In a taxi, stuck or going places?

A Bourdieusian intersectional analysis of the employment habitus of Pakistani taxi drivers in the UK

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The candidate confirms that the work submitted is her own. The candidate confirms that appropriate credit has been given within the thesis where reference has been made to the work of others.

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Table of Contents

Abstract

Almost one in four Pakistani men in the UK drive taxis for a living (EHRC, 2010). This figure has doubled from one in eight in 1991, and is high for British Pakistani men compared to 'one in a hundred of the whole population' (McEvoy and Haveez, 2009). For ethnic minorities working in low-paid occupations, occupational segregation can lead to inequality (Blackwell, 2003), and it has a long-lasting effect on intergenerational mobility (Corak, 2013). A largely masculine occupation, taxi driving is a rarely studied occupation, and has mostly been considered as a 'marginal form of self-employment' (McEvoy and Haveez, 2009) or an 'immigrant's job' (Waterman and Kosmin, 1986). This study explores to what extent taxi driving is a choice or whether there are factors that constrain the employment opportunities for the men in this ethnic group. Drawing upon Pierre Bourdieu's theory of social reproduction and feminist scholarly work on intersectionality, the study takes an ethnographic approach to understand the *employment habitus* of these men that affects their (self)-employment choices. The research locates the intersection of class, affiliation (religious), gender and ethnicity, forming the habitus of Pakistani taxi drivers as a CAGE like structure, which affects the life chances and shapes the occupational choices of individuals in this study. The key to this cage exists as knowledge, equal opportunity and a yearning for a better life. This has implications for policy and practice in terms of education, support in the early career years, and better practices to eradicate structural racism in the labour market.

List of Tables

Table of Figures

I know why the caged bird sings, ah me,
When his wing is bruised and his bosom sore,
When he beats his bars and would be free;
It is not a carol of joy or glee,
But a prayer that he sends from his heart's deep core,
But a plea, that upward to Heaven he flings –
I know why the caged bird sings

Dunbar, Paul Laurence 1872-1906[1]

1 (Published in *Lyrics of the Hearthside* by Dodd, Mead and Company in 1899)

The Reflective Researcher by Meenakshi Sarkar, March 2016[2]

1 in 4 Pakistani men in the UK drive taxis for a living
Is it a choice or constraint, their fortune's misgiving?
How free are they to choose a job? Do they really have a choice?
Or do their class, religion, and ethnicity take away their own voice?

How does being a Pakistani man in UK affect their life chance?
What options do they get in a society of white dominance?
Academics have sought to answer these questions in many ways
Through human capital theories or the role an ethnic penalty plays

Many a study have pointed to disadvantage of Pakistanis in this land
Poor education, rural backgrounds, push them to the lowest band
Discrimination is rampant despite all the laws
How fair is Britain, boasting of its equality vows?

But then these penalties are not the same across all groups that dwell
Indians and Chinese in the same British labour market have done pretty well
Is education then the emancipator, the key to success?
Yet even some second-generation Pakistani boys to taxi driving recess

Unable to find an answer, I turned to sociology too
To Giddens, Archer and Pierre Bourdieu
I found Bourdieu closest to explaining the reproduction of class
Of habitus, doxa and Illusio, how they affect our life, alas

A habitus is formed, as a mental structure which guides our minds
A perception of only this or that could be done which an illusio binds
The habitus is reproduced generations after generations
Yet between structure and agency lie man's deliberations

Or is it the various capitals he says that create this doxic structure
Social capital? Economic? Symbolic or Culture?
So, our class, affiliations, gender, and ethnicity form a certain CAGE
A structure one is born in as we enter life's stage.

2(Poem written for a pechakucha presentation at a BSA early career researchers' workshop in Leicester, UK)

We do not choose these for ourselves, but they yield their power on us
Reproducing the habitus affecting our long-term prospects thus
But man is born free, a rational thinking being
So how does one negotiate this CAGE? When does agency kick in?

Faced with these questions I took a social justice stance
An ethnographic study, an interpretive dance
What counts can sometimes not be counted, and what's counted doesn't count,
So, I am presenting their voices qualitatively in their own account

But wait, who am I in this entire scheme of things?
What's my positionality, a question of reflexivity rings?
Am I an insider or outsider here?
What common sense of my participants do I actually bear?

I am a contrast to them in many a way
And what role does my own background here play?
I am an educated Hindu Indian woman from the middle class
They are taxi drivers, Muslim, Pakistani, men from a working class

But how does one research these subjective questions of the mind
How will I unearth the habitus of being a minority in the grind?
How do my own assumptions affect what I say and ask?
How in the glory of my own habitus does my research bask?

Is this reflexivity a reflection, confession or just a cathartic outburst?
If we all affect our research uniquely then what epistemology do we trust?
Where does the researcher draw the line to remain objective?
Between the study and real people who are subjective

Whose story is it anyway mine or theirs?
Am I their true representative as someone who cares?
How will this help policy and practice? What impact will it make?
Finding social justice for the community I wish to wake

I have more questions than answers at this stage
Perhaps I am bound unknowingly by my own CAGE
But these questions however painful need to be asked for sure
Only then will I as a reflexive researcher mature

Introduction: 'The taxi driver phenomenon'

It is noticeable to anyone taking taxis in the northern cities of UK for example, Leeds, Bradford, or Manchester, that many of the drivers are of Pakistani origin. One in four (25%) British Pakistani men of working age drive taxis for a living (Equality and Human Rights Commission, 2010). This figure has doubled from one in eight (12.5%) in 1991 and is high for Pakistani men compared to 'one in a hundred (1%) of the whole population' (McEvoy and Haveez, 2009: 58). The 'taxi driver phenomenon' (Bauder, 2005: 92), whereby work in this occupation tends to be carried out by immigrants, is not unique to Pakistanis in the UK; similar trends have been observed in other high immigration countries such as the USA (NY times, 2004; Schaller Consulting, 2006; Mitra, 2008; Bruno et al., 2015), Canada (Xu, 2012), Australia (Australiavisa.com, 2018; Australian Broadcasting Service, 2012), Spain and Norway (Abdin and Erdal, 2015); and Denmark (Rytter, 2013) where a large number of migrants from the Indian sub-continent (India, Pakistan and Bangladesh) largely of Pakistani origin, drive taxis for a living. An overwhelmingly masculine occupation, many studies and reports categorize taxi driving as 'marginal', 'elementary', or carried out by the 'precariat' (Savage et al., 2013). Although most taxi drivers are self-employed, it is considered to be 'an extremely marginal form of self-employment' (McEvoy and Haveez, 2009: 58) and noted by some authors as predominantly an 'immigrant's job' (Waterman and Kosmin, 1986). In a study conducted on taxi drivers in India in Mumbai, almost 54 per cent of taxi drivers choose taxi driving because of unemployment, 21 per cent due of lack of education and 10 per cent by interest (Bawa and Srivastav, 2013). For ethnic minorities stuck in elementary jobs such as taxi driving, occupational segregation can lead to inequality (Blackwell, 2003), and has a long-lasting effect on their social standing and intergenerational mobility (Corak, 2013). While barriers to employment and challenges faced by ethnic minorities in the UK labour market have been considered by many authors across disciplines, there are few studies on the experiences of Pakistani men in the British labour market (Modood et al., 1997; Tackey et al., 2006) and even fewer on taxi driving (Kalra, 2000) —and this is where this study aims to fill a gap.

Social mobility: an utopian dream

Social mobility is now a matter of greater political and social concern in Britain than at any time previously (Wilkinson and Pickett, 2009). Additionally, there is a growing body of academic literature showing there is substantial 'intergenerational persistence', that is, life chances of individuals are closely related to the socio-economic characteristics of their families, such as socio-economic status (SES) and parental education and occupation (Blanden et al., 2011; Zuccotti, 2015). According to a 2010 report by the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), mobility in earnings, wages and education across generations is relatively low in the United Kingdom. By contrast, such mobility tends to be higher in Australia, Canada and the Nordic countries, with the parents' wealth (economic capital) strongly influencing the child's prospects of higher education (human capital) and a good salary (economic capital) (OECD, 2010). A recent report by the social mobility commission in UK shows that government policies over the last 20 years have delivered little progress on social mobility in Britain (Social mobility commission, 2018).

Policy reforms can remove obstacles to intergenerational social mobility and thereby promote equality of opportunities across individuals. Such reform will also enhance economic growth by allocating all human resources to their best use. However, for effective policies, it is important to locate the tipping point from where the disadvantage of such groups start. Are labour market practices the critical factor in segregation, or we also need to consider the various other fields like family, academia or communities (religious centres like mosques, churches, temples), and general social attitudes that create barriers for such deprived groups to be at the bottom of the labour market 'stuck' in elementary jobs and occupations? Taxi driving may be considered as one such occupation at the bottom end of the labour market that seems to provide flexibility and autonomy on one hand, but requires working long hours, does not guarantee regular income and, is considered a risky job as well. More importantly, it is not a socially desirable occupation that many taxi drivers do not want their children to undertake (discussed in Chapter 7). Therefore, this thesis attempts to provide a deeper understanding about the employment choices and constraints faced by the taxi drivers of Pakistani origin and strives to see how structural factors affect life chances and how occupational choices of individuals are shaped by such factors from the perspective of the taxi drivers.

There have been several studies reporting the labour market disadvantages of ethnic minorities in UK, but just a handful focusing exclusively on Pakistani men and women. While Pnina Werbner, Alison Shaw, Tariq Modood, and Virendra Kalra, have made the Pakistani diaspora in UK central to their research programme (Werbner, 1992; Shaw, 2002; Modood, 2004 (Kalra, 2000) however, only Virendra Kalra has explored taxi driving in the UK. His book From *Textile Mills to Taxi Ranks* explores the life of Pakistani mill workers in a declining industrial society in some detail and touches upon 'cabbing' in the last chapter (Kalra, 2000). However, this book is almost two decades old, and was written before the infamous 9/11 twin tower attack in the USA which happened on 9th September 2001, and the London bombings on 7th July 2005, both of which have had lasting effect on the predominantly Muslim Pakistani diaspora, not only in the affected countries, but across the world as well (Garner and Selod, 2015). The latter events have changed the dynamics associated with researching this ethnic/religious group (Bolognani, 2007) which will be elaborated in Chapter 5 (Research Methodology).

As such, the British Pakistanis are often considered a 'hard to reach group' leading 'parallel lives' with few academic endeavours directed at understanding them (Philips, 2006). They are still viewed through a stereotypical lens in media and popular imagination 'from cricket lover to terror suspect', (Dwyer et al, 2008) with a rise in Islamophobia (Sheridan, 2006; Poynting and Mason, 2010; Garner and Selod, 2015) adding to their marginalisation, discrimination, oppression and abuse. In report after report, and study after study (Modood et al., 1997; Blackaby et al., 2002; Longhi and Platt, 2008; Metcalf, 2009; EHRC, 2010; Heath and Martin, 2012; Khattab and Johnston, 2015; Cabinet Office, 2017; EHRC, 2018), it has been reported that Pakistani men are the poorest performers in their labour market outcomes alongside Bangladeshi and Black Caribbean men; yet, there is a serious gap in understanding the factors contributing to such labour market challenges faced by Pakistanis in general and particularly those in marginalised occupations such as taxi driving, which this study aims to focus upon.

Further, it is relevant to note, that the labour market experience of all ethnic minorities in the UK is not homogeneous and that substantial differences have been noted between various ethnic groups with Indian and Chinese groups at the top and Pakistanis, Bangladeshis and Black Caribbean at the bottom of the table in terms of employment differences (Modood et al., 1997; Brynin and Longhi, 2015; Cabinet Office, 2017; EHRC,

2018). While a detailed literature review will be covered in the next few chapters, statistically, many reports have pointed out the disadvantageous position of Pakistanis in the UK, as many British Pakistanis are over-represented in low skilled occupations as well as among the self-employed (Modood et al., 1997; EHRC, 2010; Cabinet Office, 2017). They are also a group with some of the highest unemployment and economic inactivity rates (ONS, 2018). Despite the increasing educational success of the second-generation, many Pakistanis in the UK still experience obstacles in accessing skilled jobs and are concentrated in elementary professions—taxi driving being one of them (EHRC, 2018; Hills et al., 2010; Cabinet Office, 2017). This leads to the question of whether other factors are constraining the employment opportunities of certain ethnic groups? If so, what are these and how do such factors affect their employment options? These are questions that will be explored throughout this thesis in the empirical sections, but before that it is useful to consider the academic literature in short here (a detailed analysis is done in chapter 3) explaining such ethnic differences in employment opportunities or unemployment.

Academics from various disciplines have explored the reasons for the differing labour market outcomes of ethnic minorities using the dominant paradigms of their respective disciplines. For instance, economists tend to use theories of human capital (Dustmann and Fabbri, 2005a), while others cite discrimination (Modood et al., 1997; Carmichael and Woods, 2000) and some even quote assimilation issues (Blackaby et al., 1999) to account for the poor labour market prospects of ethnic minorities in the UK. Sociologists have looked into class (Goldstein, 1974; Zuccotti, 2015), gender (Nixon, 2009; Huppatz and Goodwin, 2013b; McDowell et al., 2014) and religion (Lindley, 2002a; Heath and Martin, 2012; Khattab and Johnston, 2015); and psychologists tend to look into individual issues of identity and acculturation (Robinson, 2005; Berry and Sabatier, 2010).

While a part of such ethnic differences is likely to be associated with racism and unfair discriminatory practices by employers (Cabinet Office, 2017), there is also agreement among academics that parental occupations, income, and education, do have a significant impact on the occupational choices of their children (Lindley, 2002; Fekjær, 2007; Zuccotti, 2015). On the other hand, Modood and Khatab (2015) argue some of these differences are also likely to be associated with different ethnic practices and strategies. Although deemed an elementary profession, some authors claim taxi driving, corner grocery shops, or takeaways, which are all largely self-employment options, are a 'survival

strategy' employed by ethnic minorities facing challenges in gaining standard employment in the labour market (Blume et al., 2008; McEvoy and Haveez, 2009; Rytter, 2013; Clark et al., 2015). While the self-employment literature will be reviewed in more detail in the following chapters, it is pertinent to mention the work of Dawson et al., who raise a relevant point for consideration when they draw a distinction between 'the necessity entrepreneur and the opportunity entrepreneur' (Dawson et al., 2009). Opportunity entrepreneurs, they argue start their business venture voluntarily, that is as individuals attracted into self-employment by perceived benefits such as independence, wealth, satisfaction, and personal and family motivations. In contrast, necessity entrepreneurs are 'pushed' into self-employment because of negative external forces, such as layoff and a subsequent lack of available paid-employment work (Dawson et al., 2009: 4). Nonetheless, there are many factors which often 'push' minorities and migrants into certain occupations (Clark and Drinkwater, 2002). This is an important consideration as this raises questions directly relevant to this thesis about the agency or choice of such self-employed individuals. Thus, tying this study with the structure and agency debate in sociology seemed cogent as many of the Pakistani men who drive taxis come from a certain class (working class), follow a certain religion (Islam), are subjected to certain gender norms (masculinity) and identify as a certain ethnicity (Pakistani). These are structural factors that people are born into, the intersection of which could in turn effect their occupational choices leading to occupational segregation. This study thus recognizes these intersectional factors and bears them in mind (Crenshaw, 2016; Mc call, 2005) not only in its theoretical approach, but also in the final analysis.

In another effort to look at the differences between ethnic groups, Brynin and Guveli, investigated the causes for differing labour market outcomes (in terms of pay) of various ethnic groups in UK and found that much of the economic disadvantage might be explained by occupational segregation, as Pakistanis are concentrated in low paid, low skilled, manual, and semi -skilled occupations (Brynin and Guveli, 2012; Brynin and Longhi, 2015). Occupational segregation therefore has strong negative effects, and if minorities are over-represented in occupations with low earnings it will affect their pay and social mobility in comparison to other ethnic groups, who might be concentrated in high earning professions. Therefore, rooted in social stratification and a basis of inequality, the challenges associated with occupational segregation is what acts as a major impetus behind this study which will be discussed next.

