Introduction

Human societies are racially stratified; why is this and what are the implications? If migration is the reason for racial inequality in the labour market, then all persons of migrant background should have the same experience and economic outcome when comparing like with like. This is not, however, the case in Ireland nor in any other part of the Western world today. Neither has it been so for a very long time. Europe is a migratory hub; a milieu of intra- and inter-continental movement of people where every immigrant has to adjust to their new environment and access its socio-economic resources and status. Some groups, however, routinely appear at the bottom and some at the top of both the economic and racial ladder. This is despite the consensus that race or biology does not influence IQ or work performance. Out of 4.4 million immigrants in Europe in 2017, an estimated 2.4 million to the EU-28 were from non-EU countries, with 1.9 million people previously residing in one EU member state migrating to another (Eurostat, 2019). Despite their commonality as immigrants, there is evidence of an extant differential in socio-economic outcomes among migrant groups. The tacit agreement that society is hierarchical is met with a dearth of scholarship on the racial order not just in Ireland but across Europe. Labour market researchers routinely blame the differences in outcomes on individual motivation, route of entry into the state, foreign qualifications, the migration process itself and culture shock – which all suggests a migrant deficit. While these indeed influence outcomes, little focus is given to how a similar racial order is maintained across different societies, with the same groups appearing at the bottom of the ladder. Critical race theory (CRT) scholars have on the other hand taken the view that racial stratification assigns immigrants to different strata, thus influencing their outcomes. The theory of immigration and racial stratification (Zuberi

and Bashi, 1997) is pivotal in this regard as it presents insights into how on arrival in the US, immigrants are assigned a racial identity. Having been developed in the US, this work is valuable to the European context, particularly at this time where old and new arrivals are categorised and given a racial tag which determines how they are treated – including status and access to resources. Zuberi and Bashi argue that rather than the human difference and behavioural patterns that are often blamed for the inassimilability of newcomers; racial stratification and how difference is treated is the problem. These arguments on racial stratification, which indeed helped shift the focus of social critics from the individual to the collective, are often built on secondary data analysis.

Three key notions inform the data collected for this book. First is the theory of immigration and racial stratification (Zuberi and Bashi, 1997), which insists migrants know and have a way of knowing the racial order in their host country. Second is in accordance with the CRT tradition which centralises race as a macro-level variable in comparing how human differences are managed among groups who routinely fare better on the labour market with those at the bottom. Third is the positioning that all modern states are racially stratified based on the perspective of social critics like Crenshaw (1989), Mills (1997), Zuberi and Bashi (1997), Bonilla-Silva (1997, 2013) and Delgado and Stefancic (2012).

Two questions intrigue me concerning differentials in outcomes among migrants, particularly when I am faced with race scepticists who insist race does not influence a person's labour market outcome. The first question I ask is, do you think society is equal or unequal? Although most people answer that society is unequal, they erroneously focus on the outcome, which is the stratum on which individuals and groups end up. In our quest for a more equal society, however, it is clear that the starting point of all human subjects in society is different. It can differ based on race, gender, class or any number of grounds. Many people today are, however, reluctant to attribute the differential in labour market outcomes to race on a substantial level because it paints a picture about us and our society we thought we had outgrown and left behind. For racial scepticists, I ask this second question. Since migration is often named as the reason for the labour market differential in outcomes, all people of migrant descent should have the same labour market outcome when comparing like with like in terms of achievement attributes. Why then is it that in all of the Western world with predominantly White populations, some groups consistently appear at the bottom of the labour market ladder? More specifically, why are Blacks at the bottom of the economic ladder in the Western world? Unless we return to racist

arguments that there is something wrong with this group that predisposes them to the bottom of the economic ladder, such patterns suggest a systemic problem that operates across various countries which makes it inevitable for this group to appear at the bottom. Don't get me wrong. There are exceptions that have made it to the top, and we can list Barack Obama, the forty-fourth president of the United States who made it to that country's highest elected office. It does not nullify the fact that Blacks are at the bottom of the economic ladder.

In this book, rather than focus on where groups end up on the strata, I argue that all groups have a default starting position which influences where groups and their members end up irrespective of their country of migration in the Western world. By shedding light on the role of racial stratification in the disparity in outcomes among migrant groups, the central task of this book is to examine the socio-political and economic structures which maintain the system of racial stratification in European labour markets. This book is built on data generated by bringing together two scholarly traditions for social change: egalitarian theory and critical race theory. It is foregrounded on the egalitarian notion that all human persons are equal in fundamental worth. Theoretical assumptions from CRT are employed to examine and outline the mechanism through which racial stratification is (re)produced and maintained; how it is recognised by citizens; the dialectical interaction/s of actors negotiating its inherently hierarchical arrangement, and the ways it limits and benefits human agency and mobility based on racial category. It draws on secondary statistical data, together with interviews with first-generation immigrants of Spanish, Polish and Nigerian descent negotiating the Irish labour market, to reveal how people are positioned on a racial stratum. Considering the messiness of racial stratification occurring contemporaneously with a heterogeneous labour force, this book particularly emphasises how race, gender and class, along with age, act as intersecting stratifiers which not only influence inter-group outcomes but also intra-group hierarchies. The combination of theory and praxis in this book in addition provides a method for researching racial stratification and the racial order to decipher and outline how states assign a place (racial positioning) to their migrant groups. The ways migrants know, negotiate and change their place on the racial strata in the process of migration to labour participation are explored through meso-level analysis of counterstories from migrant groups. The key dynamics and experiences among groups and their hosts in Ireland, and what these teach us about how racial stratification operates in the labour market and migrants' working lives, are also made explicit in this book.

The importance of context

To have a radical critical understanding about race and its effects in the labour market, the centrality of race and race consciousness is crucial. These two themes run through this book and I discuss them further in the concluding chapter. Although, unlike in the United States, the notion of racial stratification has not been prominent in European scholarship, particularly in relation to labour market disparities, many CRT theorists insist the world social order has effected the racial structure as we have it today (Mills, 1997; Gillborn, 2006; Verdugo, 2008). The title of this book alludes to its focus on investigating inequality in the labour market and explicitly centring race as a key factor in determining migrant chances, and addresses this through the adaptation of CRT.

