and second generation ethnic minorities in the labour market. This conceptual framework is the lens that will be used to analyse the study's findings to fill the research gaps, contributing to the limited literature reasons for Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minorities' employment disadvantages, including the similarities and differences between them in the UK context. The conceptual framework is illustrated in the figure below.

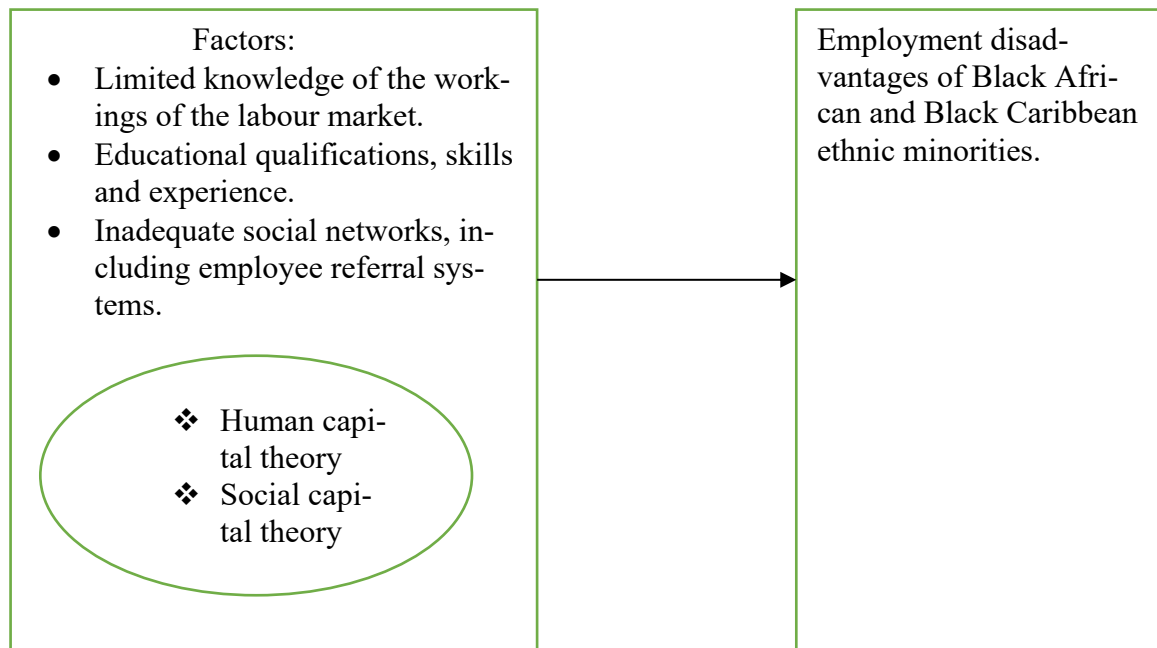


Figure 2 Conceptual Framework

This conceptual framework connects the concepts used in this research to understand the factors influencing employment disadvantages of Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minorities in the UK labour market.

Another theory on migration that was considered by the researcher but was not selected is the reference and acculturation process. This is discussed below.

2.3.4 Reference and Acculturation Process

This theory proposes that acculturation processes may help to explain the issues that impact the employment disadvantages of ethnic minority communities (Runciman, 1966). The first generation may be highly disadvantaged and lowly educated, with qualifications not recog-

nised by employers and poor social networks, but they are determined, persistent, and hard-working (Kasinitz et al., 2008; Li, 2010), which enables them to overcome economic difficulties in their host country, the UK. They are also willing to do lowly paid jobs that involve un-social and long working hours, usually ignored by the majority groups (Li, 2010). They may perceive that they are better off than their counterparts in their home countries, such as African nations and Caribbean countries. As they stay longer, especially their sons and daughters in the second generation, their expectations may increase, and their aspirations may rise higher. They may also develop preferences like those of the majority groups, expect to be treated the same, and be unwilling to undertake employment that does not match their acquired qualifications, experience, and skills (Allport, 1954; Brown et al., 1999; Li, 2010). The researcher did not adopt this theory as it would be more suitable to explain why these ethnic minorities adapt to the prevailing employment disadvantages within a given context.

2.3.5 Ethnic Concentration and Employment Outcomes

Research studies suggest that ethnic enclaves or geographical concentration have both positive and negative outcomes on ethnic minorities' education, health, well-being, and labour market opportunities (Portes and Jensen, 1989; van Kempen and Özüekren, 1998; Gijsberts and Dagevos, 2007; Xie and Gough, 2011; Wessendorf, 2007; Zuccotti, 2015). The percentage of individuals from Black ethnic minority groups living in England and Wales has grown significantly over the last few decades. Empirical studies show that in the 2001 Census, ethnic minority individuals accounted for approximately 4.6 million and 7.9 per cent of the total population, and by the 2011 Census, the proportion of individuals who identified themselves as Black had increased steadily to about 14 per cent (ONS, 2005, 2012a; Dustmann et al., 2006). Existing studies have shown that Black ethnic minority individuals are unevenly concentrated across England and Wales; high ethnic minority concentration is associated with high deprivation in that area (Clark and Drinkwater, 2002) and extremely low levels of employment opportunities among ethnic minority groups (Van and Manley, 2009; Zuccotti, 2015).

Migration literature has explored the relationship between ethnic concentration and labour market outcomes for Black communities (Battu and Mwale, 2004; Khattab et al., 2010); the

findings show that ethnic concentration may benefit individuals from the dominant ethnic minorities. For example, businesses with a higher proportion of clientele from selected ethnic minorities exhibit a higher probability of hiring an ethnic minority worker from the same cultural background to facilitate more contact with their customers (Holzer and Ihlanfeldt, 1998; Battu and Mwale, 2004; Khattab et al., 2010). Likewise, individuals of a similar ethnicity are expected to find a job within the same neighbourhood compared to ethnic minorities residing in areas with fewer same-ethnicity neighbourhoods (Patacchini and Zenou, 2012). Also, research studies on ethnic concentration show that ethnic minorities living in similar neighbourhoods may consider it less of a necessity to improve social interaction with the native majority population, which may result in ethnic minority individuals not improving their social and human capital, such as ‘language capital’ and social network, which has remained a modern network for job searching (Battu and Mwale, 2004).

An area of high ethnic concentration has a low percentage of employment and English language fluency. Clark and Drinkwater (2002) show that neighbourhoods with the highest minority concentration limit individuals from accessing professional and managerial positions in the labour market. The consequences of ethnic concentration are numerous and include poor labour market outcomes and deprivation (Clark and Drinkwater, 2002). Research evidence suggests that an individual from an ethnic minority group may be affected not only by their social origins but also by those of their ethnic background and neighbourhood (Clark and Drinkwater, 2002). Suppose ethnic minorities, for example, Black African and Black Caribbean people, live in communities composed mainly of other low-income individuals, then this will certainly minimise their labour market attainments through a process of lowering expectations or perhaps because of the poorer quality of schooling that poor neighbourhoods generally offer (Cheung and Heath, 2007).

2.3.6 The Impact of Geographical Concentration

Research studies on the impact of ethnic concentration abound due to the growing numbers of individuals from ethnic communities living in similar neighbourhoods and how the enclave setting shapes their employment opportunities when compared to the majority population (Sampson et al., 2002; Sharkey et al., 2014, van Ham et al., 2012). Studies conducted by

Becares et al. (2011), Clark et al. (2002), Knies et al. (2014), Sturgis et al. (2011), and Urban (2009) show the impact of the ethnic composition of neighbourhoods.

Galster (2012) shows different types of mechanisms by which neighbourhoods impact individual lives, as follows:

- **Social interaction mechanisms:** ethnic minorities' social interaction mechanisms include many processes that result from social interactions or physical contact amongst identical ethnic individuals in their neighbourhoods. Other mechanisms like 'collective socialisation' refer to the role social places such as schools and libraries play in connecting people (Leventhal et al., 2000; Sampson, 1997).
- **Another mechanism is a social network:** this tends to connect ethnic minority individuals by sharing information about labour market opportunities or daily contact with others living in a similar neighbourhood, which can provide routes for exchanging information and resources of various kinds (Bourdieu, 1977).

Research studies suggest that such an ethnic network is 'bad capital' because it seems to limit minority individuals to focusing solely on themselves instead of reaching out positively to the majority groups that can increase economic opportunity or labour market information that is advantageous to ethnic minority groups (Cheung et al., 2007; Fernandez et al., 2006; Alba et al., 2003; Lin, 2001). An ethnic minority social network can have positive and negative impacts on both the first and second generations and has been termed 'social contagion' by researchers (Zuccotti, 2015; Galster, 2012).

2.3.7 English Language Fluency

The discussion on English language fluency deserves careful assessment in the context of first generation ethnic minorities, as communication is essential in the labour market. English language competency is one of the most crucial human capital factors for the productivity of immigrants in the host country (Duatmann et al., 2010). Language capital is necessary and

complementary to many other skill components (Dustmann et al., 2011). Considering the importance of language fluency in the labour market, leading establishments may seek to employ educated and highly skilled applicants for high-salaried roles (Myers et al., 2004). For example, a well-qualified medical doctor is unlikely to be used as a general practitioner (GP) in the NHS if they lack English language fluency, which is recommended for many vacancies. Research evidence shows that language proficiency is also a key factor in explaining the educational outcomes of second generation ethnic minorities in the UK labour market (Dustmann et al., 2010).

Dustmann et al. (2010) show that the most important factor explaining the achievement gap between first generation ethnic minorities and the dominant population in the UK is the language spoken at home. Human capital is important because it is the primary determinant of current income (Becker, 1975) and is a significant enabler of future income growth (Romer, 1986; Lucas, 1988). Discussions on ethnic minorities' lack of specific human capital have been debated in the UK and other developed nations (Cabinet Office, 2017). Many Black Africans and Black Caribbeans arrived in the UK with foreign qualifications and additional formal schooling from their country of origin. Still, UK employers have not recognised their qualifications, which has caused persistent labour market disadvantages. Also, due to the different characteristics of each country's labour market (Chiswick, 1978), ethnic minority individuals lack the language skills to effectively use their acquired human capital (Dustmann and Fabbri, 2003; Leslie and Lindley, 2001; Shields and Wheatley Price, 2001, 2002); this may also happen because employers are unable to evaluate non-UK qualifications and experience correctly. Due to the significant difference between the country of origin and the UK, especially in educational systems and labour market institutions, first generation ethnic minority individuals have continued to receive non-professional job offers from employers who have not acknowledged their foreign qualifications.

2.3.8 Assimilation Concepts in the UK

The subject of ethnic minorities' assimilation/integration has been the main topic in the United States among leading scholars for the past decades (Alba and Nee, 1997; 2003; Zuccotti, 2015; Porters and Zhou, 1993; Massey and Denton, 1985). In the UK context, the landmark

research 'Ethnic penalties pioneered' by Heath and McMahon (1997), Heath and Cheung (2007) and Arnfinn (2015) have also shed light. However, a government report (Cabinet Office, 2003) shows that a previous British Prime Minister (Tony Blair) proposed government legalisation to eradicate ethnic minorities' labour market disadvantages. Taking the Prime Minister's words into consideration, 'though it is nearly forty years since the first Race Relations Act was incorporated into law by the UK government and yet, ethnic minorities individuals are still experiencing employment disadvantages' (Cabinet Office, 2003, p. 7). The then Prime Minister blamed employers for ethnic minorities' labour market disadvantages and stated that ethnic minorities should no longer face employment disadvantages in the UK labour market (Blackaby et al., 2005; Cabinet Office, 2003). Considering the importance of ethnic minorities' assimilation into society, research studies have defined assimilation as a process which occurs over time and between generations, by which ethnic minorities' employment disadvantage should have disappeared in contemporary society due to intermarriages, political participation and government social activities (Zuccotti, 2015).

However, assimilation involves integration mechanisms such as English language acquisition, socio-economic training, educational improvements and participation in the labour market (Zuccotti, 2015). Also, the territory's neighbourhoods or 'spatial assimilation' is the process through which first and second generation Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minorities can live together with the dominant groups in one neighbourhood. This assimilation can help reduce employment disadvantages.

However, in the past, scholars observed this concept as being too simple and unidirectional. It suggests there was no need for immigrant assimilation in the UK, considering the apparent levels of mixed ethnic minority and multicultural communities across the UK (Rattansi, 2011; Zuccotti, 2015). Furthermore, assimilation has been described as the culmination of a process through which Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minorities experience equal opportunities in the UK labour market as the dominant counterparts of similar educational qualifications and socio-economic background as advocated by liberals and neoliberals in the UK and in the European Union (Zuccotti, 2015; Li and Heath, 2018). Yet, employment penalties, including second generation individuals, continue in the UK labour market (Rafferty, 2012; Li and Heath, 2020).

According to research by Zuccotti (2015), this conceptualisation of assimilation is very much linked to what the study by Heath and Cheung (2007) referred to as ethnic penalties, which imply that any remaining difference between Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minorities and majoritarian populations after careful consideration of individual and background factors. Ethnic minority assimilation could mean equality of employment with the dominant population. However, successful assimilation points to the idea that equal opportunity has been achieved, and persistent labour market disadvantages have disappeared (Zuccotti, 2015).

Thus, in the labour market, employers may decline to offer first generation Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minorities professional or managerial positions because of their inadequate modern human capital and educational qualification and decide to place them in lower-skilled jobs than their experience merits (Hurstfield et al., 2004). Yet, second generation ethnic minorities who arrived in the UK as children, were educated in the UK and have English language competence or fluency should not experience employment disadvantages. Instead, they should be able to compete in the labour market with the majority population since inequalities in occupational attainment by ethnic minority communities have been attributed to language capital (Shields and Wheatley Price, 2002; Dustmann and Fabbri, 2003).

2.3.9 The Importance of Ethnic Integration

The term integration is often used in policy, practice, and academia, although it means different things to different people (Castles et al., 2002). The importance of social capital and social networks has featured prominently in integration theory. First, the discussion on integration concerning immigrants' settlement started in the 1930s, with the Chicago School describing integration as a process through which immigrants assimilate (Cheung et al., 2013). For example, early integration policy in the UK emphasised social networks (Home Office, 2000), facilitating and supporting the development of bonding social capital through funding co-ethnic or co-national groups (MRCOs). The purpose of the integration process in the UK was to support refugees to access information and peer support, which was supposed to stimulate integration support (Zetter and Pearl, 2000). However, this was unsuccessful and was a more assimilationist stance, arguably influenced by criticism against multiculturalism (Ver-

tovec and Wessendorf, 2010), wherein bonding capital is regarded as problematic and anti-integrative (CLG, 2012).

However, the need for socio-economic integration arises in a nation or society when some individuals perceive that they have been treated differently in the labour market, school, housing and health sectors from the majority native population (Modood, 2013). On ethnic minorities' labour market integration, the previous Labour government placed ethnic minorities' integration as one of its primary policy agendas, a coherent technique that contributed to the creation of a unified neighbourhood, social inclusion, and a policy agenda that was cemented by the establishment of the Commission on Integration and Cohesion in 2006 (Aspinall et al., 2011). Yet, the discussion about ethnic minority integration remains a complex one, raising more difficult questions than answers concerning ethnic minorities' employment disadvantages in the labour market, housing, education and public places (Heath et al., 2007; Aglan et al., 2010; Aspinall et al., 2011). Ethnic minority individuals' labour market integration is vital for several reasons. First, it will enable ethnic minorities to compete for managerial and professional occupations in the labour market. Second, subsequent generations would likely live in the UK for the rest of their lives and pay income taxes to the government treasury (Card, 2005). Third, full integration will reduce the excessive waste of talent and minimise the disorder and violence disruption witnessed in the last decades in the northern parts of England (Battu et al., 2005).

Recently, the debate on how to integrate ethnic minorities has continued to attract public discussion across the globe (European Commission, 2004; Scottish Executive, 2006; Frattini, 2006; HMG, 2007; Welsh Assembly Government, 2006; USEU, 2007), though there is no generally approved clarity on minority integration. Minority employment is possibly the most debated and researched area of integration (Castles et al., 2001; Modood, 2013). This is due to concerns that employment has been a factor influencing several issues, such as promoting labour market success, economic independence, meeting members of the host society, the dominant population, providing opportunities to develop language skills, restoring self-esteem, and encouraging self-reliance (Africa Educational Trust, 1998; Bloch, 1999; Tomlinson and Egan, 2002; Cheung, 2013). Similarly, ethnic integration means that equal opportunity is where ethnic individuals are entitled to equality of employment opportunities, jobs, ca-

reer prospects, accessing education and training necessary to compete for jobs, where the labour market is not segmented into different parts where some individuals can find employment and others continue to experience employment disadvantages (Modood, 2013).

Research conducted by Akobo (2016) shows that successful integration into formal and informal organisations indicates the levels of support an organisation has for minority social groups beyond work operations. Besides, considering the increase of Black Africans, Black Caribbeans, and their UK descendants in the UK labour force, ethnic integration is not only about civil liberty but also reinforcing the social inclusion observed and advocated by virtually all industrialised nations (Li and Heath et al., 2020).

2.3.9.1 The Definitions of the Term Labour Market

There has been no generally accepted definition of the term labour market. However, scholarly literature has defined the labour market as an economic place or environment where supply and demand come together, working to determine the price and quantity of the work or task accomplished by individuals (Stromback et al., 1996). Others have provided a concise definition of what the market means. For example, Michel Didier (1997) defines a market as a place of communication through which potential buyers will inform one another about the number of things they have brought into the marketplace, what they need and the actual price the potential buyer asks for before closing the transaction. Similarly, the labour market has been termed as a market in which the amount of service that matches the task well established in the job specification is offered for a given payment or remuneration (Boeri Van Ours, 2013).

The Labour Law Dictionary (1997) and Beligrădeanu and Stefanescu (1997) summarise the labour market's definition as a conversation between the supply and demand of labour that is generally completed through employment, with employees agreeing to the terms and conditions of the contract. Given the above definitions of the labour market, human capital theories, documented as factors impacting Black African and Black Caribbean first-and second generation ethnic minorities' labour market, were not considered to be challenged in the transaction within the labour marketplace.

2.4 Chapter Summary

This chapter has provided a review of the key literature relevant to the current study. In summary, the literature review evidence shows that first and second generation ethnic minority groups endured persistent labour market discrimination as opposed to their majority population counterparts. The discussion on ethnic minority employment disparity in the UK has become intermittent debates in the central government (Cabinet Office, 2017). Research studies show that human capital is crucial to first generation ethnic minorities as this has been abundantly documented as a barrier to employment opportunities in the labour market (Dutmann et al., 2010). However, other commentators suggest that labour employment inequality is based on discrimination and has been termed 'ethnic penalties', a notion frequently used to posit that ethnic minority groups are penalised for becoming ethnic minority individuals (Heath and McMahon, 1997; Carmichael and Wood, 2000; Heath et al., 2007). Similarly, empirical studies indicate that ethnic minorities in the UK have witnessed an unprecedented persistent socio-economic disadvantage in the last decade due to inadequate social capital networks compared to their ethnic majority counterparts; this is because social capital theory acknowledges the importance of human capital but emphasises the resources set in public structure and social contacts (Bourdieu, 1984; Granovetter, 1973; Lin, 2001; Lin et al., 1981; Putnam, 2000).

The recurrent inequality in the labour market and other domains has led both labour and the conservative government to implement several legislations to tackle ethnic minority groups' discrimination to allow equality of opportunity for all (Equality Act, 2010). Based on the literature outcomes, Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minority individuals have continued to endure employment penalties in the labour market and have arguably experienced discrimination compared to other wider Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic (BAME) minorities. It is a widespread assumption that immigrants' children have invested heavily in human capital as a strategy to escape labour market discrimination; despite their educational achievement, they continued to experience labour market disparities as opposed to their majority counterparts with similar academic qualifications. Ethnicity studies show that both first and second generation Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minorities are overqualified for employment because they have no alternative but to accept unskilled jobs for survival.

Scholarly literature shows that women have joined the labour market in more significant numbers, and the issue of workplace equality remains an enduring concern for policymakers and academia (Cabinet Office, 2017). The following chapter will discuss and justify the research methodology used to address the aim and objectives of the study.

Chapter Three: Methodology, Methods and Design

3.0 Introduction

According to Ellen (1984, p. 9), ‘‘research methodology refers to the study and critical exploration of data production techniques. That means the type of data that fits the research and which category of data collection methods would suit the research. The methodological question allows the researcher to ask how the world should be studied’’ (Ellen 1984, p. 9).

This chapter describes and justifies the methodology employed in this present thesis. As noted in the introductory chapter, the objectives of this present thesis are as follows:

- To examine the nature of employment disadvantages of first and second generation Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minorities in the labour market.
- To explore the factors influencing the employment disadvantages of first and second generation Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minorities.
- To analyse the similarities and differences between first and second generation Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minorities.

The chapter also outlines and justifies the research techniques employed in this present thesis. It describes the research philosophy, research design, data collection, and the approach used to analyse the data from the thesis findings. The chosen research method is a qualitative research approach. According to Creswell (2007), research methodology is the broad philosophy underpinning research approaches. Research methodology is an approach strategy that determines a particular research method (Crotty, 1998). It enables researchers to obtain justifiable outcomes by using procedures and approaches that can be both valid and reliable. Thus, it concerns research questions about why, what, from where, when, and how data is collected and analysed (Crotty, 1998). The nature of any research exercise should drive the

methodology adopted (Levy, 2008). According to Myers (1997), before undertaking any empirical study, it is essential to understand the underlying assumptions behind ‘valid research’ as this would make it easier to validate the methodologies and methods employed in a research method.

Justification of methodological selection should relate to the theoretical standpoint that underpins the research (Crotty, 1998). Scholarly literature defines methodology as the plan of action or the overarching approach and rationale of the research project. While method refers to the techniques or procedures, researchers employ to gather and analyse data related to some research questions or hypotheses and interviews (Levy, 2008). Selecting a suitable methodology is described as the research strategy, plan of action, process or design behind the choice of particular methods and linking the selection and the use of methods to the anticipated results (Crotty, 1998).

3.1 Research Paradigm

The word paradigm began from the Greek word “paradeigma” which implies pattern. A researcher, Kuhn 1962, first used the research paradigm to explain a theoretical framework that a group of scholars or scientists accepts and affords them an in-depth guideline to conduct their research (Kuhn, 1962, p. 1).

3.1.1 Definitions of Paradigm

The term paradigm has been defined in different ways by research scholars. According to research by MacNaughton et al. (2001), the term paradigm comprises three elements: a belief about the nature of knowledge, a methodology, and criteria for validity. Neuman (2000) and Creswell (2003) describe the term paradigm as epistemology, ontology, or research methodology. Research by Mackenzie and Knipe (2006) describes variable theoretical paradigms as positivist (post-positivist), constructivist, interpretivist, transformative, emancipatory, critical, pragmatism, deconstructivist, and postpositivist. In the postpositivist paradigm, the philosophy should be based on cause and effect (Creswell, 2003). However, other research indicates

that interpretive researchers understand “the world of human experience” (Cohen and Manion, 1994, p.36). These findings are like those of Creswell (2003) and Yanow and Schwartz-Shea (2011), showing that interpretive researchers discover reality through participants’ views, life experiences, and backgrounds. Considering various understandings from respected scholars, the researcher understands that the interpretive paradigm allows researchers to view the world through the perceptions and experiences of the participants. To narrow the scope of this thesis and answer the research aim and objectives, the researcher does not intend to investigate all kinds of research approaches and methods; instead, the thesis focuses on understanding the lived experience of first and second generation Black Africans and Black Caribbeans in the labour market.

3.1.2 Ontological Positions

Research by Grix (2004, p. 59) shows that ontology and epistemology are to research what ‘footings’ are to a house: they form the foundations of the whole edifice.

Research by Richards (2016, p. 33) shows that ontology is the nature of our beliefs about reality. According to Tada-jawski (2006, p.7), the ontological assumptions of interpretivism are that reality is “socially constructed, multiple, holistic, contextual”. For interpretive researchers, social reality is inter-subjectivity composed so that epistemology knowledge is not approached from the standpoint of the external, objective position but from the “lived experience” of the research co-participant (Cova and Elliott, 2008). Social scientists suggest that ontology is concerned with what an individual believes exists. Ontologically, the researcher in this study rejects the assumption of the positivistic approach, which assumes that there is a single reality outside. In the positivistic approach, the researcher is supposed to be a dispassionate outside observer, with the objects of study waiting to be observed reduced to mere variables. In this study, the researcher assumes that reality is socially constructed and that there is no separation between the researcher and the existing reality. That is, this study adopts a subjective view of social reality. Therefore, the researcher in this study explores reality as constructed by Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minorities of their lived experience relating to their employment disadvantages in the labour market. For this to be achieved, participants should be studied in their own context according to their perspectives

instead of being reduced to variables. The researcher is interested in understanding and describing multiple realities and does not believe that a single reality exists. My ontological positioning implies that I can gain an in-depth understanding of my thesis participants' "lived experiences" using the interview research methods outlined in this thesis.

3.1.3 Epistemological Positions

An epistemological assumption is a theory of general knowledge (Anderson and Ozanne, 1998; Etherington, 2004). It explains how we can know things. The present thesis seeks knowledge of the current employment positions in the labour market. Epistemology provides a philosophical grounding for deciding what kind of knowledge is possible and how an individual can ensure that it is valid and appropriate (Crotty, 1998). In research studies, after researchers have thought about their ontological positions and determined their stance, Mason (2002) suggests that the next thing that should be taken into consideration is the researcher's epistemology. Also, Grenfell and James (1998) view epistemology as different approaches to knowing, understanding and the means of expressing them. It is a debate or a position on what is knowable and worth knowing. The authors (Grenfell and James, 1998) suggest that epistemology concerns how knowledge is identified and organised (i.e., how can someone know reality?). The researcher adopts an interpretive epistemology because the reality in the interpretive approach is multiple, socially constructed, and subjectively created and influenced by social actors (Burrell and Morgan, 1979; Chua, 1986). Accordingly, interpreting these multiple subjective realities is important to understand the plausible explanation for the employment disadvantages experienced by Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minorities through interaction with the participants (Hallebone and Priest, 2009). From an epistemological perspective, the researcher opposes the positivistic approach's assumption that knowledge is generated by studying the cause-and-effect relationship derived from testing a hypothesis based on specific selected variables. Since there is but one reality for the positivist, the findings from studying the relationship between variables can be generalised.

In contrast, the current study intends to gain a deeper understanding of the factors which influence the employment disadvantages of Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minority groups from their perspectives. Therefore, this study does not aim to make any single explanation or generalisable statement for ethnic minorities in the UK. The knowledge acquired is

primarily based on subjective interpretation of their perceptions derived from the interviews and ethnic and migration literature as secondary data collection methods. Positivism and interpretivism are opposing ends of epistemological perspectives, which have different implications for the research approach adopted. Positivism entails working with observable social reality and relying heavily on quantitative data to test hypotheses and verify pre-defined theories (Saunders et al., 2012; Bryman and Bell, 2012). While an interpretivist leans towards an inductive approach rather than testing theories using pre-determined variables, allowing theory to emerge from the data (Bryman and Bell, 2012). In order to capture the complexity and uncover themes, it is necessary to study the research subjects within the context of the social world around them (Lincoln and Guba, 1985).

In a study that aims to understand the employment disadvantage experiences of Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minorities in the UK context, an interpretivist approach will allow an understanding of how these factors influence their employment outcomes and establish their similarities and differences. The rigidity inherent in the positivist approach would not allow for the capture of these issues. Thus, an interpretivist stance was adopted by the researcher.

Table 2 Epistemological position of positivists and interpretivists

| Epistemology | Positivism | Interpretivism |
|---|--|--|
| Nature of knowledge | Have direct access to the real world | No direct access to the real world |
| Reality | Single external reality | No single external reality |
| Grounds of knowledge' relationship between reality and research | Possible to obtain hard, secure, objective knowledge | Understood through 'perceived' knowledge |
| | Research focuses on generalisation and abstraction | Research focuses on the specific and the concrete. |
| | Thought governed by hypotheses and stated theory | Seeking to understand a specific context |

Source: Adapted from Carson et al. (2001)

The above table shows the definitions/explanations of Positivism, Interpretivism and Epistemology.

3.1.4 The Interpretivist Paradigm

The interpretivist research paradigm is associated with the qualitative research method. It recognises that reality is constructed in everyone's mind and embedded in multiple contexts such as households, community, professional, historical, and political contexts (Ponterotto, 2005). This means there are many different, equally valid versions of reality (Ponterotto, 2005). Ethnic minorities face persistent labour market disadvantages, and even second generation individuals born and educated in the country also experience employment penalties (Li and Heath, 2020; Cabinet Office, 2017; Rafferty, 2012). The interpretivist philosophy is most suitable for this research, instead of a positivist philosophy, because it uses qualitative methods focused on discovery and process and is more concerned with a deeper understanding of the research problem (Ponterotto, 2005).