Occupational segregation: a bane for equality

Occupational segregation by gender, class or ethnicity is well-documented in the UK labour market (Longhi and Platt, 2008; McDowell, 2008; Savage et al., 2013; Brynin and Longhi, 2015). Blackwell describes occupational segregation as 'the tendency for different groups of people to work in separate occupations. It may arise because some groups are denied the opportunities that permit entry to particular occupations, are otherwise excluded from them, or are driven out of them. If so, this is an *equal opportunities issue*' (Blackwell, 2003: 713 emphasis added). Concomitantly, occupational segregation results in stereotyping leading to images such as that of the 'polish plumber' (Johnson, 2011); 'Chinese chef' (Blackwell, 2003); the 'Irish construction worker' (Ghaill, 2000); and the 'Pakistani taxi driver' (Kalra, 2000), both in media (News, TV, Cinema) as well as popular imagination. Moreover, the taxi driver business is an occupation that 'is highly visible to the general public and therefore receives a disproportionate share of public and media attention' (Bauder, 2005: 97) often times more negative than positive leading to further disadvantages for this group and their next generation.

Many authors also claim that immigrant workers are usually employed in occupations rejected by indigenous workers (Castles, 1985; Bauder, 2006; Anderson and Ruhs, 2010). This rhetoric although popular is problematic in many ways. Firstly, it normalises occupational segregation, particularly when seen as an 'opportunity' for migrants and ethnic minorities who are, in reality, often 'trapped' in such jobs which are usually low-paid, and that have been rejected as undesirable by indigenous populations (McDowell et al., 2016). Secondly, it perpetuates structural racism by further widening the existing 'us and them' divide between ethnic minorities, migrants and wider society (Modood et al., 1997). Thirdly, when 'pushed' into such marginal jobs, it puts migrants and ethnic minorities at disadvantage *ab initio* in terms of social mobility (Clark and Drinkwater, 2010; Corak, 2013). Concomitantly, this 'blame the victim' approach where the onus of the labour market outcome is put on the individual stripped of their socio-economic structure is indeed problematic. Thus, it is not enough to merely say that migrants and ethnic minorities are over represented in 'immigrant jobs', instead identifying the fields and factors affecting such occupational segregation is important to understand the levels of inequalities experienced by such marginalized groups.

Overall occupational segregation comprises of both a vertical and horizontal element. Vertical segregation refers to the level of positions that minorities often find themselves in, demonstrating inequality between the ethnic groups as some groups are more likely to be found in higher positions (Modood et al., 1997; Longhi and Platt, 2008). This could be attributed to direct or indirect forms of discrimination or a human capital perspective. Horizontal segregation, however, it is alleged may not necessarily represent discrimination, but shows the tendency for different ethnic groups *choose* to go into different sectors of the economy (Brynin and Guveli, 2012). Such arguments are based on the 'rational choice' premise. As such, the issues around occupational segregation, raise questions about occupational 'choice', and a deeper understanding of what is happening in practice is warranted. Thus, it is vital to scrutinise the occupational 'choice' process to better understand the various nodes where policy and practice interventions may be better suited to make an effective impact.

Occupational choice, constraints and compromise

Academics have been interested in occupational choice as a process since the early 1930s (Ginzberg, 1988). Traditional economic theory proposes the concept of an 'economic man' who, while being 'economic' is also 'rational' (Investopedia, 2018). Thus in the 'rational choice' literature, it is often assumed people have knowledge of the relevant aspects of their environment and also to have a well-organized and stable system of preferences, and a skill in computation that enables them to calculate, for the alternative courses of action that are available to them, which of these will permit them to reach the highest attainable point on their preference scale to make a rational choice. However, doubts were raised about this 'rational choice' early on (Simon, 1955: 111).

In relation to occupational choice, it is claimed, this process starts from childhood and is often a compromise between interests, capacities, skill, opportunities, values and the material reality of the world of work (Blau et al., 1952; Egner et al., 1974; Brown, 2002). Many academics like Blau et al, have in the past, suggested an interdisciplinary approach to understanding how and why people enter different occupations, drawing upon, economics, sociology and psychology. In a seminal paper in the early 1950s, they offer a framework to do this where they suggest 'social structure affects occupational choice in two ways: one where the matrix of social experiences channel the personality development of potential workers (Individual attributes) and second they shape the conditions of

occupational entry (external attributes) which limit the realization of occupational choices of individuals' (Blau et al., 1952: 542). They further go on to say:

> *In sum, occupational choice is restricted by lack of knowledge about existing opportunities; it does not necessarily involve conscious deliberation and weighing of alternatives; and in the polar case of complete indifference, no choice between occupations does in fact take place. Variations in knowledge, in rationality, and in discrimination between alternatives constitute, therefore, the limiting conditions within which individuals choose occupations by arriving at a compromise between their preferences and expectancies. This compromise is continually modified up to the time of actual entry, since each experience in the labour market affects the individual's expectations, and recurrent experiences may also affect his preferences*
>
> (Blau et al., 1952: 545).

This 'compromise between preferences and expectancies', is of interest to this study as expectancies are affected by the structure as mentioned above. Similarly, proponents of behavioural economics have suggested the concept of 'Bounded rationality', an idea that when individuals make decisions, their rationality is limited by the tractability of the decision problem, their cognitive limitations and the time available. Herbert A. Simon proposed bounded rationality as an alternative basis for the mathematical modelling of decision-making (Simon, 1955). Decision-makers in this view act as satisfiers, seeking a satisfactory solution rather than an optimal one. It complements 'rationality as optimization', which views decision-making as a fully rational process of finding an optimal choice given the information available.

> *The **aspiration** level**,** which defines a satisfactory alternative, may change from point to point in this sequence of trials. A vague principle would be that as the individual, in his exploration of alternatives, finds it **easy** to discover satisfactory alternatives, his aspiration level rises; as he finds it **difficult** to discover satisfactory alternatives, his aspiration level falls…. the aspiration level itself may be subject to an adjustment process that is rational in some dynamic sense*
>
> (Simon, 1955: 111-112 emphasis in original).

Simon used the analogy of a pair of scissors, where one blade represents human cognitive limitations and the other the 'structures of the environment', illustrating how minds

compensate for limited resources by exploiting known structural regularity in the environment (Gigerenzer and Selten 2002).

In addition, when considering ethnic minorities, other factors like cultural values and norms might also play a critical role in occupational choices an issue that has not been explored by many academics. Brown, provides a theory of occupational choice—especially with ethnic minorities in mind—to look at how cultural values and ethnicity affect such choices (Brown, 2002). The underlying assumption of his theory, is that 'cultural and work values are the primary variables that influence the occupational choice-making process, the occupation chosen, and the resulting satisfaction with and success in the occupation chosen' (Brown, 2002: 49). He also refers to other contextual variables such as socio-economic status (SES), family or group influence, and history of discrimination that influences both the decision-making process and the career chosen. Factors that limit the number of occupational options considered for people with a community centric social value are low SES, minority status, mental health problems, physical disabilities, gender, low scholastic aptitude, perception that they will be discriminated against in the occupation, and lack of values-based information (Brown, 2002). Some minority groups and people living in rural settings may be particularly disadvantaged in the occupational choice-making process because of the dearth of all types of occupational information. 'It seems likely that any group with limited English proficiency will have limited amounts of occupational information and that the information they have may not be as accurate as that available to their counterparts who have greater English proficiency' (Brown, 2002: 52). These are considerations which are applicable to the Pakistani population too as large number of them come from a working class, rural back ground and have challenges with their English language abilities (Modood et al., 1997). They are also a group subject to discrimination owing to both their ethnicity and religion (Heath and Martin, 2012). However, while Brown (2002) does draw attention to a set of valid propositions, his work does not provide much empirical evidence and he does acknowledge these need more consideration from future researchers where this study aims to contribute.

It has also been noted that social networks also contribute to later life outcomes associated with improved labour market participation and higher wages (Portes, 1998; Bornat et al., 2008; Horva´th, 2014). There is also considerable evidence that self-efficacy plays an

important role in career decision making but very few studies are available on how structure affects self-efficacy. However, self-efficacy is important when considering agency (Bandura, 1989; Bandura 2000). Further it is alluded 'available information, role models, and work experience' would allow a fuller understanding of precisely 'why Johnny becomes a fireman and Tommy a policeman' (Archer 2000: 285) or in the case of this study why Harry becomes a banker and Hussain a taxi driver?

The other aspect of occupational choice is the options available to choose from which raises questions on the quality of jobs available in the UK. Hence it is also imperative to explore what the British labour market has to offer for ethnic minorities those particularly from Pakistan many of whom had come here with a 'dream of a better life' and upward social mobility. However, many of these groups find themselves stuck at the bottom levels of the labour market in jobs that are considered, marginal, and elementary or precarious.

Occupational choice is thus a complex process and requires social scientists to understand the various factors that influence people's behaviours when choosing an occupation, such as access to knowledge (or the lack of it), and aspiration (or the lack of it). These factors may be leading to compromises by individuals when making such choices. Knowledge and aspiration can vary substantially for people according to a range of influences such as class positioning; geographical location; gender; religious affiliation, and ethnicity (Blau et al., 1952; Egner et al., 1974). This raises further questions about human agency that is often challenged by the social structure one is born into, and therefore needs to be examined further to understand labour market choices, but also to inform policy and practice in relation to labour market constraints leading to inequality. Moreover, while it might seem that occupational choice is an objective decision, as mentioned earlier, it is indeed a subjective and relational issue often related to the intersection of multiple structural factors and background of the person making that choice and their position in the labour market (Brown, 2002). Hence to view taxi driving purely as an economic or rational choice without the structural context of the drivers is like looking at the tip of an iceberg to gauge its height, without recognizing its real depth, which is largely under the sea. Thus, the dualism of structure and agency debate is central to this thesis which is discussed in detail in the next chapter (Chapter 1). Moreover, the interaction between various fields like families, academic institutions, communities and the field of

employment, all 'structure' migrants and minorities' opportunities but have rarely been considered together which will be considered in this study.

Inequality in society is increasing (Atkinson, 2015), and in a society such as the UK, this divide is not a simple one between the rich and the poor; black or white; or the elite and the working-class; or even between men and women, but it is an intersection of certain structural factors which puts multiple disadvantages for some groups (Crenshaw, 1991; McDowell et al., 2016; Tomlinson et al., 2018). Paradoxically, however, it has been argued that 'rising inequality is legitimated by the popular belief that the income gap is meritocratically deserved' (Mijs, 2019: 1). Therefore, authors have suggested 'a necessary starting point for understanding the politics of inequality is to disentangle the relationship between experiences, beliefs and preferences' (Mijs, 2019: 25). Additionally, the importance of what work one does, that is their occupation, has large implications on lives of individuals, their status in society and the economy where occupational segregation further adds to this conundrum (Brynin and Guveli, 2012; Zuccotti, 2015). It is therefore important to understand how taxi driving as an occupation, has affected the lives of the Pakistani men in this study and to what extent is this a choice. Thus, it is within this context that this study aims to explore the factors affecting the employment options and challenges for British Pakistani men in gaining standard employment in the British Labour market.

Many authors have further stressed the fundamental need for all researchers to be 'intersectionally sensitive' (or aware) when undertaking research with migrants and ethnic minorities (Koldinská, 2009; Alberti et al., 2013; McBride et al., 2015). Tatli and Özbilgin, (2012) call for an 'emic approach to intersectionality' calling for researchers to avoid picking any one factor as a variable/causal mechanism when dealing with issues related to groups with multiple intersectional factors affecting their life chances. However, intersectionality as a concept, analytical framework, or even a method, is challenging which will be considered in this study (discussed in Chapter 2). The common structural factors for all taxi drivers in this study was that they were all men (gender) of Pakistani origin (ethnicity), they were all Muslim (religious affiliation), and they were from working-class backgrounds (social class). As such consideration has been given to class, religious affiliations, gender and ethnicity in this study.

Hence, this study attempts to uphold the unique experiences of predominantly Muslim, British Pakistani, men, working as taxi drivers and advances issues of classism, racism, gender and religious essentialism, treated as 'simultaneous and inseparable'(Crenshaw, 1991). Additionally, the gap in the understanding of the structure and agency debate is filled in by considering intersectionality as an analytical framework, to explore structural factors beyond ethnicity on the employment habitus of taxi drivers. Further, since taxi driving is predominantly a masculine occupation, it is scrutinised within the 'masculinised and feminised jobs' literature to achieve a deeper understanding of gendered occupational segregation than previous explanations have offered (Huppatz and Goodwin, 2013a). Hence, this research stems from a fundamental concern with social exclusion, stratification, stereotyping and the resultant disadvantages arising out of occupational segregation keeping the intersection of structural factors like class, religion, gender and ethnicity in mind.

Research questions- aims and objectives

As such, taking a social justice stance, the research was, envisaged as a platform to provide voice to British Pakistani taxi drivers, a neglected group in academic research, and to inform policy makers of the factors affecting occupational choices of ethnic minorities, to better understand challenges they face in finding 'decent' employment opportunities. Driven by these considerations, this thesis set out to explore the following research questions:

How do structural factors affect the employment habitus of Pakistani male taxi drivers in the UK?

- What are the push and pull factors of taxi driving for British Pakistani men?
- To what extent is taxi driving a choice?
- How is agency of Pakistani men negotiated within the intersectional nature of the structures in which they are born in?

Undoubtedly, the considerations relevant to this study pose challenges around methodology, which would be discussed in Chapter five. Nonetheless, a qualitative study was thought to be best suited to understanding the situation of taxi drivers from their perspective. However, the challenge remained how to gain insights of their employment

habitus? For this a deeper immersion into their lives, not only experienced within the taxis, but also in their homes, communities and wider social lives was deemed necessary, calling for an ethnographic approach.

Drawing upon Pierre Bourdieu's theory of social reproduction as the central framework for this study, an ethnographic study was conducted over a four-year period between 2015 to 2019 using informal interviews with over 150 taxi drivers, formal in-depth interviews with 30 participants and over 100 hours of participation and observation in taxis, mosques, community centres and events. The work of Bourdieu appears useful not only in terms of the wider debate on agency (choice) and structure (constraint), but in that he engages directly with the question of social reproduction and social mobility that is at the core of this research, which will be discussed in detail in the next chapter. The research advances the debate on dualism of structure and agency in two ways. Firstly, by providing an empirical account of the 'push and pull' factors of taxi driving; and secondly by analysing the factors contributing to the employment habitus by bringing intersectionality into the structure-agency debate to offer a stronger understanding of structure and consequently that of agency. Using intersectionality, a new metaphor for habitus as a 'cage' is offered to suggest how these affect the very process of acquiring and migrating valid forms of capital. And that the cumulative capitals then affect the social standing of individuals and groups, leading them to perhaps face greater social exclusion in comparison to other ethnic groups.

The four factors which emerged as four walls of a structure metaphorically envisaged as a 'cage'–were class, affiliation (religious), gender, and ethnicity, which seem to impose a *doxic illusio* (rules-based limitation) upon individuals, thus affecting their employment habitus and life chances (Bourdieu, 1986). The study reports how these structural factors affect employment habitus and thus choices of these men; and how they negotiate agency in establishing their own place in (or out of) the labour market. While it is argued that individual agency is born out of a reflexive practice for some within the same structure (Archer, 1996), the findings suggest that this intersection of class, affiliation, gender, and ethnicity, has limited the reflexivity of the participants of this study by shaping their employment habitus.

Organization of the thesis

The thesis is structured in three parts - Part I, Part II and Part III.

Part I comprises of chapters one to four and offers all the background information, theoretical framework, literature review; in Part II, the methodological approach forming the basis of the research design is discussed in detail; and Part III presents the findings, discussion and conclusions.

Chapter one provides the first theoretical framework of this study exploring the structure-agency debate using the Bourdieusian tool box and his celebrated concepts of fields, doxa, forms of capitals and habitus. **Chapter two** explores the intersection of structural factors that allegedly affect the accumulation of various capitals and habitus and explores studies that have used Bourdieusian concepts as their central tenet. **Chapter three** offers crucial background information on the Pakistani diaspora in UK. Tracing the historical making of India, Pakistan and Bangladesh, it looks at the patterns of migration from Pakistan to understand how that might have a bearing on occupational choices of migrants. **Chapter four** reviews the literature across various disciplines exploring issues of human capital, discrimination and racism, self-employment strategies, identity and assimilation challenges.

Part II consists of **chapter five,** which presents the methodological approach, issues of access and trust, and ethics while also reflecting upon the insider-outsider debate in terms of ethnic matching in research and researcher positionality**.**

Part III is the findings section which starts with **chapter six** presenting findings around taxi driving as an industry and occupation to better understand how the occupation of taxi driving, might be a factor itself in the choice making process. **Chapter seven** presents the key findings in terms of the demographics of the taxi drivers the reasons why they chose taxis highlighting the 'push' and 'pull' factors of taxi driving while highlighting the 'lived experiences' of the Pakistani taxi drivers in the study. In **chapter eight** the findings are analysed using the Bourdieusian framework to suggest how the employment habitus is shaped by the very process of accumulating the various forms of capital, thereby affecting the occupational choices (or the lack of such choices) for the Pakistani men in this study. **Chapter nine**, discusses the various fields like family, academic, community

and employment affecting the formation of the valid forms of capitals. The theoretical implications of the findings suggest an intersectional understanding of the structure-agency nexus is a more fruitful framework. **Chapter ten** concludes with suggestions for policy makers in terms of migration, integration, education and social mobility while signifying the various steps that need to be taken to support this group further.