   While the immigrant types and populations in Ireland might be somewhat different from those in older immigration countries such as Britain, Germany, France, Sweden and other European countries where people of immigrant descent are up to the second, third and fourth generations, Ireland's relative newness to mass immigration means we are able to access raw data on the experiences of immigrants in a new environment before assimilation and acculturation fully set in. Racial stratification has been chosen in this book as the angle to speak to the differential in labour market outcomes among groups in Ireland. The Irish case in this book provides a model for studying racial stratification with applicability to other settings as its research population is representative of three broad groups (Eastern Europe, Western Europe and Africa) in addition to data from an employment programmes' database of people of migrant descent from seventy-seven different nationalities. This book focuses on Ireland for a number of reasons. My role as a career development specialist in Ireland brought me in contact with migrants of over eighty nationalities, who were making immense efforts to increase their employment chances. I observed that despite the number of years they have lived in Ireland, being European and/or naturalised Irish citizens, they were all still encumbered with minority status. This was not helped by the higher risk of poverty and underemployment associated with Black Africans in general and Black men in particular in the Irish labour market, who, based on the 2011 and 2016 Census record, are five to eight times more likely to be unemployed than a White person. This piqued my interest to understand what influences migrants' economic success in order to better serve the target group.

   I was also personally invested in the search for answers. As a parent of two teenage boys who are Irish citizens by birth, I wanted to understand if investing in developing their achievement attributes will suffice in

reducing this risk and grant them access to the privileges enjoyed by citizens categorised as White in Ireland and the acclaimed intergenerational mobility in spite of their darker physiognomy.

Background to the study on which this book is based

The ideal in an equal and meritocratic society is that qualified and hardworking individuals will gain entrance and mobility on the labour market. However, empirical research demonstrates that multiple factors aside from personal effort and competence affect people's chances of gaining employment (see McGinnity et al., 2009; EU MIDIS 11, 2016; Arnold et al., 2019; Joseph, 2019). The European model of managing cultural and racial diversity through integration and multiculturalism has operated on the premise that access to the language of the host community, citizenship or citizenship rights, housing, access to medical services, basic education and employment skills are required for migrants' successful employment, which it suggests in turn facilitate integration. This model has resulted in social scientists, employment activation projects and migrant support groups routinely recommending that new migrants should be equipped with these skills, particularly the language of the host community, to enable newcomers to gain entrance onto the labour market.

As a career development specialist, the natural expectation is that there would be some difficulty for migrants seeking to gain employment in Ireland, which turned out to be the case. I, however, also observed a remarkable difference in outcomes between job-seeking migrants from different nationalities despite similarities in their educational attainment, age, gender and right to work in Ireland. My position, based on my experience as a migrant who has been through the employment-seeking process and prior research, is that race undoubtedly influences migrants' outcome in the job-seeking process. There were, however, in addition to this some worrying patterns which suggested a systemic interference in the differential in outcomes. I observed that when race was centred in analysing the outcomes of participants in an employability programme (EP 2009–2011 database), the Nigerians of Black African descent who appeared to have the highest labour market activity had the lowest progression rate on to paid employment. While their progression was mainly on to unpaid, voluntary roles, the participants from Spain gained access to paid employment. The database statistics showed that Nigerians who are Black Africans were over-represented at the bottom of the employment ladder in low-skilled, low-paying roles, a view which was confirmed by the Irish 2011 and 2016 Census data.

By taking the parameters of the 2011 integration monitor known as the Zaragoza Indicators (McGinnity et al., 2011) as the starting point, a preliminary investigation through a focus group with migrants who possessed the stipulated requirements which, according to the Zaragoza report, foster the integration of migrants, was carried out.[1] The main research findings suggest that: 'Though the ability to function effectively within the society provided a spring board for the participants to make some advancement in their individual process of integrating in Ireland, it, however, proved insufficient by itself to bring the participants to feel fully integrated' (Akpoveta, 2011: 70). Secondary findings of the research indicated that the participants presented as oscillating between Ireland and their home countries, and they did not feel at home in either country. This was not a new finding, as the ground-breaking book of 2001, *The Psychology of Culture Shock*, suggests such phase of oscillation is one of the stages experienced by migrants in their integration process (Ward, Bochner and Furnham, 2001). What was remarkable, however, was that rather than name the cause of the feeling of oscillation as racism per se, the research participants attributed this experience to 'not feeling accepted by the host community' (Akpoveta, 2011: 72). This was more pronounced in the reports of the participants whose country of origin was outside the EU, while those of EU member state descent expressed a higher level of feeling accepted.

From these findings, three dynamics required further exploration. First, an understanding of 'acceptance' and how it influences migrants' experience, and their cultural and socio-economic outcome in the labour market. Secondly, what ascriptive or achievement attributes contribute to how migrants are positioned in Ireland? The third dynamic is how migrants are racially positioned in Ireland, which morphed into a need to understand racial stratification, and how it is produced, reproduced and maintained.

Why a critical race theory methodology?

Adopting a CRT methodology springs from the search for a theoretic framework which includes empirical methods and methodology to investigate the disparity in labour market outcomes within the context of racial stratification. While Silverman (2001: 3) succinctly states that 'without theory there is nothing to research', theories can be described as 'travels' (Tweed, 2006: 20). In Ireland, race and nationality of descent are nuanced in ways that certain groups are more likely to appear at the bottom of the socio-economic ladder than others. Although 'racial stratification is real' (Zuberi and Bonilla-Silva, 2008: 10), biology or genes are

not the root causes. In instances where there is an obvious distribution of power and resources which disproportionately marginalise racialised people's position in society, CRT insists that race remains central to research investigations. Indeed, frameworks such as critical race feminism and critical whiteness studies, which are offshoots of CRT, have been known to centre particular problematics which accounts for their progress. Contrary to many labour market practices today, race should not be piggybacked on other well-established theories (Mills, 2009). Many of the traditional approaches to inequality and inequity in the labour market or the outcome of Blacks the world over, particularly when juxtaposed with that of migrants with phenotypic whiteness, do not adequately speak to my lived experience as a person of Black African descent.

In terms of race, a CRT methodology offers a theoretical frame that can sharpen the critical lens and draw from other scholars who have challenged the racialised order in society. It provides avenues to challenge narrow ideologies and traditional ways of knowing (Hylton, 2012). Similarly, Zuberi and Bonilla-Silva (cited in Zuberi, 2011) maintain that white logic has proved to be more ideological and less transformative.[2] Extant knowledge epistemicide in the social sciences sees a university knowledge system still heavily reliant on 'the Western canon, the knowledge system created some 500 to 550 years ago in Europe by White male scientists' (Hall and Tandon, 2017: 7). Collins (1990), however, specifically urges researchers to search for ways to reflect the experiences of Black people without borrowing passively from White social science.