The importance of the interpretative approach, according to Burrell and Morgan (1979), is the nature of reality which rejects that one real world exists: that is, the reality is essentially mental and perceived; individuals create devices such as theories and categories to enable them to make sense of their worlds. Reality is also socially constructed based on the assumption that all human knowledge is developed, transmitted, and maintained in a social situation (Beger and Luckman, 1967). In contrast to other experimentalists, to whom the control of all experimental conditions is paramount, interpretivists conduct research in a natural and changing environment (Anderson and Ozzane, 1998). Considering several research approaches that rely on the experimental approach and so on, the interpretive approach is more beneficial due to its structures, which consider that each researcher comes into the research environment with knowledge or some basic understanding. Anderson and Ozanne (1998) added that multiple realities exist because they involve many people and individuals' views. Interpretivists assume that there is no single reality because multiple realities exist, and these same realities may be subjected to changes. Furthermore, Easterby-Smith (2008) and Proctor (2003) show that all research is said to be grounded in a philosophical perspective. The authors offer a complimentary summary of why a philosophical perspective is essential to researchers, and thus considering research philosophy in any research helps researchers to clarify the research design in terms of its overall configuration, what kind of data is gathered, and how it can be interpreted to provide the accurate answer to the research question asked.

When comparing interpretivist and positivist research approaches, they seem to differ in their assumptions about the world and their goals. Interpretivists' ways of understanding the truth differ from the theory of truth in which the positivist concept of validity appears to believe and avoids the solipsistic relativism of a purely subjective view (Angen, 2000; Anderson Ozanne, 1998). Truth, from an interpretive standpoint, no longer depends on one-to-one correspondence to objective reality, but it is acknowledged that what an individual intends to know if reality is socially constructed through researchers' inter-subjective experiences within the life world (Angen 2000; Anderson Ozanne, 1998). This thesis chooses an interpretive research method that seeks to understand ethnic minority individuals' "lived experience" in the labour market.

3.2 Methodologies Considered Not Appropriate in this Thesis.

3.2.1 Discourse Analysis Approach

The discourse analysis approach focuses on how individuals describe their experiences or construct social reality through the role of language (Crossley, 2000). However, interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA) assumes language is important but does not entirely accept the notion that language is the alternative measure to construct reality (Smith and Eatough, 2006). In contrast, this current thesis seeks to understand the “lived experience” of ethnic minority individuals' labour market disadvantages instead of the discourse analyses approach, which describes participants' experiences. Based on its assumptions, the discourse analysis approach is not an appropriate method to investigate ethnic minorities' labour market disadvantages and thus will not be used in this thesis.

3.2.2 Narrative Inquiry Approach

Research conducted by Chase (2011) regarding narrative inquiry shows that narrative inquiry is a subtype of qualitative inquiry and is concerned with an individual's life experience as narrated by those who live the life. Elliot (2005) defines narrative inquiry as a story with a beginning and an end. However, the objective of the thesis is to understand the ‘lived experience’ of first and second generation Black African and Black Caribbeans' persisting labour market disadvantage, which translates to ethnic penalties (Heath and Cheung, 2007; Carmichael and Woods, 2000) and has been one of the most debated topics amongst scholars and mainstream policymakers (Cabinet Office, 2017). Thus, the narrative inquiry approach is not considered appropriate considering its assumptions.

3.2.3 Grounded Theory Approach

Grounded theory qualitative research shows that a qualitative approach such as grounded theory should be a more effective methodology when a study aims to ‘build’ theory (Strauss and Corbin, 1998). Carson et al. (2001) suggest that a research problem requires three characteris-

tics for grounded theory to be applicable. First, the research should be inter-primitivist; second, the study should be about complex social processes between individuals; and third, there should not be any contemporary theories about the phenomena or current theories should be demonstrably inadequate.

The grounded theory research approach thus uses inductive reasoning to generate a theory grounded in qualitative data representing the shared experiences of people within their social worlds, affording the possibility to comprehend complex experiences, changes, and variations in human behaviour (Charmaz, 2006). In contrast, this is not the issue in this present thesis that seeks to understand ethnic minorities' employment disadvantages and 'lived experience' in the labour market. It does not aim to construct a theory from data. Thus, the grounded theory approach is not considered suitable for this thesis.

3.2.4 Case Study Approach

Case study research methodology has featured prominently in social research in recent decades (Yin, 2003). However, case study research techniques are empirical inquiries that investigate contemporary phenomena within their real-life context, especially when the boundaries between the phenomenon and context have not been shown in real life (Yin, 2003). In this thesis, the debate on minority individuals' labour market disadvantages is not contemporary but a decades-old one (see Chiswick, 1980; Stewart, 1983).

According to Stake (2000), a case study approach is a common framework for conducting qualitative research. Similarly, a case study research method is depicted as a phenomenon occurring in a bounded context (Miles and Huberman, 1994). Research by Hartley (2004) suggests that case study research involves a comprehensive inquiry, often with data collected throughout phenomena within their context, and the purpose is to provide an analysis of the context and processes which shed light on the theoretical issues studied. Additionally, Yin (2003) shows that a case study approach is all about the "how" or "why" question that is being asked regarding an existing set of events that the researcher has not had much control over at all. A case study aims to obtain as many in-depth details as possible about an event, person, or process (Yin, 2003). Nonetheless, this current thesis seeks to explore Black Afri-

can and Black Caribbean current employment positions in England and Wales's labour market; thus, a case study approach is unsuitable and will not be employed.

3.3 Research Methods Considered Appropriate in This Thesis

3.3.1 Qualitative Methods

Research conducted by Creswell (2009, p.4) states that qualitative research 'is a means for exploring and understanding the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem.' For this qualitative research study, communicating with my thesis participants was more advantageous than employing a written, close-ended questionnaire emailed to them requesting a response to the questions. After carefully considering the thesis questions that seek to understand my participants' lived experience in the labour market, this method allows me as the researcher to explore what is on the subject's mind, which can assist in claims of reliability for the conversation. The importance of employing this research technique is that both first and second generation Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minority participants had the opportunity to explain their lived experiences that relate to my research questions from their perspective. It also helps the researcher to address any misunderstanding with the participants during the conversation (Dumangane, 2016). Moreover, as a researcher, it allows me to listen and talk to the participants about their lived experiences of employment disadvantages, their feelings, the behaviour of employers in the labour market, attitudes, and meanings as they relate to ongoing employment penalties.

3.3.2 Justification for Adopting a Qualitative Research Method

The researcher chose a qualitative research method because it enables an exploration of the current employment positions of the first and second generation Black African and Black Caribbean participants. In the UK, a qualitative research method has been previously employed to convey the voices of observers in the Stephen Lawrence inquiry (1999). This method allowed the public to express their opinions through witness statements. The investigators gathered significant findings throughout that period to make a valid and reliable conclusion

(Phillips and Burbules, 2000). Consequently, this thesis adopts a qualitative research method that allows ethnic minority individuals who feel they have endured persistent employment disadvantages in the labour market to express and discuss their 'lived experience'. This thesis adopted an interpretivist approach with a subjective view of social reality as opposed to other qualitative research methods. For example, Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) is another qualitative research approach that explores the lived experience of individuals (Smith et al., 2009, 2021). Phenomenological methods rely on descriptions of conscious experiences to develop an understanding of the meaning of human action in everyday life (Schwandt, 2001; Van Manen, 1990). The Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis was not considered appropriate, though the thesis mentioned participants' lived experiences associated with Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis. This is because the interpretive approach enables breadth and depth of response from various research participants (Thorne, 2014; Davidson et al., 2019) to achieve the fundamental objective of this thesis aimed at understanding the nature and experiences of first and second generation Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minority groups' current employment position in England and Wales. It allowed an understanding of the factors influencing their employment disadvantages. However, IPA is concerned with a small number of participants, allowing for a detailed analysis of the participants' experience and engaging with existing theoretical frameworks (Smith et al., 2009, 2021).

The choice of a qualitative research approach instead of a quantitative method was because a qualitative method is usually suitable for an in-depth exploration of a phenomenon. This thesis seeks to ascertain the current employment positions of Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minorities in England and Wales's labour market because research scholars suggested that further investigation is required in this area (Card, 2005), and the qualitative method would allow an in-depth exploration of the subject.

This method has been widely employed. It allows full analytical descriptions, which enables broad, thorough descriptions of the participants' experiences, which will be useful in actualising the research objectives since the researcher seeks to explore the 'lived experiences' of ethnic minorities in the labour market and make contributions to standard academic literature (Kvale, 1996). The qualitative interview is beneficial in this thesis because it is a guided conversation in which the researcher does not personally pre-conceive and trace the road ahead,

as applies to quantitative survey-based research. It allows it to be shaped in conversation with the interview participants. This listening method sits well with the thesis objectives. It is also a strategy that seeks to enter individuals' perspectives (Patton 2002, p. 341). Accordingly, in this thesis, interviews will be employed, and the reason for choosing this method is to slowly unveil my participants' perspectives around the thesis questions, aims and objectives. Academic literature defines qualitative research as "a situated activity that seeks to locate the observer in the world" (Denzin and Lincoln, 2003, p.3). This comprises a set of interpretive, material practices that help make the entire world visible. "These practices change the world, they alter the world, making it into a series of representations, and this includes field notes, interviews, discussions, photographs, recordings, and memos; qualitative research involves an interpretive, naturalistic approach to the world" (Denzin and Lincoln, 2003, p.3). Besides, the qualitative method is seen as a technique to enter other individuals' perspectives (Patton, 2002; p. 341).

3.3.3 Advantages of using a Qualitative method instead of a Quantitative Method

Research by Elliot (2005) describes quantitative research as a research method that generates data which is coded and communicated in a numerical format, while on the other hand, the author defines qualitative research as a research approach that focuses on data such as textual nature, full of detailed and thick descriptions. Quantitative research seems to produce quantifiable and generalisable conclusions. In contrast, qualitative research is more concerned with how individuals see the world rather than seeking statistical perspectives, and this type of research method is more concerned with the individuals' insights into the world (Elliot, 2005). A qualitative research method will be employed to understand the meaning and actions of human experience; this method fits with this thesis's research aims and objectives, which seek to explore first-and second generation ethnic minorities' employment disadvantages in England and Wales. The qualitative research approach is more useful in discovering and providing detailed insights and in-depth information to understand the chosen topic (Mason, 2017). Employing a qualitative research method in this thesis would enable the researcher to obtain detailed insights into the persistent employment disadvantages of ethnic minorities in the labour market and make a fresh contribution to the existing ethnic and migration research. This would be an appropriate intervention given the continuing debates on immigrants' labour market disadvantages (Cabinet Office, 2019).

The importance of employing a qualitative research method is enormous because it attempts to capture an aspect of the social world. At the same time, the approach differs from quantitative research, which focuses on measuring and counting things or numbers. The qualitative research method allows the researcher to explore social phenomena such as the experiences and nature of employment disadvantages. Black ethnic minorities face in England and Wales's labour market (Christine and Nigel, 2010). According to Temptingly (1996), in the qualitative research approach, if researchers want to understand how individuals feel about the world, their own lives, and how they think about their environment, they should talk to them directly and individually. In this thesis, to understand how ethnic minority individuals think about their labour market disadvantages, the qualitative research method is considered a construction site of knowledge creation. This method uses informal conversational interviews with open-ended questions that rely solely on "the spontaneous generation of questions in the natural flow of an interview interaction between the researcher and the interviewees" (Patton, 2002, p. 342; Amalia, 2013). It allows the researcher to gain more insight into most ethnic minority females who have declined to seek employment in bigger cities due to family factors (Blackaby et al., 2005). It gives insight into the factors influencing ethnic minority men's employment disadvantages.

The researcher adopts a qualitative rather than a quantitative method concerned with testing hypotheses by measuring variables, identifying causes and effects, and relationships. The quantitative method uses closed-ended questions and is thus inappropriate in this present thesis because it does not allow in-depth insights into ethnic minorities' "lived experiences" or the nature of employment disadvantages faced in the labour market (Willig, 2001). As noted above, the researcher will employ a qualitative method to explore the current employment positions of Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minorities in the labour market.

This thesis investigates the current employment positions of first and second generation Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minorities in England and Wales's labour market. To this end, the primary research questions are as follows:

- What is the nature of employment disadvantages that Black African and Caribbean first and second generation ethnic minorities experience in the labour market?
- What factors influence first and second generation Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minorities' employment disadvantages?
- What are the similarities and differences between Black African and Black Caribbean first and second generation employment disadvantages?

Table 3 Differences between Positivism and Interpretivism

| Methodology | Positivism | Interpretivism |
|-----------------------------------|--|--|
| Focus of research | Concentrates on description and explanation | Concentrates on understanding and interpretation |
| Role of the Researcher | Detached, external observer | The researcher wants to experience what they are studying |
| | A clear distinction between reason and feeling | Allows feelings and reason to govern actions |
| | Aims to discover external reality rather than creating the object of the study | Partially created what is studied, the meaning of the phenomena |
| | Strives to use rational, consistent, verbal, logical approach | The use of pre-understanding is important |
| | Seeks to maintain a clear distinction between facts and value judgements | The distinction between facts and value judgements is less clear |
| | Distinction between science and personal experience | Accepts influence from both science and personal experience |
| Techniques used by the researcher | Formalised statistical and mathematical methods predominate | Primarily non-quantitative |

Source: Adapted from Carson et al. (2001)

3.4 Establishing Trustworthiness in Qualitative Research

The researcher acknowledges the importance of establishing 'trustworthiness' in qualitative research. Evaluating the research findings is vital, as it indicates the validity and rigorous procedures followed. As a concept, trustworthiness was promoted by Lincoln and Guba (1985), which is considered the ideal framework for evaluating qualitative research. Trustworthiness refers to the degree of confidence that can be placed in the data, its interpretation and the research methods utilised to ensure its quality. Consequently, the quality of qualitative research is achieved with reference to the accuracy of the findings from the researchers' participants and the readers' perspectives (Creswell and Miller, 2000; Thomas, 2019). The trustworthiness approach outlines four criteria for evaluating rigour in qualitative interpretive studies: credibility, dependability, transferability and confirmability (Shenton, 2004; Johnson et al., 2020).

3.4.1 Credibility

Credibility concerns the truthfulness of the research findings. Credibility is essential and was attained by the researcher through reflexivity, thick description, and participants' research data validation through data triangulation (Lincoln and Guba, 1985; Shenton, 2004). Reflexivity includes the researcher as part of the construction of meaning. The researcher achieved reflexivity by jotting notes about the participants' comments and the researcher's thoughts during the interview, developing and continually editing the researcher's subjectivity statement. The researcher used a thick description of the data source and a fit between the data and the emerging analysis (Welch, 2011). Full data descriptions extended beyond research paradigms and involved detailed, rich descriptions of the participants' experiences of employment disadvantages and the context in which these experiences occurred. The researcher provided rich details about the research context to enable the readers to check its potential application to other persons, times, and contexts (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). The researcher presented the data clearly in the findings and discussion chapters (chapters four and six, respectively), with the presentation being both insightful and thorough. Also, direct quotations from the research participants were presented to support the interpretations and provide greater understanding. Data triangulation strategy involves using multiple data sources to provide corroborating evidence (Lincoln and Guba, 1985; Miles and Huberman, 1994; Patton, 1980). In this research, data triangulation was achieved by the researcher by gathering valuable information from different sources using semi-structured interviews and academic literature to cross-check the

findings. Such a process allowed for a more in-depth understanding of the nature of employment disadvantages experienced by Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minorities.

3.4.2 Dependability

Dependability deals with issues relating to the research process and data analysis techniques (Ritchie and Lewis, 2003; Rolfe, 2004). Dependability consists of evaluating the research findings and data interpretation techniques and drawing conclusions in the study to determine that the data gathered from various sources are traceable. Dependability was achieved in this qualitative research through careful research design tracking and keeping an audit trail, reflecting a careful process in data collection and analysis techniques such as coding, defining themes, and analytic memos.

3.4.3 Transferability

Transferability between contexts can be made by identifying similarities and differences in factors that are part of the constant theoretical framework among different participants and can relate to another context to which the same theory is applied (Gasson, 2004). Given the usual small sample size of qualitative research, generalisability cannot be achieved, and the focus of qualitative research is not to generalise (Smith, 2018). In this interpretive research, the purpose is to purposely select participants that assist the researcher in extending theory through an in-depth understanding of the research topic. The research adopts the discourse of transferrable outcomes rather than generalisable results, which was achieved through thick description by providing sufficient information on the research context, processes, and participants, enabling readers to evaluate the quality of research findings.

3.4.4 Confirmability

Confirmability assesses the research findings and whether the evidence provided derives from the data source and reflects the research participant's understanding (Baxter and Jack, 2008). While qualitative researchers are allowed to report their findings subjectively, they must also be sensitive to the participants' experience depending on reflexive self-awareness (Gasson, 2004; Patnaik, 2013). Confirmability was achieved in this study by establishing an audit trail of all the steps involved in the research process with a detailed description of the

methodology, making sure that the conclusions were linked with the data and through reflexivity control. Reflexivity allows the researcher to ponder how their life experiences and understandings influence the research process (Berger, 2015). During this study, the critical decision-making process concerning data gathering, analysis and interpretation was discussed and supervised closely by the supervisors who were part of the auditing process throughout the research period. Also, the researcher made sure that the findings resulted from the inquiry and were not due to bias by using data triangulation. The table below shows the criteria for trustworthiness used to ensure rigour in the research as outlined by Lincoln and Guba (1985) and the techniques adopted by the researcher in achieving trustworthiness in the study.

Table 4 Criteria for Trustworthiness Ensuring Rigour in the Study

| Trustworthiness: Criteria for ensuring rigour in qualitative research | Description | Techniques used in achieving trustworthiness in the study |
|--|---|--|
| Credibility | The truthfulness of the research findings. | Reflexivity Thick description: full data description, including research context. Direct quotations from the research participants Data triangulation |
| Dependability | Evaluating research findings, interpretation and conclusions to determine whether data gathered are traceable. | Careful research design tracking Audit trail |
| Transferability | Applicability of the research findings to other research contexts and participants. | Thick description: providing sufficient information on the research context, processes and participants. |
| Conformability | The extent to which the evidence provided derives from the data source and reflects the participant's understanding without bias. | Audit trail Reflectivity Data triangulation |

3.5 Data Collection Methods Employed in this Thesis.

3.5.1 Semi-Structured Interviews

This section presents the data collection methods employed in this thesis. The research methods used consist of semi-structured interviews, skype, telephone interviews, snowball sample

techniques, thematic analysis, and ethnic and migration literature on first and second generation ethnic minorities' employment disadvantages. An interview guide comprising interview questions was used to gather data from the research participants and is included in the Appendix. The researcher will compare the semi-structured interviews, skype, and telephone interviews with scholarly literature to determine whether they confirm or disconfirm existing knowledge to establish the validity and reliability of the thesis. Figure 3 below depicts the research design outlining the techniques adopted by the researcher.

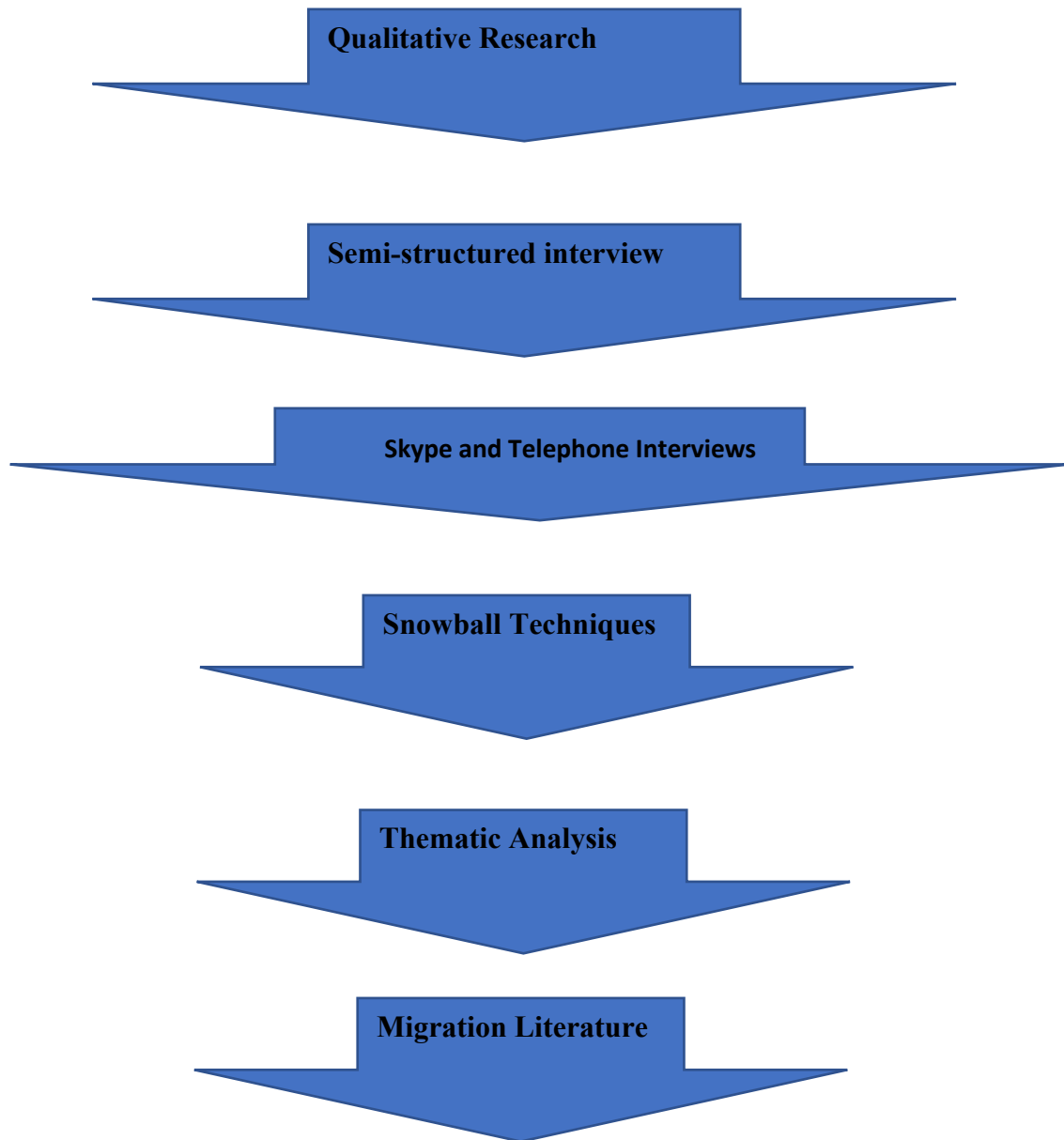


Figure 3 Research Design

3.4.2 The Advantages of Semi-Structured Interviews

Numerous interview styles are generally employed in social science research to investigate concerns. In qualitative research, face-to-face interviews have been the most dominant method to explore participants' views. Telephone interviews have also become very important in qualitative research in the past few years. Communication has also allowed researchers to employ Skype, email and chat boxes to investigate issues (Opdenakker, 2006). For this thesis's objectives, the research employed semi-structured interviews to explore ethnic minority

people's employment disadvantages in England and Wales. A semi-structured interview is considered an appropriate method because it allows the researchers to ask participants several questions regarding their experience and insight in their workplace. Semi-structured interviews have been recognised and considered one of the most widely employed methods in the past (ONS, 2012; 2018). Considering the thesis questions, the interview questions are like those of the UK Labour Force Surveys and Understanding Society. For example, the questions ask about the country of birth for first generation ethnic minorities, and this allows the researcher to analyse first and second generation employment disadvantages, similarities, and theories that influence labour market outcomes. Likewise, the questions have been validated and designed to cover educational qualifications, one of the most contested issues in the labour market (Heath and Cheung, 2006; Cabinet Office, 2017).

This also enables the researcher to explore minority individuals' educational achievement as previous research shows that second generation ethnic minorities are more likely to be educated than their dominant majority counterparts and yet still experience labour market disadvantages (Platt and Nandi, 2020; Li and Heath, 2018; Modood, 2005). The semi-structured interview allows the interviewer and the interviewees to discuss open-ended questions. It enables the participants to explain the factors influencing their employment disadvantages in the labour market. Semi-structured interviews allow the researcher to ask the interviewees probing questions to elaborate on the original response or to follow a line of inquiry introduced by the interviewees (Mathers et al., 2006). This data collection method is commonly employed by researchers when collecting attitudinal information or when the study is exploratory, such as investigating the persisting ethnic minority employment disadvantages (Mathers et al., 2006).

Semi-structured interviews also provide a flexible framework of questions, which can be used to achieve the main research objectives, as follows:

- To examine the nature of employment disadvantages of first and second generation Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minorities in the labour market.
- To explore the factors influencing the employment disadvantages of first and second generation Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minorities.
- To analyse the similarities and differences between the first and second generation Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minorities.

The primary objective of this kind of interview is the researcher's interpretation of what they deem important concerning the event or behaviour (Bryman, 2008). Semi-structured interviews can create a degree of precision while motivating and enabling participants 'openness' (Gillham, 2005). Semi-structured interviews have been employed across literature on studies involving second generation ethnic minority individuals (Gillham, 2005). Equally, this current thesis seeks to position itself similarly to existing research that has addressed similar sample groups, in this case, first and second generation Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minorities. As noted earlier, the research instrument used to gather data in this thesis was semi-structured interviews. Semi-structured interview questions were developed using human and social capital theories as a guide and then structured linking with the research questions and objectives. The semi-structured interviews were designed using predetermined open-ended questions from the two theories and supplemented by follow-up and probing questions dependent on the interviewees' responses. Open-ended questions were structured around educational qualifications, skills and experience using predetermined open-ended questions derived from human capital theory. Open-ended questions were also structured around background/social networks derived from social capital theory.

3.4.3 Skype and Telephone Interviews

Due to the asynchronous communication of place, one of the advantages of telephone interviewing is the extended access to participants, compared to face-to-face interviews. Research by Mann and Stewart (2000) indicates that with telephone interviews, researchers can contact participants from all over the globe to be interviewed if they can access a phone or computer. This is important in this thesis because telephone interviews allow the researcher to contact participants in their three destinations, London, Manchester and Cardiff, respectively, instead of face-to-face interviews, especially during COVID-19. Skype and telephone interview research methods were employed to collect data from ethnic minority individuals during COVID-19 when they were locked down in their respective locations. These methods are less expensive than face-to-face interviews that involve transportation to the participants' destinations mentioned above.

Also, first and second generation ethnic minority interviewees preferred Skype or phone interviews due to the COVID-19 pandemic. Using telephone interviews, the researcher spoke to fifteen first generation and first second generation Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minorities who were aged between 18 and 64 years in three major cities in England and Wales, London, Manchester, and Cardiff, separately. Skype interviews were important because it allowed the participants to discuss their labour market experiences in detail, structural restrictions, perceptions, and factors influencing their disadvantages. The use of Skype interviews has been recommended by researchers in the past (Sturges and Hanrahan, 2004; Hanna, 2012). Related empirical evidence on Skype interviews by Sturges and Hanrahan (2004) and Hanna (2012) shows that Skype interviews have been successful in qualitative research. In other words, the advantages of this interview method are that it allows interviewees to engage effectively in the study irrespective of the distance, and it has been considered a cost-effective, qualitative data collection method. In this cyclical time of COVID-19 pandemic challenges, the advantages of using Skype and telephone interviews are enormous.

This enables the researcher to reach minority individuals (interviewees) who were currently under lockdown across the three geographical locations selected in this thesis. This method allows for easy communication between the researcher and the interviewees and helps main-

tain feelings of anonymity, as suggested by Sturges and Hanrahan (2004), Hanna (2012) and Yvette (2019). Face-to-face interviews enable analysis of body language and interviewer and interviewee interaction (Keats, 2000), but Skype and telephones are cost-effective and offer the opportunity to reach out to individuals who were at home observing social distancing instructed by the government to minimise the spread of COVID-19. Combining Skype and telephone enabled the researcher to gather rich and sufficient data to analyse ethnic minority labour market constraints effectively. Ten additional participants from the first and second generation Black Africans and Black Caribbeans who were currently working were chosen to participate in the interview through Skype in London, Manchester, and Cardiff. Five male and five female participants with first and second degrees from the UK were also recruited for the interview.

3.4.4 The Importance of Snowball Sample Technique in this Thesis

The snowball sample technique is a non-random research technique whereby the researcher makes initial contact with a small group of people relevant to the research topic and questions outlined and then uses these to establish connections with others (Bryman, 2016; Sharma, 2017). In this thesis, the respondents of interest are first and second generation Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minorities in England and Wales. This method allows the researcher to connect other individuals with a similar characteristic known to them so that the sample size increases like a rolling snowball. It starts with a few eligible research subjects and proceeds based on participant referrals until the desired sample size has been gathered (Rentella, 2018; Bindah, 2019).

3.4.5 Thematic Analysis

Thematic analysis will be used to analyse the data. It is a qualitative method used for classifying, evaluating, and reporting themes within data. This method was chosen because it allows the researcher the flexibility of a detailed account of the data and to summarise key themes of the data gathered whilst highlighting the similarities and differences across the data sets (Gioia, 2004; Braun and Clarke, 2014). There are six steps in analysing data using thematic analysis: transcribing data, generating initial codes, searching for themes, reviewing themes,

defining and naming themes, and producing the report (Braun and Clarke, 2006). Transcribing involves reading and re-reading the data and noting down initial ideas. Generating initial codes involves coding interesting features of the data in a systematic approach across the entire data set and collating data relevant to each code. Searching for themes involves organising the codes into potential themes and gathering all data relevant to each theme. Reviewing themes involves checking if the themes work in relation to the coded extracts and the entire data set. Defining and naming themes involves refining each theme's details, the overall information the analysis provides, and generating clear definitions and names for each theme. Producing the report entails the selection of compelling extract examples, relating the analysis to the research questions and literature.