Contribution

This study contributes to existing knowledge in the following manner:

Empirically: as a quarter of the Pakistani population in UK are engaged in taxi driving as an occupation, this study fills a seriously neglected empirical gap on an under researched 'hard to reach population' of Pakistani taxi drivers explored with respect to their migration process, occupational segregation and social mobility issues and wider labour market disadvantages.

Theoretically: this study has attempted to bring intersectionality complementing the Bourdieusian framework to provide a new metaphor for structure and habitus that of a 'cage' by drawing upon Bourdieusian concepts and intersectionality of **C**lass, **A**ffiliations, **G**ender, and **E**thnicity to further existing knowledge in the structure agency debate. Bourdieu's tool box in studying ethnic occupational segregation and labour market experiences of ethnic minorities especially with respect to migration, capitals and habitus is explored to fill the gaps in theory around structure and agency.

Methodologically: as an Indian, Hindu, woman, researching predominantly Muslim Pakistani men, the research contributes methodologically to the extant debate on the emic-etic approach, using a multisite ethnographic research in taxis, mosques, community centres, contributing to the 'insider-outsider' debates of researcher and participants matching in terms of intersectionality and academic habitus.

The theoretical framework which underpins the study is discussed next providing a grounding for the rest of the thesis.

PART I: Theoretical Framework, Background and Literature Review

Chapter 1: Structure and agency: are human beings really free?

> *For it is part and parcel of daily [human] experience to feel both free and enchained, capable of shaping our own future and yet confronted by towering, seemingly impersonal constraints.*
>
> (Archer, 1996: xii)

> *When powers are unequally distributed, the economic and social world presents itself not as a universe of possible-equally accessible to every possible subject-posts to be occupied, courses to be taken . . . but rather as a sign posted universe, full of injunctions and prohibitions, signs of appropriation and exclusion, obligatory routes or impassable barriers, and, in a word, profoundly differentiated.*
>
> (Bourdieu 2000: 225)

In the field of social sciences there is a long-standing debate over the primacy of structure and/or agency in shaping human behaviour. While the structure versus agency debate may be understood as an issue of socialisation against autonomy in determining whether individuals act as free agents, or in a manner dictated by the social structure they find themselves in, the real debate amongst academics for long has been over the predominance of *either* or *both* elements. It is therefore crucial to understand what structure is and what agency is and how they are manifested in choices made by individuals. Some approaches in this debate lean towards a more deterministic position and play negligible regard to the decisions and behaviour of individual actors while others go in the opposite direction and focus on the agency of individuals, where they tend to struggle to take account of the role of broader social structures in shaping individual's decision-making. Few others head for the middle ground, recognising the importance of finding the balance between structure and agency (Bakewell, 2010). This is particularly important for the study of migration because 'the agency of migrants (and non-migrants) continues to play a central role both in the development of social scientific theory on migration and in shaping the policy responses to people's movement' (Bakewell, 2010: 1690). Furthermore, the metaphor of structure itself is still unclear and remains largely 'unexamined' (Sewell, 1992). As the primary research question seeks to understand factors that create this structure, the nature of this structure and whether taxi driving is a choice (manifestation

of agency) or constrained by the structural forces affecting the Pakistani men in this study, it is crucial to first explore the various debates around structure and agency. The chapter next explores Bourdieu's tool box and ends with a reflection on the implications of such theory for migration and employment relations research.

Structure: enabling or constraining?

Pierre Bourdieu was one of the first sociologist in the post-war era to make the structure-agency debate central to his work (Swartz, 2002). This chapter primarily draws on the Bourdieusian approach to structure and agency, but also considers the gaps in his formulations. Bourdieu's place in the debate on structure and agency is described in his own terms as 'constructivist structuralism' by which he means:

> *By structuralism or structuralist, I mean that there exist, within the social world itself, objective structures independent of the consciousness and will of agents, which are capable of guiding and constraining their practices or their representations. By constructivism, I mean that there is a twofold social genesis, on the one hand of the schemes of perception, thought, and action which are constitutive of what I call habitus, and on the other hand of social structures, and particularly of what I call fields and of groups, notably those we ordinarily call social classes.*
>
> (Bourdieu, 1998: 14)

In his oeuvre of works Bourdieu attempts to understand how such 'objective', supra-individual social reality (cultural and institutional social structure) and the internalised subjective 'mental worlds' of individuals 'as cultural beings and social actors are inextricably bound up together, each being a contributor to and, indeed, an aspect of, the other' (Jenkins, 1992: 19). One of the central aims of Bourdieu's writings has been to overcome this 'pernicious dualism between objectivism and subjectivism, exemplified in France by Levi-Strauss and Sartre, respectively' (King, 2000: 419). Thus, moving on beyond the *either-or* debate Bourdieu advances the structure and agency relationship as simultaneous and inseparable.

Another major effort at reconceptualising structure in social theory has been made by Anthony Giddens, who has also been insisting that structures must be regarded as 'dual' (Pérez, 2008). By this he means that they are both the medium and the outcome of the

practices which constitute social systems (Pérez, 2008). Structures shape people's practices, but it is also the practices of people that constitute (and reproduce) structures. In this view of things, human agency and structure, far from being opposed, presuppose each other (Pérez, 2008). However, where Bourdieu's formulations seemed better than Giddens is in his attention to the dynamic forces between structure and agency, and by providing social scientists with a 'box of tools' comprising of habitus, fields, capitals, *doxa* and *illusio* which will be useful in the analyses in this thesis (Atkinson, 2010a). And what is further helpful is that these are not just independent concepts or words, but that they are interconnected and provide a holistic understanding of how social differences and inequalities are (re)produced 'within groups and between groups' (Bourdieu, 1984; McCall, 2005, Erel, 2010).

Bourdieu argues that social life is made up of three interrelated elements, habitus, field, and capital (Bourdieu, 1986). Bourdieu's key idea is that there is an adjustment between an individual's hopes, aspirations, goals and expectations on the one hand, and the objective situation in which they find themselves because of their place in the social order, on the other. Thus,

> *Realism about the future is engendered by the reality of the present. What is attempted therefore, is, by and large, what is possible. Choices and projects, conceived within and conditioned by an enhanced freedom of action, become somewhat paradoxically framed within a conservative opting for what can be done or achieved.*
>
> (Jenkins, 1992: 28)

This is in agreement with Blau et al's framework on occupational choice where they suggest, 'occupational choice is a process of compromise between preferences for and expectations of being able to get into various occupations' (Blau et al., 1952: 543). The reason for this could be as Bourdieu cogently argues:

> *The vision of the dominated is doubly distorted: first because the categories of perception that they use are imposed upon them by the objective structures of the world, and hence tend to foster a form of doxic acceptance of its given order; second because the dominant strive to impose their own vision and to develop representations which offer a 'theodicy' of their privilege.*
>
> (Bourdieu, 1987: 16)

Thus, for Bourdieu, the 'dominant group' shapes the 'rules of the game' whereby the 'dominated group' has little choice but to accept and reproduce (Atkinson, 2010c). While Bourdieu based his formulations on his research in France occupied Algeria, these may be applicable to migrants and minorities in the UK as the 'dominated' group where the White British group is the 'dominant' one. In an early statement, Bourdieu calls for a science of the reproduction of structures that would be:

> *A study of the laws whereby structures tend to reproduce themselves by producing agents invested with the system of dispositions which is able to engender practices adapted to these structures and thus contribute to their reproduction.*
>
> (Bourdieu, 1973: 203)

This 'reproduction' is perhaps what many social theorists find fault with in Bourdieu's theory. Because of the cognizance Bourdieu gives to 'objective structures' and the dominance of the 'dominated by the dominant', he draws a fair share of criticism as being 'deterministic and reductionist' (Jenkins, 1992). Moreover, while much length has been covered around the concept of structures in social scientific discourse, as a concept, structure remains an 'elusive term to define' (Sewell, 1992: 2). The problem further arises because the metaphor of structure implies stability thus leading many authors to question the relevance of human agency. Since structure is often pitted as 'impervious to human agency, that is to exist apart from, but nevertheless to determine the essential shape of the individual action that constitute their experience of social life' (Sewell, 1992: 2), what tends to be considered inappropriate in the 'language of structure' is the loss of 'efficacy of human action-or agency' (Sewell, 1992: 2). Thus, a social science *trapped* in an *unexamined metaphor of structure* tends to reduce actors to 'cleverly programmed automatons' (Sewell, 1992: 2 emphasis added). A closely-related problem with the notion of structure is that it makes dealing with change difficult, as how does one account for the transformations in structure over a period. Further as Giddens says structures are *enacted* by what he calls '*knowledgeable*' human agents (i.e., people who know what they are doing and how to do it), and such agents act by putting into practice their necessarily structured knowledge. Hence, structures must not be conceptualised as simply placing constraints on human agency, but as enabling (Sewell, 1992; Pérez, 2008).

This conception of human agents as 'knowledgeable' and 'enabled' implies that agents are capable of putting their 'structurally' formed capacities to work in creative or innovative ways (reflexively) (Erel, 2010, Archer, 2010). If enough people or even a few people who are *reflexive* enough act in innovative ways, their actions may have the consequence of transforming the very structures that gave them the capacity to act (Archer, 2010). Dual structures therefore are potentially mutable. Thus Giddens calls his theory 'the theory of structuration', indicating that, 'structure' must be regarded as a process, not as a steady state (Pérez, 2008). However, many authors such as Giddens' do not give enough thought to power differentials where Bourdieu on the other hand, proposes a sociology of symbolic power that addresses the relations between culture, social structure and human action and the power relations among individuals, groups and institutions (Bourdieu, 1984). Thus, despite being labelled as deterministic (Jenkins, 1992), Bourdieu offers a more nuanced approach to agency while also being cognizant of the structural forces affecting such agentic powers of the individual or even a group. However, there seems to be a serious gap in academic ruminations on the metaphor of structure, which will be given attention in this thesis, but next, it is equally important to turn the gaze on agency, which is perhaps an even more 'elusive' term than structure and less explored in academic research which will be considered next.

Agency: choice, self-efficacy and the reflexive self

Agency is generally assumed to be 'the capacity [of] social actors to reflect on their position, devise strategies and take action to achieve their desires' (Bakewell, 2010: 1694). The concept of agency gained currency in the late 1970s as scholars across many disciplines reacted against structuralism's failure to take into account the actions of individuals (Ahearn, 1999). In the late 1970s and early 1980s, sociologist Anthony Giddens first popularized the term 'agency' and, along with Bourdieu, focused on the ways in which human actions are dialectically related to social structure in a mutually constitutive manner. These scholars noted that 'human beings make society even as society makes them' (Ahearn, 1999: 12). The riddle that some of these practice theorists seek to solve is how social reproduction becomes social transformation—and they believe agency is the 'key'. In theorising *what is agency?,* Emirbayer and Mische conceptualize 'agency as a temporally embedded process of social engagement, informed by the past (in its 'iterational' or habitual aspect) but also oriented toward the future (as a 'projective'

capacity to imagine alternative possibilities) and toward the present (as a 'practical-evaluative' capacity to contextualize past habits and future projects within the contingencies of the moment' (Emirbayer and Mische, 1998: 962). They thus conceptualise agency both as habitual (subconscious) and also futuristic (conscious).

In the 'morphogenetic approach' developed by Margaret Archer (1995), she refers to the structure and agency dialectic where both structure and agency have autonomy in interaction, however, Archer's later work on agency privileges reflexivity and therefore undermines the autonomy of structure and agency as independent entities in the dialectic. Indeed 'Agents act, not structures, but structures affect the actions of agents' (Akram, 2012: 45). However, the gap in understanding remains in terms of how does agency manifest itself in practice? Archer offers the approach of 'analytical dualism' and argues that structure and agency are seen as being co-constitutive that is, structure is reproduced through agency which is simultaneously constrained and enabled by structure (Archer, 2014). While recognizing the interdependence of structure and agency (i.e. without people there would be no structures) she argues that they operate on different timescales and goes on to argue that:

> *At any particular moment, antecedent existing structures constrain and enable agents, whose interactions produce intended and unintended consequences, which leads to structural elaboration and the reproduction or transformation of the initial structure. The resulting structure then provides a similar context of action for future agents. Likewise, the initial antecedent of existing structure was itself the outcome of structural elaboration resulting from the action of prior agents.*
>
> (Archer, 2010: 36)

So, while structure and agency are interdependent, Archer argues that it is possible to unpick them analytically. By isolating structural and/or cultural factors which provide a context of action for agents, it is possible to investigate how those factors shape the subsequent interactions of agents and how those interactions in turn reproduce or transform the initial context. Archer calls this a 'morphogenetic sequence' (Archer, 2010). Social processes are constituted through an endless array of such sequences but, as a consequence of their temporal ordering, it is possible to disengage any such sequence in order to investigate its internal causal dynamics. Through doing so, argues Archer, it is possible to give empirical accounts of how structural and agential phenomena interlink over time rather than merely stating their theoretical interdependence (Archer, 2010). This

is an important consideration and a good improvisation over Bourdieu's theory specifically in relation to fields which individuals encounter in the various stages of their lives starting from their childhood in home/family to schools/universities, community/ social spaces and field of employment/ labour markets in their adulthood. As such consideration will be given to these fields, but back to agency first. While structure is seen largely as a social phenomenon, agency is mostly individual, therefore, agency has been ruminated upon in psychology which warrants some consideration too.

Within the psychology literature, central to the mechanisms of personal agency, is self-efficacy which is people's beliefs about their capabilities to exercise control over events that affect their lives. Self-efficacy is one of the most commonly utilized constructs referring to agency (Hitlin and Kwon, 2016). Developed by Albert Bandura, it is argued self-efficacy beliefs function as an important set of proximal determinants of human motivation, affect, and action (Bandura, 1989: 1175). Self-efficacy beliefs affect thought patterns that may be self-aiding or self-hindering. It requires a strong sense of efficacy to remain task oriented in the face of judgmental failures (Bandura, 1989: 1176). People's self-efficacy beliefs also determine their level of motivation, as reflected in how much effort they will exert in an endeavour and how long they will persevere in the face of obstacles. The stronger the belief in their capabilities, the greater and more persistent are their efforts (Bandura, 1988a). When faced with difficulties, people who are beset by self-doubts about their capabilities slacken their efforts or abort their attempts prematurely and quickly settle for mediocre solutions, whereas those who have a strong belief in their capabilities exert greater effort to master the challenge (Bandura and Cervone, 1983). Because the acquisition of knowledge and competencies usually requires sustained effort in the face of difficulties and setbacks, it is resiliency of self-belief that counts (Bandura, 1989). The power of self-efficacy beliefs to affect the course of life paths through selection processes is clearly revealed in studies of career decision-making and career development (Betz and Hackett, 1986; Lent and Hackett, 1987). Self-limitation of career development arises more from perceived self-inefficacy than from actual inability (Bandura, 1989). Thus, self-efficacy not only resonates with some concepts like habitus, doxa and illusio developed by Bourdieu but also with the central question around agency (choice) which will be discussed in the next few sections.

However, the level of analysis appropriate for social scholars interested in agency should not automatically be the individual, since such a tight focus on individual agency is likely to render invisible larger social structures such as gender, race, religion and class that shape possibilities for, and types of, agency. Scholars analysing agency must also decide whether agency can act below the level of awareness. 'What sorts of actions are truly 'agentive' (or 'agentic' or 'agential')? Must an act be fully, consciously intentional in order to be agentive? How could a scholar ever know?' (Ahearn, 1999: 13) Thus, while doing research on migrants and minorities, while 'attempting to locate, label, and measure agency, academics must also try to discover how migrants and minorities in host societies conceptualize agency. Who do they believe can exercise agency? Do they view it as differentially or hierarchically distributed?' (Ahearn, 1999: 14). These are questions which have inspired this thesis and will be considered in the final analyses. Furthermore, while considering agency, it is important to consider reflexivity which has been posited as a solution to better understand agency by some academics (Archer, 2010). However, reflexivity is yet another Pandora's Box which requires some deliberation and reflection.