CRT, like any other theoretical framework, is recognisable by certain characteristics, including its centring of race in the problematising of social relations and its social justice agenda. It also resists colour-blind, race-neutral, ahistorical and apolitical perspectives (Crenshaw, 1995; Delgado and Stefancic, 2012). Taking cognisance of the increasing debate on intersectionality in the development of CRT as a methodological framework, for example the intersection of race and gender (Crenshaw, 1995) and the intersection of race and class (Cole, 2009; Gillborn, 2008), means ensuring that twenty-first-century research on race incorporates avenues to explore how class and gender (including gendered roles and responsibilities) might account for labour market outcomes.

What is critical race theory?

CRT is a theoretical and methodological framework which attributes racial inequalities, particularly in the US, to structural as opposed to

individualised causes (Delgado and Stefancic, 2012). As a methodological framework, CRT provides analytical tools for critically investigating the concept of racial stratification, hierarchy in modern states and the othering of those categorised as Blacks or non-Whites. CRT started by focusing directly on the effects of race and racism while at the same time addressing the hegemonic system of white supremacy on the meritocratic system of the United States (Cook, 1995; Crenshaw, 1995; Matsuda, 1995), and it developed initially from the work of legal scholars Derrick Bell, Alan Freeman and Richard Delgado. It started in the mid-1970s, as a number of lawyers, activists and legal scholars interested in studying and transforming the relationship among race, racism and power realised that the seeming advances of the civil rights era had stalled and, in many respects, were being rolled back in what Omi and Winant in their 1994 theorising described as racial formation projects. CRT takes as its starting point the conception that race and races are socially constructed thoughts and relations that have no bearing on either objective reality or biological traits. In other words, one's race should not determine one's ability, contrary to Herrnstein and Murray's (1994) writings in *The Bell Curve*. It sees race as a product of the human imagination that manifests and reinvents itself through articulations of distinctions, as opposed to the hegemonic thinking that defines racial cleavages as natural, permanent and essential (Bonilla-Silva, 2003).

One of the defining features of CRT is that it insists on analysing race and racism by placing them in both historical and contemporary contexts, and its scholars view racial distinctions as having a historical ring which is open to change (Delgado, 1984; Harris, 1995). CRT theorists, however, argue that there are difficulties encountered in the process because of the ways in which hegemonic thoughts that are maintained by supremacist structures control the nature of relationships between majority and minority groups. This provides interesting scope in research, particularly in investigating the nature of the relationship between minority workers, their work colleagues and the systems within those structures. The activist dimension in CRT brings to the fore the fundamental role that the law plays in the maintenance of racial hierarchy (Zuberi, 2011). It 'sets out not only to ascertain how society organises itself along racial lines and hierarchies but to transform it for the better' (Delgado and Stefancic, 2012: 7) with the possibility of implementing social justice. CRT is more than a theoretical framework. It is a call to action. You cannot really do CRT and not act.

In recent years, social scientists and Western societies have routinely used 'ethnicity' and 'diversity' interchangeably with 'race'. However,

the twenty-four people who started CRT defined a kind of racial consciousness as a necessary element in fostering and understanding the contested position of those in power with racialised minorities in a position of subjugation. Thus, in this general context, critical race research should be based on the epistemology of racial emancipation and examining the practices of racial power while working towards the elimination of the effects of white supremacy. Although research can be informed by various informants, in a racial stratification research the critical race perspective should be informed by the experiences of racialised groups suffering from the various forms of white supremacy. Studies that have employed CRT, particularly in Education, analyse the role of race and racism in perpetuating social disparities between dominant and marginalised racial groups (see Ladson-Billings and Tate, 1995; Ladson-Billings, 1998; DeCuir and Dixson, 2004); they do not simply describe the story, they also examine how race influenced the outcome. CRT initially borrowed from the insights of radical feminism, some European philosophers, American radical traditions and critical legal studies (CLS) which challenged the meritocracy of the United States. However, unlike traditional civil rights, which embraces incrementalism and step-by-step progress, CRT scholars are critical of three basic notions that have been embraced by liberal legal ideology: the notion of colour blindness, the neutrality of the law and incremental change. In organisations describing themselves as equal opportunity, the colour-blind perspective holds that 'one's qualifications, not one's colour or ethnicity should be the mechanism by which upward mobility is achieved' (Gallagher, 2003: 3).

The promotion of colour-blindness and neutrality is a perplexing one seeing that it should ordinarily promote equal opportunity. Colour-blindness has, however, been adopted as a way to justify ignoring and dismantling race-based policies such as affirmative actions that were designed to address societal inequity (Gotanda, 1991). Moreover, as has been proved in the French nation state, adopting a colour-blind position does not eliminate racism and racist acts; rather, in the law, the notion of colour-blindness fails to take into consideration the persistence and common-place experience of racism and the construction of people of African descent as other – a process which automatically disadvantages them. Colour-blindness and its purported neutrality cannot adequately address the harmful effects of being othered. In fact, its supposed disregarding of race is clearly false as colour-blindness serves a social and political function for Whites while disregarding racial hierarchy. Through acts of shared consumptions, the notion of colour-blindness turns race into nothing more than an innocuous cultural symboliser by

taking racially coded styles and products and recoding these symbols to commodities or experiences that Whites and racial minorities can purchase and share (Gallagher, 2003). This chimera of sameness is portrayed by multinationals like McDonalds and at shopping malls, which have made not just American culture but Western culture more homogeneous and also created the illusion that everyone is the same through consumption (Gallagher, 2003). The notion of colour-blindness has made the interrogation of both the ways that white privilege is deployed and the normalising effects of whiteness nearly impossible. Since 'difference' in the colour-blind discourse almost always refers to People of Colour because being White is considered 'normal' (DeCuir and Dixson, 2004: 29), it follows that practising colour-blindness will affect the people with the most need.

As part of a general movement against racial powers, CRT makes its contributions by its articulation of the contours of racial power, 'undermining the logic of the postracial reality' (Zuberi, 2011: 1587). It is a forerunner in the critical analysis of historical racial projects. It has over the years developed perspectives which challenge the dominant narrative. CRT is open to further development and it encourages researchers to develop methods for their research. This, however, proves challenging particularly for those new to CRT as a methodological framework. Its labour market research has mainly employed the analysis of secondary or administrative data, while education research has employed the various tenets of CRT, particularly counterstorytelling (Delgado, 1995; Solórzano and Yosso, 2002; DeCuir and Dixson, 2004; Martinez, 2014). With the continuing worldwide crisis and increasing racial inequality, the development of a CRT methodology in the labour market is paramount, now more than ever. This chapter makes such contribution through the development of a reproducible framework to carry out scientific labour market research on racial stratification.