The literature review on employment disadvantages will be used to confirm and disconfirm the findings of the research. It is also recommended that a researcher should choose the sample size that provides the best opportunity to reach data saturation. Data saturation is reached when no new information is derived from the data (O'Reilly and Parker, 2012; Walker, 2012). Furthermore, Fugard and Potts (2015) suggest that qualitative researchers require a minimum sample size of at least 12 to reach data saturation. Ritchie et al. (2014) propose that researchers should not conduct more than 50 interviews. The researcher has thus chosen to use 30 semi-structured interviews. A large sample size does not guarantee data saturation, nor does a small sample size; instead, it is what comprises the sample size (Burmeister and Aitken, 2012). Data saturation can be achieved using data triangulation, which involves multiple sources of data collection. Thus, multiple sources of data collection are used in the research.

3.4.6 The Structured Interviews

This type of interview was not selected in this thesis because it represents data collection in its most controlled form. This kind of interview method suggests that the interviewer seeks certain information from participants. Researchers collect this data to allow as little variation as possible. The questions are precisely framed and designed to produce responses from participants that might be recorded, most of the time using a coding scheme. This interview is often done with a long list of the same sets of questions, called an interview schedule, which the researcher would ask with scrupulous attention to precise form and order, and it yields

answers that can be compared across respondents. Since the researcher knows what information they are searching for and the results can be analysed quantitatively, this type is ideal for surveys and is often called survey interviews (Maynard and Schaeffer, 2006, p. 27). The structured interview's core objective is usually organised around prearranged direct questions that involve immediate, mostly 'yes' or 'no' type responses during an interview (Alshenqeeti, 2014). However, this type of interview gives the interviewer and interviewees little freedom to ask further questions (Berg, 2007). Berg (2007) shows that this type of interview seems like the 'self-administered' quantitative questionnaire in its form and underlying assumptions.

3.4.7 Open-ended (Unstructured) Interview

An open-ended (unstructured) interview was not considered appropriate for this thesis, which seeks to explore ethnic minority employment disadvantages that have been widely documented and debated nationwide (Cabinet Office, 2017; Health et al., 2007; Carmichael and Woods, 2000) because unstructured interviews do not use any set questions; instead, the interviewer asks open-ended questions based on a specific research topic (Gubrium and Holstein, 2002). However, the researcher employed a semi-structured interview method due to its ability to create more flexibility, allowing the research participants to elaborate on the subject rather than leaving the researcher to determine the contents and responses (Kallio et al., 2016). This also enabled the researcher to listen attentively to their labour market challenges. Unlike unstructured interviews, in this type of interview, the researcher uses a checklist (see Berg, 2007) that helps to cover all important areas (i.e., research questions asked). According to Berg (2007), such a checklist enables the researcher to use probing questions and keep the interview within the specific timeframe traced out by the aim of the thesis. The themes and sub-themes that emerged during the interviews are shown in Table 5 below.

Table 5 Themes and sub-themes

| |
|---|
| Core themes and sub-themes that emerged during the interviews. |
| Lived Experience: |
| 1. Core Theme: Human Capital |
| 2. Core Theme: Social Capital |
| 3. Core Theme: Reference and Acculturation Processes |
| 4. Core Theme: Persistent Labour Market Disadvantages Based on Ethnic Origins |
| 5. Core Theme: Lack of Recognition of Foreign Skills and Training |

3.4.8 Ethical Considerations

The interview participants were informed about the nature of the thesis and reminded that their participation was voluntary before data collection commenced. This meant they could withdraw from the interviews if they changed their minds. Throughout the interviews, to maintain confidentiality, the interview participants were given pseudonyms, A, B, to Z, and identifying information was removed before the transcription. Participants were informed that all details would be treated with care and kept confidential in a secure password locker. This ensured all participants' details were protected according to the General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR). Also, the participants were treated with respect throughout the interviews; the researcher cautiously listened to both first and second generation Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minority individuals' labour market experiences and processed carefully any

topics that may relate to discomfort (e.g. employment barriers that have caused regrets and setbacks). During data analysis and writing up in this thesis, the researcher tried to understand and convey participants' experiences and perceptions as accurately as possible while reflecting on whether the study's interpretations could be exploiting or misrepresenting participants in any way (Tracy, 2010).

3.5 Chapter Summary

This chapter has considered the philosophical issues underpinning the study. Within this, the researcher has adopted an interpretive approach. It outlined and justified the chosen methods and identified the qualitative approach as most suitable to address the research questions. The methodology enabled triangulation to ensure confidence in the findings. The chapter concludes with an overview of ethical considerations pertinent to the research. The next chapter moves on to the empirical findings derived through the application of this method.

Chapter Four: Presentation of Research Findings

4.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the findings derived from the semi-structured interviews with 30 research participants. It highlights Black African and Black Caribbean labour market disadvantages. As a recap, it presents a review of previous research on Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minorities. Next, the findings from the ethnic minority participants are presented. This study aimed to understand the nature and experience of first and second generation Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minority groups' current employment positions in England and Wales's labour market. Thus, the chapter is structured in relation to the research objectives: (1) To examine the nature of employment disadvantages of first and second generation Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minorities in the labour market. 2) To explore the factors influencing the employment disadvantages of first and second generation Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minorities. 3) To analyse the similarities and differences between first and second generation Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minorities. Data was collected and analysed through an interpretative approach with academic literature to identify key themes and issues pertinent to the research objectives and determine whether they confirm or disconfirm existing knowledge. This chapter also describes how the researcher used thematic analysis to analyse and interpret the findings. The chapter then concludes with a summary.

4.1 Black African and Black Caribbean Labour Market Disadvantages: Issues and Restrictions

I consider myself a second-generation immigrant who arrived in the UK 41 years ago from one of the Caribbean islands as part of the Windrush generation. I have lived in the UK for a long time and continue to hear about this human capital, English language competence, etc. My understanding of the 'labour market' is that it is a process that matches employers with those who are economically active and available to work. But, my experience since I started looking for jobs is that most employers have refused to understand the term 'labour market' and have constantly pretended to hide

under human capital theories, wasting time and many talents. I have acquired UK qualifications, yet finding a job with career progression opportunities is challenging.

Is there anything wrong with my English language? The participant asked.

The researcher replied: *“Not at all. You sounded Londoner based on your accent.”*

I have degrees from UK universities, yet they continue talking about social contacts and educational qualifications. My ethnicity is problematic for employers, but I have a family business now, and all my children work at three restaurants in London (British Caribbean Male, London).

Previous research shows that the UK is becoming increasingly multi-ethnic, with the proportion of ethnic minority groups growing nearly twice in the past five decades (Heath and Chung, 2007). The debate on ethnic minority employment disadvantage has attracted much attention among policymakers and academia (Sliwa et al., 2022; Carmichael and Woods, 2000; Cabinet Office, 2003). The discussion has focused on pre-migration access to work-related information in the host country, access to greater social capital, social networks, favourable immigrant recruitment selection, minority integration policies, labour market training, counselling, receptive work environment, adequate organisational sponsorship of host language training, and employer’s recognition of foreign qualifications (Cabinet Office, 2013). In a similar vein, empirical studies show that ethnic minority disadvantage has been well documented in the UK for the past 50 years (Bhat et al., 1988; Collins, 1957; Jivraj and Simpson, 2015; Modood et al., 1997; Rex, 1973; Simpson et al., 2006). Minority individuals have been shown to have faced multiple labour market barriers and are particularly at risk of higher unemployment than their majority counterparts (Heath and Cheung, 2007).

Similarly, ethnic disadvantages have been shown to continue despite the many ethnic minority individuals who have lived in the UK for many decades. For instance, literature evidence from Simpson et al. (2006) shows that the net disadvantage of ethnic minorities' employment in the UK labour market has become greater for men born in the UK. Additionally, although

the percentage of second generation ethnic minorities in well-paid/career employment has improved gradually in recent years, ethnic penalties still exist (Rafferty, 2012).

Considering abundant and documented policies and approaches implemented by the UK government which aimed at improving employment opportunities in the labour market for first and second generation Black African and Black Caribbean people (The Equality Act, 2010), scholarly literature suggests that minority individuals remain underrepresented in most salaried occupations, and they have continued to experience persistent employment penalties as opposed to the majority population groups (Heath and McMahon, 1997; Heath et al., 2007; Carmichael and Woods, 2000). Because of the growing population of first and second generation Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minority groups in England and Wales and the ongoing public debate on ethnic minority employment disadvantage in the labour market, this current thesis contributes knowledge to ethnicity and migration literature.

4.2 Black African and Black Caribbean Ethnic Minorities' Employment

4.2.1 A Review of the Research

Ethnic minorities' employment disadvantages are undisputable (Heath and McMahon, 1997). Growing academic studies have been conducted in the past to explain the existence of labour market disadvantages for ethnic minority groups, such as human capital (Beck, 1964; Borjas, 1985; Dustmann et al., 2003; Chiswick and Miller, 1995), the social capital theory (Granovetter, 1973; Putnam, 2000; Lin, 2001), and the theory on reference groups and acculturation processes (Runciman, 1966; Kasinits et al., 2008). In the last few decades, several academic commentators have shed additional light on ethnic penalties in the labour market (Heath et al., 2007; Carmichael and Woods, 2000; Zuccotti, 2015). These studies show considerable evidence that ethnic penalties exist not only in seeking employment in the labour market but also in health, occupational attainment and wages (Heath et al., 2020). Research shows that Black African women, for instance, have higher unemployment rates and are found in a minimal range of employment with less scope of opportunities for promotion at the workplace (i.e., in retail occupations, clerical work, and educational support work) compared to their native counterparts (Bradley et al., 2007; Welamedage et al., 2008). Furthermore, Black Car-

ibbean women are often clustered in the public sector, frequently in lower-level employment that is generally below their qualifications and skills (Low Pay Commission, 2013). Research also indicates that Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minority women frequently feel they have been disregarded for promotion, especially when they have witnessed their native counterparts who are less qualified progress more quickly (Bradley et al., 2007).

Further studies indicate that women from most ethnic minority groups are less successful in reaching top management careers than their native counterparts (Bradley et al., 2007). Also, literature review evidence shows that most minority women have found it hard to get a job as a result of childcare/family care, inflexible working hours, lack of part-time work, lack of support and encouragement, lack of skills/training, and lack of suitable employment opportunities in the labour market (Green et al., 2004). Research conducted by Blackaby et al. (2005; 1999) shows that cultural belief is a factor that appears to have prevented certain ethnic minority women from participating in the labour market. There are documented analyses that show the class backgrounds of certain ethnic minority individuals, cultural background, family patterns, and lack of educational qualifications are factors behind labour market disadvantages (Cabinet Office, 2003). This is particularly evident within Pakistani, Bangladeshi, African and Caribbean groups (Heath et al., 2006; Welamedage et al., 2008).

Based on a literature review of previous studies that have explored minority employment disadvantage, their findings show that there has been generational variance between first and second generation minority individuals' employment prospects (Zuccotti, 2015; Heath and Cheung, 2007); nonetheless, employment penalties exist among second generation ethnic minorities. Also, research suggests that the first generation of ethnic minorities experience greater labour market penalties than the second generation, born and educated in the UK. However, the patterns of employment disadvantage in the second generation are approximately similar to those in the first generation (Heath and Cheung, 2007). Research by Haque (2002) shows that the labour market performance of the foreign-born population tends to be worse than that of the UK-born population. Likewise, individuals from ethnic minority backgrounds generally perform worse than their native counterparts, and they are less likely to be employed or to participate in comparison to people from the same ethnic group who were born in the UK (Haque, 2002).

This chapter explores the key themes emerging from first and second generation Black African and Black Caribbean interview participants in England and Wales who arrived after the Second World War or those who came as students and subsequently remained in the UK. As stated in the introduction chapter, this thesis explores the employment status of first and second generation Black African and Black Caribbean people in England and Wales. Ethnicity literature shows that issues, obstacles and restrictions have hindered first and second generation ethnic minorities' employment opportunities in the labour market since inception (Health and McMahon, 1997; Cabinet Office, 2017). Analysing the themes that have emerged from qualitative interviews with ethnic minority participants, this chapter presents findings from the thesis fieldwork.

4.3 Findings from Ethnic Minority Participants' Interviews

This thesis's findings attempt to draw out the lived experience of first and second generation Black African and Black Caribbean participants based on their experiences of labour market disadvantages. This data was collected and thematically analysed. The results of this thesis's qualitative methods of data collection have been analysed based on the objectives as follows:

- **Research Objective One:** to examine the nature of employment disadvantages of first and second generation Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minorities in the labour market.
- **Research Objective Two:** to explore the factors influencing the employment disadvantages of first and second generation Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minorities.
- **Research Objective Three:** to analyse the similarities and differences between first and second generation Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minorities.

Thirty-two first and second generation Black African and Black Caribbean participants were purposefully selected. Inclusion criteria include those with a legal residency status to live and

work in England and Wales, employed in paid work, or actively seeking employment. By focusing on first and second generation Black Africans and Black Caribbeans who are UK nationals and have other legal immigration statuses granted by the UK government, the researcher excludes students and other minority individuals who may face language barriers or lack familiarity with UK institutions and the labour market. This thesis's semi-structured interviews were conducted between 30/06/2021 and 20/12/2021 in three regions of England and Wales: London, Manchester, and Cardiff. The phone interviews were recorded separately. The first interviews took place over the phone in three geographical locations, London, Manchester, and Cardiff, due to COVID-19 restrictions in most of England and Wales. Before the interviews, the interviewees were advised that they could take a break at their convenience during the interviews. They were also advised before the interviews that they could withdraw from the process at any time. The interviews were anonymised to ensure openness and richness of information. The interviews were all transcribed and have been thematically analysed. The purposes of the qualitative interviews were to explore first and second generation ethnic minorities' current employment positions in England and Wales, the employment disadvantage of ethnic minorities that affect their well-being, and the country's future status as a significant player in an increasingly globalised world. Similarly, in a country with equal opportunities for all, exploring the current labour market position of Black African and Black Caribbean communities is not only an issue of social justice and civic liberty, but it is also concerned with the future economic prosperity of all members in the society (Li and Heath, 2007).

This thesis's analysis method is thematic analysis, which scholars have described as an inherent, straightforward approach to arranging materials into specific research questions (Braun and Clarke, 1996). This thesis's qualitative data collection methods include 32 semi-structured interviews using the snowball technique. The literature review on employment disadvantages will be used to confirm and disconfirm the research findings. During the analysis and writing of this thesis, the researcher tried to understand and convey participants' experiences and perceptions as correctly as possible while reflecting on whether the study's interpretations could be exploiting or misrepresenting participants in any way (Tracy, 2010). It is also recommended that a researcher should choose the sample size that provides the best opportunity to reach data saturation. Data saturation is reached when no new information is derived from the data (O'Reilly and Parker, 2012; Walker, 2012).

Fugard and Potts (2015) suggest that qualitative researchers require a minimum sample size of at least twelve to reach data saturation. Ritchie et al. (2014) propose that researchers should not conduct more than fifty interviews. The researcher has thus chosen to use thirty-two semi-structured interviews. A large sample size does not guarantee data saturation or a small sample size; instead, it comprises the sample size (Burmeister and Aitken, 2012). Data saturation can be achieved using data triangulation, which involves multiple sources of data collection. Thus, multiple sources of data collection are used in the research. First and second generation Black African and Black Caribbean interviewee participants include males and females aged between 18 and 64 years, currently in employment, and those actively seeking work. Permission was obtained from the participants for the interviews to be between 45 minutes and 1-hour maximum, which was accepted. The total number of participants was between five and six in three locations in England and Wales: London, Manchester, and Cardiff. Interview participants described themselves as first and second generation Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minorities and were confident speakers of English.

Table 6 First and second generation Black African and Black Caribbean Interview Participants' Background Information

| Participant Pseudonyms | Ethnicity | Educational Qualifications (as Defined by Participants) | Employment (as Defined by Participants) | Regions (as Defined by Participants) | Age | UK/Born Overseas | Male/Female |
|------------------------|---------------------------|---|---|--------------------------------------|-----|------------------|-------------|
| 1.JM | British African-Caribbean | Graduate | Self-employed | London | 64 | Overseas | Male |
| 2. MJ | British | Graduate | Employed | London | 34 | UK | Female |

| | | | | | | | |
|--------|--|----------------------|---------------|-----------------|----|---------------|--------|
| | Afri- can- Carib- bean | | | | | | |
| 3. JA | British Carib- bean | Graduate | Employed | Cardiff | 28 | UK | Male |
| 4. JP | British Afri- can- Carib- bean | Graduate | Employed | London | 37 | UK | Female |
| 5. EA | Black African | Graduate | Self-employed | London | 45 | Over- seas | Female |
| 6. EB | Black British | Graduate | Self-employed | Man- chester | 32 | UK | Male |
| 7. GB | British Afri- can- Carib- bean | College Education | Self-employed | Cardiff | 54 | Over- seas | Male |
| 8. DU | Black British | Graduate | Employed | London | 37 | UK | Male |
| 9. MA | Black Afri- can- Carib- bean | Graduate | Employed | Man- chester | 55 | Over- seas | Male |
| 10. DO | Black British | Graduate | Unemployed | Cardiff | 39 | UK | Male |

| | | | | | | | |
|--------|---------------------------|----------|---------------|------------|----|-----------|--------|
| 11. MD | Black African | Graduate | Employed | Manchester | 55 | Over-seas | Female |
| 12. BM | Black British | Graduate | Unemployed | London | 47 | Over-seas | Female |
| 13. AK | British African-Caribbean | Graduate | Self-employed | London | 62 | Over-seas | Male |
| 14. DO | Black African | Graduate | Employed | Manchester | 51 | Over-seas | Male |
| 15. MT | Black African-Caribbean | Graduate | Employed | Cardiff | 37 | Over-seas | Female |
| 16. BO | Black Caribbean | Graduate | Employed | Manchester | 51 | Over-seas | Male |
| 17. MS | Black African | Graduate | Self-employed | London | 47 | Over-seas | Female |
| 18. RT | Black Caribbean | Graduate | Employed | Cardiff | 51 | Over-seas | Male |
| 19. BP | Black African | Graduate | Employed | London | 47 | Over-seas | Male |
| 20. DH | Black Caribbean | Graduate | Employed | Manchester | 35 | Over-seas | Female |
| 21. YA | British | Graduate | Employed | London | 66 | Over- | Male |

| | | | | | | | |
|--------|--|----------------------|---------------|-----------------|----|---------------|--------|
| | Afri- can- Carib- bean | | | | | seas | |
| 22.ML | British African - Carib- bean | Graduate | Employed | Cardiff | 27 | UK | Female |
| 23.JA | British African Carib- bean | College Education | Self-employed | Man- chester | 29 | UK | Male |
| 24.PA | Black British | Graduate | Self-employed | London | 42 | UK | Male |
| 25.MR | British Afri- can- Carib- bean | Graduate | Employed | Cardiff | 37 | UK | Female |
| 26. ND | Black British | Graduate | Employed | London | 38 | UK | Female |
| 27. MO | Black British | Graduate | Unemployed | London | 64 | Over- seas | Female |
| 28. JC | Black Afri- can- Carib- bean | Graduate | Employed | London | 33 | UK | Female |
| 29. PM | Black African | Graduate | Employed | Man- | 59 | Over- | Male |

| | | | | | | | |
|------------|-------------------------|-----------|-------------------------------|-------------|--------|-----------|-------------|
| | – Car-ibbean | | | chester | | seas | |
| 30. MA, DR | Black British | Graduates | Both employed (couple) | Cardiff | 37, 35 | UK | Male/Female |
| 31. JM | Black African Caribbean | Graduate | Employed | Man-chester | 47 | Over-seas | |
| 32. YM, MU | Black British | Graduates | Unem-ployed/employed (family) | London | 37, 56 | UK | Males |

4.3.1 1st Phase

In this study, the analysis began with the researcher arranging the data, and the interview was transcribed. Manual coding for each participant was employed and organised into groups to form categories. After sorting the data and classifying themes, the data analysis was made using the constant comparative method suggested by Grasser and Strauss (2009). Open coding was also obtained after codes were frequently compared to find common themes.

4.3.2 2nd Phase

After obtaining open coding, the researcher employed the template analysis concept stated by King (2004). Using an initial template that was guided by a set of interview questions, the researcher then employed open coding to match the preliminary template; when new themes emerged, the initial template was revised to capture data from the interview.

Table 7 Themes and sub-themes

| |
|---|
| Core themes and sub-themes which emerged during the interviews |
| Lived Experience: |
| 1. Core Theme: Human Capital |
| 2. Core Theme: Social Capital |
| 3. Core Theme: Persistent Labour Market Disadvantages Based upon Ethnic Origins |
| 4. Core Theme: Lack of Recognition of Foreign Skills and Training |
| 5. Core Theme: Racism |
| 6. Core Theme: Lack of Recognition of Foreign Educational Qualifications |
| 1. Sub-Core Theme: Social Network/ Family Connection |
| 2. Sub-Themes: Unequal Opportunity for Career Progression Based on Ascriptive Factors |
| 3. Sub-Theme: UK Work Experience and Training |
| 4. Sub-Theme: Employer's Recognition of Elite Qualification |

4.4 Findings

4.4.1 Research Objective One

To examine the nature of employment disadvantages of first and second generation Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minorities in the labour market.

It is imperative to understand the nature of the employment disadvantage ethnic minorities have faced in England and Wales and their employment gaps (Heath and Cheung, 2007; Heath and McMahon, 1997; Carmichael and Woods. 2000; Rafferty, 2012) to answer this thesis's first research objective.

Research conducted by Berthoud (2000), Carmichael and Woods (2000) and Heath and McMahon (1997) have focused on estimating the average ethnic penalties, which means the net employment gap in outcomes that remains after controlling for demographics, human capital, social capital, and other relevant characteristics using statistical analyses of secondary data. Other researchers show ethnic minorities' labour market disadvantages in hiring through field experimental methods targeting employers' decision-making (Neumark, 2018; Quillian et al., 2017; Zschirnt and Ruedin, 2016). Similarly, in the UK migration literature, experiments suggest that minority individuals' applications suffer catastrophic decisions by employers at the point of hire: keeping all else constant, minority individuals in the UK are less likely to receive a positive response than majority applicants when applying for a job (Bagley and Abubaker, 2017; Heath and Cheung, 2006; Heath and Di Stasio, 2019; Wood et al., 2009). Recent research shows the existence of ethnic penalties in employment and occupational status (Blackaby et al., 2005; Cheung, 2013; Dustmann and Theodoropoulos, 2010).

Ethnic minority individuals experience employment disadvantages through recruitment and selection because employers do not recognise foreign qualifications (Zwysen and Longhi, 2018), language skills (Dustmann and Fabbri, 2003), and social and ethnic background (Zucconi, 2015). Therefore, if employers control these characteristics between minorities and the dominant population, employment positions of minority groups are reduced considerably. Thus, these are the employment disadvantages ethnic minority individuals experience in Eng-

land and Wales's labour market. Also, previous literature shows that the debate about immigrants' human capital has been identified as factors that have restricted their employment opportunities (Heath and McMahon, 1997; Aglan et al., 2010; Dustmann et al., 2003; Cabinet Office, 2017). Research studies conducted by Heath and Cheung (2007) show that there are a few reasons why foreign-born immigrants may have difficulties in the labour markets of the developed countries to which they have emigrated.

Ethnic minorities may lack the human capital necessary for employment success in the labour market. Equally, empirical studies show that ethnic minority members are generally less likely to have a job, or to have a well-paid job, than the dominant population group, even after accounting for socio-economic differences, and have termed this 'ethnic penalties' (Heath et al., 2007; Carmichael and Woods, 2000; Van Tubergen et al., 2004). However, in this thesis, based on evidence from qualitative interviews with participants regarding their lived experience in the labour market, it was established that apparent employment differences exist between first generation and second generation ethnic minorities. Such differences can even exist between them. Evidence from participants from both generations shows that the following barriers have negatively impacted minority individuals regardless of UK educational qualifications and work experiences.

4.4.2 Core Theme: Human Capital

As noted in subsequent chapters in this thesis, human capital theory highlights the importance of education, skills, experience, communication skills, and English language competency for access to and advancement in the labour market (Dustmann et al., 2003; Li, 2010; Heath and Cheung, 2007). It explains that ethnic minority groups are disadvantaged because they lack human capital such as language skills, education, and experience, which has restricted them from obtaining professional jobs/career progression opportunities, leaving low-skilled jobs as the only alternative for survival. This means that individual skills and experience, generally human capital, have usually been a significant determinant of successful labour market participation and progress. However, during the interviews with the first generation of immigrants who arrived in the UK with foreign degrees and other qualifications, it was found that they have been faced with persistent employment disadvantages by employers who have not

recognised their foreign qualifications and left minority individuals with no alternative but to find their way to low-skilled employment that is not linked to their qualifications. Lack of recognition for foreign educational qualifications and training has been mentioned during the interviews as the main barrier for first-generation Black African and Black Caribbean skilled workers in the labour market. In addition, most employers in the labour market have refused to recognise foreign work experience or previous skills as modern; instead, they consider their experiences and skills irrelevant. A systematic discussion with both first and second generations ethnic minorities during the interviews in their geographical areas shows that most minority individuals have undergone relentless employment difficulties in the labour market, and, in some instances, they have changed their careers to blend into the job market and have abandoned the hard work of gaining their foreign educational qualifications, skills and experience obtained in their country of origin. For most of the first-generation ethnic minorities, it appeared they had been treated differently in the labour market.

Also, interview participants stated that the access to and use of labour market information varies significantly across ethnic minority communities, where some groups are better able to use such information effectively while others may not. For example, second generation Black African minority individuals are usually better advantaged than first generation ethnic minorities since they understand job market dynamics better, particularly ‘the journey to employment’, yet ethnic penalties still exist (Rafferty, 2012). However, the barriers are often more pronounced and complex for first and second generation ethnic minority women. This is because the most common barriers are caring responsibilities, which affect most women, especially those married with young children, and religious beliefs. Similarly, during the interviews with many Black African and Black Caribbean minority individuals, it was revealed that poor English language was not a barrier because most first generation ethnic minorities are very well educated with UK qualifications and have lived in England and Wales for decades, and yet still experience persistent labour market inequality. Moreover, it was revealed that most employers prefer native English speakers to immigrants with foreign English accents. It was discussed that ethnic minority unemployment had been a critical debate with policymakers and academic commentators since its inception, and this has been described by interview participants as unequal treatment regardless of the generation.

4.4.3 Core Theme: Social Capital

Within the past decade, social capital has been defined in terms of the level of trust and cooperation experienced between individuals or within groups, and this has played a prominent role in supporting individuals who are actively seeking employment in England and Wales (Brook, 2005; Santos and Thune, 2022). The social capital theory acknowledges the importance of human capital but emphasises the resources set in community structure and social contacts (Bourdieu, 1984; Granovetter, 1973; Lin, 2001; Lin and Vaughn, 1981; Putnam, 2000). It shows that information shared among households and friends is not useful in searching for employment. However, the information provided by friends of friends may give access to various employment opportunities if these connections have different or higher-level jobs. The ONS and other respected institutions have widely documented a definition of social capital by the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (Cote and Healy, 2001, p.12). They define social capital as ‘networks with shared norms, values, and understandings that facilitate cooperation within or among groups.’

So far, first generation ethnic minorities who arrived in the UK without contemporary knowledge of labour market institutions, access to coherent networks, etc., have experienced difficulties finding professional career employment. This was discussed several times during participant interviews and highlighted as a significant barrier to their employment success. For instance, some of the participants explained:

I didn't know how to search for employment opportunities when I arrived in London. I had no access to networks like friends already working within the industry to give me referrals, which would have assisted me in getting a professional job (Black African Male, London).

I experienced difficulties securing a job when I arrived in Cardiff because, unlike my UK counterparts, I couldn't access networks like family and friends working in companies to refer me (Black Caribbean Female, Cardiff).

During the interviews in all three regions, London, Manchester, and Cardiff, poor social contact with co-ethnic minorities was understood by the researcher as the main obstacle to labour market accomplishment. *“London is big. I felt alone in my search for a job; I had no access to other Africans who could share information with me on how they had applied for jobs so I could get employment.”* (Black African Female, London).

It was difficult for me to get a job because having moved to a different country, I did not know any fellow Caribbeans doing professional jobs that I could liaise with to get information on job opportunities. (Black Caribbean Male, Manchester).

I found it hard to get a job; employers did not recognise my qualifications, and I did not know any other Caribbean like me who had secured a job and their strategies (Black Caribbean Male, Cardiff).

Ethnic minority individuals, particularly those in low-skilled sectors of the economy, are constantly vulnerable to exploitation in employment. Ethnic minority workers in low-skilled and low-paid jobs in hotels or restaurants often face isolation and language problems. Immigrants’ children born and educated in the UK with pre-knowledge of the labour market and an excellent understanding of Western institutions have used this as an advantage to obtain professional and career employment. Still, labour market penalties remain (Li and Heath, 2020).