Reflexivity has been seen both as a problem and a solution in modern approaches to the debate around structure and agency; for example, Anthony Giddens in his structuration theory noted that constitutive reflexivity is possible in any social system, and that this presents a distinct methodological problem for the social sciences. Giddens accentuated this theme with his notion of 'reflexive modernity' – the argument that, over time, society is becoming increasingly more self-aware, reflective, and hence reflexive:

> *The reflexivity of modern social life consists in the fact that social practices are constantly examined and reformed in the light of incoming information about those very practices, thus constitutively altering their character.*
>
> (Giddens, 1990: 44)

However, this raises further questions; since society consists of individual agents, is this reflexivity then collective or individual? How are migrants and minorities represented in such social reflexivity? Archer, who has made reflexivity central to her work almost as a revolt against the 'constructionist structuralism' of Bourdieu also acknowledges that 'reflexivity remains a cipher in social theory' (Archer, 2007:1). It has been alleged, Archer and Bourdieu seem to advance 'incompatible theories of human agency' (Elder-vass, 2007). While Archer claims that human agency is manifested as an inherent capability in

the *reflexivity* of people stressing on conscious reflexive deliberation and the consequent choices of identity and projects that *individuals* make through their 'internal conversations' (Archer, 2010), Bourdieu's concept of *habitus* places equally heavy stress on the role of social conditioning in determining people's behaviour and downplays the contribution of conscious deliberation. Whilst reflexivity is clearly a critically important aspect of agency, agency must also include a notion of the unconscious and habit (Emirbayer and Misch, 2012), aspects that are clearly neglected in Archer's work (Akram, 2012). Thus, proponents of reflexivity such as Archer have garnered critique from many authors like Atkinson calling this inherent 'reflexivity' in people a 'myth' (Atkinson, 2010c). Atkinson further argues that what 'seems' as reflexivity is not 'agency' or a deliberate choice on the part of individuals whose choices are shrouded by the structure they are in (Atkinson, 2010). Furthermore, reflexivity is a learned skill that requires deliberation, critical thinking and sincere practice, which is not common to find (World HR forum, 2015) as any one teaching reflexivity and critical thinking skills in academia would be aware of. Even though there is a general agreement on human agency which lies with people (however precarious their conditions may be), one still needs to acknowledge the structural constraints that effect such human agency, and this is what this research attempts to explore. As is evident, it is Bourdieu who gives a more robust analytical framework as he provides social scientists with a 'box of tools' to better understand how agency is manifested within the constraints of the social structure which will be discussed next.

Inside Bourdieu's tool box

Bourdieu contributed more than just a set of terms as 'forms of capital', 'habitus' and/or 'doxa' and 'illusio'; he also 'provided a new relational approach to the study of fields of domination and struggle, a new way of thinking about how power operates within social life' which few authors have focussed on (Emirbayer and Williams, 2005: 689). Within larger social systems, various fields operate and while many authors focus on specific capitals, few describe how these social spaces reinforce the logics (doxic rules) of fields or how various fields intersect (for instance, family, academic, community and employment fields) and contribute in the acquisition (or exclusion) of various forms of capitals. Since fields are connected within the greater societal field, migrants must not only access and/or achieve capital(s) they must learn the practical aspects and skills to inhabit various fields simultaneously. Thus, for migrants and ethnic minorities learning the social

grammar necessary to navigate the social spaces of various fields can itself become an important form of capital that can be exchanged for opportunities in the labour market (Bourdieu, 1986).

However, it is as though social researchers have cherry-picked Bourdieu's theory for 'convenient' application, rather than considering the full importance of his overall theory. As it pertains to understanding the nexus of power and individuality in social systems and institutions, authors tend to use either, fields, habitus or capitals. One work which does employ Bourdieu's work in an enlightening way is that of Emirbayer and Williams (2005) who use Bourdieu's notion of fields and capital to examine the power relations in the field of social services, particularly homeless shelters. The authors talk of the two separate fields that operate in the same geographic location (the shelter) and the types of capital that are legitimate and valued in each. Specifically, they show how homeless people can possess 'staff-sanctioned capital' or 'client-sanctioned capital' (Emirbayer and Mische, 2005: 92) and show how in the shelter, they are both at the same time, desirable and undesirable, valued and disparaged, depending on which of the two fields they are operating in. This is an important consideration as agents are positioned in multiple fields, that is, the various domains of practice in which they participate (Atkinson, 2010b), for example, family/home, schools/universities, community/society, and the workplace/wider labour market, each field comes with its own dominant group and their rules. Thus, each field may value various resources as *valid* or *invalid* forms of capitals (explained in the section on valid forms of capitals. Thus, understanding the fields and their dynamics will be critical from policymakers' perspectives which needs some consideration.

Fields, spaces, positions, and the game of life

Fields are social spaces in which agents or structures move around and operate. Fields have positions, prescriptions for behaviour and configurations in which they fit (Bourdieu, 1989). Moreover, fields are pre-existing social structures and therefore are historically entrenched and occupied (Archer, 2008). Fields have boundaries, limits to what can be done and by whom and how the field itself shapes individual action (Bourdieu, 1984). These practices and attitudes conspire to shape the opportunities, constraints and life chances of individuals.

Since, individuals who occupy similar social spaces will tend to have similar dispositions and positions, creating similar 'habits of mind' (Bourdieu, 1986). Bourdieu argues that these forms of social contact occur because of the similar habitus, and that the habitus is shaped by social contact and interaction (Bourdieu, 1989). His theory emphasizes the process and mutual reinforcements of all of the elements of society. In a host country, migrants often find themselves in an inferior position where the rules of the dominated groups are manifested in various fields that affects their position in such fields. However, for Bourdieu, 'feel for the game', with the habitus being the feel and the social spaces being the field and life itself being the game is determinative of relative effectiveness of attitudes and practices acquired in a specific social space, largely unspoken because the actors know beforehand and have internalised to the point of automatic response as to what is acceptable behaviour in a social space faction (Bourdieu, 1998). Some commentators also suggest that although individuals might think they are making their own choices, their decisions are in reality, manoeuvred by the field and the dominant actors of the field (Atkinson, 2010c). Besides, 'migrants do not arrive in an empty or neutral space, but in metropolitan spaces that are already 'polluted' by racial power relations with a long colonial history, colonial imaginary, colonial knowledge and racial/ethnic hierarchies linking to a history of empire; in other words, migrants arrive in a space of power relations that is already informed and constituted by coloniality' (Grosfoguel et al, 2015: 641). The relative position of such ethnic groups in the field could be affected by their cumulative capitals, by the rules of the field, and their collective habitus (Wacquant, 2013) and differing attitudes towards different ethnic minorities from employers and general public (Hellwig and Sinno, 2017). Thus, how these fields impose their *doxic* rules on various groups or individuals might shed better light on such exclusions. Further, such rules create an *illusio* of exclusion which would be considered in this study which will be discussed next.

Doxa and illusio and symbolic violence: the rules of the game

A rather under explored Bourdieusian concept, which is critical to this study is that of *doxa* and *illusio*. In his *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, Bourdieu used the term *doxa* to denote what is taken for granted in any particular society. The doxa, in his view, is the experience by which 'the natural and social worlds appear as self-evident' (Bourdieu, 1977a). It encompasses what falls within the limits of the 'thinkable and the say able' ('the universe

of possible discourse'). Bourdieu's application of notion of doxa are to be traced in *Distinction* (1996) where doxa sets limits on social mobility within the social space through limits imposed on the characteristic consumption of each social individual. Since certain cultural artefacts are recognised by doxa as being inappropriate to actual social position, hence doxa helps to petrify social limits, the 'sense of one's place', and one's sense of belonging, which is closely connected with the idea that 'this is not for us' (*ce n´est pas pour nous*)(Hayward, 2004; Atkinson, 2011). Thus, individuals become voluntary subjects of those incorporated *mental structures* that deprive them of more deliberate consumption. In the case of Pakistani migrants, *doxa* as 'common belief' or 'popular opinion' may be critical in understanding how their beliefs about the labour market, arising out of their experiences of the fields and social spaces in which they operate, limit their employment choices. Thus, doxa may affect self-efficacy of individuals creating an illusio (Bandura, 1989). This situation is further aggravated by the clash between the rules formed by the dominant group and those who are dominated, subject to such rules causing a symbolic violence (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977; Bourdieu, 1989; Wacquant, 2013). In the analytical vocabulary of Bourdieu, 'There is no worse dispossession, no worse privation, perhaps, than that of the losers in the symbolic struggle for recognition, for access to a socially recognized social being, in a word, to humanity' (Bourdieu, 2000: 241).

Kate Fox, an anthropologist in her book, *watching the English* observes, 'The human species is addicted to rule making. The rules may vary from culture to culture, but there are always rules'(Fox, 2004: 15). And the differences in rules mostly distinguish one culture from another as other cultures may have 'different ways of doing things', meaning that that they have different rules about, say, 'food, dress, greetings, hygiene, trade, hospitality, joking, or status-differentiation which are different from the rule of the practices of the host country/dominant groups' culture (Culture Capital). She further goes on to say, this creates:

> *An increase in nationalism and tribalism, a proliferation of struggles for independence, devolution and self-determination and a resurgence of concern about ethnicity and cultural identity in almost all parts of the world, including the so-called United Kingdom… Ethnic minorities in Britain are if anything increasingly keen to maintain their distinctive cultural identities, and the English are becoming ever more fretful about their own cultural 'identity crisis*
>
> (Fox, 2004: 15).

However, she also suggests 'Englishness is rather more a matter of *choice* for the ethnic minorities in this country than it is for the rest of us [the English people]' and that 'some ethnic-minority groups and individuals are *more* 'English' than others' (Fox, 2004: 16 emphasis added). By this she means that some groups or individuals, whether through choice or circumstance or both, have adopted more of the English culture's customs, values and behaviour patterns than others in the degree of 'Englishness' they exhibit in their behaviour, manner and customs (Fox, 2004). This discourse of acculturation has been debated in academic and policy discourses and places a certain premium on the host nation's culture although Kate Fox claims:

> *When I speak of Englishness I am not putting a value on it, not holding it up above any other '-ness'. When I say that some immigrants are more English than others, I am not (unlike Norman Tebbit with his infamous 'Cricket Test') implying that these individuals are in any way superior, or that their rights or status as citizens should be any different from those who are less English. And when I say that anyone can – given enough time and effort – 'learn' or 'adopt' Englishness, I am not suggesting that they ought to do so*
>
> (Fox, 2004: 16).

However, this is highly contested, since the power resides with the dominant groups (in this case the white group) in various fields who make such rules and thus, it is indeed questionable how democratic the whole process of such valuation is for migrants and minorities. While the author herself might not put a value on 'Englishness', the key actors in various fields like academic, societal, and employment fields might do as is evident from many studies on educational achievement gaps (Reay et al., 2009) and recruitment, selection and promotion practices (Hudson, et al., 2013; Holgate and McKay, 2007). Moreover, social attitudes of the public consider such 'rules' while valuing certain types of migrants and ethnic minorities leading to the rhetoric of 'good and bad' immigrants (Forde and Mackenzie, 2009; Shukla, 2018), which has implications on the labour market outcomes of migrants and ethnic minorities. These rules further have class, religious, gender and ethnic elements which also have their consequences which will be considered later. However, Bauder (2005) emphasises, Bourdieu is careful to note that the relationship between rules and habitus is not of a necessary (or deterministic) nature. Rather, rules are 'strategic ordering principles that benefit those who create and obey them' (Bauder, 2005: 94) which means if migrants and minorities irrespective of their class,

gender, ethnicities or religious affiliations may well learn to 'obey' such rules in exchange for better prospects in the various fields.

Nonetheless, these doxic rules are powerful and can affect the habitus creating an *Illusio* - a term Bourdieu uses for the tendency of participants to engage in the game '*only*' when they believe in its significance, that is, believe in that the benefits promised by the field are desirable and achievable. Illusio could well be what we understand as the 'self-fulfilling prophecy' where your thoughts about self as reflected in the mirror of the society, drive your actions which yields results that are commensurate with the initial thoughts and expectations thus turning positive and negative expectations to be true of individuals and groups. Also, if one feels the 'game of life' or 'finding a job' is not worth it, then one might not feel like participating at all in the game or pursuing a job. However, the starting point of all 'distinction' is the various forms of capitals that one holds and in case of migrants and ethnic minorities, it is important to understand how capitals are valued (or not) in the host society where the dominant group decides the 'rules' in the first place. These rules further affect the accumulation of the various forms of capitals, which will be discussed next.

The valid forms of capital

Bourdieu's theory of intergenerational mobility suggests that over a certain period and generations, individuals can move up or down in society based on the increase or decrease of various forms of capitals such as social capital, cultural capital, economic capital or symbolic capital (Swartz, 2002). These forms of capital act as sources of power according to Bourdieu and create opportunities to better one's life financially and socially. Although Bourdieu himself was largely concerned about class which was at the centre of his works, many authors have extended his framework on other structural factors like ethnicity, gender and religion (Borjas, 1992; Bradford, 2003; Erel, 2010a; Huppatz and Goodwin, 2013b; Franceschelli and O'Brien, 2014). A Bourdieusian conception of different forms of capital not only provides a relational and multilevel framework for understanding capital accumulation and deployment (Samaluk, 2014), it also provides an emic approach to intersectionality (Tatli and Özbilgin, 2012). As such it enables simultaneous exploration of cultural and socio-economic processes of group formation from multiple levels and standpoints keeping the intersection of various factors in mind.

Bourdieu's theorizing of forms of capital accounts for resources in a variety of forms allowing people to be socially mobile, having what it takes (e.g. language, style, credentials, networks) to move through the social spaces of many fields. Bourdieu mentions four major types of capitals namely, cultural, economic, social, and symbolic (Bourdieu, 1986). As per Bourdieu (1986), economic capital, though important, is not determinative and is in fact subordinate to the role of cultural capital and social capital, in the study of social stratification. However, one's real fate is shaped by levels of and practices associated with, symbolic capital, acquired through social origin and upbringing, and manifested at the level of the body through habitus (Bourdieu, 1986). Bourdieu's forms of capitals is therefore a concept that helps researchers to understand how opportunities are enabled or constrained for individuals (Huppatz and Goodwin, 2013a). Bourdieu emphasises the fundamental importance of social status-manifested through bodily performance and speech, for example. Thus, for Bourdieu, social theory is mainly concerned with the specific ways in which differences are reproduced through the embodiment of actors' cultural and social distinctions (Smith, 2012).

Viewing human action as an accumulation and exchange of various forms of capital is now commonplace in migration studies (Kelly and Lusis, 2006a). Moreover, when applying to migrants and ethnic minorities, who use their kinship networks to transfer, generate and activate social, economic and cultural capital, often to gain or challenge nationally bounded forms of recognition, it is a fruitful concept, since migrants' and ethnic minorities' social, economic and cultural capital are both stratified and stratifying within and across gender, class, ethnicity, and migration status (Bauder, 2005). Migrant and ethnic networks can also constitute 'communities of resistance' (Sivanandan, 1990) against exclusion and discrimination. Umut Erel (2010), also explains the difference in the labour market strategies in her case studies of skilled Turkish and Kurdish migrant women in Britain and Germany using the concept of habitus and cultural capital. However, in her study of skilled Turkish migrant women, Umut Erel rightly critiques the tendency to 'reify' cultural capital in 'rucksack approaches', arguing that 'migrants exercise agency by creating new forms of migration-specific cultural capital' (Erel, 2010b: 643) where she goes on to assert 'migrants actively constitute their cultural capital to fit in with the ethnically dominant culture of the society of residence' (Erel, 2010b: 644). Similarly Kate Fox also suggests 'immigrants have the advantage of being able to pick and choose more freely, often adopting the more desirable English quirks and habits while carefully steering clear

of the more ludicrous ones' (Fox, 2004: 16) While totally in agreement with Erel and Fox on certain skilled migrants, it is important to examine if agency of migrants is adversely affected if the migrants in question are not as 'skilled' (human capital) or as 'white' (ethnic capital) or not considered as 'good' (symbolic capital) as other migrants? Virender Kalra, in his study of British Pakistanis from a working-class background, notes that culture (cultural capital) is not something which has aided the Pakistanis (Kalra, 2000), however, it is not clear which aspects of Pakistani culture he means and whether this is more about cultural capital or symbolic capital.