The relevance of the tenets of CRT

CRT, like other critical theoretical frameworks, is evidenced by an ontological position which is best defined by its main tenets. These tenets provide both an analytical and conceptual framework to help uncover the ingrained societal disparities that support a system of privilege and oppression. Since CRT originated in the United States, the tenets are mainly explained through the original arguments employed in its development. The four main tenets of CRT discussed in this chapter will give an insight into how it can travel to Europe and be employed beyond American shores.[3]

Voice-of-colour thesis and counterstorytelling

A tenet of CRT is the voice-of-colour thesis which holds that because of their different histories and experiences with oppression, Black, Indian, Asian and Latino writers and thinkers may be able to communicate to their White counterparts matters that Whites are unlikely to know (Delgado and Stefancic, 2001: 9). In other words, 'minority status … brings with it a presumed competence to speak about race and racism' (Delgado and Stefancic, 2001: 9). Thus, the legal storytelling movement urges Black and Brown writers to recount their experiences with racism and the legal system, and to apply their own unique perspectives to assess law's master narratives. A monovocal account engenders not only stereotyping but also curricular choices that result in representations in which fellow members of a group represented cannot recognise themselves (Montecinos, 1995: 293–294). Counterstorytelling forms an essential part of CRT because of its numerous advantages. It has been used by many CRT theorists, particularly in education research (Solórzano and Yosso, 2002; DeCuir and Dixson, 2004; Gillborn, 2006) and law education in the United States (Bell, 1992 in *Faces at the Bottom of the Well*). Counterstorytelling is 'a method of telling the stories of those people whose experiences are not often told' (Solórzano and Yosso, 2002: 26) and 'a means of exposing and critiquing normalised dialogues that perpetuate racial stereotypes hence giving voice to marginalised groups' (DeCuir and Dixson, 2004: 27). Counterstorytelling is premised on the idea that the views of the dominant, 'privileged,' powerful (those who decide who the other is) and the marginalised or 'other' are different; that the storyteller determines the view(s) expressed in each story; that there are hidden or untold stories of the 'other' (DeCuir and Dixson, 2004: 27). While it encourages the marginalised to tell their stories, its strength lies not just in the stories it tells but the depth it uncovers. This epistemological standpoint serves to expose, analyse and even challenge master narratives which 'essentialises and wipes out the complexities and richness of a group's cultural life' while putting human faces to the experiences of often marginalised and silenced groups (Montecinos, 1995). It also aids the telling of stories that aims to cast doubt on the validity of accepted premises or myths, especially ones held by the majority (Delgado and Stefancic, 2012).

There are various methods of generating data through the telling of stories by interviewees, imaginations or unreal creations. While counterstories are a form of storytelling, it is 'different from fictional storytelling' (Solórzano and Yosso, 2002: 36). A story becomes a counterstory when it begins to incorporate the five elements of CRT (Solórzano and

Yosso, 2002: 36). Critical race scholars have practised counterstory-telling in at least three general forms, including personal stories or narratives, other people's stories or narratives, and composite stories or narratives (Solórzano and Yosso, 2002). When gathering individual stories to form a counterstory, CRT scholars suggest the importance of maintaining theoretical and cultural sensitivity. Theoretical sensitivity, which is a personal quality of the researcher that can be further developed during the research process, refers to the special insight and capacity of the researcher to interpret and give meaning to data (Strauss and Corbin, 1990). More succinctly put, 'theoretical sensitivity refers to the attribute of having insight, the ability to give meaning to data, the capacity to understand, and capability to separate the pertinent from that which isn't' (Strauss and Corbin, 1990: 41–42). Cultural sensitivity refers to the capacity of individuals as members of socio-historical communities to accurately read and interpret the meaning of informants (Bernal, 1998, cited in Strauss and Corbin, 1990). In order to create counterstories, Solórzano and Yosso (2002: 34) relied on four sources of data: the data gathered from the research process itself, the existing literature, and their own professional and personal experiences.

Despite its ability to present views rarely evidenced in social research, the inherent weaknesses in storytelling arise from the fact that stories are socially constructed. They can represent limited versions of reality for subjugated people and their everyday experiences, especially where oppressive social arrangements remain unchallenged (Hylton, 2012). Nonetheless, the advantages of counterstorytelling far outweigh its weaknesses not just for CRT theorists but for victims, as 'hearing their own stories and the stories of others, listening to how the arguments against them are framed, and learning to make the arguments to defend themselves can be empowering for participants' (Solórzano and Yosso, 2002: 27). Counterstories also enable victims of racism to find their voice, and those injured by racism and other forms of oppression discover they are not alone in their marginality (Solórzano and Yosso, 2002: 27). Note that counterstorytelling is not about 'developing imaginary characters that engage in fictional scenarios', instead, the 'composite' characters that are developed 'are grounded in real-life experiences and actual empirical data and are contextualized in social situations that are also grounded in real life, not fiction' (Solórzano and Yosso, 2002: 36).

Permanence of racism

The notion of the permanence of racism in society is a tenet of CRT. It is the belief that racism is the usual way society does business and is the

common, everyday experience of most People of Colour in the United States (Delgado and Stefancic, 2001). With its history steeped in immigration, Bell (1992: 13) contends that 'racism is a permanent component of American life' that plays and continues to play a dominant role in American society. This epistemological stance within a CRT framework would involve adopting a realist view which would suggest that 'racist hierarchical structures control all political, economic, and social domains and allocates the privileging of whites and the subsequent othering of People of Colour in all arenas' (DeCuir and Dixson, 2004: 27). In a racial stratification framework, 'white-over-colour ascendancy serves both psychic and material purposes of working class people and White elites respectively' (Delgado and Stefancic, 2004: 3). And 'the ordinariness of racism means that racism is difficult to cure or address and that colour-blind, or "formal," conceptions of equality, expressed in rules that insist only on treatment that is the same across the board, can only effectively address the most blatant forms of discrimination' (Delgado and Stefancic, 2001: 3).