4.4.4 Black African and Black Caribbean Labour Market Participation

Considering the factors mentioned above, which have restricted Black African and Black Caribbean employment in the labour market, ethnic minority individuals have been the focus of public debates about the disadvantages of immigrant communities in the UK (Commission for Racial Equality, Annual Report, 2004). Accordingly, ethnic inequalities have been the focus of many policy interventions and are of great concern to governments (Heath and Cheung, 2007). Ethnic penalty studies show that numerous ethnic minority groups in the UK have on average, lower probabilities of being employed and are working in lower-quality jobs

than the majority population with similar qualifications (Berthoud, 2000; Carmichael and Woods, 2000; Heath and McMahon, 1997). The reason ethnic minority members experience employment penalties in the labour market has been attributed to a lack of human capital and a poor social network. Yet, migration literature shows that second generation ethnic minorities born and educated in the UK with adequate knowledge of the country's institutions and labour market awareness also suffer employment disadvantages (Rafferty, 2012; Zuccotti, 2015; Heath et al., 2002).

Also, immigrants' children (second generation) born and educated in England and Wales suffer labour market inequality. Studies conducted by Heath and Di Stasio (2019) and Wood et al. (2009) from field experiments show that ethnic minority applicants in the UK are less likely to receive positive feedback on their applications than the dominant population. Despite their strong educational achievements, ethnic minority members and their UK-born descendants repeatedly experience lower employment probabilities than their native-born counterparts (Dustmann et al., 2006; Heath et al., 2020). Minority groups' educational advantage has not translated to better employment opportunities for both groups of ethnic minorities, and therefore interview participants from the three regions suggested that the government would have to revisit the equality law to enable them to be successful in the labour market.

Many first generation Black Africans and Black Caribbeans told the researcher that they feel that their job applications are not fairly considered because they are less likely to receive a positive response from employers for the jobs they have applied for. And several of these applications were for well-paid jobs or career progression work. First-generation ethnic minorities have faced enormous employment barriers in England and Wales, including employers who have refused to recognise overseas qualifications and skills. Similarly, research conducted by Heath et al. (2020) and Zuccotti (2015) shows that immigrants' children born in the UK, educated in UK universities, and have pre-labour market knowledge still experience labour market penalties. The concept of ethnic penalties refers to the net differences in labour market outcomes of ethnic minorities compared to the majority after controlling for observed characteristics (Heath and McMahon, 1997). Also, a large body of migration literature established that ethnic penalties still exist in employment and occupational status (Blackaby et al., 2005; Cheung, 2013; Dustmann and Theodoropoulos, 2010). Participants from the second

generation revealed to the researcher that their strong educational attainment is due to the expectation that there will be greater difficulties for them to find a well-paid job and obtain career progression than their native counterparts. Second generation ethnic minorities reflecting on their first generation parents who have faced multiple employment disadvantages or what they have witnessed from their communities saw this as a signal that they would face similar labour market impediments in the future.

4.4.5 Core Theme: Persistent Labour Market Disadvantage Based upon Ethnic Origins

The first core theme in Table 1 shown above is related to Black Africans and Black Caribbeans' labour market lived experiences. When participants were asked to describe the impact of persistent labour market disadvantages in the labour market, most of them thought they did not have an equal chance in England and Wales's labour market.

Findings from first-generation interview participants suggest that employment disadvantages include a lack of human capital, language fluency, and employers' lack of recognition of foreign qualifications and skills. Research conducted by Zuccotti and Platt (2016) shows that ethnic minorities born outside the UK may have arrived with a poor English language, limited social network, inadequate information about the local labour market, and may have lived in a deprived local environment. These negatively affect them in terms of fewer employment opportunities, less career progression, and fewer well-paid jobs.

However, there was an interview participant who has lived in London for almost 41 years, is educated at a UK university, speaks the English language confidently with a London accent, has adequate knowledge of London labour market institutions, and yet is unable to find a job related to his university degrees. Research studies conducted in the UK have shown noticeable disadvantages faced by ethnic minority individuals in employment and education, housing, health and the labour market (Cabinet Office, 2017). Likewise, in the UK, minority inequalities in the labour market concern the state and academic commentators (Zuccotti, 2015; Heath et al., 2020; Cabinet Office, 2017). Ethnic minorities' employment disadvantage in the labour market is an issue that requires swift attention since its effects, such as crimes, poor health, waste of talent and hindrance to national prosperity, are severe (Li and Heath, 2020).

Additionally, second generation minority individuals who arrived in the UK as children, educated in Western universities, with an adequate understanding of the pre-labour market environment, Western skills, fluency in the host country language, and better social network also continued to experience disadvantages, which shows that many employers have not completely implemented equality of opportunity for all. Despite government Race Relations and Equality Acts instituted to improve employment opportunities for ethnic minorities in the UK, migration literature shows continuing ethnic penalties in the UK labour market.

The interview data show that when minority individuals get employed, they lack access to equal opportunities for career progression and training as opposed to their native dominant counterparts. Also, the lack of access to opportunities for career progression was based on issues around promotion and opportunities to further develop their skills within their organisations. Most of the second generation participants made statements along the following lines:

I have worked in this establishment for some years but have not been promoted, unlike some of my UK colleagues, despite being given good performance appraisals.
(Black British Female, Cardiff).

When a job opening arose, I applied, but unlike some of my UK counterparts, I was not selected for that role despite having a professional qualification and more years of experience than them. (Black British Male, Manchester)

Most of the first generation immigrant participants stated that their jobs involve routine administrative tasks, care work, support work, and taxi driving, which they have been doing to foot their bills for years. Second generation participants explained that most of them had been working within their organisations for years but had not been promoted like their majority population colleagues, even though they had received good performance appraisals. For example, as explained by one of the participants during the interviews.

I have been doing this admin role for many years and have always got good appraisals, but I have not been promoted like my other colleagues, some of whom have been here for a smaller number of years. (Black African Female, Cardiff)

Participants also stated that some of their colleagues of a different ethnic background in the same role, for a shorter time period, had been given opportunities to do other tasks within the business, which helped to develop their skills and further add to their work experience.

However, they were not given the same opportunity. When they took this up with their managers, they were told they would be considered the following year, but this never happened. As expressed by another participant during the interview:

Others that are not Black African or Black Caribbean have been given the opportunity to enhance their skills by supporting other departments and have received training to do this. Still, I have not been given that opportunity. They always say 'next year,' but it's been years, and I am still doing the same role. (Black Caribbean Male, Manchester).

Concerning employment disadvantages, as identified from the interview data, the participants felt they did not get a job despite their work experience because of their ethnic origins. For instance, one participant expressed that:

During my interview for a job, I noticed at the reception that I was the only Caribbean out of the ten people invited. The rest were all from the majority population. I didn't get the job despite my work experience and master's degree in the field. (British Caribbean, London).

The findings further revealed that ascriptive factors such as family connections, ethnicity, social origins and gender have not been addressed by policymakers. Some interviewees said they felt they did not get the job they were interviewed for because their fellow interviewees had the advantage of being favoured by their family connections. For instance, one inter-

viewee expressed the following: “*At the interview venue, my interview mate told me that he was not sure how to answer the remaining interview questions, and I was surprised when he texted me a week later to say he got the job, but I did not despite my experience.*” The interviewees also felt that their ethnic background influenced their failure to get a good job. This is because they thought that in the prospective organisation, many staff working there were of the same ethnic group from a different ethnic background. For instance, as expressed by one of the interviewees:

I remember attending a job interview, and when the interview was over, I was shown around the offices and introduced to the staff. I noticed that most of them were of the same ethnic background, no Black African or any other ethnic minority, even in the department where I would be working, had I been successful. I stood out, so despite having three years' experience, a master's degree, and professional qualification, I was unsuccessful.’ (Black British, London).

Research shows that unemployment/underemployment and lower pay were notably higher for second generation young people from some minority groups during the mid-1980s and early 1990s economic recessions, the most recent one that started between 2007 and 2008 (Li and Heath, 2020). Participants revealed that second generation ethnic minorities’ employment has improved in recent times, but ethnic penalties exist when compared to their majority population counterparts (Rafferty, 2012).

Another factor that influenced employment disadvantage was ethnic background. As one of the interviewees stated:

The interviewer told me they were looking for a female secretary as they stated that all their previous secretaries were female. I also noticed that the other secretaries within the department were all females and from the same ethnic background, no Caribbean or Black African ethnic minority (Black Caribbean Male, Cardiff).

As stated by this female second generation participant: “...*having the right qualifications and even being born and educated in the country would not even guarantee ethnic minority individuals' career employment because employers know what they are looking for when selecting for an interview*” (Black British African female, Manchester). Compared to their first-generation parents, second generation ethnic minorities' employment opportunities differ widely in England and Wales's labour market. Although, successive UK governments have promised to tackle ethnic minority individuals' labour market disadvantages (Jefferys, 2022). This research showed that first and second generation Black African and Black Caribbean participants experienced unequal treatment from employers due to a lack of opportunities for promotion and career progression employment.

4.4.6 Sub-Theme: Unequal Opportunity for Career Progression

Findings from the interview data revealed that employment disadvantages include a lack of access to opportunities for career progression and unequal treatment in the labour market. Lack of access to opportunities for career progression was based on issues around promotion and opportunities to further develop their skills within their organisation. Empirical studies by Li and Heath (2016) have been conducted concerning ethnic minority social mobility in the UK; they investigated whether ascriptive factors such as family background, ethnicity, or gender still influence employment outcomes and contribute to employment disadvantage for ethnic minorities. They found that whilst the employment disadvantages of the second generation have improved, those of the first generation ethnic minorities remain.

Research by Dustmann and Theodoropoulos (2006) shows that both first generation and second generation ethnic minorities have, on average, higher levels of education compared to the majority population. Similarly, the educational improvement relative to their parents' generation is more significant for most second generation ethnic minority groups than their native counterparts. However, this academic advantage has not translated to better employment prospects for ethnic minority groups. A participant expressed:

My Dad declined to invest in human capital because there was absolutely no point in wasting his time studying, considering persisting employment disadvantages in the labour market. He has always believed he is a sojourner and will never invest in human capital, and all his investments are back in Africa (Black British Female, London).

The researcher then asked the other participants if they preferred the sojourners' orientation, which means they invest back in the country of origin rather than in the host country, England and Wales. The participants disagreed and said working hard and investing in human capital is better.

My dad's experience has taught me that I must be adequately prepared and work very hard to present myself to potential employers with higher educational qualifications than my competitors (British Caribbean, Male, Manchester).

During the interview with the participants regarding employment mismatch and the ongoing ethnic minority individuals' persisting labour market disadvantages, they were asked if they had devised coping strategies to cope with the lack of employment. One replied:

I am a political science graduate and a single mom with two girls; I have even applied for basic office jobs at the council to get more experience, as they have always asked for administrative experience. Still, my name has never been shortlisted for an interview. I have made several applications but have had no response. Why? Because my name tells you that I am from an African background. Well, now I am on track, got my life back, got my own café in Manchester, all done! (Black Caribbean Female, London).

The interviews with first and second generation ethnic minority immigrants showed that they had higher levels of education than their majority population counterparts. However, despite these strong educational qualifications obtained abroad or in the UK, first generation minority

members still experience labour market penalties. This is highlighted in the following quotations:

I was born and educated in England, but getting career employment as a lawyer has been difficult since I graduated with a 2.1 degree. I got a job at the city council as a case worker, and since then, I have made numerous attempts to put my name for promotion; even though I was qualified, I was turned down, but I have my own law firm (Black British Male, Manchester).

In this country, things are difficult. Now, I have my own barber shop, and this has enabled me and my family to escape the universal credit dilemma. It was not easy to face most of the universal credit case workers as they expected me always to provide numerous pieces of information and evidence to demonstrate I was actively looking for a job (Black British, Male, London).

An interesting observation during the interviews with first and second generation participants is that the rates of self-reported employment disparities in the labour market are higher in London than in Manchester and Cardiff. This may be because most immigrants and their children live in deprived neighbourhoods with a gig economy and no employment opportunities. As explained by a respondent:

We lack so many things in this neighbourhood. It's been a real struggle. I have been unemployed for many years because getting a decent job here is difficult (Black Caribbean Male, London).

Labour market disadvantages dominated most of the discussion during the interviews with the participants in the three locations. Around 50-60 per cent of first and second generations of Black Africans and Black Caribbeans considered such disadvantages as unequal treatment to foreigners and their children with foreign names. The participants' views are wake-up calls to policymakers to urgently rethink the policy for equality of opportunity for all. The views of the participants are summarised below.

There has been periodic training, but it does not matter due to the unequal distribution of promotion opportunities. I am Black British born and educated in the country, but direct or indirect inequality exists. Here is a private sector with numerous opportunities for career progression, yet anyone from my ethnic background has found it difficult to get promoted, unlike my colleagues doing the same job (Black British Male, Manchester).

I have been in this job for approximately 12 years and have not been promoted to senior roles, but My colleagues who were employed for the same years have been; some are managers (Black British Female London).

4.4.7 Core Theme: Lack of Recognition of Foreign Skills and Training

I told you earlier that I have adjusted to changes since I arrived in this country years ago. Most people are unhappy with immigrants, especially immigrants from Africa, and this has affected me and my family so badly. They think immigrants are here to take their jobs and scrounge off the government benefits system, free healthcare, and social housing. I am a professional engineer and don't need additional training before getting a job, but now I must change my career to information management (Black African Male, Cardiff).

The master's degree in economics I acquired from my country appeared substandard when I started looking for professional jobs in many private sectors in London, where I lived with my family. I worked in a bank for approximately seven years before joining my wife, a nurse with the NHS. It seems most employers in the UK think that individuals born overseas cannot do professional jobs in the UK. There are inequalities in the labour market, and I think the government needs to do more to improve employment opportunities for people from ethnic minority communities. I am currently studying for another master's degree, and hopefully, I should be able to get a job or instead establish my private business (Black African Male, Manchester).

Considering participants' responses when asked about their experience in searching for both professional jobs and career progression occupations in the labour market with foreign qualifications and training, most of the participants with overseas qualifications stated that training and UK work experience had been key determinants for labour market success, and this was also widely endorsed as a common theme during the conversation with participants in London, Manchester, and Cardiff.

The research participants were further asked if they had acquired contemporary UK skills and work knowledge to assist them in finding professional employment in the labour market. Around 40 per cent in London believed they had obtained employability skills and UK work experience to succeed in the labour market, whereas 39 per cent in Manchester agreed English language fluency was important to get a well-paid job.

In Cardiff, for example, about 20 per cent of ethnic minorities thought they could now find a job because the government's apprenticeship schemes had trained them. The researcher asked interview participants to explain in their own terms what skills and work experiences have enabled them to find a job and progress in their chosen careers. Many from all three regions cited that acquiring general skills from government schemes and improving job-specific skills have been the main determinants for their success.

4.4.8 Core Theme: Racism

The ongoing debate on ethnic minorities' persisting labour market inequalities has been documented widely in the UK and European Union nations (Cabinet Office, 2017). Abundant challenges facing Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minorities are primarily due to their ethnic background/race. Racism was highlighted as one of the most challenging issues in the labour market during the interviews with both first and second generation Black Africans and Black Caribbeans. The participants alluded that the discussion of racism is no longer a theme for debate currently in the UK due to the government's Race and Equality legislation. However, despite the fact there are legislations on race and equality to protect ethnic minority

groups, racism remains in the labour market. Both first generation and second generation Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minorities stated that their employment disadvantages in the labour market were influenced by racism. They attributed multiple barriers to getting professional jobs and career progression due to their race. For example, regarding career progression, during the interviews with the participants, first generation ethnic minorities told the researcher that being foreigners made it difficult to get employment in most companies within the private sector. An interviewee who arrived in the UK as a professional doctor elucidated the challenges of getting a junior doctor job in the NHS. He stated that he was there for many years before his first promotion to become a General Practitioner (GP), while other junior doctors with similar professional qualifications were promoted rapidly in the same ward. Another participant within the education sector also explained:

I think my ethnic background is problematic in obtaining a lecturing job at one of the universities in England and Wales because I have applied for nearly 25 job adverts and got frequent interviews. Still, I have always been told, 'On this occasion, you were unsuccessful; we wish you all the best in your future endeavours' (Black African Female, Manchester).

When asked about his current place of work, this participant told the researcher that he is currently working as a support worker and part-time as a weekend driver with airport taxis. He also told the researcher that racial inequality in the labour market has not changed, and he believed leaving the UK for either Canada or Australia would be a better choice.

A few first generation male and female participants still believed racism existed in England and Wales amongst certain ethnic minority individuals because most professional private sector jobs or career progression occupations they applied for refused to offer them jobs because of their race and ethnic origins. The researcher then told one interview participant, "I think anyone, regardless of their ethnic background, who is qualified should get a job in the labour market, and anyone who works hard should equally be allowed to succeed in society." The participant replied:

Yes, I think it should be so, but employers don't seem to focus on English language and UK skills. This ongoing persistent employment disadvantage matters greatly in Black communities, Black British people, and the entire society because talents are being destroyed, which carries economic consequences, too (Black African female, London).

This statement of economic cost and individuals' talents being destroyed due to racial inequality in the labour market has also been documented widely by scholars (Health et al., 2018; The Boston Consulting Group, 2010). Similarly, a statement reiterated by a former Prime Minister (Theresa May) regarding ethnic inequality in the labour market (on 12 October 2017) advocated that 'we must explain or change the persistent labour market disadvantage which academic researchers have called 'ethnic penalties' (Cabinet Office, 2017). One of the interviewees described her inability to get a job due to race:

Initially, I thought I could get a job at one of the statutory organisations in Cardiff city centre. However, on my first day, I noticed some strange behaviours from a lady who asked me repeatedly where my parents came from originally; I then told her I was born in Wales, my parents are Jamaicans, although Windrush generation. She had a certain look on her face and said nothing further. I later came in for the interview, and she was one of the interviewers. I did my best but was later told I wasn't successful. I managed to get another job elsewhere but have long-time left employment and am currently a full-time registered nanny (Black Caribbean Female, Cardiff).

A discouraged worker during an interview told the researcher that encouraging equality in employment in the labour market regardless of an individual's background is a worthy goal because it would enable ethnic minority individuals who arrived in the UK with overseas talents to use their overseas skills and work experience in the England and Wales's job market to enhance innovation. Another interviewee said that employment remains an integral part of human life, regardless of background and race, either Black Africans or their dominant counterparts. Policymakers should address this since the UK is a meritocratic society, the interviewees lamented. One Black British person educated in a UK university recalled the bad

memories of his difficult times trying to find a job based on his university training but could not find a job after five years of graduating. Most of the interviews he attended were unsuccessful because he had not acquired work experience despite being born in the UK and educated at a UK university. He told other participants that getting a job with his religious name was a problem. *“I thought my religious name was a problem for me to find a job in my chosen profession. I am happy to have my own business and make my daily bread.”* The researcher then advised him that it could have been due to the recession period of 2007-2010 when most people, including the native majority, could not find professional employment in the job market. Still, he indicated that his original background was the antecedent for his lack of career employment.

Similarly, empirical evidence shows that background may also directly influence employers' views. The study suggests that people of low background may be stigmatised; for example, employers may consider those individuals to be less productive based on preconceived notions, while those from elite backgrounds are usually seen to be favoured by employers (Benardi and Ballarino, 2016b; Jackson, 2009). Research conducted by Jackson (2009) in the UK shows that applicants with elite characteristics, in terms of names, institution attended, and interests, were more likely to get responses and, under certain circumstances, were also more expected to progress and get a positive response to their interviews.

Another key finding with some second generation interview participants shows that their labour market experience differs from that of their parents, who migrated to the UK as migrant workers or for educational purposes. Those born and educated in the UK told the researcher that pre-labour market knowledge and academic qualifications obtained in the country are essential in getting a job. Still, ethnic disadvantages exist when seeking well-paid jobs, unlike the dominant population groups. One of the participants stated:

This is London, and it's very expensive to live without a job, either a career or a cleaning occupation. I came to this country as a professional accountant who had worked in the bank for many years before relocating, but I must return to university and study nursing at my age to pay my priority bills. For example, as an immigrant from abroad, the absence of a social network with people from similar ethnic back-

grounds harms an individual's chances of employment (Black Caribbean female, London).

On the other hand, first generation ethnic minority participants revealed to the researcher that their length of residency in the country and English language competency had enabled most of them to make sufficient social contact with their native counterparts and have boosted their employment contacts in recent years. Also, connections with similar religious groups and co-ethnic communities have enabled most of those from the first generation actively seeking employment to get some work in the government parastatals such as the NHS and city councils.

Changing the environment is one of the most difficult things I have ever done in my entire life. I came to this country 40 years ago as a professional chef but now work as a bus driver because I could not find a job as a chef. My friends told me to find a job outside my career as a chef and, if possible, start a restaurant close to our neighbourhood with co-ethnic city origins, but I refused to take his advice on board; instead, I worked as a public transport bus driver in Manchester for many years. I believe that if I had contacts with other Caribbeans working as a Chef, they would have been able to refer me to the restaurants where they were working, and this would have enabled me to get a job as a chef instead of working as a bus driver (Black Caribbean Male, Manchester).

I have worked as a nurse for 15 years but have had a bad experience. I have changed many places of work due to inequality at work. I am British, born and raised in Wales, but my parents came from Jamaica after World War II. I studied Nursing, yet it's difficult to get a job where I can be promoted to the level of native individuals. I left my first employment because I asked for shifts, but this did not happen, and I quit. Being born and raised in the UK does not guarantee employment success (British Caribbean Female, Manchester).

4.5 Core Theme: Lack of Recognition of Foreign Educational Qualifications

The first generation of Black African and Black Caribbean participants arrived in the UK with educational qualifications achieved in their countries of origin but were not recognised by employers. This lack of recognition of their qualifications has caused many debates among academia and policymakers (Cabinet Office, 2017). Obtaining higher educational qualifications from overseas or in the UK is expected to increase the employment chances of ethnic minority workers. However, these higher educational qualifications do not eliminate ethnic penalties (Zwysen and Simonetta, 2016). Research conducted by Rafferty (2012) shows that ethnic minority graduates are less likely to find employment and are more likely to find jobs for which they are overqualified. Battu and Sloane (2004) and Lindley (2009) show that ethnic minority workers, including those born in the UK, are more likely to be over-educated for their jobs and are paid less than the dominant population groups.

The first generation participants claimed unequal treatment by many employers was responsible for ethnic penalties in the labour market. As one suggested, if most employers do not recognise foreign qualifications, what happens to immigrants' children born and educated in the country?

I am a qualified lawyer with seven years of experience in my country. When I arrived in Manchester to join my wife, who worked as a nurse, I had the ambition to get a job as a lawyer and rise through the ranks. To achieve this aim, I first applied for a public service job and completed all the interviews, oral, medical, and everything. I waited three weeks without a response but decided to call the office and ask for interview feedback. I was shocked I did not get the job, which made me think what many of my friends have told me about disparity was true (British Caribbean Male, Manchester).

Another respondent explained that most of his African friends who are graduates are working as support workers in care homes. He stated: “*Many of my African friends seem to find employment as carers in support work.*” Also, one of the participants indicated that he had to change careers because his qualifications were not acknowledged.

In this country, most African and Caribbean immigrants work as care assistants and support workers, many working night shifts. Thus, I realised that my employment ambition had to be different if I wanted to remain in Manchester, and I needed to rethink (Black African Male, London). Another interview participant further explained that it was difficult to get a professional job with the qualifications and skills he had obtained from his home country:

I came to this country years ago as a medical doctor from my country; there was a bit of struggle in the past on how to integrate into the medical profession, but with training and further education in my profession, a lot has changed. I work as a doctor now with NHS England. I was advised to apply at the NHS because this is a well-known medical environment in the UK (Black Caribbean Female, London).

During the interview, many participants explored their experience seeking career progression jobs/well-paid employment since their arrival. The first generation of Black African and Black Caribbean employment opportunities have been characterised by either unemployment, underemployment, or agency shifts, which can be terminated without prior notice. Minority individuals revealed to the researcher that, to find a well-paid job with overseas qualifications, such an individual must work many times harder than their native counterparts. Several first-generation ethnic minorities who arrived with foreign qualifications disclosed to the researcher that most employers, regarding the private sector, thought foreign qualifications, skills, and work experience were sub-standard, and these inequalities in the labour market have actively hindered their access to paid employment.

I studied architecture back home in my country. Still, when I arrived in London to complete my master's in environmental studies, friends advised me that I had to change my profession from architecture to something else. Since I arrived in London, I have studied for two additional master's degrees, and yet it seems difficult to find well-paid employment. Finally, I found a job with the NHS as a data analyst, and this helped me foot the bills and other consequential expenses (Black African Male, London).

Most discussions with participants in all three regions have been about their persisting labour market experience. It was also understood that interview participants prefer to search for employment in a particular organisation instead of others. This could mean that, since they are less likely to be employed professionally by employers in most companies, they would instead seek employment in health care where they would be accepted. Alternatively, it could be due to an unfriendly atmosphere at work with the majority population workers. Also, it may mean they prefer to be where their co-ethnic members have been employed due to social network connections. As for the first generation ethnic minorities, they prefer to seek employment with the NHS rather than other companies.

Furthermore, empirical studies show substantial evidence to suggest an ethnic dimension to occupation segregation in employment (Welamedage et al., 2008). Research evidence indicates that, in most of the private sector in England and Wales, for example, there is a clear pattern for minority individuals to be underrepresented in professional and managerial positions. Black African and Black Caribbean men and other ethnic minority groups who are not part of this current analysis are disproportionately focused on semi-routine and routine work (Heath and Cheung, 2006).

Similarly, the level of labour market disadvantage is considerably higher in the manufacturing, construction, and transportation sectors (Heath and Cheung, 2006). This has obvious consequences for ethnic minorities' pay and career progression, as some groups remain focused on poorly paid work with limited career opportunities. Most ethnic minority workers in hotels and restaurants, for instance, are generally low-paid and lack sufficient knowledge and understanding of their employment rights (Wright and Pollert, 2005). In Northern Ireland, for example, this kind of preference exists, and this is called the 'chill factor' in Northern Ireland, where Catholics may be reluctant to apply for jobs with Protestant individuals (or vice versa) because of the unfriendliness they anticipate from co-workers belonging to the other community (Heath et al., 2006).

It wasn't easy to switch from what I had practised for decades back in my country to my current profession as a career lawyer. I am a self-employed lawyer assisting asylum seekers and those with immigration difficulties. Formerly, I was a lecturer at one

of the most influential universities, well-known and with an international reputation
(Black African Female, Manchester).

Ethnic minorities' employment search experience in the UK has been described as a challenging experience since most of them had educational qualifications and skills when they arrived in the UK but still struggled to get jobs within their chosen careers. Participants recalled their awful experiences searching for employment in the UK labour market.

Ethnic studies define 'ethnic penalties' as any difference between ethnic minorities and the dominant population concerning various outcomes after considering background characteristics (Heath and Cheung, 2007). In this thesis, ethnic penalties may represent themes emerging from participant interviews. They include employers' refusal to recognise the level of education acquired by ethnic minorities from their home countries, their lack of information about jobs or the right networks, the unequal treatment by the employers due to race or ethnic background, and their living in employment-deprived neighbourhoods. Likewise, migration literature shows that ethnic minorities are less likely to find themselves in professional managerial positions (Li and Heath, 2010; Li, 2018). A research participant stated:

My qualification from Jamaica wasn't recognised, so I had to do a further postgraduate degree in information technology in the UK. Finally, I worked as an information assistant with a university in Cardiff (Black Caribbean Female, Cardiff).

During the interviews with the first generation of Black Africans and Black Caribbean, especially those born overseas, they told the researcher about the employment mismatch they have experienced since inception. This employment mismatch could be why nearly half (55 per cent) of the participants have changed careers/occupations since migrating to England and Wales. Additionally, many second generation ethnic minorities believed their current employment was paid below the level of the education and skills they have achieved, and they thought there was a significant mismatch between the level of education and the world of work, though this did not form part of the thesis analyses.

Equally, participants were asked whether their current employment is linked to their education, skills, or field of expertise; 35 per cent indicated they were working aimlessly to earn a living and foot the bills. In contrast, 34 per cent indicated their current jobs were ‘closely related’, while around 33 per cent were ‘somewhat related’, and 31 per cent, particularly females, thought there had been some improvement, and this could explain why females are now working as nurses within the NHS more than males. For instance, a female participant stated:

I previously worked as a civil engineer in my country, but getting a job in the UK is not easy. I am currently working as a mental health nurse with the NHS. Nearly everyone I met in the UK told me to change careers because there are no engineering jobs for immigrants born abroad (Black African female, London).

4.5.1 Core Theme: Social Network/ Family Connection

The social network has been a major policy discussion among policymakers and academia in the past decades. Ethnic minorities lack adequate information about employment, access to training, and skills development opportunities, and the participants discussed this during the interviews. The participants were asked if the social network increased their chances of employment. Both participants from both first and second generation first and second-generations of Black Africans and Black Caribbean individuals revealed that lack of information is one of the most crucial issues affecting them in the UK.