However, it is important to note that not every part of any culture is capital (Erel, 2010. Cultural capital is that part of the migrant culture/ cultural resources which is/are acceptable to the host society (symbolic). Thus, what distinguishes mere cultural resources from cultural capital is that some resources are 'convertible into capital' (Erel, 2010: 646). Similarly, all social networks are not social capital as the networks migrants have access to in the host country may limit their options to the extent of knowledge and reach of the network. As such, some aspects of the migrants' culture may be a *valid* form of capital in the host nation while others may not be recognised as such; similarly, some migrant networks may offer better exchange value than others which means not all social networks are valid forms of capital in that sense. Thus, the individual and collective dimensions of accruing social, economic and cultural capital are interrelated which affect the very process of acquiring human capital which continues to be the measure of success in most western societies (Becker, 1964) and therefore it is crucial to understand the various forms of capital and how they are valued and how such valuations affect the employment prospects of migrants and minorities. Equally important here is how cultural capital or ethnic capital in its' embodied state (for example religious symbols like beard or hijabs for Muslim men and women, or Turban for Sikh men, kippah for Jewish men; or non-British accents of ethnic minorities; or even skin colour) affect employment options of migrants or ethnic minorities (Modood and Ahmad, 2007; Bauder, 2005; Saha, 2012).

Drawing from various sources, the forms of capitals (CHESS) have been shown in terms of how they are valued in the labour market and society at large (Bourdieu, 1986; R. Putnam, 1993; Brown, 1995; Barbieri, 2003; Lau, 2004; Bauder, 2005; Kim et al., 2006; Erel, 2010; Demireva, 2011; Flemmen, 2012; Samaluk, 2014) as mentioned in Table 1 below.

Table 1 Forms of capital and how they are valued in the labour market

Forms of capitals (CHESS) and how are they valued?		
Forms of Capital	**What it consists of generally?**	**How it is valued in the labour market?**
Cultural Capital	In the embodied state- in the form of long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body; in the objectified state, in the form of cultural goods (pictures, books, dictionaries, instruments, machines, etc.), which are the trace or realization of theories or critiques of these theories, problematics, etc.; and in the institutionalized state, Part/s of a culture acceptable and valued by the host society.	Appearance- dress codes, fashion Art of conversation- language, accent, etiquettes, during interviews and selection processes World views- traditions, beliefs, norms, customs, religion/ religious practices and taboos (**Ethnic** stereotypes- certain ethnicities valued over others) Work ethics, values, and attitudes, Soft skills
Human Capital	Knowledge, and Skills, Language ability, Higher Educational Qualifications, Professional Accreditations, Awards and certificates are considered markers of human capital	Language ability, higher the proficiency the better. Technical knowledge and Skills, Professional qualifications like Law, Medicine, Engineering and ITC are highly valued. CV/ business writing skills
Economic Capital	Possession of money or wealth in various forms Lifestyle- Type of house owned, area of residence, type of car owned; Material possessions- gold, diamonds, artefacts, money, property, land, size of business, consumption pattern	Employment status, Income level, Home ownership, car ownership, Credit rating, access to banks and financial institutions
Social Capital	The kind of people who you know and socialise with, links to people or groups further up or lower down the social ladder people possessing high economic, cultural or human capital, in Family networks, Community networks, Professional networks, friends, family, neighbours, community	Knowing influential people like Senior managers, professionals, people in higher employment status like CEOs, Directors etc. in terms of quality of referees, recommendations received, social media profiles like LinkedIn
Symbolic Capital	Socially constructed values attributed to certain characteristics, labels, positions, accreditations, may differ depending on the context, time, geographical area, political situation; relationship between qualification, rank, and remuneration	**Class**- Middle class attributes preferred over working class; **Gender**- Masculine attributes preferred over feminine ones. **Education**- Oxbridge institutions considered at the top, Russel group university qualifications preferred than post 92 universities; Overseas qualifications have inferior status than UK qualifications,

Thus, the concept of capitals and how they are valued is an important consideration in this thesis, which is put in tabular form (Table 1) where it is evident that cultural capital of a candidate is often gauged by appearance (like dress codes, fashion), or the art of conversation (like language, accent, etiquettes), during interviews and selection processes. Recruiters often assume the world views of potential candidates based on their traditions, beliefs, norms, taboos and customs based on religion/religious affiliations. Furthermore, ethnic stereotypes lead to certain ethnicities valued over others where the work ethics, values, attitudes of certain communities are considered better than others (for instance, Indians are considered good immigrants in some western countries). Similarly, the human capital is gauged not only through academic qualifications and technical knowledge but also through language ability and soft skills. All qualifications are not equally valued with Professional qualifications like Law, Medicine, Engineering and ITC highly valued over other non- professional degrees. Moreover, job hunting skills like CV/ business writing skills also have an impact on migrants and minorities' employment prospects. Finally, the economic capital of migrants and minorities also plays an important role in their future labour market prospects as employment status, income level, home ownership, car ownership, financial credit rating, access to banks and financial institutions affect their overall standing in the social order. Finally, such cumulative capital affects their social networks, where knowing influential people like senior managers, professionals, people in higher employment status like CEOs, Directors etc. in terms of quality of referees, recommendations received, social media profiles like LinkedIn all have an effect on the employment options of migrants and minorities.

While economists continue to use human capital as a major indicator of success in life, what many economists miss is that the five forms of capitals—cultural, human, economic, social and symbolic (CHESS) are intricately bound to each other. Thus, human capital cannot be seen in isolation without exploring social capital, cultural capital, economic or symbolic capital for any individual in any particular field. Moreover, every field has its own rules and a set of capital requirement that is like an entry criterion to the field, which might exclude individuals or groups who do not possess such forms of capital, and therefore it affects other forms of capital. Thus, in every field, be it home/family, school/university, labour market or the wider society, there are largely two groups—the dominant and the dominated. The dominant group decides which forms of capital are acceptable in that field. Like white, male, middle class, English cultural norms, thoughts

and beliefs tend to be considered superior in UK (and many western countries) (Savage et al., 2013). Beside a few studies focusing on migrants in the labour market, much sociological research using Bourdieu's theory to analyse intergenerational reproduction tends to focus on the educational field (Tzanakis, 2011; Thapar-Bjorkert, and Sanghera, 2010; Shah et al, 2010) and this where this study aims to contribute to. These are important considerations which will be accounted for while analysing the data in the study.

'Bourdieu's work is not free of contradictions, gaps, tensions, puzzlements, and unresolved questions,' such that to think with Bourdieu necessitates thinking beyond and even against Bourdieu, 'where required' (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: xiii– xiv). While many authors have extended Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital to many other forms like 'Islamic capital' (Franceschelli and O'Brien, 2014); 'ethnic capital' (Borjas, 1992) and 'Gender capital' (Huppatz and Goodwin, 2013a) in an effort to understand how various cultural resources have been used by migrants what many authors have ignored is the structural elements that contribute to the formation of the habitus. Bourdieu himself suggested that there is value in expanding his formulation as it enables us to 'explain the structure and dynamics of differentiated societies' (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 119) and he himself posited habitus as one such concept which will be discussed next.

Habitus: the structuring structure

Bourdieu's most celebrated, yet often abused concept is habitus, which he views as 'a structuring structure, which organises practices and the perception of practices as a property of social agents' (Bourdieu, 1984: 170). Celebrated because through habitus, social distinctions and socio-spatial differences may be studied in terms of how they are reproduced and maintained (Bourdieu, 1990; 1998). Abused, because many authors have just selected habitus as a concept without considering the other constructs like fields and capitals which are necessary to appreciate the formation of habitus. While many deliberations on habitus are available, habitus can be simply thought of as a mental map, like the internal GPS (Global positioning system), that guides us and is formed as a result of the key experiences people have while growing up, the parental messages received and how people make meaning of the world around them (Bourdieu, 1986). The social agents Bourdieu refers to, includes individuals, groups, and institutions. Thus, habitus can also be collective (Bourdieu and Waquant, 1992), operating as 'a system of shared social

dispositions and cognitive structures that generate perceptions, appreciation and action' (Bourdieu, 1988: 279). Several studies have used Bourdieu's theoretical underpinning to explain educational differences (Sullivan, 2002; Reay et al., 2009; Jæger, 2010; Basit, 2012), yet few have used his framework for labour market dynamics and migrants' employment strategies (Kelly and Lusis, 2006a; Breda, 2008; Bauder, 2005; Erel, 2010; Basit, 2012; Huppatz and Goodwin, 2013b; Alexander, 2016).

Examining habitus, mental habits and generative schemes (cognitive aspects) is, however, critical for understanding how in the field of work it enables or constrains achievement through, such factors as choice, will to succeed, confidence and other much talked about indicators of advantage at work such as self-efficacy. Furthermore, many writers mention how occupations of one generation are shaped by their parents' occupations and those of their ethnic group thus, leading to little job mobility for migrants or ethnic minorities (Dearden et al., 1997; Croll, 2008; Zuccotti, 2015). Bauder (2005) explores role of habitus in constraining and creating labour market opportunities in shaping group-particular labour market strategies for south Asian and Yugoslavian immigrants in Canada, (2005). Kelly and Lusis (2006) also argue that Filipino migrants' cultural capital in Canada is articulated transnationally, that is migrants whose institutionalised cultural capital is devalued in Canada compensate by validating their national cultural practices, forms and assets as capital in their place of origin in the Philippines. Thus, 'Filipino-ness' signals a habitus of being caring and reliable to Canadians, at once enabling and limiting Filipino migrants' employment opportunities, notably in health and child care.

However, there is also a dynamic interplay that exists between habitus and field and as such the habitus is impacted by the occupational space. Workers' agency is a complex interaction of habitus, capitals and fields, and gendered occupational segregation is the result of choices that occur within such gendered and classed limits (Huppatz and Goodwin, 2013a). This is relevant for this study as a possible explanation of occupational choice and segregation for members of the same class, religious affiliations, gender, and ethnicity. The concept also includes the understanding that habitus becomes embodied in individuals—that is, it becomes habitual or modal in the way an individual inhabits the social world. Moreover, habitus is acquired through and 'structured by one's past and present circumstances, such as family upbringing and educational experiences' (Bourdieu, 1984: 188). Habitus in social life is thus formed basis of your social background and

available capital rather than as a free-will game, thus taking into account— although to different degrees—both the enabling and constraining sides of structure and agency.

Undoubtedly, Bourdieu's formulations are far from being faultless and leave plenty of room for different interpretations: at one extreme he has been presented as representing a reductionist idea of the actor, on the other hand, he has been seen as a proponent of a constructivist idea of actors making their own choices and their own history, even though they are not totally free and do not employ the categories of thought of their own choice. It is therefore easy to think of Bourdieu as deterministic, as he puts too much emphasis on the constraining nature of habitus (Jenkins, 1992). Thus, habitus as a concept has been criticised with some authors like Jeffrey Alexander (1995: 136) going to the extent of calling it a 'Trojan horse for determinism' (cited in Atkinson, 2010). But it is in this very concept of habitus, the exercise of agency happens, through the way actors react within their fields. As Pérez, (2008) puts it, Bourdieu explicitly tries to emphasise that it is not that people do not act 'reflexively' or 'voluntarily', but that their choices are limited by real life conditions as well as by their differentiated 'habitus'. The principle of the differences between individual habitus lies in the singularity of their social trajectories, to which there correspond series of chronologically ordered determinations that are irreducible to one another. No two members of the same class will have had 'the same experiences in the same order,' Bourdieu argues, but 'it is certain that each member of the same class is more likely than any member of another class to have been confronted with the situations most frequent for members of that class,' and so while the habitus brings about a 'unique integration' of experience it remains an integration of 'the experiences statistically common to members of the same class' (Bourdieu 1990a: 60). Thus, while Bourdieu, sees humans as agentic beings, he is aware of the influence structures have on their behaviours and choices.

Although, Bourdieu is right to emphasize the disproportionate weight of childhood experiences in the formation of the habitus, and these can be conceived as flowing from the lifeworld into which the child is born and that is structured by the capital of its parents or guardians and from the socialization practices of the parents, again based on the parents' capital possession (Atkinson, 2010a). Thus, habitus forms the foundation for a person's thinking and is influenced by their individual history and influences expression. Those in positions of power can approximately value habitus, as a system of dispositions. Thus,

habitus itself (e.g. ways of thinking or behaving) can become a form of capital which either helps or hinders progress in life.

However, as Bauder notes, there is a gap in the literature, and a lack of empirical research 'on the role of habitus in linking labour market circumstances, cultural practices and the employment strategies of immigrants' (Bauder, 2005: 95). Through shaping ethnic networks and through producing distinct occupational preferences, habitus contributes to the ethnic segmentation of immigrant labour. In his study of immigrants in Canada, he finds cultural practices in the Canadian labour market keep immigrants from reaching their full economic potential (Bauder, 2005) and suggests further that 'skilled and capital-rich immigrants tend to possess cultural competence that enables them to advance in the Canadian labour market. Immigrants admitted to Canada for family- reunion and humanitarian reasons, on the other hand, often lack familiarity with the dominating labour market rules and conventions like systemic skills devaluation, institutionalized racism, (Bauder, 2005). For example, citing Bourdieu (1984), he goes on to say, some immigrants may be unable to internalize the codes of conduct of the Canadian workplace. They may be unfamiliar with the norms and conventions of the hiring process, or unable to judge employers' expectations. Rather than selecting the most suitable worker for a job, these norms and conventions may serve as cultural means of distinction between Canadian job applicants and immigrant job seekers (Bauder, 2005). Similarly, Kelly and Lusis find in the case of Filipino women, the ways in which various forms of Filipino capital are evaluated, exchanged, and accumulated across transnational space, where `Filipino-ness' becomes, in the migration process, a set of dispositions that are devalued in a new `Canadian' habitus; and this cultural devaluation translates into economic consequences. Hence, Filipinos remain among the most occupationally segmented and lowest paid of all minority immigrant groups in Toronto (Kelly and Lusis, 2006: 845). The 'taxi driver phenomenon', for example, is also known in other countries (e.g. Canada, Norway, and USA). Such cross-national similarities raise important questions about the general role of habitus in constraining and creating labour market opportunities for immigrants, and in shaping group-particular labour market strategies. Future research could perhaps explore similarly constraining cultural processes in different geographical contexts (Bauder, 2005: 95).

While Bourdieu's concept of capital (cultural, social, economic, or symbolic) has been widely used in educational research, his entire theory, and its related ideas, as relates to the larger system of labour market outcomes is rarely considered. Thus, the Bourdieusian toolbox provides a potentially useful framework to explain the ethnic differences witnessed within and between ethnic groups like Indians, who tend to perform well, whereas others such as Pakistanis, Bangladeshis and Black Caribbean, who have an inferior position in the same British labour market (Modood et al., 1997; Blackaby et al., 2002; Cabinet Office, 2017).

In the case of the Pakistani men in this study these ideas in the Bourdieusian tool box, can help to understand the impact of various fields like home/family, school experiences, labour markets, communities and socialisation on the habitus of these men and their own self efficacy about their success in the labour market. Bourdieu's theory and concepts may be used to understand the situation of the British Pakistanis in particular, and that of migrants generally. That is, the key idea of habitus, field, capital, doxa and illusio can be used to understand how societies 'produce' the employment habitus of migrants. These migrants may have different forms of capital, which in turn creates their social positions, which in turn create embodied dispositions (habitus). However, the jewel(s) in Bourdieu's theoretical crown is not habitus, but his conceptualisation of the nexus of various forms of capital, fields and the intersectional nature of habitus which can help explain the differences within and between groups which is one of the critical aims of this study.

According to Bourdieu, capital can and will be converted from one field to another. The rate of exchange between the different kinds of valid capital is the result of an ongoing symbolic struggle between more—or less-powerful actors in the social field which he calls symbolic violence (Bourdieu 1997a: 556; 1997b: 578). However, it is important to note that 'a group does not hold homogeneous forms of capital; instead, their capital is both the product of and productive of differentiations of gender, ethnicity, and class within any ethnic group' (Erel, 2010b: 643). This is an important consideration which then raises questions on structural factors that need to be further considered to avoid essentializing of groups for which intersectionality offers the right framework to explore differences between and within groups (McCall, 2005) How may policy and practice offer support and help in terms of acquiring the valid forms of capitals to succeed in the labour market? Who or which actors are responsible in each field so that migrants and minorities might

get the much-needed support are the questions the rest of the thesis will focus on. Hence it is important to consider intersectionality alongside to get a fuller understanding the very process of accumulating the various forms of capitals. As this study remains committed to an intersectional approach to understanding these questions, the next chapter will use this lens to understand the effect of intersecting factors on accumulation of capitals and the concomitant effect on employment choices of Pakistani men in the UK.