This pessimistic view of society which seems to offer no way out of racism is one of the main reasons CRT is critiqued. However, using CRT as a methodological framework can be quite a useful tool, particularly in light of DeCuir and Dixson's (2004) CRT analysis in Education which utilised five of its prominent tenets.[4] One of the main reasons for the underreporting of racism is the lack of action when people actually report. Some victims of racism are made to feel they are being over-sensitive to a little joke. They are offered meaningless platitudes and a handshake. DeCuir and Dixson (2004) illustrate some key considerations for analysing events to comprise: examining the disparity and dismissal of both the import and impact of racist acts on the victims and victimiser; exploring the ways in which states and their practices serve to support the notion of the permanence of racism; and then examining the disciplinary process employed when racist crimes are committed or reported. The uniqueness of using CRT as an analytical tool means exploring not just the event but also the nature of the particular threat or event, its meaning and intent. It should also explore the culture of the establishment that allowed the victimiser to feel comfortable in producing the threat. Taking a CRT stance in investigating an event will in addition consider the manner in which the threat may have encouraged racist and violent behaviour or supported a hostile and alienating environment for the victim (DeCuir and Dixson, 2004). If schools, organisations and businesses cover these elements in reported racist incidents, victims will feel heard, perpetrators will be in no doubt of their crime and organisations will be indicted for the ways they

collude with perpetrators of racist acts or create environments that are conducive to racism.

Interest convergence

Interest convergence is a tenet of CRT that was advanced by Derrick Bell (1980). The notion originated in the US and it suggests that civil rights gains within communities of colour, particularly those for African-Americans, should be interpreted with cautious enthusiasm. The argument is based on the idea that White people will support racial justice only insofar as there is a 'convergence' between the interests of the White people and racial justice. This means Whites pursue racial justice and equality for others when they have vested interests or something to gain (Bell, 1980). The dominant narrative of the 1954 decision in Brown v. Board of Education – that Brown was a watershed moment in US history, marking what is popularly seen as a collective moral, political, and cultural shift in attitudes towards race and inequality – has been argued to be a 'convergence' of interests by Derrick Bell. He insists the decision was because the White elites were willing to concede on the segregation battle, albeit on the legal front only, because they were concerned about international condemnation of the US on racial segregation. In other words, the desegregation may have resulted more from the self-interest of elite Whites than a desire to help Blacks (Delgado and Stefancic, 2001). In developing this notion, Bell (1980) also indicts the US Supreme Court that they supported Brown because it served the United States' cold war agenda of supporting human rights. He concludes that the self-interest of the elite White coincided with the interests of civil rights leaders, which brought about school desegregation. The interests of those who were making the decision converged with the interests of the Black plaintiffs. This notion of interest convergence adds a further dimension to the permanence of racism (Delgado and Stefancic, 2001): because racism advances the interests of both White elites materially and working-class people psychically, large segments of society have little incentive to eradicate it.

This close interaction of the outcome of individuals and groups in society with the law, in accomplishing such feats as Brown v. Board, is problematic and has strong implications in managing equality and social justice, not only in American society as it applies specifically to those cases but to other parts of the Western world. First, it implies a close connection between judges and the interests of the White dominant community; secondly, it suggests that there is relatively little room for judges to have autonomy to make their own decisions; thirdly, it

denies the marginalised community a role in shaping the law; and lastly, because the will of the majority tends in the direction of self-interest, it can be problematic for meeting the equal needs of all citizens (Bell, 1980; Delgado and Stefancic, 2012). Indeed, the early civil rights legislation seemed to have provided only basic rights to African-Americans without addressing the racial and social injustices they had experienced – rights which many argued had been enjoyed by Whites for centuries. Those acclaimed initial gains are seen by critical race scholars as superficial opportunities because they were basic tenets of US democracy (Bell, 1980), and as concessions which were offered to the extent that they were not seen as (or exacted) a major disruption to a 'normal' way of life for the majority of Whites (DeCuir and Dixson, 2004: 28). Interest convergence provides analytical tools which I have adopted to problematise specific projects within an Irish context. The dearth of such critical analysis in state projects in Ireland and social justice curricula shows a need to adopt such a framework. I return to this in a later chapter in my plea for the adoption of critical race theory in the social sciences in Europe and in Ireland more specifically.

Intersectionality: when race, class and gender intersect

Though CRT insists on the centrality of race in its application as a theoretical and methodological framework, one of its tenets is intersectionality which addresses the interaction between interlocking identities. The notion of intersectionality challenges the traditional tendency to treat race and gender as mutually exclusive categories of experience and analysis. It suggests that we cannot talk about the lives of people when we examine only one dimension of their lives, and at the same time it debunks the idea that there is a monolithic identity detached from other forms of identity. Many (Crenshaw, 1989; Collins, 2000) insist that when we talk of racial domination, we must examine how it interacts with other forms of domination including gender, sexuality, class, religion and all forms of disadvantaging identities. The concept was advanced by feminist writers including Hook, Davis, Crenshaw and Smith – it was Crenshaw (1989) who put the term into the public domain, since when it has become a buzz word in social science research. Crenshaw (1989) illustrates intersectionality as a 'crossroad', Nancy Fraser (1995) called it 'bivalent collectivities' and Patricia Hill Collins (2000) termed it 'matrix of domination', while Yuval-Davis (2006) termed it 'axes of difference'. This includes many other variants of intersecting identities. While the central purpose of the concept is to advance the telling of the relegated identities of women (Crenshaw, 1989, 1991), it is presently

being used to address various interlocking oppressions. Intersectionality is an integral aspect of CRT with applicability as a 'methodology for studying the relationships among multiple dimensions and modalities of social relationships and subject formations' (McCall, 2005: 1771). Kimberle Crenshaw argues that:

> Feminist efforts to politicize experiences of women and antiracist efforts to politicize experiences of 'people of colour' have frequently proceeded as though the issues and experiences they each detail occur on mutually exclusive terrains. Although racism and sexism readily intersect in the lives of real people, they seldom do in feminist and antiracist practices. And so, when the practices expound identity as 'woman' or 'person of colour' as an either/or proposition, they relegate the identity of women of colour to a location that resists telling. (Crenshaw, 1991: 1242)

Intersectionality holds that the various oppressions within society, such as racism, sexism, homophobia and religion-based bigotry, do not act independently of one another; instead, these forms of oppression inter-relate, and are connected to each other to create a system of oppres-sion that reflects the intersection of multiple forms of discrimination. The idea is based on the need to think of identities and experiences as being shaped by the intersecting vectors of race, class and gender (which are the most often named) in order to address the hierarchies which marginalise them.