In my country, it's not like this; getting a job in the UK is very difficult because all the jobs are being advertised online. I got my first job from a friend who lived on the same street as my parents in Manchester (British Caribbean Male, Manchester).

There have been abundant empirical studies on ethnic minorities' employment disadvantages in the UK labour market (Heath and Cheung, 2007; Clack and Drinkwater, 2007). Throughout the interviews, participants were asked if they had heard about a social network programme funded by the Home Office that aims to support the development of bonding social

capital through funding co-ethnic or co-national groups (MRCOs). This programme was incorporated to support refugees/minority individuals in accessing information and fostering the integration process.

I am a graduate of international banking and finance. I worked in a bank for many years before relocating to the UK with higher expectations to continue my banking career, but no one has even invited me for an interview. You talked about the Home Office programme and all these equal opportunities – they don't work for people from abroad; it's an empty shield anyway. I am currently working at the train station cleaning in London to be able to foot my consequential bills. I got this job from a friend at the mosque (Black Somalian Male, London).

Participants revealed during the interviews that relationships with co-ethnic communities had been viewed as a bridge to obtaining labour market information and accessing resources such as information about preparing for interviews, knowledge, and opportunities.

I was born in Cardiff to Caribbean parents. Previously, I worked with a private sector organisation in Cardiff through my in-law, who introduced me to his manager. Likewise, I have worked as a store assistant in one of the leading street stores in Cardiff through a Jamaican family friend. I am a graduate of psychology and currently working at the Home Office. I heard about the role from my mother, who worked at the prison office in Manchester. Social networks with co-ethnic minorities are crucial because they help brothers and sisters prepare CVs and job interview updates (British Caribbean Female, Cardiff).

The importance of social networks during the interviews with minority individuals was measured by how frequently ethnic minority communities made regular contact with friends, relatives, and a range of organisations. These contacts include places of worship, ethnic communities, other groups, and organisations searching for information about employment opportunities.

I am a mechanic by profession. I have a garage in Manchester, and this has been very successful. I was born and raised in Liverpool, but my parents relocated to Manchester, where I learned this through an apprentice. I heard about this information from the church I attended. Many people are working for me now, and they earn a living, too (Black British Male, Manchester).

Participants were also asked about the importance of social networks and pre-migration education and employment. For example, the first generation of Black African and Black Caribbean people suggest that lack of pre-migration education and lack of UK qualifications are the factors for persisting labour market disadvantages compared to the second generation with adequate knowledge of pre-migration and Western education. Lack of social networks is detrimental to immigrants who arrived in the UK as adults. However, immigrants' children born and educated in the host country have witnessed employment progression in recent years due to the high educational aspirations of ethnic minority communities.

Notwithstanding the above, despite their employment improvement, immigrant children (the second generation born and educated in the UK) who have English language fluency still face employment disadvantages and earnings compared to their majority peers (Heath and Li, 2008). Certain factors such as poor English language skills, lack of social networks, poor knowledge of the local labour market and being resident in deprived neighbourhoods have adverse impacts on Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minorities' labour market chances and opportunities for well-paid jobs (Zuccotti and Platt, 2016). For example, one participant revealed:

I was born and educated in London. So many of my friends have found it hard to find employment after completing their university degrees. Finding a career job without an adequate connection with people in bigger cities such as London is difficult. I got this Uber taxi job through a neighbour; though he is a British native, he supplies all the references they requested. I am a professional mechanic, but finding a garage in London is difficult (Black British Male, London).

4.6 Research Objective Two

To explore the factors influencing the employment disadvantages of first and second generation Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minorities.

Empirical studies show that ethnic minorities are disadvantaged in the labour market, health, housing and education (Heath and Cheung, 2007). To explore this thesis's research objectives, it is essential to highlight first and second generation labour market disadvantages separately. It has been documented that first-generation ethnic minorities lacked the 'human capital' necessary for economic success in the host country's labour market (Heath and Cheung, 2007). Empirical studies suggest several reasons why ethnic minorities might face employment difficulties in the labour market and why their children, the second generation, might make progress. Also, immigrants (also referred to in this thesis as Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minorities) on arrival often lacked the levels of human capital that are relevant in the country of their destination. First, ethnic minorities who migrated from Africa and the Caribbean have relatively low levels of education and other forms of human capital since they come from countries where the educational standard is limited compared to destination countries, in this thesis, the UK (Heath and Cheung, 2006). Based on this account, they would find it difficult to succeed in the labour market, find a career, have job progression, etc. They would have no alternative than to be expected to fill relatively low-level jobs on arrival to enable them to foot their bills.

Secondly, Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minorities may lack host country fluency to compete with dominant counterparts born and educated in the country. Similarly, fluency is still integral to employment success even if they have acquired higher educational qualifications. It might effectively decrease their potential productivity in many employments where communication skills are considered crucial to secure employment. Arguably, fluency is important in the labour market; lack of fluency may restrict them to less-skilled manual labour (or to work with co-ethnics without language barriers) (Carliner, 2000; Chiswick, 2002).

Simultaneously, researchers have highlighted aspects of preferential and unequal treatment that have affected minority members, possibly those from different cultural and ethnic backgrounds from the destination society or those who are mainly ‘visible’ (Burstein, 1994). Abundant and documented evidence shows that ethnic minorities have experienced labour market disadvantages as a result of direct unequal treatment by employers in the labour market, where employers exhibit a conscious preference for members of one ethnic group compared to another even when their expected productivity is the same, and indirect unequal treatment where the ‘colour-blind’ application of existing rules nonetheless tends to disadvantage certain ethnic groups (Heath and Cheung, 2007). Migration literature shows that minority individuals continue to experience employment disadvantages in the labour market, arguably translated into ‘ethnic penalties’ (Heath and McMahon, 1997; Carmichael and Woods, 2000; Cabinet Office, 2017).

According to migration literature, ‘ethnic penalties’ mean any remaining difference between ethnic minorities and native populations, concerning various outcomes, after considering background characteristics (Heath and Cheung, 2007; Zuccotti, 2014). For first-generation immigrants, ethnic penalties in the labour market may mean several things ranging from employers’ refusal to recognise ethnic minorities’ overseas qualifications and skills acquired in their home countries, minorities not having enough information on jobs or the right networks, or inequality in the labour market, lack of language competencies, etc.

Additionally, evidence shows an ethnic dimension to occupation segregation in employment. For instance, there is a clear pattern for ethnic minorities to be under-represented in professional and managerial occupations (Heath and Cheung, 2006). In other words, second-generation minority individuals born in the country or those who arrived as children still experience ethnic penalties ((Heath and Cheung, 2007; Carmichael and Woods, 2000). Studies conducted by certain researchers (e.g., Algan et al., 2010; Cheung and Heath, 2007; Crul and Vermeulen, 2003; Heath and Li, 2010) use education to explain ethnic minorities’ labour market disparity. Education is regarded as the main predictor of labour market outcomes in the labour market, but second generation educational advantages have not been translated to labour market success as they continue to experience ethnic penalties (Heath and Cheung, 2007; Rafferty, 2012). Research conducted by Heath and Cheung (2006) suggests that ethnic

stratification is caused by unequal treatment, whether direct or indirect, and this has been debated unabated as a public concern. According to the authors, unequal treatment based on ascriptive factors, such as social origins or ethnic background, is usually viewed as a source of economic inefficiency and a waste of talent.

Also, unequal treatment is understood to be a source of social injustice and, in the literal sense, of social exclusion. Ethnic minorities' employment disadvantages in the labour market run contrary to normative principles of equality of opportunity advocated by nearly all industrialised nations. (Li and Heath, 2020). Migration literature shows that minority communities differ from the native majority population regarding university choice and academic performance (Modood, 2005; Richardson, 2015). Ethnic minority individuals often graduated from post-1992 universities with lower grades than their majority counterparts (Richardson, 2015). For example, first generation ethnic minority graduates are more likely to come from a lower socio-economic background, and ethnic minority graduates may be less likely than their native peers to access high-quality resources or networks. Research studies conducted by Heath and McMahon (2005), Heath and Ridge (1985) and Platt (2005a, 2005b, 2007) show that minority groups seem to tend to be, on average, more mobile than the dominant majority population. They are a more 'meritocratic group' whose achievements depend only on their educational qualifications and less on social origins. The researchers suggest that, in a non-meritocratic society, this has also prevented some groups, like the Caribbean group, from gaining from advantaged origins, generating an ethnic penalty among those with higher parental social backgrounds.

In the interviews with second generation minority graduates, it was discovered that employment disadvantages occur at the first stage of recruitment, where employers choose to shortlist candidates with English names instead of candidates with foreign names. It was further discussed that minority individuals with higher educational qualifications might still experience labour market disadvantages due to ethnic background names and other factors. Within the interview with second generation born or arrived as children, it was established that meritocracy alone would not guarantee employment success as employers appear to know exactly what they are looking for in potential candidates. One of the many reasons second generation minority individuals have experienced labour market disadvantages is that

ethnic minorities differ from native populations regarding their parental backgrounds, which are usually lower on the social scale (Zuccotti, 2015). Empirical evidence suggests that parents often play a prominent role in their children's educational and labour market outcomes; it is established that parents from a higher class of origin always do better than individuals from a lower class of origin (Zuccotti, 2015). Most of the participants from the second generation suggest that their employment disadvantages are subject to many factors ranging from social origin background, degrees from post-1992 universities, neighbourhood, etc.

In my current place of work, I have raised this concern with my manager about inclusion because just a few of us are in my department. He told me this organisation is very inclusive and 'we employ anyone irrespective of their ethnicity if they have obtained skill and experience, we don't care about the background'. He said this, but I don't believe him (Black Caribbean Female, Cardiff).

4.6.1 Sub-Theme: UK Work Experience and Training

The interviewed participants from first and second generation minority groups revealed that their employment disadvantages are widespread and severe for foreign-born Black individuals. Though second generation ethnic minorities are gradually taking up career progression/and well-paid jobs in England and Wales, employment penalties remain. It has been suggested that the comparatively higher level of education of ethnic minorities could be the result of strategic choices to signal the quality of the job seeker and to prevent expected (statistical) unequal treatment by employers (Colding et al., 2009; Heath et al., 2008; Modood, 2005).

I was born in Peckham and educated here in London as well. My name is African, and I think this also hurts my employability prospects. I studied psychology at one of the universities in London, graduated with good grades, and could not get a good job. I applied for so many jobs and interviewed several times, but most of the feedback appeared funny or, I can say, unacceptable. My sister told me to go back to the university and enrol for a postgraduate degree, and this time it must not be post-1992 univer-

sities but old universities. I have a master's degree from one of the most prominent universities and work with a football club in London (Black British Male, London).

The interviews clearly show that Black African and Black Caribbean first generation born abroad have always experienced greater employment disadvantages than their children (second generation) born and educated in the UK, especially with well-paid jobs and career progression. Nevertheless, the patterns of employment disadvantages of immigrants' children are broadly like those in the first generation and only a little smaller in magnitude. During the interviews with participants from both generations, it was clearly understood that employment opportunities for most of the second generation have improved, but the employment situation of Black African and Black Caribbean born overseas remains a long-standing issue and has shown no sign of declining in the past decade. Empirical evidence suggests that there are some indications that Indians now compete on more equal terms with their majority counterparts (Heath et al., 2006).

I came to this country 27 years ago as a professional builder, and I am an engineer. I dropped from class 'A' to 'C', let me say so, just for easy explanation. I looked for cleaning jobs everywhere to feed my family, but I am happy now my kids are grown up and have professional jobs, and I am very pleased with that. When I relocated to London with my family, no one told me about employment inequalities; most employers didn't even believe we had been to university (Black African Female, London).

The participants believed that the government needs to change to a labour market policy that will carefully inspect employers' recruitment strategy at every stage to ensure that they are doing enough to promote equal opportunities and access to employment for ethnic minority groups as espoused by almost all developed countries because a meritocratic society has failed minority communities. One participant asked the researcher a question and then continued to explain her background:

I was born in Tottenham, and my parents are from Africa and the Caribbean. Initially, I worked at the Home Office, but because I wanted a teaching career, I left the Home Office shortly [after] and am happy with the teaching profession. The history of Black people's employment disadvantages in the UK is an issue for the recruiters, not the government. Most recruiters prefer native to ethnic minority communities. My mother is a retired teacher; she suffered a lot while searching for a job (British Caribbean Female, London).

In the interviews with immigrants born abroad or in the UK, virtually half of the participants experienced labour market disadvantages when looking for employment. Second generation ethnic minorities or those who arrived as children appeared to have experienced persisting employment inequalities in the labour market, and most of them are more likely to find jobs for which they are overqualified.

I came from one of the islands in the Caribbean country as a professional banker with 12 years of experience. I applied for a bank role through an agency and got shortlisted for an interview. I got a job as a business developer as a contractor for six months. This job was advertised as permanent, and I applied, too, but after the interview, they told me I was unsuccessful. My agency took up this matter with the bank, and they later said someone else was more qualified than me. (Black Caribbean Male, Manchester).

In the past decades, considerable empirical and theoretical interest has been in ethnic minority employment disadvantage in the labour market (Heath and McMahon, 1997; Thijssen, 2020; Harris and Ogbonna, 2023). Ethnic minority employment disadvantage has been considered to be problematic because its impact on individuals is severe, ranging from poor health, waste of talent, crimes, etc. In recent years, several proposals have been employed to explain factors influencing minority groups' labour market gap to enable ethnic minorities to achieve employment success (Cameron, 2015). However, within the interviews, many first-generation participants emphasised the need to tackle labour market disadvantage in England and Wales due to its destructive impact on individuals. They revealed that employment inequality towards African and Caribbean immigrants is severe and unbearable.

My wife and I worked with the NHS, but progressing wasn't easy. There are several securement roles with little chance of getting the role. [The researcher asked: You and your wife are both working, how was it finding employment in Cardiff?] We were born in Wales; our parents came from Kenya ages ago. Finding a job with our kind of name seems difficult, you understand what I mean. However, as a nurse, I can get a job easily anywhere (Black British Male, Cardiff).

For instance, some participants from the second generation of Black British and Black Caribbean have mixed experiences regarding well-paid jobs. Approximately 55 per cent believed they are making steady progress compared to their parents, who arrived in the UK with overseas credentials. Second generation ethnic minorities' labour market success could result from educational advantages and pre-labour market knowledge. Based on empirical evidence, education predicts labour market success (Modood, 2005). In contrast, most of the second generation born in the UK suggests that they are more likely to be educated than their British counterparts. Still, these educational advantages have not been transferred into employment advantages.

First generation Black African and Black Caribbean participants, both males and females, stand out as exceptionally well-educated graduates, whilst over 50 per cent of them have master's degrees from UK universities, and around 47 per cent of minority individuals are graduates with bachelor's degrees from UK universities.

There have been numerous debates on the importance of investing in human capital to increase employment likelihood amongst ethnic minorities in the UK. For instance, ethnicity literature shows that first-generation Black African and Black Caribbean minorities continued to experience labour market inequalities despite relentless investment in human capital (Heath and Cheung, 2007). Immigrants' children born in the UK or who came as children have witnessed progress in their search for well-paid employment in local authority areas of England and Wales; however, employment differences exist compared to the native population. The reasons for minority individuals' human capital investment were a signal to escape

employment inequality due to the ongoing discussion that minorities have poorer access to or less labour market experience than the dominant majority population.

Employment/career progression jobs are important for ethnic minorities willing and able to work. Therefore, being unable to find work due to inequalities in the workplace remains an issue for the government to tackle, especially within a society of equal opportunities. Also, labour market inequality is an experience that disproportionately affects ethnic minority individuals in England and Wales. For example, in 2011, minority individuals experienced labour market disadvantages (higher unemployment rates than native counterparts) across different regions, with the most disadvantaged individuals being Black African ethnic minorities. Employment inequality was noticeably higher in London for Black African and Black Caribbean people (Finney et al., 2017). Many participants across the three regions stated that most employers feel that “immigrants with foreign qualifications have poor educational attainment and lack English fluency”. These issues are likely to continue employment disadvantages in the labour market.

I came to the UK 22 years ago as an agriculture graduate at a university in one of the Caribbean states. Since then, I have studied different master's degrees in England, yet I don't even have a decent professional job. I don't believe they are after qualifications; maybe they are looking for something else. I was advised to relocate to bigger cities, such as London, with many job opportunities. Honestly, I thought here in London is the worst now for ethnic minorities to secure a well-paid job. Now, I am a support worker with homeless hostels in London, and the wages are not enough to pay the bills. I have suffered many inequalities since I arrived in this country (Black Caribbean Female, London).

Throughout the interview, many Black African and Black Caribbean first-generation ethnic minorities stated that obtaining a UK degree from a UK university did not increase the chances of getting a well-paid job/career progression. On the other hand, most participants told the researcher that studying for additional qualifications in the UK was a compulsory means used to escape the immigration route and remain in the country because of the children. Despite variations in the participants' demographics, it was the employment inequalities

and employers' refusal to recognise foreign qualifications that most participants revealed as problematic to them since they had arrived in the country.

Many also indicated that immigrants continued all this compulsory education as an alternative strategy to evade low-skill employment and statistical disadvantages from employers. Yet, all these qualifications cannot guarantee a well-paid job.

I am a Londoner with qualifications obtained in the UK. I am a graduate of International Banking and Finance, but I [have been] working as a security [guard] with a security company since I graduated eight years ago. I was born abroad to African parents. I am here in London anyway, but I have been unable to secure a properly paid job despite having qualifications obtained in a UK university (Black Caribbean Male, London).

Findings show that immigrants are likely to have much lower UK labour market experience on average. Still, they are also expected to accumulate UK-specific knowledge and skills with time spent in the UK labour market.

I arrived here in London as a teenager, graduated from one of the universities in Liverpool, and yet, I can't find a job. (Black British Somalian female, London).

In the interviews, the participants revealed that ethnic minority individuals, including those born in England and Wales, are also less likely to find well-paid employment and are over-represented in occupations lower than their qualifications. Similarly, a report by the National Audit Office showed that minority individuals face multiple barriers to obtaining employment in the UK labour market compared to their native counterparts. The report also highlighted that ethnic minorities have continued to experience direct and indirect inequality, lack of work experience, financial barriers to moving into work, and labour market competition (NAO, 2008).

All these are government policies to keep immigrants hoping that things will change. I was a talented young footballer in my country, and this career is completely gone because of inequality in sports. At age nine, I came to the UK with my parents, who thought I would complete my career at the highest premier league levels, but now I am driving a taxi. Countless ethnic minority immigrants have wasted their time and talents, truthfully. [The researcher asked: Where are your parents now?] My Dad returned home to Africa, but my mother works at Manchester train station (Black British female, Manchester).

Scholarly studies have historically explained black African and Black Caribbean labour market experiences (Heath and McMahon, 1997). Economists' human capital theory argues that some workers are more productive than others (Becker, 1957; Keeley, 2007). The human capital discussion has featured prominently in all the debates about ethnic minorities' employment inequality in the labour market. Equally, ethnic penalties in the labour market are often attributed to the qualifications and work experience from abroad, and immigrants need to have attended Western universities and have contemporary skills and pre-labour market experience to succeed in the labour market. Empirical studies clearly show that ethnic minorities born in the UK experience labour market disadvantages (Heath and Cheung, 2006).

The evidence uncovered during the interviews with participants clearly shows that ethnic minorities have experienced high levels of employment inequalities in the labour market, and, in practical terms, this could mean that it takes more than climbing mountains to achieve a career gold/well-paid job in England and Wales. These mountains could be employers' refusal to recognise overseas qualifications and skills, which has often caused immigrants to experience feelings of isolation, exclusion, and rejection whilst looking for employment.

The reasons we Black African ethnic minorities accept low-paid jobs that did not match our educational qualifications and skill levels were to cope with bills and other consequential expenses as opposed to having no income to survive. Because of the low pay, I know it's not enough money to live on. Therefore, I took more than two jobs to pay my bills. It's not about qualifications or skills. I have been living in the UK for

many years, and those who arrived recently have experienced similar inequality in the labour market. (Black African Female, Cardiff).

The participants stated that accepting low-paid employment is due to employers' declined recognition of their qualifications and overseas skills. Thus, they needed to work in order to survive and foot the bills. The participants revealed to the researcher that employment penalties could be detrimental. However, unequal practices might be difficult to prove whilst either at work or when looking for employment, but during the interview, those who left their employment believed they had been treated differently than their native counterparts.

I am a physiotherapist working with the NHS Trust here in Manchester. I was also born in Manchester. Initially, I thought my African name was why I didn't receive callbacks from employers or interview invitations. I have challenged an employer who once refused me a job because they felt I lacked UK work experience. I am happy with my current place of work compared to my previous employments (Black African female, Manchester).

Empirical studies show that ethnic disparities remain in the labour market. For example, a field experiment by Riach and Rich (2002) shows that candidates with native names were over twice as likely to be invited to interview for advertised jobs than candidates with foreign names, even though both submitted equivalent CVs. Ethnic inequalities in England and Wales districts have been an ongoing debate amongst academia and policymakers (Cabinet Office, 2017).

4.7 Research Objective Three

To analyse the similarities and differences between first and second generation Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minorities

The reasons why it is important to investigate first and second generation Black African and Black Caribbean people's current employment status are because of ethnicity and social disadvantages literature which shows that immigrants and their UK children continue to experience persistent inequality in the labour market (Li and Heath, 2020; Cabinet Office, 2017). Analysing immigrants' current employment status refers to the fact that some employments are more desirable or better than others, and these first and second generation ethnic minorities enjoyed similar employment opportunities to the native majority. Nevertheless, aspirations and expectations are also likely to vary across generations. For the first generation, these tend to be more tied to the country-of-origin factors, etc. In contrast, the second generation is expected to see more progressive employment trajectories that may as well equal those of the majority population, considering their higher educational aspiration, advantages of pre-labour market awareness and assimilation of the social network, etc.

For example, in many developed societies, the second generation of minority groups is entering the labour market in great numbers (Heath et al., 2008). Studying second generation Black African and Black Caribbean current employment status shows evidence of equal opportunity and effective government integration policy (Porters and Zhou, 1993). This is because literature evidence shows that second generation minority individuals are more likely to aspire to university than their majority counterparts (Berrington et al., 2016). They are more likely to apply to university after controlling for aspirations, expectations, and achievement at GCSE (Khattab, 2015), including highly selective institutions (Boliver, 2013).

4.7.1 Sub-Theme: Employer's Recognition of Elite Qualification

Common themes emerging from this thesis's interviews with first and second generation participants were their concerns regarding employers refusing to accept overseas qualifications and work experience in the labour market, particularly those in the private sector. Similarly, the second generation had unequal employment and career progression opportunities in the labour market. Ethnic minorities fare less well in the labour market as opposed to their majority counterparts, being more likely to enter jobs that are less skilled and less well-paid (Dustmann and Theodoropoulos, 2010; Heath and Li, 2008; Zuccotti, 2015) and more likely to suffer persistent unemployment (Hasmath, 2012; Khattab et al., 2012), especially in times of economic decline (Heath et al., 2008; Li, 2013; Phung, 2011). In the labour market, ethnic minority graduates bear the brunt of employment disadvantages (Zwysen and Longhi, 2018).

On the issues regarding university degrees and labour market attainment, scholarly studies show that most ethnic minorities are less likely than the majority individuals to attend prestigious universities, and this might affect minority groups' employment since many employers require qualifications from Russell Group universities (e.g., Crozier et al., 2008). Second-generation minority communities of Black Caribbean, Black African, Pakistani, and Bangladeshi heritage are considered to be under-represented among students attending the 24 institutions that make up the Russell Group of universities (Boliver, 2015a), which have been claimed to represent the 'jewels in the crown' of British higher education (Bolivar, 2015b; Russell Group, 2012), and students who have graduated from these prestigious institutions appeared to have earned significantly higher wages than those who graduated from less prestigious universities (Britton et al., 2016). Considering the literature evidence alone, immigrants' children with poor backgrounds would continue to experience labour market penalties as opposed to their counterparts with sufficient economic and social upbringing. On the other hand, the first-generation labour market is expected to remain stagnant since employers refuse to acknowledge foreign qualifications, work experience and skills. In contrast, the second generation progresses based on their Western educational qualifications and contemporary skills.

However, when it comes to what to study at the university, the kinds of subjects, the academic performance, and the university attended, ethnic minorities are different from the dominant people (MODOOH, 2005; Richardson, 2015). In addition, ethnic minority individuals are more likely to graduate from less high-status universities and often graduate with sub-standard degrees than their native counterparts with similar qualifications before entering the universities (Richardson, 2015). The above choices and outcomes may impact the labour market if employers see them as signalling lower-quality employment applicants. Accordingly, empirical research shows that Black Caribbean men are well represented in higher education, but when considering the higher education institution they have attended, research indicates that a significant number of these students attend post-1992 universities as opposed to 'old universities' (Bhattacharyya et al., 2003; Elevation Networks, 2012; Richardson, 2010). For example, in 2010, it was estimated that less than one per cent of all Oxbridge students were Black (Boliver, 2013). Similarly, between 2010 and 2012, less than five per cent of all students entering Russell Group and Oxbridge universities were Black African Caribbeans (Boliver, 2013).

Second generation ethnic minority individuals who have been educated in the UK, and acquired language fluency, domestic qualifications, and domestic work experience still experience labour market disadvantages. An individual's educational qualifications are determinants of successful employment and are crucial in influencing the labour market outcomes of immigrants and their UK descendants. Research conducted by Rafferty (2012) shows that ethnic minority educational attainment increases the chances of labour market opportunity but does not eliminate disadvantages in the labour market. The author stated that minority group graduates are less likely to be employed than their majority counterparts and are likely to be employed in occupations for which they are overqualified. Equally, research conducted by Battu and Sloane (2004) and Lindley (2009) shows that both first and second generation ethnic minorities are employed in jobs that do not match their qualifications and training.

Study evidence suggests that there are numerous factors that explain why ethnic minority individuals are more likely to experience employment inequalities in the labour market. First, ethnic minorities are more likely to graduate from less prestigious universities than their dominant population counterparts. Second, minority individuals are also less likely to be born into elite families/affluent parental backgrounds, which shows that they do not have sufficient

financial support and resources to live in elite neighbourhoods with better employment opportunities. Also, the rich live in better locations with employment opportunities, while ethnic minorities tend to live in more deprived areas. This lack of opportunities will likely affect employment and wages (Simonetta et al., 2006).

I am second generation Caribbean since I was born and raised in Manchester, England, to Caribbean parents. I am a solicitor working with a financial institution in Manchester city centre. Second generation ethnic minorities differ from first-generation immigrants for many reasons. Using my social contacts has been highly successful, especially when contacting my friends across the country, but my parents lack this opportunity. (British Caribbean female, Manchester).

Most second generation interview participants stated that their parents (first generation) arrived in the UK with low socio-economic backgrounds. This may have affected them; their children may be less likely to have access to information about well-paid job/career progression opportunities. Qualitative research conducted by Shah et al. (2010) and Zhou (2005) indicated that a co-ethnic community could help instil cultural values and the importance of higher education in the younger generation.

I consider myself to be a first-generation ethnic minority participant; the reason for persisting labour market inequalities is that employers deliberately refused to recognise overseas qualifications, foreign-sounding names, accents, and ethnic minorities' origins. Persisting ethnic minorities' employment deficits have not only impacted most of us severely in our search for career employment but have also had detrimental impacts on our labour market performance and career choice. I am talking because my wife and I have suffered when looking for career jobs; they kept saying our experience did not match the roles. Joblessness comes with several consequences, either for native dominant individuals or for us as foreigners. Both of us are graduates, but we have been doing this support work in care homes since we arrived in this country. It is unfortunate things happened this way! We, too, should be allowed work professionally and pay our share of income taxes to the government instead of £8 per hour shifts (Black Caribbean Male, Manchester).

Ethnic minorities' employment disadvantages research abounds. For example, empirical studies across developed nations that analyse the experience of labour market inequalities suggest that the highest levels of disparities based on ethnic or immigrant background are in employment and are higher towards non-native minorities (Second European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey EU-MIDIS, 2011). In the UK, studies have defined ethnic minorities' labour market unfairness as “ethnic penalties” (Heath and McMahon, 1997; Heath and Cheung, 2006).

I am a Business Intelligence (BI) developer with an insurance company. There have been several new employees who came into my department without experience, and I trained them. After a few months, these employees have been promoted with better-paid packages than me, who has been here for years. I was born in Liverpool, and my parents moved to London because my dad lost his only job in the Liverpool city council. I did not find it hard to get a job after completing my first degree in information technology, but it's difficult to get promoted compared to native individuals (British Caribbean Female, London).

There are several employment similarities and differences between immigrants and their children in the labour market. Studies such as Heath et al. (2007) and Rafferty (2012) show that first and second generation Black Africans and Black Caribbean face multiple challenges in the labour market. To begin with, the differences between first generation and second generation ethnic minorities are persistent employment disadvantages for the first generation. Second generation ethnic minorities have gradually improved their employment prospects, but employment disadvantages exist (Heath et al., 2007; Rafferty, 2012). Literature shows Black Africans have high unemployment among their younger generations in the labour market. Simpson et al. (2006) and Berthoud (2000) indicate that the male unemployment rate among Black African school leavers is very high and suggest that some of the employment disadvantages experienced by ethnic minority men in their 20s could be explained by the difficulties they had in seeking employment after leaving universities or colleges. As explained by a respondent whose father struggled to obtain a job after graduation:

I have lived and studied in Manchester all my life. I was born here; my parents are African migrants; my dad came here to study for a postgraduate law degree and declined to return to Africa. Honestly, he has regretted his decision to remain in the UK after his degree because most of the colleagues he worked with back home in Africa are now directors and heads of departments. He was unemployed for some years but now works as a taxi driver. I studied medicine at the University of Manchester and am currently a junior doctor with NHS England. I am lucky! (Black British female, Manchester).