Chapter 2: Intersectionality- in structure and agency

This chapter helps to fill some of the missing links in the structure agency debate by considering intersectionality as a construct and framework to explore how intersecting structural factors affect the agency of migrants and minorities. In order to appreciate the value of intersectionality in the structure agency debate, it is important to first understand how the concept has been used in this study and how it might offer a new way of considering the 'unexamined metaphor of structure' (Sewell, 1992). Further this chapter also looks at the key debates around the operationalising of intersectionality, which is crucial for this study.

In recent years, there has been an increasing interest in intersectionality with some authors hailing the idea as 'the best means for exploring the multidimensional and complex articulation of forms of social division and identity' (Brah and Phoenix, 2004), with others quipping that it serves as a useful 'buzzword but cannot aim to be a theory as such' (Davis, 2008). Nevertheless, there has been a proliferation of academic interest in the concept of intersectionality either as a construct, framework and even a methodology and there are unsettled debates and controversies around how it might be used in employment relations studies (Yuval-Davis, 2014). Intersectionality as a construct was brought to fore by Kimberlé Crenshaw to denote the experiences of black women at the intersection of race and gender, which she called 'structural intersectionality' (Crenshaw, 1991). In doing so, Crenshaw used race and gender as structural factors to explain the shaping of experiences of black women as unique and different from those of white women and black men. The concept caught on with feminist writers who realised to limit intersectionality to gender and race is a huge under-utilization of its application to empirical studies. Consequently, there have been a great range of studies exploring intersectionality extending it from beyond race and gender to class, religion, ageism and other factors (McCall, 2005; Ramji, 2005; Yuval-Davis, 2006; Verloo, 2006; Erel, 2011; Mcdowell et al., 2016).

Patricia Hill Collins progresses intersectionality 'as a knowledge project whose *raison d''etre* lies in its attentiveness to power relations and social inequalities' (Collins, 2015: 1). Yuval-Davis, on the other hand calls for a 'a situated intersectionality analysis, [which] avoids both homogenising members of collectivities and differentiating among them along a unidimensional social division, such as class, or gender, or race' (Yuval Davis, 2012).

However, social divisions often have differing organizing logics that are historically and culturally entrenched and as such Leslie McCall, distinguishes between the 'anti', 'intra' and 'inter-categorical' forms of the application of intersectionality to groups (McCall, 2005). However, such categorizations are complex and therefore any such category needs to be treated with care. For instance, 'race', itself is a contested category and used interchangeably with ethnicity and national identities in many western countries. In many Asian cultures for instance, ethnicity and religion are sometimes inseparable (like Pakistanis and Islam) or can be extremely complex intertwined categories like religion, ethnicity and castes, in the Indian society (Sharma, 1984; Srinivasan, 1984, see Reddy, 2005). Intersectional work has shown since its inception, 'social hierarchy creates the experiences that produce the categories that intersect' (MacKinnon, 2013: 1024). Verloo emphasises that a 'one size fits all' approach to addressing multiple discrimination is based on an incorrect assumption of sameness or equivalence of the social categories connected to inequalities and of the mechanisms and processes that constitute them (Verloo, 2006: 211).Focusing on similarities ignores the differentiated character and dynamics of inequalities, often leading to a reductionist portrayal of race and ethnic groups.

While the 'concept of intersectionality as an analytical tool has been recognized as valuable in the analyses of differences' (Jordan-Zachery, 2007: 255), other authors note that many studies of work and employment have 'missed opportunities in the understanding and theorization of the diversity of experiences (of marginalized groups)' (Mcbride et al., 2015: 332) especially when failing to focus on 'migrant intersectionalities' (Tapia and Alberti, 2018). Many authors have thus stressed on revealing 'the range of diversity and difference *within* the group' (McCall, 2005: 1782, emphasis in original), while 'maintaining a critical stance towards the boundaries of social categories as historical formations' (Tapia and Alberti, 2018: 2).

One of the challenges around the application of intersectionality is the 'eponymous "et cetera" problem— that often appears at the end of lists of such social divisions, that signals both exhaustion and an 'illimitable process of signification' (Butler, 1990; Cho, Crenshaw, and McCall, 2013). Indeed, the number of categories and kinds of subjects (for example, privileged or subordinate?; stipulated or implied by an intersectional approach; the static and fixed versus the dynamic and contextual orientation of intersectional categories indeed is a challenge for intersectional research (Cho, Crenshaw, and McCall,

2013). It is thus acknowledged that operationalising intersectionality can be difficult (McCall, 2005; McDowell, 2008a; Tatli and Özbilgin, 2012) in any form of analysis. However, difficult is not necessarily impossible; so, it would be unwise to discard a helpful construct without making a fair attempt to explore its potential in any study. Therefore, it was considered prudent to understand the intersectional nature of migrants' and minorities' lived experiences to fully understand the implications of such factors in their labour market experiences which this study will do.

Moreover, when focussing on migrants' intersectionality (Tapia and Alberti, 2018), the category of migrant itself is controversial since in UK policy, there is no single definition of a migrant, as an individual may be defined as such by foreign birth, foreign citizenship or their length of stay in the country (Migrant Observatory, 2016). With regard to migrant specific and ethnic minorities' issues and identities, Connolly et al. (2014: 6) acknowledge that it is problematic to conflate the two categories because not all migrants are ethnic minorities and vice versa, and yet they claim that 'both groups raise analogous issues'. Thus, clarifying what these issues are, and why ethnic minorities still face similar challenges to migrants is important.

Further, it has often been argued that even after 'naturalisation' and gaining British citizenship, ethnic minorities are still referred to as 'immigrants' in media and popular imagination (Modood et al, 1997, Migration Observatory, 2016). Therefore, as an alternative to identity politics, intersectionality may help us to understand both the differences 'between and within' migrants and minority groups (Crenshaw, 1991; McCall, 2005), and this is where intersectionality allows us to break away from essentializing such differences (Crenshaw, 1991; McCall, 2005). Moreover, migration-specific cultural and social capitals are created with reference to multiple fields, both within the place of origin and the place of settlement (Erel, 2010). Bourdieu, says 'the task of science, then, is to construct the space that allows us to explain and to predict the largest possible number of differences observed between individuals, or, what is the same, to determine the main principles of differentiation necessary or sufficient to explain or predict the totality of the characteristics observed in a given set of individual' (Bourdieu, 1987: 3).

Another struggle with analysing intersectionality is the debate around social categories carrying 'penalties or privileges and [whether] their intersection promotes or hinders the life chances of particular groups and individuals' (Tomlinson et al, 2018: 2). It has been

suggested in recent literature on intersectionality, that human agency is indeed constrained by intersectional factors sometimes leading to 'additive' disadvantages (Tomlinson et al, 2018). This is indeed a crucial debate to gauge whether the intersection of disadvantaged characteristics (such as social class, religious affiliations, gender or minority ethnic status) produce penalties that are 'additive, multiplicative or ameliorative?' (Tomlinson et al, 2018: 2). This raises questions about which of these factors affects the employment habitus of migrants and minorities—and a consideration that is central to this thesis—how the habitus affects the employment options of migrants and minorities.

Class- does it still matter?

Class more than anything else has dominated the academic discourse on social inequality for a long time. Kate Fox, in her book, '*Watching the English'* insists that 'class pervades all aspects of English life and culture', and that 'England is a highly class-conscious culture' and have 'rules which are highly classed' (Fox, 2004). It is also widely acknowledged that class affects both the social capital and cultural capital of the individual and continues to effect occupational choice of individuals (Bourdieu, 1996). Zuccotti (2014), also finds evidence that the class of origin, or parental social background, helps explain differences in occupational outcomes between ethnic minorities and white British. Vincent and Ball (2007) have further noted how middle-class parents bring higher levels of ethnic capital––'material (goods and finances), social capital (networks and relationships) and cultural capital (knowledge and skills)'—to bear on their children's schooling than their working-class counterparts.

No account of class and employment can ignore Paul Willis's work. Paul Willis (1977) in an ethnographic account of working-class children portrays the enduring relevance of class in its cognitive and symbolic dimensions. In his book, *Learning to Labour*, Willis describes how young working-class 'lads' within a school 'rebel'. Describing how and why 'working class kids get working class jobs'. Willis' raw interviews with students suggests that this counter school culture of resistance and opposition to academia and authority has a strong resemblance to the culture one may find in industrial workplaces, ironically the very same environment the 'rebel' lads were heading for.

Bourdieu is often heralded as a theorist of social class, and therefore criticised as such for his over indulgence with class. However, this is a misreading of Bourdieu, since while his

starting point is class, he says 'in reality, agents are both classified and classifiers, but they classify according to (or depending upon) their position within classification' (Bourdieu, 1987: 2). What he means is that it is the social hierarchy, both where the agent thinks they are in or how the society estimates them to be in, that decides their class. Thus, for Bourdieu, 'The social world can be conceived as a multi-dimensional space that can be constructed empirically by discovering the main factors of differentiation that account for the differences observed in a given social universe, or, in other words, by discovering the powers or forms of capital which are or can become efficient, like aces in a game of cards, in this particular universe, that is, in the struggle (or competition) for the appropriation of scarce goods [capitals] of which this universe is the site' (Bourdieu, 1987: 4) where he further goes on to say:

> *Agents and sets of agents are assigned a position, a location or a precise class of neighbouring positions, i.e., a particular area within that space; they are thus defined by their relative position in terms of a multi- dimensional system of coordinates whose values correspond to the values of the different pertinent variables. (Occupation is generally a good and economic indicator of position in social space and, in addition, provides valuable information on occupational effects, i.e., effects of the nature of work, of the occupational milieu, with its cultural and organizational specificities, etc.)… , we secure the possibility of obtaining the largest possible separation between classes of the greatest possible homogeneity…Those who occupy the same positions have every chance of having the same habitus, at least insofar as the trajectories which have brought them to these positions are themselves similar.*
>
> (Bourdieu, 1987: 5)

Thus, for Bourdieu a social class is a social construct that slowly becomes 'real' when people within similar class conditions are subject to similar conditioning by dominant groups, like a self-fulfilling prophecy are rendered true (Bourdieu, 1987).

Many authors have used Bourdieu's formulations in researching fields like education, where it has been argued that class plays a crucial role in academic outcomes (Reay, 2014). However, if seen through the intersectional lens, then class with gender, or ethnicity (Ramji, 2005), can have additive effects on labour market outcomes; and class with religion, gender and ethnicity, could be multiplicative which is sometimes overlooked in academic research (Tomlinson et al., 2018). As evident, religious affiliations, when intersected with ethnicity and class, could also be a contributor to structural challenges

especially if the ethnic group in question is predominantly Muslim, which will be discussed next.

Religion- a protected characteristic?

'Religious affiliation, which is how we connect or identify with a religion, irrespective of actual practise or belief' (ONS, 2012), may be associated with different world views and work ethics that might also influence occupational choice. In a number of western countries Islam as a religion has been associated with certain negative connotations in media and people's imaginations (Saha, 2012; Mythen et al., 2013; Hellwig and Sinno, 2017). Islam and Muslim are constructed as the opposite of western civilization, and 'seen as a threat to the values of democracy, human rights, gender equality or freedom of speech that form an important basis of western society and the welfare state' (Rytter, 2013: 209). After 9/11 2001, the then President of USA, George Bush, moved to distinguish between 'good Muslims' and 'bad Muslims' to assure Americans that the 'bad Muslims' were responsible for terrorism and that the 'good Muslims' would support [USA] in 'the war on terror', however, unless proved to be 'good', every Muslim was presumed to be 'bad' (Mamdani, 2002: 766)

There is a growing intolerance for religious differences specially related to Islam. There have been calls for a ban on Burqas in France where the ban is already in force (BBC, 2011). While beards for Muslim men, turbans for Sikhs, or a kippah for Jewish men, have not drawn a ban like the Burqa, they are often connoted with religious fundamentalism (Saha, 2012). The spread of Islamophobia has been such that 'upon converting to Islam, [even] 'white' converts experience a re-racialization whereby they are no longer able to access white privilege in a way they once were, thus showing the links that Islamophobia has to racism' (Moosavi, 2015: 42). Thus being affiliated to Islam is negatively connoted, and if you are a migrant or minority, then one may be further subject to harassment with government 'counter-terrorism' policies such as 'Prevent', 'war on terror', to further marginalize Muslims (Thomas and Sanderson, 2011; Abbas, 2019). However, while much has been written on how Muslims are perceived in their host nations, few studies have turned the gaze in reverse to see how do Muslims perceive the western societies they live in (Hussain, 2002; Modood and Ahmad, 2007; Ryan et al., 2011; Mythen et al., 2013). Of all the intersectional factors the one that has received least attention is religion, yet it is an important factor that seems to have a major influence on the general social attitudes

towards Pakistanis (being predominantly Muslim), which could perhaps be indicative of their labour market disadvantage in the UK (Heath and Martin, 2012; Garner and Selod, 2015).

The United Kingdom 2001 census was the first to include a question on religion. In that report, 42 million, or 72 percent, of the United Kingdom's population professed Christianity. Islam was the second largest religion, with 1.6 million adherents; Hindus numbered 559,000; and Sikhs, 336,000. In the 1960s and 1970s very few places of worship existed relative to the numbers of Muslims, Sikhs, and Hindus with only 7 mosques, 3 Gurdwaras, and 1 Mandir in England and Wales, today England boasts of 614 Muslim mosques, 101 Hindu temples and 193 Sikh temples in the United Kingdom in 2001 (Peach and Gale, 2005). Historically, religious buildings have often become imbued with symbolic status (collective symbolic capital). These places of worship do not simply symbolize the presence of South Asians in Great Britain. Rather, they express these communities' confident assertion of their negotiated terms of belonging within British society (Peach and Gale, 2005). Further, it is perceived by many authors, Hinduism is a much more 'domestic religion than is Islam or Sikhism' as Hindus tend to go to their 'Mandirs' (temples of worship) less frequently (Peach and Gale, 2005). There are other studies in Britain, where social attitudes towards Muslims have been found to be more negative than other religions (Hellwig and Sinno, 2017). In a survey experiment, Hellwig and Simon suggest that while security fears affect attitudes towards Muslim immigrants, economic concerns bear on views towards Eastern Europeans. While concern about crime adversely affects sentiment for East Europeans but casts Muslims more positively, cultural threats have the opposite effect. Thus, by shifting the focus onto the qualities of different types of immigrants, they highlight the importance of the target immigrant group for understanding public attitudes (Hellwig and Sinno, 2017). It is important to note here though that the two categories chosen in this survey are not religious and both are not geographic. So, while one category is Muslim, the other is East European. While, it is fathomable why these two categories were chosen for a social attitudes survey, it is such attitudes which could have considerable bearings on people's labour market trajectories.

As per the ONS, in the 2011 Census, Christianity is the largest religious group in England and Wales with 33.2 million people (59 per cent of the population) (ONS, 2012). The second largest religious group is Muslim with 2.7 million people (5 per cent of the

population). The proportion of people who reported that they did not have a religion reached 14.1 million people, a quarter of the population (25 per cent). Nearly four in ten Muslims (38 per cent) reported their ethnicity as Pakistani (ONS, 2012). Nearly half of all Muslims were born in the UK. The majority of people with no religion were White (93 per cent) and born in the UK (93 per cent) and these groups have increased since 2001.

A critical observation in the above reported figures is that people with no religion had the highest proportion of people who were economically active, while Muslims had the lowest economic activity (ONS, 2012). However, Jewish people had the highest level of employment and Muslim people the highest level of unemployment (ONS, 2012). Moreover, while the main reason for Christians being economically inactive was retirement, for Muslims economic inactivity was mainly because they were students, or because they were looking after the home or family. In 2011, the majority of those who were economically active were in standard employment (75 per cent); around three quarters of Christians and those with no religion (77 per cent and 74 per cent respectively) were economically active employees, compared with around three-fifths (59 per cent) of Muslims (ONS, 2012). Self-employment made up the next largest category of economic activity (14 per cent) where more than a quarter (28 per cent) of Jewish people were self-employed compared with 13 to 19 per cent of people with other religious affiliations. Around 7 per cent of Muslims and 6 per cent of Buddhists and Hindus were students in employment compared with 3 per cent of Christians, Jewish people and those with other religious affiliations. Another crucial observation was that 17 per cent of economically active Muslims were unemployed (including unemployed students) compared with around six per cent of Christians and nine per cent of people with no religion. The religion with the smallest proportion of people in this economically active but unemployed category was Jewish at four per cent. (ONS, 2012). Over 9 in 10 (93%) Christians and people with no religion were from a White ethnic background. Muslims were more ethnically diverse, with two-thirds (68%) from an Asian background including Pakistani (38%) and Bangladeshi (15%). The majority of Hindus and Sikhs were also from an Asian background (96% and 87% respectively) (ONS 2012). As evident from the above, there are multiple intersections which cut across, religious affiliations, ethnicity and gender which need to be borne in mind when analysing labour market differences and challenges.