While Black women are indeed the quintessential case for inter-sectionality, Kimberle Crenshaw's (1989: 139) potent analogy of an accident at a crossroads depicts how employing a single-axis analy-sis distorts the experiences of Black women such that they are also 'theoretically erased'.[5] The 'dominant conceptions of discrimination condition us to think about subordination occurring along a single categorical axis' (Crenshaw, 1989: 139) because it limits inquiry to the experiences of otherwise-privileged members of the group. Both feminist theory and antiracist politics marginalise and exclude Black women when their experiences are viewed under those single categories. This is not to say that Black women do not experience discrimination in the same ways as men or White women. Rather, due to their intersec-tionality, Black women often experience 'double discrimination' – the combined effects of practices which discriminate on the basis of both race and sex (Crenshaw, 1989: 149). Discrimination can sometimes be experienced as Black women, which is not the sum of race and sex discrimination (Crenshaw, 1989: 149). Such combined identities can include 'Muslim women' and how their experience of the hijab is unique to them. It is fair to say that 'no person has a single, easily

stated, unitary identity' (Delgado and Stefancic, 2001: 9). For example, a White feminist may also be Jewish and/or gay because 'everyone has potentially conflicting, overlapping identities, loyalties, and allegiances' (Delgado and Stefancic, 2001: 9). It also, however, means that people are members of many groups, such that we have complex identities which can shape our experiences. An Irish person may also be Black, or Muslim. An Asian Irish may be gay, female and a single parent. A Black Irish person may have a parent who is German or a grandparent who is British. All of these occupy different positions on the social stratification in different societies. These multiple differences interact and can be experienced in various ways. Gender influences the experience of racism by men and women differently sometimes, just as women of different races can experience sexism differently. Feminist theory has, however, remained *white*, and 'its potential to broaden and deepen its analysis by addressing non-privileged women remains unrealised' (Crenshaw, 1989: 154). Considering that (white) feminism evolved from a white racial context that is seldom acknowledged, its value for Black women is diminished. According to Crenshaw (1989: 154), 'not only are Women of Colour in fact overlooked, but their exclusion is reinforced when White women speak for and as women. The authoritative universal voice – usually White male subjectivity masquerading as non-racial, non-gendered objectivity – is merely transferred to those who, but for gender, share many of the same cultural, social and economic characteristics.'

Black women, it would appear, can only be protected insofar as their experiences coincide with the two groups – White women or Black men. 'This is because anti-discrimination doctrine … generally forces[6] them [Black women] to choose between specifically articulating the intersectional aspects of their subordination, thereby risking their ability to represent Black men or ignoring intersectionality in order to stake a claim that would not lead to the exclusion of Black men' (Crenshaw, 1989: 148). Viewing Black women this way can be problematic because they can be seen as either too female or too black, thus positioning them on the margin of both feminist and black liberation agendas. We see Women of Colour situated within at least two subordinated groups that frequently pursue conflicting political agendas. However, the dimension of 'intersectional disempowerment' that Men of Colour and White women seldom confront is manifest in this need to split their political energies into two (Crenshaw, 1991: 1252). Intersectional subordination need not be intentionally produced. Rather, it is frequently the imposition of one burden that interacts with pre-existing vulnerabilities to create yet another dimension of disempowerment (Crenshaw,

1991: 1249). It doesn't matter which of our social categories caused the harm, the focus should be that women are being harmed.

CRT has been critiqued because of the belief that the focus on race obscures other aspects of difference that serve to marginalise and oppress People of Colour. However, CRT theorists in their analysis routinely adopt a stance which includes class, gender and race and how they interact. 'Intersectionality addresses the most central theoretical and normative concern within feminist scholarship: namely, the acknowledgement of differences among women' (Davis, 2008: 70). It 'promises an almost universal applicability, useful for understanding and analysing any social practice, any individual or group experience, any structural arrangement, and any cultural configuration' (Davis, 2008: 70). Moreover, it allows researchers to see race, gender and class as interlocking systems of oppression rather than monolithic categories. This makes it possible to extend the understanding to other oppressions, such as age, sexual orientation, religion and ethnicity.

Mind-map for studying race and racial stratification in the labour market

When we talk about the multifaceted nature of race, what does this mean, and what is involved? What is a comprehensive view of race and its impact like? With the growing significance of race in Europe today, the dearth of a comprehensive theory on the labour market which centralises race is egregious. Rather, the ubiquity of implicit bias, group favouritism, inferiorisation of difference and harsh workplace environments consigns people of migrant descent, particularly people of Black African descent to the bottom of the racial ladder. Even with increasing diversity in society, the labour market in Ireland is still a white space of white privilege that invisibilises difference. We need a critical race theory of the labour market similar to CRT in Education and legal scholarship where the focus of researchers, policy makers and educators is not on difference but on how we respond to difference for racial equality, equity and justice in our social world.

When I began my travels in studying race and how it influences the disparity in outcomes among groups, I developed a race consciousness which grounded my understanding of racial stratification and whiteness. I have pulled these together in a comprehensive mind-map (Figure I.1). It captures the complexity of race and the myriad ways race is nuanced in the labour market as a roadmap for thinking through and making meaning of racial stratification. This guide for structuring an anti-racist examination of society comes from insights gained through researching
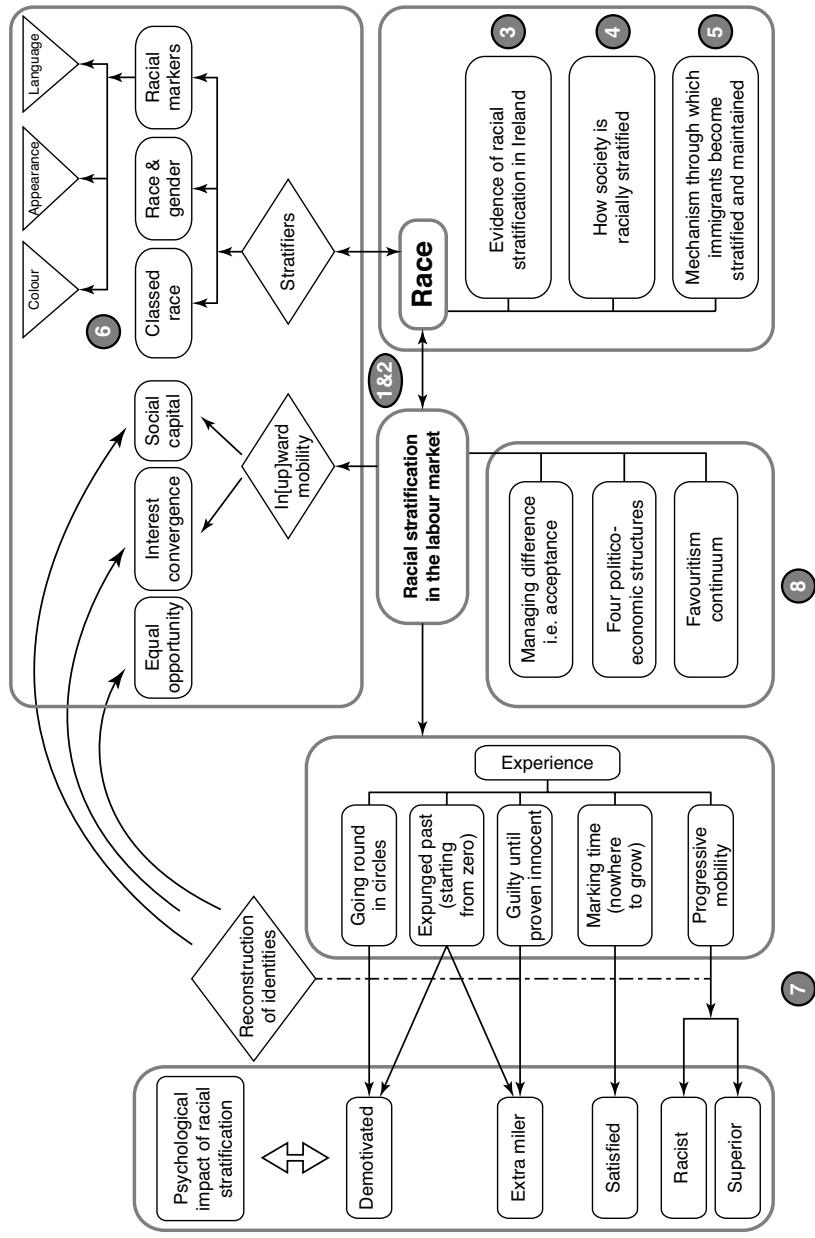
Figure 1.1 Mind-map of analysing race and racial stratification in the labour market