For first generation immigrants, the literature review shows factors affecting their employment prospects. Migration studies have identified many reasons for the employment disadvantages of Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minorities in England and Wales. The differences between first and second generation Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minorities are human capital, social network, English language competence, and overseas qualifications for the first generation. In addition, second generation ethnic minorities have taken advantage of their pre-labour market awareness, social network, and Western university degrees and improved their employment status, while first generation immigrants continue to experience labour market penalties (Heath and Cheung, 2007; Carmichael and Woods, 2000).

The participants also identified strategies to obtain employment in the labour market. One of the participants, who identified herself as a first generation Black British born abroad, described her strategy to get employment in the labour market.

I was not born in the UK but came here as an international student after my master's degree. I did not get a job for two years, so I faked an accent wherever I attended an interview. My first job was with the city council as a data analyst. Since I discovered this strategy, I have worked for many organisations (Black British Female, Cardiff).

Tackling ethnic minority individuals' employment disadvantages is important because it affects people's lives, wastes talent and carries an economic cost. It is important to note that, in a developed society with equal opportunity for all, an alternative strategy which involves in-

dividuals faking an accent to be accepted in employment indicates that the law of equality needs to be readdressed. Other participants stated that improving employment opportunities for Black African and Black Caribbean immigrants would be a springboard opportunity. Studies show that, despite first-generation ethnic minority educational attainments, most are over-represented in occupations below their credentials (Heath et al., 2018; Zuccotti, 2015). A research participant expressed:

I came to the UK from one of the Caribbean islands with high expectations of getting a job as an accountant because that's what I have done all my life with one of the leading micro-finance banks. The first week, my partner advised me to look for a job as a care assistant in the NHS, where she has been working for the past seven years. She told me it is difficult to get a job as an accountant in this country. I applied for an advert for a management accountant role in Leeds and was told all applicants would be informed about the interview outcome that same day. After the interview, I waited for the outcome, but no one told me anything. I was later asked to wait for the feedback later in the week. I kept calling the bank but was informed feedback would be emailed to me later in the coming weeks. Finally, I received an email stating that a staff member has been upgraded to take up the role instead, but my CV would be kept in view for future roles. After many interviews, I could not get a professional job; I decided to take up a night job at the factory because the bills were so much for my partner to foot. I am 58 years old now, driving an Uber taxi in Manchester. Isn't this a complete waste of talent? I am only here for my children (Black Caribbean Male, London).

Employment research suggests that the educational qualifications of ethnic minorities may increase the success of ethnic minority workers but cannot eliminate ethnic penalties (Modoo, 2005). Research indicates that minority graduates are less likely to find jobs than their dominant population counterparts with equal educational attainments (Rafferty, 2012). Research evidence on employment disadvantages shows that the effects of early unemployment and insecure work carry over throughout their careers. This suggests that early poor labour market experiences or precarious and low-skilled work affect employment and wages later in life (e.g., Arulampalam et al., 2000; Gregg and Tominey, 2005; Mavromaras et al., 2013;

Mühleisen and Zimmermann, 1994). The present research findings confirm that ethnic minorities have experienced multiple employment barriers in the UK labour market.

4.8 Summary

This chapter has presented the findings of the semi-structured interviews conducted with first and second generation Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minority individuals in three different locations in the England and Wales labour market. The findings showed that these individuals had undergone persistent employment penalties. When asked about their employment opportunities since arrival in England and Wales, they concluded that racial discrimination in the labour market has affected their employment outcomes. Their confidence to challenge racism in the labour market has been met with complaints of lack of educational qualifications, skills and experience despite the educational qualifications they have achieved in UK universities.

The second generation Black Africans and Black Caribbeans who arrived as children or were born and educated in UK universities also indicated that they experience employment penalties despite their fluency in English and pre-labour market orientation. The interview discussion with second generation immigrants in the three different locations showed that most of them have witnessed their employment opportunities increase recently as opposed to their first generation descendants who have remained at the bottom of the economy since arrival, only surviving on care work and security jobs to foot their bills despite their UK universities' degrees. Second generation Black Africans and Black Caribbeans do not enjoy employment equality despite their educational attainments and pre-labour market knowledge.

The interview participants attributed their employment disadvantages to employers' racism towards Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minority groups. First generation immigrants rejected a lack of English language competency because most speak English fluently, as they have lived in the UK for decades. They also stated that most Caribbeans were confident English speakers before relocating to the UK for employment or family reunification. A recurrent theme in three locations in the interview was that despite the relentless determination of first generation ethnic minorities to improve their human capital, which has formed most of the debates and headlines, there continues to be a culture of racism in the labour mar-

ket. Eventually, most discouraged individuals decided to embark on self-employment to be able to foot their bills.

The findings of this chapter conclude that based on the personal experiences of the first and second generation Black Africans and Black Caribbeans, they have continued to endure persistent employment discrimination as opposed to their dominant population counterparts despite their qualifications and work experience. Concerning Black African second generation descendants, they have always found it extremely difficult to secure a managerial position when compared to their majority counterparts with identical educational qualifications. The participants' responses suggest that racism in the labour market will continue to exist without the government's intervention. The chapter also highlighted that second generation ethnic minorities with foreign names continued to endure persistent labour market disadvantages, and some have secured employment that was not commensurate with their educational qualifications and experience. The next chapter will discuss the research context, providing a review of the migration literature on Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minorities in the UK.

Chapter Five

5.0 Introduction

This chapter presents a discussion of the research context through a detailed review of the relevant literature. International migration has become one of the persistent themes for debates in the UK and other developed nations. Since the arrival of the first visible ethnic minority individuals in 1948, international migration has continued to form debates and headlines in the United Kingdom. The chapter commences by providing an overview of international migration and its motivations, including aspects such as the current population of Black Africans in the UK, the historical context of Black Caribbeans in the UK, and previous research on ethnic mobility in the UK and Europe. The chapter then presents a discussion of migration and its labour market consequences and concludes with a summary.

5.1 International Migration

This chapter discusses immigrants' motives for migration, Black African and Black Caribbean migration history, recent trends in international migration, economic migration, and its consequences in the host countries. It discusses students as economic migrants, highlighting the factors affecting immigrants in their destination countries. The disparity in recruitment is also presented in detail. It then explains the importance of immigrant human capital in host countries and, finally, the adverse effects of unemployment and underemployment. As noted in previous chapters, immigrants are also referred to as first and second generation ethnic minorities in England and Wales.

5.2 Motivations for International Migration

Whatever life we have experienced, if we can tell our story to someone who listens, we find it easier to deal with our circumstances (Wheatley, 2002, p.3).

International migration is not a random process. Historical, cultural and economic relationships between destination and origin countries increase the chance of migration between them (Levels et al., 2008). However, migration has existed since antiquity with a single purpose by immigrants. Beginning from *Homo erectus* nearly two million years ago, the ancient immigrants were seen in groups as hunters and food gatherers that moved from one destination to another (Dustmann et al., 2011). In the past decades, migration was inevitable by nomadic human beings, who have continued to travel from one place to another according to food supplies (Woessmann et al., 2010). However, in today's contemporary economic movement, an immigrant population that seeks or pursues ancient nomadic lifestyles has disappeared. The methods of hunters and food gatherers regarding migration used around 10,000 years ago have been replaced with the current agricultural mechanised farming, technological advancement, and civilised political structures, which have made economic migration more feasible (Dustmann et al., 2011; Woessmann et al., 2011). According to the Geneva Convention (1951), if migration takes place, it is for two reasons. Western countries which have received an extensive influx of migrants in recent decades draw distinctions between these two different motivations for the immigrant movement. The 1951 Geneva Convention defined a refugee as any individual "who, owing to a well-founded fear of being subjected to persecution because of their race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political belief, is outside the country of his origin and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country or return to it." (Dustmann et al., 2011, p.15). Its signatories have committed to not returning that person to possible oppression (Dustmann et al., 2011; Geneva Convention, 1951).

Immigration to the UK, as in many European countries such as Germany, France, Austria, The Netherlands, and Belgium, commenced immediately after the Second World War (Daley, 1996; Dustmann, 2010; Zuccotti, 2015). This arrival was because of the high demand for labour force in the UK and elsewhere as the local population could not occupy many jobs. First

generation ethnic minorities, particularly Jamaicans, were needed to rebuild the UK's economy and increase productivity and growth. On the other hand, there was a marked increase in Black African ethnic minorities migrating to the UK after their independence in the 1960s for higher education and vocational training (Daley, 1996). In the past decades, most Black Africans arrived due to human-made conflict, or they were political activists or economic migrants (Daley, 1996; Dustmann, 2010; Aglan et al., 2009; Heath et al., 2011). The 1991 UK census recorded 213,362 people of African heritage who identified as Black Africans. Also, in the census of 2011, the numbers had gradually increased to 485,277, making the Black African minority 10.5 per cent of the ethnic minority population in the UK (Dustmann et al., 2010).

In recent days, migration literature and the 2011 Census show that Black African ethnic minority individuals in the UK have increased significantly to 1.0 million individuals, making them one of the largest ethnic minority groups in the UK. Other ethnic minority groups, such as the Black Caribbeans, are around 0.6 million, while the Black Others are 0.3 million (Aspinall et al., 2016; Census, 2011). The Black African ethnic group has been incorporated in three successive decennial censuses of 1991, 2001, and 2011 (Aspinall et al., 2016; Census, 2011). The incorporation of Black Africans has been documented and acknowledged widely across central and local government and other legislative bodies within the UK. Also, ethnic minority individuals have coalesced around this term as satisfactory self-descriptors (censuses of 1991, 2001, and 2011). Based on data from the UK Labour Force Survey (LFS) and Understanding Society, the current aggregate data on ethnic minority labour market statistics show that ethnic minority individuals still experience employment disadvantages compared to their dominant population counterparts. Based on the LFS data on ethnic labour market outcomes, trends in employment and economic activity rates for ethnic groups remain low (censuses of 1991, 2001 and 2011; Aspinall et al., 2016). Though, within the historical, political, and social context, in the 19th century, ethnic minority communities were observed in UK cities such as Cardiff and Liverpool, where social relations of inter-marriage and people residing together, such as cohabitation, were prevalent in those days and continue even today (Berthoud, 2005).

5.2.1 Current Population of Black Africans in the UK

An overwhelming percentage of adults are relatively recent migrants. Based on official data from the 2001 Census, approximately 80 per cent of Black African adults were born abroad (Census, 2001). According to the 2001 Census and experimental statistics, the recent increase of Black Africans between 2001 and 2003 has been attributed to the arrival of refugees seeking asylum in the UK rather than natural growth (Large and Ghosh, 2006). Evidence shows that England and Wales's most established Black African communities are from Sierra Leone, Nigeria, Ghana, etc. Also, the UK has seen further migration from African countries with no historical links with the UK, such as the Democratic Republic of Congo. Based on 2001 Census information, ethnic minority migrants from Nigeria, Ghana, Somalia, and Zimbabwe accounted for about 55 per cent of Black Africans living in England then. Migration literature shows that populations of ethnic minorities in the UK are from the Democratic Republic of Congo, Zimbabwe, and other countries in Central Africa and Southern Africa (Census, 2001; Aspinall et al., 2010). These newly arrived Black Africans required further analysis to ascertain how they were faring (Blackaby et al., 2002-2005). Also, for clarity, in the UK, the term ethnic minority is a sweeping term that defines long-term immigrants, the second and later generations, newly arrived immigrants, and all those minority individuals who have settled in England and Wales are included in the analyses of this thesis.

5.2.2 The Historical Context of the Black Caribbean Minority in the UK

The first generation of Black Caribbean arrived in the UK as voluntary migrant workers in response to employment advertisements in newspapers and word of mouth. Abundant documented evidence shows that the Empire Windrush brought nearly 500 first generation Caribbean, mostly from Jamaica, on 22 June 1948, and this was witnessed as the large-scale immigration of first generation Black Caribbean ethnic minorities after the end of the Second World War (Li, 2021). The Black Caribbean ethnic minority lived in London, Manchester, and Birmingham, with men working as bus and tube drivers while women worked as nurses with the NHS in England and Wales (Li, 2021). The educational qualifications they arrived with were considered lower than those of the dominant majority population. These lower education qualifications have conceivably caused employment disadvantages in the labour mar-

ket and have generated widespread debates among policymakers and the academic world (Health et al., 2007; Cabinet Office, 2017; Li, 2021). Alongside this, first-generation Black Caribbean men had a low start in class positions. They were much behind their majority counterparts in occupational advancement or access to highly paid employment for most of the period. Research conducted by Li (2021) indicates that there is the possibility that second-generation men are gradually improving in terms of highly paid jobs in recent periods.

Ethnic minorities who arrived in the UK after the Second World War were individuals born outside the UK or British colonies and were officially granted British citizenship following The British Nationality Act of 1948 (Webster, 2020). The reason minorities who arrived in the UK were granted British citizenship was because they were part of the Commonwealth (Fomina, 2010; Webster, 2020). After the Second World War, the UK government began to recruit labour migrants from its colonies and encouraged nurses and blue-collar workers from the West Indies to work in the British transportation and health sectors (Ali and Gidley, 2014; Peach, 1991; Webster, 2020). First generation labour migrants who arrived in the UK were formerly English-speaking Black Caribbean (also known as West Indians) and were skilled or semi-skilled workers (Peach, 1996). After 1955, there was a shift in skill level with other lower-skilled first-generation Black Caribbean migrants arriving in the UK in great numbers (Peach, 1996). Similarly, migration literature shows that most Caribbean people who came to the UK after the Second World War were from Jamaica, Barbados, the Leeward and Windward Islands, Trinidad and British Guiana/Guyana (Peach, 1991; Webster, 2020). Evidence from analyses shows that the early influx of English-speaking Black Caribbean groups after the Second World War made the Black Caribbean group one of the most established migrant groups in the UK (Peach, 1991; Webster, 2020).

However, the UK immigration system has been subject to control. Immediately after the 1960s, immigration policy became more restricted for all Commonwealth nations. New laws emerged to limit immigration to only those from former and present colonies who demonstrated that they had pre-arranged jobs, special skills, or were responding to specific domestic needs (Hatton, 1998). During the Labour government in 1997, new immigration rules were introduced, which saw large-scale immigration of highly skilled and educated individuals as opposed to former semi or low-skilled immigrants into the UK (Coleman and Rowthorn,

2004). These changes introduced by the Labour government improved the likelihood of first-generation Black Caribbean immigrants who have been educated in their country of origin arriving in the UK to work in the UK labour market as nurses, etc. (Coleman and Rowthorn, 2004). According to migration literature, Black Caribbean people who arrived in the UK during 1948, the 1950s and 1960s, that is, the first generation, were less skilled and less educated compared to the first generation of other migrant groups who came later (e.g., Indians, Pakistanis, African-Asians, and Bangladeshi immigrants who came in the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s, and the highly educated Chinese and African immigrants who also arrived in the UK between 1990s and 2000s (Crawley, 2009; Dustmann and Theodoropoulos, 2010; Van Hear et al., 2004)). From the time when the British Nationality Act of 1948 was introduced, there have been relentless national and local government debates concerning the dominant majority population, some of whom felt as though ethnic minority migrants threaten their national identity and social cohesion, that ethnic minorities scrounge off the welfare system and compete for their limited resources (Cheong et al., 2007; Fomina, 2010).

Research evidence shows that, since its inception, the UK has maintained a history of social exclusion and labour market inequality against Black and Asian ethnic groups (Crawley, 2009; Fomina, 2010; Hatton and Wheatley Price, 1999). For the English-speaking first generation of Black Caribbean people in particular, their socio-economic activities have remained disadvantaged and shown no sign of abating. The evidence is reflected in higher rates of unemployment among first generation immigrants (Congress, 2012); lower levels of education attainment (Waters et al., 2013); inequality in secondary education systems (Gosai, 2009); perceived police unfair treatment (Lloyd and Foster, 2009); misconceptions about their levels of criminal behaviour (Bowling and Phillips, 2006); under-identification for specialised forms of mental health care (Bhui et al., 2003); and fewer social capital supports (Maxwell, 2012). Taking all these into consideration, this raises questions as to what is the nature of employment disadvantages that first and second generation Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minorities experience in the labour market: what are the factors influencing first and second generation Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minorities' employment disadvantages in England and Wales's labour market; and, finally, what are the similarities and differences between first and second generation Black African and Black Caribbean employment disadvantages. This thesis hopes its findings will be beneficial in influencing employers in the labour market to allow ethnic minority individuals to access full employment

opportunities like that of the dominant majority population. The findings of this thesis will also contribute knowledge to standard academic literature.

Evidence from the literature about Black Caribbean first-generation ethnic minorities shows they were the first ethnic minority groups in Britain in larger populations (Daley, 1996; Cheung and Heath, 2007; Iganski et al., 2001). Based on information available in the literature, these groups of immigrants arrived after the Second World War in approximately 1947 (Dustamnn et al., 2010; Peach, 1996) and increased sharply in the early 1960s. Between the 1971 and 2011 population censuses, the population of Black Caribbean people reached 565,876 or 1.0 per cent of the whole ethnic minorities in the UK. Research by Coard (1971) and Ramdin (1987) shows that the UK emigration plan was mainly used to provide the UK with cheap labour from its former colonies for which these economic migrants would receive the least desirable jobs, housing, pay and schooling, which would position them at the bottom of the working-class ladder – irrespective of the work skills that they had brought with them from Caribbean countries (Glass, 1961; Ramdin, 1987; Cross and Johnson, 1988; Collins, 2001). Furthermore, due to the growing numbers of ethnic minority communities in the UK, there was a constant stream of negative views of ethnic minority individuals in the media, triggering divisions between them and the majority working classes who vied for limited resources (Coard, 1971). Based on documented evidence, Peach (1991) shows that the UK government persuaded African Caribbean people to enter the country with the incentives of the UK dream and the opportunity to enjoy economic prosperity. During this period, the population of African Caribbean people grew to nearly 18,000 from 1951 to 548,000 by 1971 (Peach, 1991). According to Jones's (2003) empirical research, Conservative Member of Parliament Enoch Powell's 1968 rhetorical movement against ethnic minority individuals' immigration in support of the majority population's identity saw immigration as a bad thing for the UK people. Powell argued that the working-class majority faced threats to their homes, jobs, identity, and the very nature of the UK society due to the arrival of ethnic minorities. At the initial time of his disapproval of ethnic minority immigrant communities, several polls have shown that his opinions were shared by 74 per cent to 82 per cent of the UK population (Schwarz, 1996, 2011).

There is extensive evidence of pervasive disadvantages in several places in the UK, including social housing and workplaces (Law et al., 2008; Berthoud and Blekesaune, 2006). Within the labour market, Black Caribbean and Black African men experience higher unemployment rates, higher levels of semi-routine work, and lower hourly earnings than their majority counterparts (Heath and Cheung, 2006; Li and Heath, 2008). In their study, Heath and Cheung (2006) analysed significant net disadvantages in unemployment, earnings, and employment attainment in the labour market of ethnic minorities. They found that compared with other ethnic minorities, first and second generation Black Caribbean men face considerable employment penalties, and their unemployment gaps could not be explained by age, education, or foreign birth (Heath and Cheung, 2006). The authors referred to this unemployment gap as ethnic penalties, a well-documented belief that refers to the poor employment positions that ethnic minorities suffer, even after their educational attainment and age are considered. These factors were also found in Li and Heath (2020).

5.2.3 The Impression of International Migration

Whether voluntary or involuntary, international migration has been understood and debated as one of the most prominent and controversial issues in the past decades. Much of the widespread conversations and debates surrounding migration nowadays have been attributed to the current wave of international migration from developed and developing nations. These have continued to evolve steadily over the past few decades (McGovern, 2007). Migration literature shows that, in the 1960s, around 75 million people lived outside their countries of origin, which doubled to 191 million in 2005 (McGovern, 2007). Equally, the number of countries that hosted many migrants also increased substantially. In the 1960s, almost 30 countries hosted about half a million immigrants each, but by 2005, this figure had also increased significantly to 64 countries (United Nations, 2006; McGovern, 2007). As a result of the growing trend in the movement of people, Western societies have struggled to integrate immigrants into the labour market and the entire society. Alongside this, policymakers are faced with several debates to convince society that immigrants are good for society and the economy in general (Dustmann et al., 2014).

Moreover, most of the labour market literature in the past has been concerned with the impact of immigration on native employment and wages (Card, 1990, 2001; Dustmann et al., 2005; 2013). Some of the dominant population see foreigners as responsible for society's problems; they contend that such people repeatedly take jobs, reduce wages, scrounge welfare benefits, launch crime waves, and import ideas and practices that undermine the very fabric of society (e.g., Littlejohn, 2003; Phillips, 2003). These ongoing fears about immigrants and native employment and wages have been an enduring concern amongst policymakers in developed nations. Besides, in today's economic migration, conventional wisdom suggests that immigrants are poor, without much economic prospects in their countries of origin. So they migrate to the Western world, such as the UK or European Union, where they could earn higher incomes, even for relatively unskilled employment (McGovern, 2007). This is because there have been several debates among the native population about whether ethnic minority individuals contribute their fair share to the tax and welfare system. However, this growing concern and impression have been proven wrong by researchers, who have shown that immigrants contribute more than they receive (Dustmann et al., 2014).

Similarly, scholarly studies suggest that differences in wage rates between countries cause international migration. The study advocates that the arrival of immigrants born abroad can potentially lower wages and increase the supply of labour (McGovern, 2007). The view that an inflow of immigrants born overseas will lead to a reduction in wages may also be the motive behind the dominant population's worries regarding the impact of immigration if they believe that the arrival of immigrants often takes indigenous workers out of employment.

5.2.4 Research on Ethnic Mobility in the UK and Europe

There have been several debates on social mobility in the UK; however, this topic has remained inconclusive (Heath and Li, 2015; Li, 2016). Some scholars claimed to have found constant fluidity, showing that even though there has been an increase in absolute mobility, relative mobility chances appeared to be stable over time (Bukodi et al., 2015; Erikson and Goldthorpe, 1992, 2010; Goldthorpe, 1987; Goldthorpe and Jackson, 2007; Goldthorpe and Mills, 2004, 2008). In contrast, most research shows decreasing mobility across cohorts, although this focuses on income instead of class (Blanden et al., 2004; Blanden et al., 2013a).

On the other hand, other research commentators have provided evidence in between, reporting growing fluidity though with significant class differentials (Devine and Li, 2013; Heath and Payne, 2000; Lambert et al., 2007; Li and Devine, 2011, 2014). Migration studies have made several attempts to know where ethnic mobility stands; nonetheless, there is still a lack of mobility research on ethnic minorities, especially for the second generation. However, scant studies have shed light on UK and European mobility research. Platt (2005), Heath and McMahon (2005), Li and Heath (2014, 2016) and (Zuccotti, 2014). Also, elsewhere, in the United States, they have contributed to the class and income stratification of Black and the dominant groups' populations (Bloome and Western, 2011; Duncan, 1968; Featherman and Hauser, 1976; Hout 1984a; Wilson, 1980, 2011; Yamaguchi, 2009).

5.2.5 Migration and Diversity in the UK

The UK authoritative data surveys (Understanding Society) explain why it is important to account for the increasing diversity in a country like the UK, one of Europe's most diverse countries. For example, in Greater Manchester alone, up to 200 languages are spoken, and in 2017 Manchester accounted for almost 500,000 long-term inhabitants (Gopal et al., 2013; Arcarons, 2017). Also, the 2011 Census showed that London hosted about three million foreign-born persons (almost 40 per cent of its population). Ethnic minority individuals currently account for 80 per cent of population growth in the country, with one in four children under age 10 having foreign ancestry (Arcarons, 2017; Census, 2021). Also, it is shown that 2.4 million people (4.0 per cent) were from black ethnic groups –1.5 million of those identified with the Black African ethnic group 2.5 per cent, and 0.6 million with the Black Caribbean ethnic group (1.0 per cent). Research predicts that in 2050, approximately one out of three persons in the UK will have an ethnic minority background. This suggests that, by then, the five largest minority groups, Indians, Pakistanis, Bangladeshis, Black Africans, and Black Caribbeans, could, in theory, double their size from eight to 16 million, with Black Africans and Bangladeshis being the fastest-growing groups, and Indian and Black Caribbean the slowest (Sunak and Rajeswaran, 2014).

Research by the OECD/European Union (2015) shows that the United Kingdom has been and will remain a country of labour migration, attracting migration inflows from developed na-

tions and developing countries. Migration studies suggest many reasons for migration (Wimmer, 2009). Reasons for migrating are important, as they usually correlate with the outcomes obtained in host societies (Wimmer, 2009). Reasons vary over time and are influenced by the cyclical nature of global social and political processes. According to the ONS (2016), in the first quarter of 2016, the main motive for long-term immigration to the UK worked at 48 per cent, followed by formal study at 26 per cent and ‘accompanying or joining’ (13 per cent). As mentioned in my previous chapter, immediately after the Second World War, the composition of flows changed significantly with the arrival of Caribbean and South Asian immigrants. Between 1951 and 1971, there was a boom in Jamaican-born immigration, driven by economic push and pull factors, reaching 172,000 persons in 1971. They were employed mainly to fill labour-market vacancies in The National Health Service (NHS) and the public sector, especially London Transport. In general, Black Caribbean ethnic minorities took low-skilled positions, except for nurses (mainly women) working for the NHS (ONS, 2013).

5.2.6 Immigrants and Economic Uncertainty in the UK

Economic migration is a long-term process because, when immigrants arrive in the host country with their families, several questions are expected to be addressed on arrival. It is important to consider how immigrants’ children may familiarise themselves with the host country’s institutions, such as the labour market, acquisition of the host language, investment in education, etc. (Dustmann et al., 2011). This is because the ongoing discussion of immigrants and their children’s economic situation in the host countries has been the main topic of debate and research agenda in the UK, OECD countries, and elsewhere (World Bank, 2011; United Nations, 1951). In other words, the economic situation of ethnic minority individuals has attracted mainstream policymakers, scholars from their respective fields, and the wider society to investigate how these individuals are faring in the country of their destinations (Dustmann et al., 2011; Aglan et al., 2009; Blackaby et al., 2005; Cabinet Office, 2017). In the UK context, most contemporary migrants have assumed that economic prospects seemed more favourable in other regions than their country of origin. For example, Black Africans and those from other developing nations who came to the UK to study for degree qualifications are motivated by the impression that education and skills acquisition in the UK may pay off later after graduation. Also, this is since several Western countries that are seen and rec-

ognised as education learning centres have continued to offer educational products to an international market (Dustmann et al., 2011). For example, the US, the UK, and Australia have continued to experience a persistent arrival of international students for university degrees or vocational studies (Dustmann et al., 2011). Scholarly literature shows that when immigrants acquire host country language skills, learn specific production technologies, and have pre-labour market knowledge, they are more likely to secure jobs. However, employment penalties and access to promotion remain because ethnic minorities born and educated in the UK still face employment disadvantages, regardless of their UK qualifications and skills.

Therefore, this thesis seeks to investigate the employment gap identified in the literature that ethnic minority individuals such as Black African and Black Caribbean generations have continued to experience labour market disadvantages, even when they have similar educational qualifications, which appears to predict labour market success. Their unemployment rates are higher than their native counterparts (Platt et al., 2020; Cabinet Office, 2017). Imagine the future of the first generation of the Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minorities who arrived after the Second World War and those Africans who arrived for educational purposes: ethnicity studies show they have been exposed to persistent employment penalties in the UK labour market (Heath et al., 1997). The motive for persistent labour market inequalities explained that the qualifications they arrived with from their countries of origin had not been recognised by employers (Dustmann et al., 2003; Heath et al., 2007). This also holds for second generation ethnic minority individuals who have been educated and understood pre-labour market experience in the UK (Heath et al., 2018; Zuccotti, 2015; Platt et al., 2020).

5.2.7 Government Policy on International Students

Students who arrived in the UK or European Union in the past decades have faced hostile immigration control and policies aimed at returning students who have completed their studies to their home countries. Under David Cameron's leadership, the Conservative government wanted to reduce migration to tens of thousands in the UK (Griessler, 2017). This also compelled several European countries to restrict students and their families from staying permanently after graduation, and they have started to issue some short-term special resident permits to individuals who entered for studies to seek temporary employment before returning to

their countries of origin. The UK government introduced two-year post-study work visas between 2004 and 2005 to international students who completed a degree or other higher qualification. Also, Germany introduced work permit visas for one year in 2005, and France did the same for six months in 2006 (Dustmann, 2011; Aglan et al., 2009). The widespread belief that immigrants take jobs from the native dominant population, depress wages, and take more benefits from the government were the main reasons behind the restriction of visas for foreign-born immigrants and students. Also, students, economic migrants, and those seeking refugees in the UK and European Union nations have experienced stricter immigration controls in recent days due to the increase in anti-migrant and far-right political parties that have been witnessed in the modern Western world, making it compulsory for individuals from ethnic minorities to pass a language test before qualifying for citizenship. Though most immigrants may prefer the UK for one reason, with the English language as the international language, the UK may seem to remain an epicentre for economic immigrants and overseas students who prefer to invest in education and return to their country of origin with future employment prospects.