However, Franceschelli and O'Brien, (2014) explore habitus and the family field within South Asian Muslim communities in the UK as the site of intergenerational transmission and seek to understand how South Asian Muslim parents pass on Islamic values to their children. Their findings suggest that Islam was mobilised positively by parents to inform the transmission of a sense of morality, to support children's education and reinforce family ties. Similar trends have been noted in other studies where it has been noted that Muslim families are directing their resources to better support their children in gaining education in hopes that education will be the key to their success (Thapar-bjorkert and Sanghera, 2010). Indeed, in recent reports, it has been noted the overall educational attainment of Pakistanis has gone up (Shah et al., 2010). In terms of education, there has been a reduction in the percentage of Muslims with no qualifications from 2001 to 2011–– from 39 per cent to 26 per cent. The percentage of Muslims (over 16) with 'degree level and above' qualifications is similar to the general population (24% and 27% respectively). However, this has not resulted in an elevation in their labour market status (Modood et al., 1997).

The higher levels of unemployment amongst Muslims as compared to the overall population are the outcome of numerous factors, however there is now enough evidence of the double penalty faced in entering the labour market—of racial discrimination as well as Islamophobia. There is evidence of a glass ceiling for management positions in sectors such as the media, with higher turn-over for BME employees (Muslim Council of Britain's report, 2019; Holgate and McKay, 2009). Thus, cultural penalties, almost entirely those suffered by Muslims, exacerbate the ethnic penalty in undermining the employability of minorities (though more so for Muslims from some ethnic origins than others). There is firm support to previous studies focusing on religious disadvantage in the British labour market suggesting that Muslims, were by far the most affected by growing unemployment (Khattab and Johnston, 2014). Thus, authors have questioned, 'should religion (particularly Islam) replace race and ethnicity as the focus of segregation studies?' (Peach, 2007: 88). Since religious affiliation has had a profound effect on Muslims, it is important to consider religion as one of the critical intersectional factors when examining Pakistanis and other minorities who are followers of Islam which will be considered in this study.

While for Bourdieu, the starting point of distinction is class (Bourdieu, 1984), Crenshaw stresses on the intersection of race and gender (Crenshaw, 1991). Though gender in the

intersectionality literature is largely about women, the experiences of marginalized men at the intersection of various structural factors cannot and should not be ignored since migrant and minority men also find themselves at the cross-roads of multiple layers of identifies such as their class, religious affiliations, gender, or ethnicity that has the potential to adversely effect on their life chances. As mentioned earlier, taxi driving is largely a male dominated occupation, hence gender plays an important role in this study will be discussed next.

Gender (dis)advantage: is it only about women?

> *The notion that gender is constructed suggests a certain determinism of gender meanings inscribed on anatomically differentiated bodies, where those bodies are understood as passive recipients of an inexorable cultural law. When the relevant 'culture' that 'constructs' gender is understood in terms of such a law or set of laws, then it seems that gender is as determined and fixed as it was under the biology-is-destiny formulation. In such a case, not biology, but culture, becomes destiny*
>
> (Butler, 2011: 11).

Many researchers see gender as a social and linguistic construction, and as a nonstable social meaning ascribed to the male and female (Butler, 2011), to focus on how and where masculinity and femininity, as social constructions, are produced and reproduced (Bourdieu and Nice, 2002; Hall et al., 2007; Gilmore, 2008; McDowell, 2008b; Huppatz and Goodwin, 2013b; Mcdowell et al., 2016). However, can 'construction' in such a case be reduced to a form of choice? The controversy over the meaning of construction appears to founder on the conventional philosophical polarity between free will and determinism (Butler, 2011). Much of the theoretical work currently circulating in the study of men and masculinities revolves around the concept of hegemonic masculinity. Hegemonic masculinity is 'a question of how particular groups of men inhabit positions of power and wealth, and how they legitimate and reproduce the social relationships that generate their dominance' (Connell 1995: 92). While masculinity is understood to be a fluid, socially constructed concept that changes over time and space (i.e., historically and culturally), it is often only discussed at the structural level with little consideration given to the strategies men use to negotiate masculinities in their everyday lives (Coles, 2009). According to Connell, there is a 'patriarchal dividend' which benefits men in terms of 'honour, prestige and the right to command,' as well as in relation to material wealth and

state power. Structurally, men as an interest group are inclined to support hegemonic masculinity as a means to defend patriarchy and their dominant position over women (Connell, 1995: 82). Thus, it is often assumed, gender issue is about women.

Moreover, it is no surprise that occupational segregation by gender continues even as occupations themselves change with the introduction of new work practices, new types of work or new types of personnel. There remain very few occupations that are considered 'gender-neutral' (Huppatz and Goodwin, 2013a). Additionally, occupations themselves are social spaces that produce and reproduce gendered cultures and dispositions. Gender capital explains why men and women support the classed and gendered status quo, even when it contributes to their inequality: men and women are invested in gendered and classed practices (Huppatz and Goodwin, 2013a). In addition, some theorists have suggested that we are witnessing greater use of 'gendered capital' due to changes in the economy. For example, in 'Thinking Feminism With and Against Bourdieu', Terry Lovell (2000) argues that the labour market is changing so that the demand for stereotypical feminine skills is rising. This means that femininity may be tradable for economic capital on the labour market, just as masculinity is (although femininity may not be rewarded with symbolic capital), and this may mean that working-class femininity is becoming more profitable than working-class masculinity. While femininity should not be generalised as a female condition or masculinity as a male condition, so that people with male bodies can be recognised as having feminine attributes, and people with female bodies can be recognised as having masculine attributes, however, stereotypical or hegemonic gender dispositions may be the most rewarded dispositions (Bridges, 2009; Coles, 2009; Huppatz, 2009, 2012; Skeggs, 1997) and are more likely to be symbolically legitimated in the labour market.

Thirty years after, Paul Willis' study of the working class 'lads' (Willis, 1977), Linda McDowell in her book, *Redundant Masculinities* (2008), explores the same working class 'yobs'. Unlike Willis' lads, whose resistance was rooted in a male working-class identity, McDowell suggests that the formation of their masculinities is threatened by the changing employment relations and opportunities in a post-industrial society (Lehmann, 2004). As traditional industrial employment is being replaced by knowledge and service work, working-class males find themselves increasingly marginalised. They appear to be ill-equipped to take advantage of either form of employment opportunities; they lack the

education to move into knowledge-intensive jobs (the domain of the middle class) and lower-tier service work often requires emotional, gendered forms of labour (considered feminine), rather than the rough physicality associated with lost manufacturing jobs (Nixon, 2009; McDowell, 2008). Both Willis' and McDowell's work create a compelling case for a deeper understanding of the 'mental structure' or 'habitus' of these young men and this research attempts to do something similar for the Pakistani men in this study. Both Willis and McDowell, assert that these 'lads' and 'yobs' reconstruct their class as an expression of their masculinity. Focusing on the intertwining of 'gender' and 'race' within the discursive production of identities Louis Archer (2001), also found the construction of 'racialized masculinities' among young British Asian Muslim men where they had stronger notions of what it means to be a 'Muslim man'. Many feminist Bourdieusian scholars have reworked Bourdieu's approach so that gender, as well as class, may be understood as a central form of stratification in the social order. In a study from Australia, Huppatz and Goodwin explored how male, masculine and feminine embodiments can operate as capitals which may be accumulated and transacted, perpetuating horizontal gender segregation in the workforce but also vertical segregation within occupations (Huppatz and Goodwin, 2013a).

It is argued, masculinity and heterosexuality are closely bound; if an individual is not seen to be doing masculinity well, it is assumed that they are not doing heterosexuality well and indicate why some men may be reluctant to pursue feminised work. If men's participation in feminised work brings social stigma and limits relationships, feminised jobs may seem a costly pursuit. Approaches to occupational segregation also tend to emphasise male agency where men are seen to make 'choices' (Huppatz and Goodwin, 2013a: 305). However, this notion is challenged in this study when the men in question are migrants or minorities with multiple intersecting factors affecting their 'choices'. Likewise, as Connell (1995) notes, men's masculinities may be marginalized by factors such as age or ethnicity (Coles, 2009) that becomes heightened for ethnic minorities where it may be argued that other intersectional factors like class, religion may also have diminishing effects on the status of such men in host societies. Ethnicity, however, remains as the most studied factor for migrants and minorities which deserves a careful consideration as race, ethnicity, culture and migration are intertwined in a complex relationship.

Ethnicity: Brit(ish) the hyphenated identity of minorities?

Ethnicity like gender is a contested category. In the UK, an ethnic minority group is defined as 'all other ethnic groups outside of White British', where in the 2011 Census, 80.5 percent of the usual resident population identified as White British (ONS, 2014). It is recognised that these ethnic groups do not represent how all people identify. People are encouraged to write in their ethnicity using their own words if they don't identify with any groups in the list (Gov.UK, 2018). In England and Wales there are 18 ethnic groups recommended for use by government when they ask for someone's ethnicity. These are grouped into 5 broad ethnic groups, each with an 'Any other' option where respondents can write in their ethnicity using their own words (Gov. UK, 2018). As per the government, the recommended ethnic groups are as given in Table **2** below (GOV.UK, 2018). In the 2011 Census around one in five people (19.5% of the population overall) identified with an ethnic minority group (ONS, 2014). Concomitantly, most of the ethnic minorities have hyphenated identities.

The hyphenated identity is a term that implies a dual identity. It evokes questions regarding which side of the hyphen the person belongs to, giving the impression that the person is oscillating between two cultures (Khilay, 2014). Moreover, some are coloured hyphens like 'White British' or 'Black British' while others are geographical or race based, like Asian British. However, the hyphenated status is mostly applicable to non-white groups. Europeans, and other White British are never called as Polish British, German British or even Romanian British; or Welsh British, or Scottish British, or even Irish British. On this note, while not related to ethnicity, the Muslim community living in UK have been given the hyphenated identity of 'British Muslim', yet hyphenated identities have not been given to other religious groups living in UK; for instance, there are no references to 'British Christians', or 'British Jews', or 'British Hindus', or 'British Sikhs (Khilay, 2014). Thus, a distinct reference is made specifically to British Muslims, identified only by religion and not by ethnicity or country which is a point to be noted.

Moreover, the challenges associated with any such grouping is that there are many variations within such groups such as language, skin colour as evident in table 2.

Table 2 UK Government recommended ethnic groups

Official ethnic group	Ethnicities included	Languages spoken	Associated Skin colour
White British	English / Welsh / Scottish / Northern Irish	English/Welsh/Celtic/ Scottish Gaelic	White
	Irish	Irish/ English	White
	Gypsy or Irish Traveller	Shelta/Irish	White
	Any other White background	Multiple	White
Mixed / Multiple ethnic groups	White and Black Caribbean	Mostly English and Multiple	White/ Black/Mixed
	White and Black African	Mostly English and Multiple	White/ Black/ Mixed
	White and Asian	Mostly English and Multiple	White/Brown/ Yellow/ Mixed
	Any other Mixed / Multiple ethnic background	Multiple	-
Asian / Asian British	Indian	Multiple	Brown
	Pakistani	Mostly Urdu and multiple	Brown
	Bangladeshi	Mostly Bengali	Brown
	Chinese	Cantonese, English and multiple	Yellow
	Any other Asian background	Multiple	-
Black / African / Caribbean / Black British	Caribbean	Dutch, English, French, Spanish and Multiple	Black
	African	Multiple- Swahili, Amharic, Yoruba, Oromo Hausa, Igbo, Zulu, Shona.	Black
	Any other Black / African / Caribbean background	Multiple	Black
Other ethnic group	Arab	Arabic	White
	Any other ethnic group	Multiple	-

Moreover, evidence has shown that patterns of economic activity vary widely across different ethnic minority groups with some groups experiencing lower employment and higher inactivity rates (ONS, 2014). Pakistani and Bangladeshi had lower than average employment rates (49% and 48% respectively) across all regions. In the West Midlands and Yorkshire and The Humber less than half of these groups were in employment (Gov.UK, 2018). Overall, 37 per cent of men in employment in UK worked in low-skilled occupations in the 2011 Census. However, over half of the men who were of Pakistani (57%), Black African (54%) and Bangladeshi (53%) ethnicity worked in low skilled jobs. Men who were the least likely to work in low-skilled occupations were Chinese (24%), closely followed by White Irish (29%) (ONS, 2014). Low skilled occupations include administrative and secretarial occupations; caring leisure and other service occupations; sales and customers service occupations; process plant and machine operatives and elementary occupations such as taxi driving. High skilled occupations include managers, directors and senior officials; professional occupations like doctors, lawyers, associate professional and technical occupations and skilled trades' occupations (ONS, 2014). More than 30 per cent of Pakistani men were self-employed (ONS, 2014). Overall, Bangladeshi-born and Pakistani-born had the highest percentages of 'inactive other' (both 35%). Levels were lowest among recent arrivals (23% and 30% respectively) and highest among those who had been in the UK for 11-30 years (39% and 38% respectively). What these data clearly indicate is that social inequality and social mobility is seriously affected by ethnicity and this will be explored in more detail later.

Moreover, ethnicity as a construct is highly disputed as it is often used interchangeably with 'race'. However, in 1950, the UNESCO statement, 'The Race Question', signed by some of the internationally renowned scholars of the time (including Ashley Montagu, Claude Lévi-Strauss, Gunnar Myrdal, Julian Huxley, etc.), stated:

> *National, religious, geographic, linguistic and cultural groups do not necessarily coincide with racial groups, and the cultural traits of such groups have no demonstrated genetic connection with racial traits. Because serious errors of this kind are habitually committed when the term 'race' is used in popular parlance, it would be better when speaking of human races to drop the term 'race' altogether and speak of 'ethnic groups'*
>
> (UNESCO, 1950: 6).

Therefore, race is not used in this thesis, and preference has been given to ethnicity. Additionally, it has been argued time and again that Britain no longer has a black and white divide, but rather a three-way split which cannot be simply explained by racial discrimination:

> *With Chinese, African Asian and sometimes Indian people in a similar position to whites, Caribbean's some way behind, and Pakistanis and Bangladeshis a long way behind them. Whatever the explanation for that layering of socio-economic positions, it is not simply racial discrimination. A more complex analysis is required*
>
> (Modood et al, 1997:10).

These authors further argue that many of the disadvantages and other experiences associated with minority status continue long after 'naturalisation' has been completed; and besides, the nationality laws associated with Britain's former empire are far too complex for this to be a useful criterion. The UK visa system is quite complicated and based on which category one falls in determines the type of benefits or prohibitions one is subjected to. It also raises questions on the basic categorization of 'who counts as a migrant' or ethnic minority as raised by (Anderson and Blinder, 2017):

> *'Who is a 'migrant' is often unclear in public debate. For example, migrants are often conflated with ethnic or religious minorities and with asylum seekers. Media discourses commonly use such terms interchangeably, particularly in tabloid newspaper discussions of asylum (Baker et al. 2008). Meanwhile the UK government's official estimates of migration (ONS' Long-Term International Migration estimates) include asylum seekers in counts of migrants entering the UK, while attempting to adjust the total numbers to exclude those who stay in the UK for less than a year and thus do not qualify as migrants defined by length of stay'*
>
> (Anderson and Blinder, 2017: 4).

However, most ethnic minorities continue to be viewed as migrants in popular imagination and many migrants face employment challenges that continue to plague their lives even after ' naturalisation' when they might become ethnic minorities (Modood et al., 1997). Ram et al, in their study of ethnic minority entrepreneurship further highlight this point:

> *Ethnic minority entrepreneurs have been understood to be immigrants in the countries concerned or children or grandchildren of immigrants. Immigrants are defined as persons who have been born abroad. Irrespective of their nationality and irrespective of whether they are considered to be ethnic minorities in the countries concerned, immigrants also include the offspring of immigrants*
>
> (Ram et al., 2017: 2).

This is further perplexing due to the 'ambiguity' around the term 'migrant'. The UK government tends to use 'migrant' to refer to 'foreign born' thereby including as migrants many UK nationals, both those born abroad and naturalised citizens. This usage is crucial because migrant labour is imagined as being a means of coping with residual demand, yet many 'foreign born' have legally the same rights of access to the labour market as the 'non-foreign born'. 'British jobs for British workers' would more properly be expressed as: British jobs for EU nationals, naturalised UK citizens, UK citizens born abroad, those with indefinite leave to remain and British workers' (Anderson, 2010: 303). For this thesis, migrants are first generation migrants themselves and ethnic minorities is used to denote 2nd generation migrants who are from a foreign origin, that is either they or their parents were migrants to this country, and they have naturalised as citizens or have right to abode in this country.