labour market differentials among migrants in Ireland. It represents my understanding of racial stratification as a critical race theorist of Black African descent. The key question this map addresses is 'what accounts for the differential in outcomes among different groups in the labour market?'

This comprehensive examination of the labour market is structured in accordance with the CRT tradition for the following reasons. It commences by rejecting a colour-blind approach to racial difference in the labour market because it silences people who are categorised as Blacks or non-Whites while they are impacted by the racial order within the racial stratification systems in Europe. The centrality of race and the voice of colour – the marginalised; it provides and encourages new anti-racist lenses and structures to examine the outcomes of groups by understanding how racial stratification influences human outcome; it gives voice to marginalised group/s and sees the world from their perspectives; and it does not assume a black deficit approach to understanding race and its impact.

In the mind-map, race is centred as the main construct/variable in the analysis. A CRT assumption embedded in the study is that the presence of race creates racial stratification and racial stratification only exists because race exists. Thus both elements (race and racial stratification) are central to any study on society. When race is centred in a CRT study, some key understandings about race become imperative – refer to the sections mapped as 1 and 2. This means a study of race should start with and include a contemporary and historical understanding of the meaning of race in the country/setting of the study. The next section, marked out 3 to 5 on the map, is where you gather any evidence of racial stratification and the racial order. Next, your study needs to identify the racial stratifiers as depicted in the mind-map section 6. This concerns our intersectionalities, a main tenet of CRT – because people do not live monolithic lives. In my study, there were three broad areas of intersectionality in the lives of the people in the study (see discussion in chapter 6): the classed race – where a person's race is classed; the intersection of race and gender; and racial markers (physical appearance, language and skin colour). These racial stratifiers in turn influence labour market mobility – which is how migrants and minorities change their place on the labour supply chain. Mapped at number 7 is the form of reconstruction of immigrants which occurs in Europe where their experiences influence their actions which consequently becomes solidified through identity reconstruction as discussed in chapter 7. Next, we have the political system that powers racial stratification. This is the favouritism continuum discussed in chapter 8. Note that to use this map,

the sections can be reproduced as separate units or as a whole. While the complexity and multifaceted nature of race, race relations and racial stratification are evident from the mind-map, it also means there are still further depths to be explored.

Structure of the book

This book begins with the ontological view that all societies are stratified (Ultee, 2007) and that racial stratification is instrumental in maintaining economic injustices. This introduction sets up the Irish case as an empirical roadmap for race scholars across Europe to research and uncover the often unspoken and obfuscated aspects of race. It provides insight about the genealogy of the study on which the data in this book are based, with a detailed section on how the chapters are set and connected. Critical race theory and four of its tenets are discussed to ground readers in the theoretical understanding and race consciousness underpinning this book. A bonus mind-map is also provided which captures the complexity of racial inequality and the myriad ways race is nuanced in labour market differentials as a roadmap for thinking through and making meaning of racial stratification. It provides a useful guide for structuring an anti-racist examination of society.

Chapter 1 highlights the pernicious use of race as a means of categorisation to determine access to scarce and desired resources. The way whiteness selectively privileges groups is discussed. The chapter introduces readers to the everyday performance of white supremacy as the underlying structure of white privilege. In this regard, whiteness is counterposed as privilege against whiteness as dominance as the locus of understanding the effect of whiteness and the resulting marginalisation and subjugation of Blacks and non-Whites. The chapter ends by defining some key terms for understanding racial stratification.

In order to introduce a CRT perspective to how we look at and talk about racism in Ireland, chapter 2 examines the symbolic use of colour in emphasising the perceived difference of racialised Irish people in their diaspora settings. It also discusses how whiteness has historically been mobilised to centralise Irish interests both at home and abroad, altering their positioning from colonised to colonisers. The cartography of the top tiers of the Irish labour market presents us with a false picture of a monocultural Ireland. This is in contradiction to Census data which demonstrates the presence of newcomers within its borders, including Ireland's ethnic minorities – the Irish Travellers. A key argument in the chapter is that rather than racism between White bodies invalidating skin colour as a locus of understanding racism, deviation from

Eurocentric norms was employed to darken actors and influence the symbolic colour of the perceived difference ascribed to racialised Irish people on both sides of the Atlantic. While Ireland has been a welcoming state, this chapter discusses inconsistencies through its relationship with the Irish Travellers – the Irish racial other, and Ireland's relationship with its migrant population from the early 1900s to the present.

The comparative chapter 3 is a deviation from traditional ways of presenting data on discrimination and labour market differentials and converts statistical data to show the ways groups are racially stratified in the labour market. It provides evidence of racial stratification in Ireland by analysing the disparity in outcomes among migrant groups and how it is divided along racial lines. It utilises three main sources of data: a selected employability programme (EP) with a database of 639 unique individuals; the Irish 2011 and 2016 national Census statistics and various OECD reports of migrants' outcome in the EU; and data from 32 semi-structured interviews with first-generation migrants of Spanish, Polish and Nigerian descent. The conflating of nationality of descent and race in the society, coupled with the separation of White workers to paid labour and Black workers to unpaid labour, is also discussed.