5.3 Migration and Labour Market Consequences

Migration, whether voluntary or involuntary, comes with consequences in destination countries. First, migration may affect the educational attainments and employment skills of those individuals who migrated to developed countries as employers cannot recognise the qualifications and skills immigrants arrived with (Dustmann et al., 2011). Likewise, the host country's inability to integrate immigrants and their children born abroad and those born in the host country is challenging. For immigrants to succeed in the host country's labour market may depend on acquiring contemporary human capital. However, an example is seen in the context of Black African and Black Caribbean first-generation minority individuals in the UK, who have suffered disadvantages since inception, and this also has formed part of the ongoing scrutiny and debates (Cabinet Office, 2017). Ethnic minority communities' employment disadvantages in the UK have been among the most debated topics in recent decades. Other developed nations have continued to witness persistent migration from developing countries, and this arrival of migrants has caused much concern with policymakers on how to integrate/assimilate minority individuals into the labour market. Since the arrival of first-generation ethnic minorities in the host country, migration literature shows that ethnic mi-

minority individuals have continued to experience labour market disadvantages and are over-represented in routine employment, while the dominant majority population occupies top positions in employment (Heath et al., 1997; Heath and Cheung, 2007). Ethnicity literature suggests that ethnic minority employment disadvantages are caused by employers appearing to favour the dominant groups over ethnic minority individuals (Berthoud et al., 2007; Carmichael and Woods, 2000). Minority individuals have suffered multiple labour market disadvantages in the UK, and these inequalities could be attributed directly or indirectly; these have been an enduring concern among mainstream policymakers and academic scholars (Cabinet Office, 2017; Heath and Cheung, 2007).

Scholarly literature indicates that the labour market penalties for ethnic minority individuals result from insufficient contemporary human capital in the host country. Empirical findings also show that first and second generation ethnic minorities have been subjected to persistent labour market penalties, which have translated to ‘ethnic penalties’ due to multiple inequalities (Li, 2010; Blackaby, 2005; Zuccotti, 2015; Heath et al., 1997). Second, in the labour market, abundant and documented research evidence shows that employers tend to choose one group instead of another in terms of recruitment, retention, and promotion (Li, 2010). Anorectal evidence indicates that there are several ways inequality takes form in the UK labour market, as minority individuals seek employment, and they are as follows:

5.3.1 Statistical Inequality

Statistical inequality in employment suggests that, even when there is not adequate detailed information about the efficiency and productivity of that potential employee, employers might presume the desirability of a particular ethnic group as employees and act accordingly, even when there is evidence that they will lose revenue, employers will favour such an applicant as opposed to ethnic minority individuals with skills and standard qualifications (Li, 2010). In the United States, for example, some groups, such as African Americans, were victims of this inequality in the labour market for a very long period.

5.3.2 Direct Inequality

Research conducted by Daniel (1968) and Esmail and Everington (1993) shows that direct inequality in employment pertains to the refusal of applicants from ethnic minority groups in favour of their counterparts from the majority population even when they have similar skills and qualifications.

5.3.3 Indirect Inequality

Indirect employment inequality indicates exclusionary recruitment practices such as through word of mouth or local advertisements targeting a specific neighbourhood or to conclude the applicant's ethnic identity from lateral signals (Li, 2010). In England and Wales, most neighbourhoods are considered to have heavy ethnic and geographical concentrations, and employers might prefer not to recruit ethnic minorities based on their ethnicity. Besides this, there are several labour market situations in the UK and the United States that most employers have exhibited against other individuals' employment, such as the 'chill factor' which seemed to exist in Northern Ireland in earlier years (Li and O'Leary, 2007) or the 'queuing effect' in the United States (for further review see Model 2005: 366-367). The Equality Act (2010) prohibits age and ethnicity discrimination into consideration if employment disadvantages are based on ascriptive factors such as social origin or individual ethnicity; this is a breach of the law implemented by the government, a deliberate attempt to create economic inefficiency and a waste of talents, which is not suitable for the nation's economy (Heath and Cheung, 2007; Cabinet Office, 2017). Equally, it is also a source of social injustice and, in common sense, of social inclusion, and this could cause a repeat of the violent disorder seen in the northern part of England in the past (Battu et al., 2004). Indirect inequality significantly challenges the policies or beliefs of equality and opportunity embraced by all developed societies (Heath and Cheung, 2007; Cabinet Office, 2017).

Alongside labour market disadvantages, there are several areas of ethnic disadvantages in England and Wales to be explored, such as disadvantages in education, housing, health, or political influence, but this current thesis focuses on employment, which often causes many

challenges such as unabated policy intervention, violent disorder, depression and crime (Battu et al., 2004; Heath and Cheung, 2007).

5.3.4 Determinants of Employment Achievement

Scholarly literature suggests that ethnic minority labour market success depends on acquiring some specific human capital on arrival in the host country (Dustmann et al., 2003). Dustmann (1994) and Berman et al. (2000) research show that fluency and literacy in the destination country language are important components for explaining ethnic minority individuals' employment success in the US, Canada, Australia, Israel, and Germany. Minority individuals' employment disadvantage forms a key aspect of the UK debates within policymakers, academia, and the wider society. This is because employment influences many issues in the lives of ethnic minority individuals, such as economic independence, planning for the future, self-esteem and the opportunity to acquire host country language skills and make social contacts with the dominant majority population (Cabinet Office, 2017; Heath et al., 2018). Ethnicity literature evidence shows that first and second generation Black African and Black Caribbean people continue to experience employment disadvantages irrespective of their academic accomplishments and possession of UK pre-labour market knowledge (Heath et al., 2018; Platt et al., 2020; Platt et al., 2020).

For example, in the UK labour market, the first and second generations of Black Africans and Black Caribbeans are faced with two major difficulties in the labour market. Firstly, they suffer persistent employment disadvantages compared to the dominant population. Secondly, these ethnic minority groups experience wage penalties (Heath et al., 2018). However, the analyses of wages are beyond the scope of this current thesis. In this thesis, the researcher explores Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minority groups' unemployment disadvantages in the UK labour market since unemployment is a more serious social problem than low earnings. Earnings disadvantages are easier to challenge than disadvantages at the job search stage (Leslie et al., 1998). Alongside this labour market inequality, migration studies have shown the following factors which have impacted the first generation of ethnic minority individuals in the destination country since their arrival:

- Education
- English language skills
- Lack of recognition of foreign qualifications
- Social networks
- Childcare responsibilities
- Length of residence and date of arrival
- Motivation for migrating (voluntary or involuntary)
- Geographical mobility
- Health
- Legal status
- Experience in the UK labour market
- Length of time out of the labour market and employer attitudes.

Equally, ethnicity literature shows that Black Africans have high unemployment among their younger generations (Simpson et al., 2006; Berthoud, 2000; Aspinall et al., 2010). Simpson et al., 2006 Berthoud, 2000 Aspinall et al., 2010 show that the male unemployment rate amongst Black African school leavers is very high, which could be explained by their difficulties in seeking employment after leaving universities or colleges.

5.3.5 Adverse Effects of Persistent Employment Disadvantages

Unemployment adversely impacts individuals from ethnic minorities or native populations (Heath et al., 2018; Bell and Blanchflower, 2010; Bell and Blanchflower, 2010). Concerning the labour market position of minority individuals, empirical analyses show that previous disadvantage experiences may worsen their current disadvantage, making it more difficult for ethnic minority individuals who were unemployed in the last year to find a job in the current labour market. There has been well-documented literature suggesting that unemployment and a poor labour market start to have devastating effects on an individual's life course (Egdell et al., 2020). Also, it is documented that persistent unemployment spells are a hindrance for those individuals who have experienced long-term unemployment and may find their firm/job-specific skills depreciated, and this sends a negative signal to potential employers about their commitment to employment and makes it harder to convince employers of their

employability (Heath et al., 2018). Heath et al. (2018) show that unemployed job applicants have problems re-entering the labour market, commonly referred to as the scarring effects of unemployment.

Similarly, scholarly literature shows that unemployment has severe consequences, such as an increased prospect of future unemployment (Helbling et al., 2016). Alongside this, persistent labour market inequality has a cumulative effect on first and second generation Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minorities experiencing employment disadvantages. This indicates that the longer an individual remains workless or inactive, the weaker their employment opportunities (Arulampalam, 2001; Gregg, 2001; Gangl, 2006; Bell and Blanchflower, 2010). Research findings by Heath et al. (2018) and Gunn et al. (2017) confirm that there is clear evidence of the scarring effects on unemployed individuals. For example, the broader employment conditions in which individuals enter the labour market (Liu et al., 2016; Summerfield and Theodossiou, 2017) and engaging in poor employment (e.g., skills under-utilisation, over-qualification, unsecured contracts, low-paid work, agency shifts) have a negative impact on an individual (Baranowska et al., 2011; Gebel, 2010; Mavromaras et al., 2015). It is possible to experience adverse effects during career development, such as income penalties, health, and well-being (Egdell et al., 2020). According to literature evidence, an individual who experiences early labour market disadvantages can be dissatisfied with their career progress (Helbling and Sacchi, 2014), and long-term wage disadvantages are observed (Arulampalam, 2001; Gregg and Tominey, 2005).

Ethnic literature suggests that having a poor beginning in the labour market has a frightening effect on the future employment and well-being of individuals, whether ethnic minority individuals or the dominant population. Likewise, having no employment or job security at the start of a life course is detrimental, considering responsibility and other consequential obligations (Egdell et al., 2020). The recession period is bad for ethnic minority individuals as they are the first to be dismissed from their employment (Li and Heath, 2020). Yet, despite the adverse effects of unemployment, the most silent labour market disadvantages are found in terms of economic inactivity, unemployment, and underemployment amongst second generation ethnic minority individuals during the economic downturn of the mid-1980s, early 1990s and the most current one of 2008 (Heath et al., 2018).

Regarding health and well-being, empirical analyses show that those who graduated from any education during the recession have lower income, lower life satisfaction, and greater rates of obesity, smoking, and drinking problems later in life (Cutler et al., 2015). Similarly, unemployed individuals are at high risk of distress, potentially resulting in mental health issues (Daly and Delaney, 2013). Academic commentators suggest that, in some national contexts, females may be at higher risk of downward mobility due to the longer unemployment they have experienced (Evertsson et al., 2016). The ongoing debates concerning ethnic minority individuals' employment disadvantages in the labour market indicate that ethnic minorities are more likely to be unemployed due to inequality. If nothing is implemented to improve these persistent employment disadvantages, these groups of individuals will continue to experience difficulties in the labour market. Furthermore, suppose employers in the UK labour market particularly avoid ethnic minority unemployed job seekers; it suggests that such individuals would find it harder to obtain a job or could even possibly discourage them from seeking employment (Blackaby et al., 2005), which further suggests that an ethnic scarring effect would hence generate a cumulative process of disadvantage (Merton, 1968; Di-Prete and Eirich, 2006).

An unfavourable labour market could conceivably create social disorder where people might take the law into their own hands (e.g., like what happened in the spring and early summer of 2001, where there was a series of violent conflicts in many cities and towns in England (e.g., Oldham, Leeds, Burnley, Bradford), involving young British Asian men, young native individuals and the police. Based on several reports concerning the cause of the unrest between these groups, the incident received considerable attention in political circles and the media. Subsequently, an investigation was launched into what had caused these conflicts (Battu et al., 2009). Following the investigation, a report was made, and according to the report, firstly, the lack of a shared civic identity to bring together diverse communities was one of the reasons for the violent disturbance witnessed in the cities. Secondly, it was suggested that the increasing segregation of communities on economic, geographic, ethnic, and cultural lines motivated the violent conduct between the ethnic minority youths and the dominant population. The attention paid to these two factors is relatively novel in the UK. It represents a departure from the long-standing debate in the UK, which has tended to emphasise unequal treatment as the key force in driving ethnic disadvantage (CRE, 2002; Battu et al., 2009).

In the UK, an enduring concern for ethnic minorities' unemployment rates, particularly about youths (second generation), has triggered a widespread additional debate between policymakers and social scientists (Heath et al., 2020; Cabinet Office, 2017). Research conducted by the Cabinet Office (2017) indicates that ethnic minority groups in the UK have continued to face marked disadvantages in the labour market, etc. The report stated that the country's employers must explain or implement changes enabling individuals from minority groups to achieve full employment. Based on the recent trend in unemployment, job insecurity, and short-term employment contract, precarious employment has become a prominent labour market status, which might lead to future long-term unemployment (McTier and McGregor, 2018). Abundant evidence suggests that, in future employment, the quality of jobs and well-being might be compromised by periods of unemployment and a poor beginning in the labour market (Brandt and Hank, 2014; Gallo et al., 2006). Considering the foreseeable consequence of short-term unemployment, job insecurity, poor labour market starts and ethnic penalties on the first and second generations of Black Africans and Black Caribbean in England and Wales, the hindrance should not be downplayed. Instead, it should be rectified as directed by the Cabinet Office report (Cabinet Office, 2017).

5.4 Chapter Summary

Migration literature has been an evolving research area of interest to policymakers and academic commentators in recent decades due to the rapid increase in international migration. Significant widespread debates and calls to restrict international migration have likewise been seen in the UK and elsewhere. This chapter has examined the migration literature related to the influx of immigrants comprising first and second generation Black Africans and Black Caribbeans. The chapter has documented the motivation for international migration and its negative impact on ethnic minorities. For example, the arrival of the first visible Black Caribbeans in the UK was stimulated due to the high labour demand to fill employment in the health and transportation sections. Black African ethnic minority groups' arrival in the UK was based on schooling, family reunion and those seeking asylum due to war and famine. Based on the literature evidence on international migration and how society views ethnic minorities, a possibility to conclude this chapter is that first and second generation ethnic minorities have endured a persistent harsh political and economic climate. This is due to the concern that is frequently focused on immigrants that they are more reliant on welfare payments

than natives. The reviewed literature provides the context for the study. The next chapter will discuss the research findings and reflect on the literature review on Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minorities in the UK labour market.

Chapter Six: Discussion

6.0 Introduction

This chapter aims to discuss the study's findings, as presented in chapter four, with the existing theoretical and contextual literature. This enables the identified themes to be compared and contrasted with previous research on ethnic minorities' Labour Market positions. By so doing, the findings will confirm or disconfirm previous knowledge. Also, where gaps have been identified within the literature, certain findings will extend understanding of the factors influencing the employment disadvantages of Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minorities. It concludes with a summary of the chapter.

6.1 Ethnic Minorities' Labour Market Positions

Scholarly debates on employment and educational differences between first and second generation ethnic minority individuals are well documented in Western nations (Ballarino and Panichella, 2013; Crul and Vermeulen, 2003; Heath and Cheung, 2007; Heath et al., 2008). Ethnic penalties mean that, after controlling for different socio-economic factors, usually education, age, and marital status, the remaining residuals are employment penalties, recognising that disadvantages remain (Heath and McMahon, 1997). One of the most contested debates in the literature is the interpretation and explanation of what ethnic studies label ethnic penalties. Furthermore, the residual after controlling for different socio-economic factors is often thought of as a 'net ethnic/immigrant effect' and, in the labour market context, is usually considered an ethnic penalty (Heath and Cheung, 2007; Carmichael and Woods, 2000).

As I have reiterated in my research aim and objectives, the rationale to investigate the first and second generation of Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minorities' employment positions in England and Wales is essential. Assessing the necessities of first and second generation Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minority individuals is necessary to know how they are faring in the destination country (Card, 2005; Blackaby et al., 2000-2005). Public discussion on ethnic minority employment disadvantages in the labour market in the UK and other developed nations has been ongoing due to the recent arrival of immigrants from developing countries and elsewhere. Research by Dustmann et al. (2010) and the Commission for Racial Equality Annual Report (2006) indicate that, in the UK, ethnic minority

groups are a focus of the public debate about the disadvantages of immigrant communities. According to information from the 2001 Census, 4.7 million (or 8.1 per cent of the total population) were ethnic minorities. The enduring debates on ethnic minorities' employment disadvantages, a substantial and increasing proportion of those born and educated in England and Wales, have created a necessity to investigate their labour market positions to verify whether ascriptive characteristics such as ethnic background, etc., have given way for an ethnic minority to compete in the labour market (Li and Heath, 2020). On the other hand, analysing the employment positions of second generation ethnic minorities born and educated in England and Wales is fundamental because these communities may spend their entire lives working and paying taxes to contribute to the government's coffers (Card, 2005).

In the interviews, first generation Black African and Black Caribbean participants disclosed that their willingness to take low-paid employment is because employers have refused to recognise their qualifications obtained abroad, and even when they got UK qualifications, they continued to experience employment disadvantages. The majority of the first and second generation ethnic minorities interviewed were graduates either from their countries of origin or UK universities. Yet, most of them are currently in low-paid employment and agency shifts. This thesis finding is similar to other research, such as Dustmann et al. (2010), Zuccotti (2015) and Li and Heath (2020). Based on ethnic literature evidence, employment inequalities are found in terms of inactivity, unemployment/underemployment, and lower pay experienced among younger people from ethnic minority groups (Li and Heath, 2020). The findings from this current thesis and those of other research cited above are similar to the thesis findings, which show that Black Africans and Black Caribbeans experience persistent labour market disadvantages, making them willing to take low-paid employment. Considering this thesis's findings, the government should review its legislation or policies on ethnic equality in the labour market rather than tolerate employers that dwell on their justification of lack of human capital and refuse ethnic minorities employment. One of the advantages of this thesis is that it contributes to other studies, such as Heath and Cheung (2006) and Nazroo and Kapadia (2013), which shows that ethnic minority individuals often face employment disadvantages in the labour market and are at higher risk of unemployment than their native majority counterparts. Ethnic minority groups endure persistent labour market disadvantages despite many living in the UK for years (Kitty et al., 2016). Research by Simpson et al. (2006) also revealed that the net disadvantages of minority individuals in the labour market have be-

come more significant for men born in the country. Second generation Black African and Black Caribbean participants told the researcher they are graduates from UK universities, yet most are still employed below their university qualifications. These findings are similar to research by Modood (2005) and Li and Heath (2020). Correspondingly, despite their educational attainments, second generation men and women born and educated in the country endure employment differences, low pay, and difficulties accessing professional and managerial positions compared to their majority counterparts (Li, 2018).

6.2 Ethnic Minorities' 'Lived Experience.'

First generation interview participants' 'lived experience' shows they have experienced persistent employment disadvantages in the labour market due to their ethnic background. In their own words, a meritocratic society is subject to further assessment. The majority of the factors that affect first generation employment in the labour market are as follows:

- Foreign qualifications
- English language competency
- Lack of knowledge of the UK labour market
- Foreign work experience and skills
- Lack of social capital
- Racial discrimination
- Lack of access to equal opportunities for promotion

Ethnicity literature shows that ethnic minority employment disadvantages are examined through a set of indicators which capture inequalities and disadvantages in housing, health, employment and education between minority individuals and the majority population in the local authority regions in the UK (Kitty et al., 2016). Nevertheless, in this thesis, Skype and telephone interviews were conducted with first and second generation participants in London, Manchester and Cardiff. The interview findings show that first generation ethnic minority individuals' employment rates remained lower in the labour market irrespective of their efforts and educational aspiration to blend with the current labour market. Most of the first generation of Black African and Black Caribbean immigrants rejected the ongoing claims that

they lack fluency in English, skills and experience, pointing out that these claims should not be used as a pretext to continue labour market inequalities. During the interviews with both male and female participants, all were confident English speakers, though most had African or Caribbean accents.

Racial discrimination was also found to be an important factor which influenced the employment disadvantages of Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minorities, as opposed to their majority population counterparts. This corresponds with research conducted by Fryer (1984), Dustmann and Theodoropoulos (2010) and Andrews (2013) in employment, housing, and education, which showed that Black Caribbean and Black Africans continued to experience persistent racial discrimination. Throughout the interviews, many participants mentioned their experiences in searching for employment. They thought that racism played a crucial role in their not being offered the professional jobs they sought and negatively impacted career progression opportunities for those of them who had secured employment. Most first generation immigrants were discouraged because they have not been able to secure professional jobs commensurate with their qualifications since they arrived in the UK decades ago. The participants claimed that racial discrimination in the labour market remains. It will continue to hurt their employment prospects unless it is addressed. Research conducted by the Public Accounts Committee (2008, p. 7) also indicated that despite the Department for Work and Pension's work through the Ethnic Minority Employment Task Force (EMETF), racial discrimination remains a significant barrier in the labour market.

In summary, this study found that first generation immigrants were employed in jobs below their qualification attainments, including those acquired in the UK since their arrival. Ethnic minorities' 'lived experience' comprises worklessness, persistent labour market inequality, being over-qualified for jobs and racial discrimination. Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minorities' employment 'lived experience' remains an issue that requires crucial intervention by the government to reconsider in the 21st century to enable immigrants to move on and progress in the labour market. This is because talents are being wasted, the government treasury is scourged to fund unemployment benefits, and there is an increase in crimes and poverty due to social exclusion.

6.2.1 Strategic Investment to Avoid Employment Disadvantages

Education is crucial for employment and career progression (Li, 2018). Aspiring to obtain a higher educational qualification in ethnic minority communities is seen as an investment strategy to avoid/overcome labour market inequalities (Becker, 1962). During the interviews with second generation participants born and educated in the UK, most indicated they had suitable employment, but ethnic penalties remain. Research by Rafferty (2012) shows similar findings, although it documents that differences in human capital or demographic characteristics cannot fully explain ethnic differences in occupational attainment, earnings and unemployment. The remaining components of such differences that cannot be explained have been labelled 'ethnic penalties', recognising that this may reflect disadvantages in the labour market (Berthoud, 2000; Cooke, 2007; Heath and Cheung, 2006; McGinnity and Lunn, 2011). This present thesis's findings and participants' explanations show that they are disadvantaged because of their ethnic background. The findings of this thesis are similar to Li and Heath (2020). During the interviews with both second generation men and women, they indicated that unequal opportunity occurs in terms of training and promotion. Ethnicity research conducted by Bhattacharyya et al. (2003) shows that people from ethnic minority backgrounds, including those of second generation, were found to have low chances in terms of training. Similarly, they are generally faced with 'hyper-cyclical unemployment' meaning they experience much higher levels of unemployment during economic downturns, and they are three or four times as likely to be unemployed when compared to their native majority population counterparts (Li and Heath, 2008; Li, 2008; Li and Heath, 2010).

Notwithstanding their strategic investment to escape employment disadvantages in the labour market, the thesis findings show that employment penalties remain. The findings show that second generation Black African and Black Caribbean people possess similar qualifications and understand the UK employment search, but employment penalties remain (Heath and McMahon, 1997; Rafferty, 2012). The findings of this current thesis contribute to ethnic and migration studies and knowledge on the employment disadvantages of Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic groups (Li and Heath, 2008; Li, 2008; Li and Heath, 2010). The findings suggest that first generation Black African and Caribbean men and women's employment is characterised by persistent inequality. It has left them with no alternative but to survive in menial, low-paid jobs to foot their priority bills. First-generation immigrants state that

employers' decision not to recognise their foreign qualifications and skills appeared to be a deliberate attempt. It had stalled their employment positions and kept them at the bottom of occupation compared to their majority counterparts. The interview participants indicated that they experienced persistent employment disadvantages, and even when they finally secured employment, the chances of promotion were low compared to the native majority. Continued labour market disadvantages have placed them in a precarious livelihood, and significant numbers of them have remained in low-paid, routine, agency shifts employment, regardless of their educational attainments. The first-generation participants expressed the grievance that employment disadvantage perseveres despite their investment strategies, including compulsory education and changing careers to meet employers' expectations.

In conclusion, as stated in previous chapters of this thesis, there are many motivations to explore current employment positions of first and second generation Black Africans and Black Caribbeans in England and Wales's labour market. How ethnic minority communities are faring is important to the government, immigrants and their children. The discussion with interview participants was to verify whether first and second generation ethnic minorities' employment has increased as advocated by the government or if it has remained the same due to persistent growing inequality or declined over time. During the interviews with first generation immigrants who arrived in the UK as adults, their major concerns were the continued devaluation of foreign qualifications and work experiences in the labour market, and even when they have enormous opportunities to upgrade their qualifications and the UK work experience, employment disadvantages remain.

6.2.2 Over-Education in Employment

Scholarly literature on ethnic minority individuals' 'over-education' or 'over-qualification' shows that a disproportionate number of ethnic minority men and women are employed in occupations which do not compensate for the level of qualifications they have attained both in the UK (Battu and Sloane, 2004; Lindley, 2009) and internationally (Chiswick and Miller, 2010; Green et al., 2007; Nielsen, 2011). Research conducted in the UK shows that minority individuals are highly educated on average and more likely to enrol at university than the native majority (Modood, 2005). Modood (2005) stated that immigrants' comparatively higher

level of education explains an alternative method to escape labour market inequality (Colding et al., 2009; Heath et al., 2008; Modood, 2005). It further shows that second generation ethnic minority individuals with higher educational qualifications stand the chance of labour market success but do not eliminate ethnic penalties. Similarly, Rafferty (2012) indicates that ethnic minority graduates are less likely to find jobs than the native dominant population. When they do eventually find a job, it is in low-paid employment in which they are over-qualified. The research shows that second generation employment has improved, but ethnic penalties remain. In support of immigrants' work 'lived experience' described during the interviews, research by Battu and Sloane (2004) and Lindley (2009) suggests that ethnic minority workers, including second generation, are more likely to be over-educated for their jobs and are paid less than the native population for their higher qualifications. The thesis findings show that most first generation interview participants were graduates from art courses and science, including those who have changed careers to meet employers' expectations. The most worrying revelation from participants' interviews suggests that their human capital investments have not transformed into employment success since most participants are still in low-pay occupations despite their educational attainments.

The interviewees informed the researcher that their dreams and the promise of a meritocratic society have been fruitless. They have failed to shield minorities against employers who have continually declined to recognise foreign qualifications and experience. Meritocracy, the dream of ethnic minorities, appears to be replaced with the social class background because research shows that background is less influential on educational outcomes for minorities (Platt and Nandi, 2020). This indicates potential policy learning concerning social mobility (Platt and Nandi, 2020). However, first-generation immigrants expect to be employed based on their educational qualifications and skills. However, this is not the case because their ethnic backgrounds affect their employment prospects in the labour market. Education has been measured as a predictor of labour market successes; however, class has been observed to replace education as a determinant for labour market accomplishment. Ethnic minority individuals revealed during the interview discussion that equality of opportunity and a meritocratic society are empty shields. Based on the thesis findings from first generation immigrants, educational qualifications and hard work no longer guarantee employment opportunities and success promised by developed societies. Employers' lack of recognition of foreign qualifications and skills has left immigrant communities with no alternative to navigating to night

shifts and low-paying jobs to survive. The interview findings show that institutional influence and labour market structure have continued to let down Black African and Black African Caribbean individuals in terms of employment opportunities and equality. The thesis's findings suggest that first generation educational qualifications obtained in home countries or UK universities have no payoff, and they attribute their ethnic background as the reason for their employment disadvantages.

Research shows that second generation ethnic minorities' educational attainment falls short of what their qualifications would entitle to them in the labour market compared to their native counterparts (Li, 2010). In this thesis, I used semi-structured interviews to investigate Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minorities' current employment positions, and my findings contribute knowledge to the following studies: Li (2010), Dustmann et al. (2010), Zuccotti (2015), Raftery (2012) and Li and Heath (2020). Also, the findings of this present thesis show that ethnic minorities are highly motivated and have achieved UK qualifications and skills, yet disadvantages persist in the labour market. In a similar vein, the findings of this thesis show that the second generation is better educated than its first generation counterparts. Still, up till now, their educational accomplishment has failed to achieve labour market success, as opposed to their native majority counterparts. This does not align with the fairness principles that a meritocratic society should adopt, such as the UK. The participants' assessment of employers refusing to recognise foreign qualifications and skills constituted an old slogan of 'them and us'; without doubt, this explains the UK's attitudes towards immigrant communities, as one participant put it. Also, the interview participants stated that they are not usually successful in gaining admission to prestigious universities because of their ethnicity. In the UK, immigrants are less likely to attend high-status universities; they are found to attend post-1990 universities and are more likely to graduate with good grades than their native counterparts. This finding is similar to Modood's (2005) and Richardson's (2015) research, which shows that ethnic minorities differ extensively in university choices. As one participant revealed, she was advised by a relative to attend a more prominent university so she could boost her chances of employment success.

6.2.3 Ethnic Social Network

Ethnic minorities are different from the majority population in their social network when searching for employment, etc., because using contacts is seen as a useful strategy for obtaining employment, especially for those from affluent backgrounds. Immigrants with workless parents have seen their labour market opportunities stalled and experienced longer times to be promoted at the workplace. Research conducted by Holzer (1988), Kadushin (2012), and Patacchini and Zenou (2012) show that young adults can make use of their parents' network to increase employment opportunities in the labour market.