There is a growing interest in Europe among early researchers and race theorists in CRT as a methodological and analytical framework. While we all know on some level that society is unequal and hierarchical, what is unclear – which is the focus of chapter 4 – is who is at the top and who is at the bottom of the economic and racial ladder and how they are connected. More importantly, how do we determine what group/s are at the top and what group/s are at the bottom? This chapter answers those questions through a step-by-step guide for researching racial stratification and the racial order. It also outlines some key considerations for researching the racial order drawing on insight from a racial stratification study of immigrants' experiences in the Irish labour market. This chapter should be read with chapter 5, where a racial dichotomy of White over Black is unveiled in the Irish case.

Based on extensive empirical evidence from labour market outcomes of migrants in Ireland and analysis of semi-structured interviews, chapter 5 presents racial stratification as a 'default' starting position assigned to newcomers on arrival. It shows how the interaction of class and race produces a classed race to influence this default positioning of group members. The key features of racial stratification discussed within this chapter include its homogenising attributes, inter- and intra-group layering of group members, and the available hierarchies and how migrants fit into them as members of racial groups. The chapter provides

insight on how immigrants know and occupy their place on the racial strata. It concludes with a discussion of the implications of racial stratification on the socio-economic outcomes of Black and White workers and how it differs along colour lines.

Migrants and people of migrant descent experience different forms of labour market mobility. Micro-level analyses of their everyday experiences reveal how migrants change their place on the labour supply chain. Chapter 6 presents interest convergence, social capital and equal opportunity as three vehicles with which migrants negotiate their way through racially stratified societies. The way the labour market experiences of migrants align to any of these concepts has long-term implications for everyone, including the creation of racialised ghettos and tripartite segmentation in the labour market. Intersecting vulnerabilities including gender and age that foster inter- or intra-group layering also form part of the chapter.

Although racial stratification influences the outcomes of groups and their members, chapter 7 shows that it is not deterministic because individual migrants can and do express minority agency which influences labour mobility and intra-group hierarchy. This dialectical interaction between minorities and racially stratifying systems in their new country of settlement is the focus of this chapter. It presents a framework for interrogating the migration to labour market participation process within four strands which every migrating person goes through: expectation, experience, negotiation and identity reconstruction. It also presents the typologies identified from migrants' trajectories that reveal five characteristic labour market experiences which in turn become solidified into reconstructed identities. The presence of racial stratification in the labour market participation process selectively metes out an endemic colour-coded migrant penalty which proliferates racial inequality.

Chapter 8 presents the favouritism–disfavour continuum as the system through which racial inequalities, injustices and economic exploitations are proliferated in modern states. It introduces the following four processes: implicit bias, social acceptance, group favouritism and human contact, and discusses how they operate interdependently to maintain the positioning of actors on the continuum. The chapter makes three key arguments. First, it illustrates how the favouritism continuum determines the outcome of actors by the position they occupy on the continuum. Secondly, it illustrates the restrictive yet fluid and changeable nature of this positioning through minority agency and individual mobility. Thirdly, it illustrates how this continuum operates the machinery employed to maintain homogeneity in a heterogeneous labour market, thus producing racial inequality. The chapter also addresses how groups

on lower racial strata attempt to avoid triggering implicit bias in others in order to circumvent its negative consequences. The chapter concludes with a theoretical contribution on how to manage difference through the recognition–tolerance continuum and posits that acceptance is the missing link between both concepts.

The concluding chapter argues for a critical race theory in labour market inequality. Racial stratification is a default position ascribed to all citizens, old and new. The way it operates today means that racism will continue to be a permanent fixture in our society unless we deliberately reveal whiteness and white supremacy for what they are – invisible markers and silent affirmative action for Whites. This chapter discusses the limitations of current methods of addressing disparity in outcomes in labour markets across Europe and outlines the benefits, strengths and weaknesses of a CRT approach. It considers the ways in which racial stratification and CRT approaches are thus relevant and necessary for understanding/application in wider societal and global contexts – outside the issue of labour. It contends that for a deracialised, anti-racist analysis and understanding of the labour market, three core elements of CRT become vital: the centrality of race, race consciousness and the voice of colour through counterstorytelling. This chapter reminds readers that racial inequality is not about where people end up but about where they start.

Notes

1 The data-rich informants were a cohort of migrants who were in a position to successfully access the Irish system in that they had either Irish or EU citizenship; they could speak the language of the host community; they either owned their own homes or were in good rented accommodation; they had access to medical services, and they were either in middle-management roles or employed in well-paying jobs.
2 'White logic' refers to a context in which white supremacy has defined the techniques and processes of reasoning about social facts. It assumes a historical posture that grants eternal objectivity to the views of elite Whites and operates to foster a 'debilitating alienation' among the racially oppressed, as they are thrown 'into a world of preexisting meanings as people incapable of meaning making' (Zuberi and Bonilla-Silva, 2003, cited in Zuberi 2011: 1583).
3 Other tenets of CRT include the Social Construction thesis and Differential Racialisation.
4 DeCuir and Dixson used the counterstories of African-American students at Wells Academy, an elite predominately White independent school, to interrogate the relationship between the students of colour, their peers and how conflictual issues were resolved.

5 'Consider an analogy to traffic in an intersection, coming and going in four direc-
  tions. Discrimination, like traffic through an intersection, may flow in one direc-
  tion, and it may flow in another. If an accident happens in an intersection, it can be
  caused by cars traveling from any number of directions and, sometimes, from all
  of them. Similarly, if a Black woman is harmed because she is in the intersection,
  her injury could result from sex discrimination or race discrimination' (Crenshaw,
  1989: 149).

6 It is important to note that intersectionality as conceptualised by Kimberle
  Crenshaw was very specific to how looking at the situation of Black women in
  the US through the lens of either gender discrimination or racism alone led to
  an incomplete and distorted picture. She grounds her argument using the meta-
  phor of a road intersection in the experience of Black female workers in General
  Motors in the US and other cases where anti-discrimination policies based on
  racism and patriarchy failed to address the needs of Black women who experi-
  enced various levels of difficulty in legally establishing their particular problem
  of discrimination on the grounds of either race or gender, unlike Black men and
  White women. She also argued that the emphasis should be on addressing the
  'injury' experienced by Black women rather than the focus of the US judiciary
  system on the origin – if sexual or racial discrimination.