6.2.4 Ethnic Employment Similarities and Differences

The findings of this study have shown that Black African and Black Caribbean men and women are less likely to be employed in professional occupations as opposed to their native majority counterparts. This thesis's findings are supported by the research conducted by Li and Heath (2020), which suggests that ethnic minorities experienced persistent labour market disadvantages, with lower pay and high unemployment rates experienced by the second generation from some ethnic minority groups during the economic downturns. Regarding educational qualifications, second generation ethnic minorities are, on average, more educated than the first generation and have observed employment progress more than their first generation parents. Furthermore, second generation ethnic minorities are more likely to be educated on average and more likely to attend university in the UK than the native population (Modood, 2005).

Despite first generation educational attainments, contemporary skills, and training, minority individuals continued to experience employment disadvantages. During the interviews with second generation ethnic minority individuals, it was disclosed that most interviewees are graduates and are employed; nonetheless, they lack equal opportunity in terms of promotion and access to training. The interviews discussed in this thesis confirmed that most second-generation ethnic minorities have invested in education and training to escape employment disadvantages observed in their workless parents who have endured persistent unemployment. It is clear that second generation employment opportunities have increased significant-

ly, but the prospect of promotion to managerial positions remains a continuous barrier. Likewise, in terms of second generation employment improvement, ethnic penalties continue (Rafferty, 2012), which may partly be explained by social origin background, as shown in research conducted by Zuccotti (2014).

In this thesis, I discovered that first generation persistent labour market disadvantages are due to ethnic background, resulting in employers' refusal to recognise immigrants' foreign educational qualifications and skills. It was also discussed that even when first-generation ethnic minorities acquired UK qualifications, skills and experiences, labour market disadvantages persist. A report commissioned by the Cabinet Office Strategy Unit (2003) suggests that one of the key mechanisms for reducing ethnic minorities' disadvantage in the labour market is to raise the educational attainments and skills of ethnic groups. According to Owen et al. (2000), ethnic minority individuals' academic accomplishments in the UK have risen, and ethnic minorities are comparatively well represented in higher education. Nonetheless, progress is not equal, and some ethnic groups seem to be lagging in the labour market. Also, several indices of well-being, including unemployment rates, wages, and occupational accomplishment, still show substantial ethnic employment disadvantages (Blackaby et al., 1998, 1999; Leslie et al., 1998).

6.2.5 Ethnic Minority Language Competency

During the interviews with participants, it was also discovered that the persistent labour market disadvantage of first generation ethnic minorities was attributed to a lack of English language proficiency. However, the second generation participants were confident English language speakers and graduates. Also, most first-generation ethnic minorities are graduates with foreign qualifications and UK degrees (Some had acquired additional UK qualifications and experience since their arrival in England and Wales) and told the researcher that they believed their foreign qualifications and accents adversely affected their employment opportunities. During the interviews, it was evident many of the first generation ethnic minorities have even changed careers to be able to participate in current employment but still lag behind expectations. An important discussion during the interviews was that Black Caribbean second-generation women had made significant progress in the labour market compared to men. This

progress may partly be explained by the fact most women are nurses and other health-related employees with the NHS in England and Wales.

Moreover, during the interviews, it appeared that most first generation Black Caribbean men have a higher percentage of unemployment than their women. This is also attributed to most women working for the NHS and other health-related occupations in England and Wales. I have also found that second generation Black African men and women are highly educated and have witnessed improvement in their labour market opportunities, with women taking the lead. Still, both face extensive barriers in salaried occupations and promotions.

Considering ethnic minority social origin, second generation Black Caribbean and Black Africans have weaker social origins in the labour market. This evidence is based on participants 'lived experience' explanations in the interviews. Observation during the interviews is similar to research by Zuccotti (2014) and Platt (2007) regarding ethnic job-related accomplishment. The authors conclude that ethnic minorities from low social origin have a certain advantage for the second generation except for Bangladeshi women (with an unchanging penalty in accessing the service class after controlling for social origin) and Africans who experience a penalty associated with higher social origins. This is an accurate discussion regarding first and second generation Black African minorities in England and Wales.

The interview participants in London disclosed extensively that their labour market progression had been hindered due to their ethnic background as Africans. As one put it, how long will this continue? The thesis contributes knowledge to ethnic and migration literature, the 'lived experience' of the first and second generation of Black African and Black Caribbean people. It was also observed during the interviews that their social origin remains a factor in employment success regardless of educational achievements. This thesis also contributes to knowledge scholarly and policymaker research that indicates second generation ethnic minorities' employment has improved in the labour market, but ethnic penalties remain.

Furthermore, this present thesis contributes knowledge to literature and practice using semi-structured interview data, as well as the similarities and differences between first and second-

generation immigrant men's and women's employment disadvantages in the labour market. It was observed during the interviews that English language competence was just a pretext to refuse them employment. First generation immigrants who migrated to the UK with the UK dream, aspirations, enthusiasm, and hard work told the researcher that most of them work in the healthcare sector, taxi companies, security, and private businesses to earn a living. The findings show that the first generation was confident English speakers in their home countries before relocating to the UK for a better life. Their dreams and expectations of having professional employment have been unsuccessful because most of their foreign qualifications and experiences remained questioned. This is similar to what several academic elites show: that ongoing ethnic minority employment disadvantages in labour are a clear breach of the principle of opportunity for everyone that has been signed into law by the government and adhered to by liberal democracies where ascriptive characteristics have no role to play, and where only talent and hard work should account for personal accomplishment (Heath and Birnbaum, 2014; Green, 2017; Li, 2018).

As noted in the previous chapters of this thesis, the study used thematic analysis to analyse the findings of the thesis. Thus, this discussion chapter discusses the findings based on the thesis questions asked during the interviews.

In this discussion chapter of the thesis, I have addressed the objectives of the research as follows:

- **Research objective one:** to examine the nature of employment disadvantages of Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minorities in the labour market.
- **Research objective two:** to explore the factors influencing employment disadvantages of first and second generation Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minorities.
- **Research objective three:** to analyse the similarities and differences between Black African and Black Caribbean first and second generation ethnic minorities.

The participants' 'lived experience' of employment disadvantages is frustrating and will require the government to reassess the equality and meritocracy policy enhanced in the law for ordinary citizens. During the interviews with the ethnic minority participants, it was discovered that there had been changes over time in the educational and job-related profiles of ethnic minority groups. The employment opportunities for second generation ethnic minorities have improved significantly compared to first-generation immigrants. These findings are in line with ethnic literature, which has shown the level of inequality ethnic minorities face in the labour market in several ways, including self-reported studies (e.g., FRA, 2017) and correspondent tests (Riach and Rich, 2002; McGinnity and Lunn, 2011; Ruedin, 2016). Many European studies focus on understanding ethnic minorities' employment inequality and educational deficits, but this thesis evidence shows that immigrants' children have seen improvement in their academic and employment attainments (Heath and Cheung, 2007; Heath and Birnbaum, 2014). The second generation has seen their employment opportunities improve, but ethnic penalties remain (Rafferty, 2012).

In summary, a systematic discussion during the interviews with participants established that their 'lived experience' shows they have faced precarious hardship and have no stake in the country's economic design since they lack the same labour market opportunities, etc. Nevertheless, despite worklessness, and unequal labour market opportunities in the labour market, immigrants are still determined to overcome employment disadvantages by seeking low-paid employment and occupations that are below their educational qualifications and training. The interviews with first-generation Black African and Black Caribbean immigrants showed that numerous immigrants have struggled throughout their adult lives to find career employment in the labour market, even changing their career and programme at university, yet they still experience disadvantages. Everyone in these categories will feel devastated and demoralised in a meritocratic labour market. Based on this thesis's findings, participants 'lived experience' with reference to first generation ethnic minority individuals appears to be difficult. Their coping strategies are low-paid employment, working longer hours and shifts to survive.

6.3 Chapter Summary

This chapter has discussed the findings presented in chapter four in light of the theoretical and contextual literature. Focusing on each research objective, it has outlined the contribution to knowledge through confirmation, disconfirmation and extension of the reviewed literature. The final chapter concludes by presenting the study's conclusions, including a summary of the theoretical contributions and recommendations, the research's limitations, and suggestions for future research.

Chapter Seven: Conclusion, Implications, Limitations and Future Research

7.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the conclusion of the study. The study aimed to analyse the current employment positions of first and second generation Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minorities in England and Wales's labour market. The thesis's findings were based on semi-structured interview data evidence with first and second generation Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minorities in three locations: London, Manchester, and Cardiff. As noted in the body of this current thesis, the key reasons why most of the first generation Black Africans and Black Caribbean may have found it difficult to find employment in the labour market of England and Wales to which they have settled are due to lack of human capital. It is well documented that these barriers can be entirely removed if equality of opportunity is followed. First- and second-generation Black Africans and Black Caribbean people could compete for jobs just as the native population in England and Wales could. A summary of the key findings is highlighted in the next section. This is followed by the study's contributions to knowledge reflected in theoretical implications and practical recommendations. The final part of this chapter outlines the study's limitations and concludes by suggesting areas for future research.

7.1 Summary of Key Research Findings

The thesis findings contribute to the migration literature and factors influencing ethnic minorities' labour market inequality. The findings challenge assumptions of a meritocratic society and equality of opportunity for all adhered to by the government. Based on the thesis findings, first-generation Black African and Black Caribbean individuals are less likely to be employed in the labour market, irrespective of their educational achievement. Also, second-generation Black Africans and Black Caribbean individuals are under-represented in managerial, salaried positions despite being born and educated in England and Wales. Existing literature shows similar findings that ethnic minority individuals, in particular Black men aged around 16-24, tend to face disproportionately high levels of unemployment during economic downturns, sometimes reaching over 40 per cent, three to four times as high as their native counterparts (Li and Heath, 2008; Heath and Li, 2008; Li, 2010). Similar analyses on ethnic

minority employment disadvantages are reported by Platt (2006) and Nandi and Platt (2010). Net disadvantages of socio-demographic characteristics are called ‘ethnic penalties’ (Heath and McMahon 1999, p. 91).

The findings show employment improvement among second generation ethnic minorities in the labour market, but ethnic penalties exist, supported by previous research conducted by Rafferty (2012). The findings have enabled the researcher to discover a comprehensive account of the labour market ‘lived experience’ of first and second generation Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minority individuals. Interviews with these ethnic minority groups in the three locations revealed the current employment positions of Black Africans and Black Caribbean people in the labour market in England and Wales. The participants' life employment stories and accounts of their ‘lived experience’ in the labour market show beyond doubt that most of the first generation ethnic minority individuals have remained in routine work and agency shifts since they arrived in the UK. Employment is fundamental to life satisfaction, in my opinion, and should be accessible to individuals who are qualified and willing to work. Employment disadvantages are a waste of talent, have adverse effects, create dependence on unemployment benefits, and cause civil unrest (Li and Heath, 2018; Battu et al., 2009). Thus, addressing the persistent labour market inequalities faced by first and second generation Black Africans and Black Caribbeans is vital.

7.2 Participants’ Lived Experiences

Overall, this present thesis found that notably, the first generation of Black African and Black Caribbean men and women experienced persistent employment disadvantages in the labour market compared to their dominant counterparts in England and Wales, despite their educational attainments and skills. During the interview discussions, it was apparent that first-generation people born abroad had undergone employment disadvantages in the labour market. In the interviews with individuals who described themselves as first generation, most said they had a master’s degree from a UK university, had completed government training, and had even changed their careers. However, they were still disadvantaged in the labour market. Woods et al.'s 2009 and Li and Heath’s 2020 research show similar findings: employers’ unequal treatment of people with ethnic minority origins underlines much of the eth-

nic inequalities. Labour market disadvantages and other inequalities faced by ethnic minority groups with identical educational qualifications and sharing the same personal characteristics as those of the dominant population's individuals are labelled 'ethnic penalties' (Heath and McMahon, 1997; Heath and Cheung, 2006). Interview participants stated that employers use human capital as an excuse to restrict them from successful labour market achievement. This thesis also found that most of the first generation of Black individuals are highly qualified with UK work experiences; nonetheless, they are in semi-routine occupations and take agency shifts. This is particularly noticeable for first generation men since they are less likely to find employment in the field where they have been educated or qualified. Most of those who described themselves as first generation Black African and Black Caribbean immigrants are discouraged workers who have embarked on lower hourly earnings and have now decided to be self-employed rather than seeking agency shifts and care homes for employment. The employment situation for Black Caribbean people is a particular cause for concern, the participants lamented during the interviews. Labour market disadvantages for first-generation immigrants have been attributed to human capital and language competency in the host country. Still, interview participants criticised that suggestion and claimed that even their children (second-generation Black African and Black Caribbean immigrants) faced employment penalties in the labour market (see Li and Cheung, 2020 for similar analyses).

First generation ethnic minority women experienced unemployment. However, there was an improvement in employment for the second generation ethnic minority women who were born in the UK and educated in UK universities (Rafferty, 2012). The first generation interview participants stated that their foreign qualifications, skills and social network that have featured in public debates are not the sole factors for employment disadvantages, maintaining that even the second generation ethnic minorities who were born and educated in the country have faced similar employment inequalities in the England and Wales's labour market (Cabinet Office, 2017; Li and Heath, 2018). Literature evidence supports this (Heath and McMahon, 1997; Heath and Cheung, 2006; Blackaby et al., 2002; Clark and Drinkwater, 2009). Considering the consequences of unemployed ethnic minorities born outside the UK, the interview participants' evidence shows no indication that labour market disadvantages would decline in the future. Their expectations for a better life have been eroded due to constant limitations in the labour market.

The interviews with Black ethnic minorities who identified as second generation showed that most are highly educated, ranging from first and second degrees from the UK and other Western universities. Second generation employment progress may result from their human capital investment to escape employment disadvantages and worklessness witnessed by their first generation counterparts. This present thesis's findings relate to research conducted by Li (2018) showing that ethnic minorities' investment in higher education in the 'receiving' country is a strategic investment to avoid employment inequalities and ensure success in the labour market (Becker, 1962). In other words, first generation ethnic minorities who graduated from UK universities have not seen their educational qualification commensurate with employment success. Also, the findings of this current thesis show that ethnic minority individuals are under-represented in the private sector, which explains that they experienced greater ethnic penalties in most private sector jobs. The few lucky ones who are employed in the private sector, like manufacturing, distribution, transport, and financial services, found it extremely difficult to be promoted compared to their dominant population counterparts. Most first generation Black Africans and Black Caribbeans are over-represented in semi-routine jobs, healthcare assistants, etc. Given the strong link between ethnic minorities and individuals in healthcare jobs, most of them, notably women, are employed in the NHS in England and Wales. This present thesis contributes knowledge to studies by Heath and Cheung (2006), which show greater 'ethnic penalties' in most of the UK's private sector. In their own words, the participants stated that employment disadvantages in the labour market had been a major setback for decades and asked when they would end.

The findings of this thesis show that ethnic minority individuals face multiple employment obstacles in England and Wales's labour market. For example, first-generation immigrants are over-qualified in most of their employment; they are less likely to be re-employed compared to their majority counterparts; employers do not recognise their foreign qualifications and experiences; they reside in deprived neighbourhoods with inadequate employment opportunities; they have poor social networks, poor language fluency, require low minimal skill levels, have low security (Darity and Mason, 1998; Dustmann, 1993) and are faced with severe institutional influence in the labour market.

Similarly, the employment penalty is evident among second generation ethnic minorities born in the UK and educated at UK universities. Notwithstanding this, it was apparent from the interview participants that second generation ethnic minorities have made significant progress in the labour market, but ethnic penalties remain. The government equality legislation specified that employment in the labour market should be available to all, irrespective of ascriptive characteristics and ethnic background.

The first generation of Black African and Black Caribbean men and women suggested that employment disadvantages have been based on their social origins rather than their foreign qualifications, which has caused numerous debates among policymakers and academia (Cabinet Office, 2017; Heath and Chung, 2007). This thesis's findings show that employment disadvantages for Black African and Black Caribbean communities have been severe for decades, and foreign qualifications and contemporary skills have featured prominently in all the debates on labour market disadvantages.

As interview participants said, employers' refusals to recognise overseas qualifications and skills have impacted their lives negatively and, in most cases, led to disproportionate and unnecessary waste of talent and time seeking employment (see Heath and Li, 2018) for studies on adverse effects of unemployment on ethnic minorities). This thesis's findings also revealed that second generation Black Africans and Black Caribbean born in the UK and have taken advantage of Western universities have experienced labour market penalties (Rafferty, 2012; Heath and Li, 2018). Employment penalties for second generation Black African and Black Caribbean people educated in Western institutions show that government equality legislations require further assessment. Similarly, Black African and Black Caribbean second generation ethnic minority men and women revealed that labour market inequality and promotion barriers are evident at every stage in England and Wales.

The UK government has recognised that the labour market policies for ethnic minority groups positively affect these communities' well-being and the country's economy (Ayala and Rodriguez, 2007). However, in this thesis, the findings through interviews with first and second generation Black African and Black Caribbean people show that minority employment in the labour market is often unequal, even after accounting for UK qualifications and experi-

ence, which has usually caused intensive debates amongst policymakers and academia. Similarly, interview participants established that employment disadvantages in the labour market are driven by institutional influence. This corresponds with the findings of Health and Cheung (2007). Drawing on ethnic minorities' scholarly literature on labour market inequalities in England and Wales, this current thesis provides evidence based on the contemporary 'lived experiences' of persistent employment disadvantages of the first and second generation Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minorities. In the interviews with ethnic minority individuals from three geographical locations in England and Wales, interview evidence shows that the degree of human capital investment and the returns it generates have not been distributed equally to ethnic minorities despite their educational achievement.

The increasing educational attainment and contemporary skills acquired by the immigrants have not helped increase their employment opportunities, which was attributed to their ethnic background. First-generation ethnic minorities' employment has remained stable without improvement, while their second generation descendants have seen improvements in their employment; however, ethnic penalties exist in promotion and employment.

As noted by Li and Heath (2008), unemployment has negative consequences for all ethnicities; however, higher rates for some minority individuals can be precarious and have long-term consequences. The authors show a more pronounced adverse effect of unemployment, indicating that Black Africans, Black Caribbeans, and other ethnic minorities experienced greater adverse effects than their native majority counterparts. Research by Di Stasio and Heath (2019) studied the hiring practices of UK employers by applying for jobs with fictitious CVs, which differed only by the individual's ethnicity, using names that signalled the ethnicity. Their findings showed that ethnic minority individuals needed to send approximately 60 per cent more applications to get positive feedback from employers than their majority counterparts, with labour market inequalities notably higher for certain ethnic minority communities in England and Wales (Di Stasio and Heath, 2019). This thesis's interviews with participants show that most first generation ethnic minority communities have acquired UK educational qualifications. However, it is disappointing that these qualifications have not been transferred to employment achievements, considering immigrants' persistent labour market penalties (Heath et al., 2008; Li, 2010). During the interviews with the participants, it

was clear that the first generation arrived in the UK with overseas qualifications and skills. It was gathered that most interviewees had completed additional qualifications at UK universities, yet they continued to suffer employment disadvantages. There were several reasons why labour market disadvantages remain despite progress in further schooling and training in the host country.

7.3 Implications

This thesis has implications for theory and practice and is discussed below.

7.3.1 Theoretical Implications

The theoretical framework of this study was based on human capital and social capital theories. Each of these theories indicated that certain factors influenced the employment disadvantages of ethnic minorities. The factors identified from the human capital theory were limited knowledge of the workings of the labour market, educational qualifications, skills and experience. The factors from the social capital theory were inadequate social networks, including employee referral systems. The findings of this study showed that factors from human capital theory, such as limited knowledge of the workings of the labour market, work experience, skills and lack of recognition of foreign qualifications and training, influenced the employment disadvantages of Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minority groups. The first generation immigrants lacked sufficient knowledge of the workings of the labour market, which influenced their employment disadvantage. It also showed that first generation immigrants arrived with foreign qualifications and experienced rejection from most employers in the private sector, who felt that their foreign qualifications, skills, and work experience were sub-standard. These inequalities in the labour market have actively hindered their access to paid employment which befits their qualifications and experience. It also found that second generation ethnic minorities are employed in occupations that do not compensate for their qualifications in the UK, despite adequate knowledge of the country's institutions and labour market.

The findings of this study also showed that factors from social capital theory, such as inadequate social networks, including employee referral systems, influenced the employment disadvantages of Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minorities. The first generation ethnic minority groups have poor social networks, and those with jobless parents have seen their labour market opportunities hindered. They stated they lack access to coherent networks such as family and friends to provide referrals and have experienced difficulties finding professional career jobs.

In addition to these factors, the findings showed other significant factors influencing the employment disadvantages of Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minorities in the UK labour Market, such as unequal opportunities for career progression, race, ethnic background, and deprived neighbourhoods with limited employment prospects. Lack of access to opportunities for career progression was based on issues around promotion and opportunities to further develop their skills within their organisations. Race was also a prominent factor as Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minorities experienced employment disadvantages primarily due to their ethnic background and social origins. They had difficulties in getting professional jobs and career progression. Living in deprived neighbourhoods with limited employment prospects also influenced their employment disadvantages. These additional factors contribute to human capital and social capital theories, the employment disadvantages of ethnic minorities.

There is limited research on the similarities and differences between first and second generation Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minorities' employment disadvantages. This thesis contributes to our understanding of the similarities and differences between them. Similar factors were that the first and second generation ethnic minorities have the same ethnic background and are less likely to graduate from prestigious universities. They also live in similar geographical locations with limited employment prospects. Key differences between them were that the first generation ethnic minorities lacked sufficient knowledge of the UK labour market. In contrast, the second generation ethnic minorities have pre-labour market advantages as they are more educated than the first generation ethnic minorities. This thesis combined with the existing literature, confirms that the first generation Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minorities have persistent labour market disadvantages which influence their willingness to take low-paid employment.

The research findings add to the diversity and inclusion literature knowledge on Black African and Black Caribbean men and women's experience of inequalities in the labour market regarding career progression. The findings show that despite having UK qualifications and experience, Black African and Black Caribbean men and women face challenges in career progression at their workplaces due to their ethnic backgrounds.

The research findings also add to the diversity and inclusion literature knowledge on the lived experience of employment disadvantages of Black African (first generation) and Black British (second generation) ethnic minorities due to race. It discovered that even Black British (second generation) ethnic minorities born and educated in the UK still experienced unequal treatment in employment.

The study contributes to our knowledge cultural, language and ethnic influences on the employment disadvantages of ethnic minorities. The cultural background of first generation ethnic minorities influenced their employment disadvantage because they come from a different cultural background from the dominant population. Cultural norms influence recruitment processes and vary across countries. The cultural orientation of the first generation Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minorities is derived mainly from their home countries. As such, they lack sufficient knowledge of the workings of the UK labour market. Cultural differences thus impact employment disadvantages of ethnic minorities. Language also influenced their employment disadvantage due to foreign accents. Previous studies have cited a lack of English language proficiency as an employment disadvantage. However, the findings of this study confirm that poor English language skills were not a barrier because most first generation immigrants are well-educated with UK qualifications and have lived in England and Wales for decades yet still experience persistent labour market inequality. Also, most employers prefer native English speakers to immigrants with foreign English accents. The foreign English accents are due to their ethnicity and strongly indicate their ethnic group membership. The presence of a foreign accent hinders ethnic minority individuals' chances in the labour market since foreign-accented speech can lead to negative appraisals that impact views of job fitness, recruitment referrals, and promotion prospects.

7.3.2 Recommendations

The thesis has practical recommendations for HR (human resource) practitioners, managers, the UK government and the education sector. The HR department manages organisations' human resources and recruitment processes. Several studies indicate that diverse and inclusive organisations are usually more successful. Realising the full potential of Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minority workers through workplace inclusion and diversity can boost innovation, contributing to business growth and success. However, a key factor that contributes to the employment disadvantages of these ethnic minority groups is race. There is a need to identify levels of ethnic diversity using HR data and use this benchmark to explore any structural and cultural barriers that maintain workplace inequalities. HR creates an inclusive culture, ensuring race equality is embedded into businesses' values, plans, vision, and mission. It can ensure policies and practices are strengthened by race equality outcomes and impact principles that proactively address disparity and disadvantages. Lack of access to opportunities for career progression was also identified as a factor. There is, therefore, the need for HR to ensure fair recruitment and career progression opportunities processes such as the provision of ethnic representation on interview panels, the use of anonymised job applications, and providing mentoring and training opportunities. It can also seek to increase the representation of ethnic minority individuals in the workplace and at higher levels of seniority through quotas and targets.

Persistent ethnic minority disadvantages in the UK labour market play an important role in continuing high poverty rates, housing, health, and education challenges. The UK government is an employer and is the source of policymaking and implementation that influence institutions' policies. It can consult with businesses to ensure fairness at work and challenge existing approaches. Lack of recognition of foreign qualifications, skills and experience has contributed to employment disadvantages. The government can help gain recognition for foreign qualifications. It can also gather recruitment and labour force data by ethnicity and migration position to ascertain where disadvantages occur and monitor and assess the effectiveness of measures to prevent bias in recruitment processes. It can commission a review into whether employers fulfil equality duties, particularly on access to senior-level vacancies and responses to workplace inequality. It can involve ethnic minority individuals in designing and implementing these approaches. It can also encourage organisations to publish data on pay,

progression, and recruitment by ethnicity and migration status and develop sector-specific targets for pay and progression.

As for the education sector, it is important to note that students who graduate from prestigious universities tend to earn significantly higher wages than those who graduate from less prestigious universities. However, the interview participants stated that they are not usually successful in gaining admission to prestigious universities because of their ethnicity. The first generation ethnic minorities indicated they had high educational qualifications yet struggled to gain admission to prestigious universities. There is a need for such universities to review their graduate recruitment processes to address ethnic inequalities. The first generation ethnic minorities also stated that despite completing additional qualifications at UK universities, they suffered employment disadvantages. Thus, universities can also help ethnic minorities gain employment before graduating by encouraging and providing access to internships and work placements to ethnic minorities. This would ensure that they have UK qualifications and work experience upon graduation, thereby broadening their chances of gaining professional employment commensurate with their qualifications.

7.3.3 Limitations and Future Research

Although this thesis has enhanced the knowledge of the factors influencing the employment disadvantages of Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minorities, some limitations provide opportunities for future research. The findings of this thesis have presented some important limitations, which could be employed to investigate further research on ethnic minority individuals in the UK. The thesis did not analyse the third generation of ethnic minorities in the UK currently seeking employment. Future research could use quantitative research methods to analyse this generation. This thesis involves two ethnic minority groups, and it is hoped that future studies will widen the study scope to the whole Black and ethnic minorities (BME) generations and other ethnic minority groups such as Asian ethnic minorities, and include other economic sectors, such as energy, retail, and information technology to get more detailed views regarding employment disadvantages of ethnic minorities in the UK. This could include surveys of larger and more representative samples in both private and public sectors. Future studies could make more comprehensive comparisons between other ethnic

minority groups. They could also cover different geographical regions within Europe and Australia (one of the most culturally diverse countries globally), engaging in a comparative analysis of ethnic minorities' employment disadvantages in the UK and other countries.

7.4 Concluding Remarks

The final chapter has outlined the theoretical contributions and practical recommendations arising from the study. The qualitative research approach has provided an in-depth understanding of the factors influencing the employment disadvantages of Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic minorities in the UK labour Market. The research limitations have been acknowledged, and suggestions have been made for future studies.

Appendix

Table 8 Interview Questions

| Thesis Interview Questions |
|---|
| <input type="text"/> |
| (1) Age = <input type="checkbox"/> 18-24, <input type="checkbox"/> 25-30, <input type="checkbox"/> 31-35 <input type="checkbox"/> 36, -40 <input type="checkbox"/> 41--45 <input type="checkbox"/> 46-50 <input type="checkbox"/> 51-55 <input type="checkbox"/> 56-59 <input type="checkbox"/> 60+ |
| <input type="text"/> |
| (2) In which Country were you born? <input type="checkbox"/> UK/ <input type="checkbox"/> Born Overseas |
| (3) What is your ethnic group? |
| Black African – Black Caribbean or Black–African or any other Black Background groups |
| (4) Which town or region of the UK are you from? |
| London, Southeast, Northeast, Northwest of England, Southwest, West Midlands, East Midlands, Yorkshire, Humberside and Cardiff |
| <input type="text"/> |
| (5) What is your highest level of education? |
| GSCE A-Level Undergraduate- Postgraduate diploma, master's Degree, PhD, Others |
| (6) What kind of treatment did you receive when you attempted to find work in the UK labour market with overseas skills and work experience? |
| (6) Was your highest qualification gained in the UK or outside of the UK? |
| (7) Please can you tell me about your experience at your current workplace? |

(8) Would you say your race/ ethnic background has affected you in your past and current place work?

(9) Would you say your educational qualifications have increased your chance of getting a well-paid job in the UK?

(10) How long do you want to stay in your current employment?

(12) Do you feel a valued member of the team in your current role?

(13) What kind of job are you currently doing in your current employment?

(14) Please can you tell me about your experience within your current role?

(15) Please can you tell me if there is any opportunity for career progression or training in your current employment?

(16) In what ways would you say your educational background has improved your social mobility?

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