Besides, while there are many other factors that have been studied in the context of labour market segregation, these single axis studies have been considered problematic (Crenshaw, 2015). For instance, when looking at occupational segregation, using either of these single factors like ethnicity, gender, age or sexuality, shows just one part of the picture. Thus while many academics (both economists and sociologists) have suggested Pakistani and Bangladeshi men perform poorly in the British labour market, due to over-representation in low skilled jobs, this essentializing of ethnicity and/or race (which are often used interchangeably which as mentioned above is another problem], often overlooks the possibility that there could be other factors since Pakistani and Bangladeshi men also happen to be predominantly Muslim and often from a rural/working class background (Ballard, 2003; Shaw, 1991) and thus could be facing multiple challenges and hence 'additive' penalties (Crenshaw, 1991; Tomlinson et al, 2018) instead of just the 'ethnic penalty' (Heath and Cheung, 2006).

Thus, failure to incorporate the intersectional nature of such analyses can veil the real challenges which is not helpful especially for policy makers and the ultimate beneficiaries of such policies. Secondly, while some factors have received more attention from academics and practitioners like, race, gender, and class, few have looked at religion, which is critical to the current study given that most Pakistani men identify with Islam. Moreover, very few studies have looked at the intersectional nature of two or more categories, excepting one study by Bagguley and Hussain, who have incorporated the four critical categories of class, gender, religion and ethnicity in their analysis (Bagguley and Hussain, 2014). Focusing upon the reflexivity of young South Asian women at the intersection of relations of ethnicity, class, gender and religion, they provide an empirical study around issues of education, subject choice, marriage and careers in relation to their parents and their communities all of which offers a better understanding than currently dominant social capital explanations of South Asian educational success. The educational and career outcomes and transformations entail complex forms of resistance, negotiation and compromise across intersecting identities (Bagguley and Hussain, 2014). Even studies looking at gender, do so in terms of binaries of men and/or women (Bowleg, 2012), which tends to overlook ethnic, cultural and social class factors; or when considering age (as a division between young or old); or sexuality (as Homosexual or Heterosexual), or religion by juxtaposing all ethnicities as Muslims (Heath and Martin, 2012; Khattab and Johnston, 2015).

Thus, for migrants and minorities, the intersection of multiple factors like their class, religious affiliation, gender and ethnicity affect their labour market trajectories and this needs to be borne in mind in any analyses as the challenge is never unidimensional but a confluence of intersectional structural factors as mentioned above. As such, an analytical framework comprising of Bourdieusian capitals, fields and intersectionality enables us a more nuanced and dynamic understanding of the relationship between, class, religious affiliations, gender, and ethnicity. In particular, Bourdieusian approach coupled with intersectionality can make visible the interplay between differential social positioning of migrants, their embodiment of their classed, ethicised, gendered and religious dispositions and their access to different forms of capital and. However, these structures are not just present in the host nations where ethnic minorities find themselves in precarious positions but sometimes these structures are carried on from their countries of origin (Kelly and

Lusis, 2006a) and thus it is important to look at the background and historical context of their migration which will be considered in the following chapter.

Chapter 3: Setting the scene: Pakistanis in *Englishtan*

As a study of taxi drivers of Pakistani origin in UK, this thesis has two focal subjects- the primary being Pakistani men (as taxi driving is largely taken up by men) and the other their occupation which is taxi driving which will be explored in detail in the findings and discussion chapters. As Bourdieu and Wacquant, suggest that, 'the sociology of migration must start not from the receiving society but that of the sending 'communities, their history, structure and contradictions' (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 2000: 174), this chapter provides crucial background information on the Pakistani diaspora. Pakistan is a relatively new country having been in existence for just 72 years. The partition of India, and eventually the making of Pakistan, followed by the independence of Bangladesh has affected migration of Pakistanis, Indians and Bangladeshis to the UK which will be considered here. This is followed by an evaluation of the labour market position of Pakistanis in UK alongside Indians and Bangladeshis, in comparison to the white British population to better understand the background of some of the challenges which could have contributed to the respective labour market position of these ethnic groups in the UK.

From Pakistan to *Englistan*: the 'great British dream'

With over one million people of Pakistani origin, the Pakistani diaspora in the UK, constitute 2 per cent of the UK population and are the second highest ethnic group after Indians who comprise 2.5 per cent of the population (ONS, 2017). 96 per cent of Pakistanis in the UK are Muslims and 38 per cent of the Muslims in UK are of Pakistani origin (ONS, 2017). Some 95 per cent of Pakistanis in the UK are reportedly of rural origin from regions like Mirpur, Attock and Nowshera, while the remaining 5 per cent are from urban cities like Karachi, Lahore, and Peshawar (Shaw, 2000). They are also a comparatively younger group of the population in the UK with over 80 per cent of the Pakistani diaspora below the age of 45 and with one of the highest birth rates of 3.4 compared to 1.2 of white women in UK (ONS, 2017). In terms of geographic concentration, the Pakistani population in UK is not uniformly spread, and has tended to cluster in certain parts in the UK like Leeds, Bradford, Birmingham, Slough, Pendle, Luton, Newham (ONS, 2012). The Yorkshire and Humber regions of the UK have the

highest number of Pakistanis approximately 225,000 in number constituting about 25 per cent of the Pakistani population in the UK (ONS, 2017). Of these areas, relevant to this research, are the cities of Bradford and Leeds, which together have almost 200,000 people of Pakistani origin, which constitutes almost 20 per cent of the total Pakistani diaspora in Britain (ONS, 2017). The cities of Leeds and Bradford (also popularly called *Bradistan*, due to the high concentration of Pakistani population in the city) provide an apt backdrop for this study, as typical conurbations in terms of their experience of steady deindustrialization and concomitant rise of the finance and service-sector. However, since one of the concerns in this thesis is that ethnic minorities in the UK do not have a uniform experience in the labour market, the study of the Pakistani men in this study will illuminate the regional variations of such experiences. However, it will be fruitful to understand the histories of the making of these three countries India, Pakistan and Bangladesh to gain a better understanding of the migration processes of people from these countries and the impact it has on their differing labour market prospects in UK.

India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh: common history different paths

Before the British imperial rule ended and India gained her independence in August 1947, India, Pakistan and Bangladesh were part of one country (often referred to as the Indian sub-continent). However, while India won the war for independence from the British, she lost an integral part of her land and people when Pakistan was formed as a separate Muslim state, thus partitioning India into three parts namely, India, Pakistan and East Pakistan (modern day Bangladesh). Considered by many authors as the 'unforgiving calculus of partition' (Khan, 2012: 127) it is indeed one of the most inglorious episodes in British imperial history, a parting gift of the British Raj, which could have been avoided or at least handled better (Tharoor, 2017). Bangladesh at the time was part of Pakistan, known as East Pakistan. However, the difference in language and culture between a predominantly Urdu speaking state - Pakistan, and the Bangla speaking East Pakistan on the other side, led Bengalis to fight their own war of independence (which was strategically supported by the Indian government at the time) and Bangladesh became an independent sovereign state in 1971. However, as Yasmin Khan laments,

> *The permanent separation of Indians and Pakistanis from each other, and their inability to cross the new border, was the most long-lasting and divisive aspect of partition. Families ripped apart, lives forever shattered*

(Khan, 2012: 194).

Post-independence Pakistan and India have been at war in 1948 and 1965 on the issue of Kashmir, (a princely state ruled by a Hindu king with a predominantly Muslim population), which continues with on-going skirmishes across the border till date. India's support to the Bangladeshi freedom movement during 1971 further dented the relationship, which led to another war in 1971. There have been multiple attempts by various political factions on both sides for a feasible solution in vain, as neither India nor Pakistan are willing to concede any solution on the issue of Kashmir. During the course of the research, India responded to alleged Pakistani infiltrations in Kashmir and launched a surgical strike across the border, to which one of the Pakistani taxi drivers interviewed at the time said,

> *Whether someone dies on the Indian side or the Pakistani side, ultimately only a Kashmiri dies who is either my uncle or nephew. My heart bleeds both ways'*
>
> (Gulnawaz, Male, 40, Leeds, 1st Generation)

This raises multiple questions on the issues of identity which will be discussed later in the findings section. Nonetheless, while these countries share a common history and cultural heritage, yet the economic development of these countries has been substantially different on several economic measures. At the time of independence, Indian output represented around 15 per cent that of the USA. Now the Indian economy is around half the size of the US (Financial times, 2017). When measured at 'purchasing power parity' — which adjusts for the fact that locally traded goods and services are much cheaper in the developing world — India is now the third-largest economy in the world after USA and China, overtaking Germany and Japan since the turn of the millennium (Financial times, 2017). India has made impressive gains in literacy rates, which increased from 16 per cent in 1951 to 72 per cent in 2015. India has capitalized on its large educated English-speaking population to become a major exporter of information technology services, business outsourcing services, and software workers. The economy of Pakistan on the other hand is the 24th largest in the world in terms of purchasing power parity (PPP), and 42nd largest in terms of nominal gross domestic product. The literacy rate of Pakistan is just 56.44 per cent (Countryeconomy.com, 2018). In 'The Global Human Capital Report' (2017) a recent report by the World economic forum, India received higher rankings on education quality, staff training and economic complexity. In the same report the human capital potential of the region's two other most populous countries—Bangladesh and

Pakistan—is alleged to be held back by insufficient educational enrolment rates and poor-quality primary schools. Both countries' educational performance is somewhat better at the tertiary level, despite rather low levels of skill diversity among their university graduates, indicating a strong specialization in a limited number of academic subjects. Both also exhibit significant employment gender gaps However, in the last decade, the proportion of students enrolling in higher education has almost tripled in Pakistan and doubled in India and Bangladesh (World economic Forum, 2017).

This piece of history and economic differences is important for this study due to a number of considerations. Firstly, the migrants from the Indian subcontinent (India, Pakistan and Bangladesh) continue to rank highly as the most common non-UK countries of birth with almost 5.3 per cent of the total population from these three countries and almost 40 per cent of the ethnic minority population in England and Wales (ONS, 2018). Secondly, migrants and ethnic minorities from these three distinct nations are often clubbed together as Asians in academic, political, and social discourses in UK. Thirdly, despite a shared history and heritage, the labour market outcomes of migrants from India, Pakistan and Bangladesh has been very different in the UK which has been well-documented within academic research and government reports (Modood et al, 1997; EHRC, 2010; Race audit, 2017). Finally, this historical string of events has affected the waves and patterns of migration from each of these countries to the UK, as many of the migrants who came to UK before 1947, were all Indians, however, post partition, and especially after 1950 people who arrived from the geographical areas of Punjab, Kashmir, Sind in newly created Pakistan and provinces of Sylhet, Dhaka, in East Pakistan (modern Bangladesh) had a new identity as Pakistanis. Post 1971, after the independence of Bangladesh, the erstwhile Pakistanis from East Pakistan came with a different identity as Bangladeshis. Due to this reason, some reports continue to keep Pakistanis and Bangladeshis as a single group as older data sets fail to distinguish between these groups.

However, although the three nations come from a common ancestry, they have very distinct languages and culture. Both Pakistan and Bangladesh are predominantly Muslim countries whereas India, a secular nation (declared in its constitution) has a predominantly Hindu population. Also, while migration from India has been largely from urban areas, Pakistanis and Bangladeshis tend to be from rural backgrounds (Ballard, 2003). These

differences are important as they have affected their migration process and the various capitals with which they come to the UK which are discussed next.

Migration process: migrants, minorities or citizens?

In the early 1950s and 1960s, Britain exploited her colonial links with India, Pakistan and the Caribbean by directly or indirectly recruiting labour from these countries by issue of work vouchers to fill post war labour shortages (Shaw, 2000). Pakistan, a newly formed country in 1947, after the partition from India had little opportunities to offer to its new citizens in the early 1950s (Khan, 2008). During the 1960s the construction of the Mangla dam in Mirpur, in Kashmir led to the displacement of many villagers from that area, who were provided with work vouchers by the British Government to move to UK (Ballad, 2003; Shaw, 2000; Kalra, 2000). The primary reason for coming to England for these initial young pioneers was to work in the mills and factories to improve their social and financial status through foreign-earned money, buying a house, starting a business and educating one's children. It has also been mentioned that the early pioneer migrant group who were largely from rural Pakistan and predominantly male, hoped to return to Pakistan after earning a decent amount of money, which is popularly known among academics as the 'myth of return' (Anwar, 1979; Kalra, 2000).

Calls for immigration controls in the UK have always been 'posed in racist terms, from the 1905 Aliens Act and its preoccupation with Jewish refugees through to the attacks on Black Commonwealth immigration in the period following World War II, to the current constructions of asylum seekers' (Robinson, 2005: 183). Thus, between 1962 and 1971, when the UK government changed the immigration policy[3], it dawned on many that the hope of return was a 'myth', and that they had to take a decision to get their wives and children to join them here in UK or return home (Shaw, 2000).However, Family reunification had a significant positive effect on religious observation. Indian and Pakistani migration came largely from just a few areas in the Punjab and Gujarat, in the

3 The Commonwealth Immigrants Act 1962: In response to a perceived heavy influx of immigrants, the Conservative party led government tightened the regulations, permitting only those with government-issued employment vouchers, limited in number, to settle. The Act was amended in 1968 and another new Act, The immigration Act came into force in 1971 restricting the rights of immigrants (Consterdine, 2018).

north western part of the subcontinent. The migration source areas, in both the Indian and Pakistani Punjab and in the Afghan and Kashmiri border areas of Pakistan, had been affected by the flight of Muslims from India to Pakistan and of Sikhs and Hindus from Pakistan into India in the 1947 partition of British India. Pakistani Muslims had also been uprooted by the building of the Mangla Dam on the Jhelum River on the Azad Kashmir border after independence (Ballard, 2003). These areas had experienced massive transfers of population, primarily on the basis of faith communities.

The Indian flow to Great Britain was further increased by the expulsion of the large South Asian population from East Africa in the Africanization programs that followed decolonization in the late 1960s and early 1970s(Peach and Gale, 2005). The religious composition of the East Africans differed from those who came directly from India. 58 percent of them were Hindus; 19 percent, Sikhs; and 15 percent, Muslim. In contrast, 32 percent of the Indians were Hindus; 50 percent, Sikhs; and 6 percent, Muslims (Modood et al, 1997: 298). The last South Asian immigrant group to arrive was from Bangladesh. Like the Pakistanis, more than 90 percent of the Bangladeshis were Muslim. Bangladesh, until its independence in 1971, had been the Muslim province of East Pakistan, separated from West Pakistan by a thousand miles of Indian Territory. Bangladeshi migration to Great Britain was primarily from a poor, remote rural area in Sylhet District, north-western Bangladesh. This migration peaked in the 1980s and entered Great Britain at a time of declining labour demand (Peach and Gale, 2005).

The migration 'process' of Pakistanis has been described by many academics in terms of 'an ever-escalating process of chain migration', (Ballard, 2003: 36) and is often offered as a key explanation for the concentration of Pakistani workers in particular industries (Werbner, 1990; 2005, Shaw, 2000, Kalra, 2000). Chain migration, as the name suggests, happens where one migrant member arrives in England and calls for other members of the immediate family, then extended kin and ultimately other members in his area to join them (Werbner, 1990; Shaw, 2000). The demand for labour in the West Midlands foundries as well as in the textile mills of the Pennine region was virtually inexhaustible, and as reported by Ballard, 'the wages on offer were nothing short of spectacular by local

Mirpuri[4] standards. For example, a single hour's work in Britain generates at least as much purchasing power as does a full week's hard labour in Pakistan' (Ballard, 2003: 36). Hence, after the early pioneers arrived with work vouchers to work in the mills and factories, they in turn would call for their relatives telling them of opportunities in the same mill or factory and then another set of migrants from the same family or village would arrive. The new migrants got initial support for accommodation and employment referrals from the early migrants, which helped them settle (Shaw, 2000; Kalra, 2000). However, as manufacturing declined in the late 1980s and early 1990s, many of these now older Pakistanis suffered periods of structural unemployment (Structural unemployment is a form of unemployment caused by a mismatch between the skills that workers in the economy can offer, and the skills demanded of workers by employers (also known as the skills gap). Structural unemployment is often brought about by sectoral or technological changes that make the job skills of workers obsolete. Away from factory work, the most available types of employment for Pakistani men were jobs in retail and warehousing, as packers, in driving taxis and delivery, and working in restaurants. As such many allege they were 'pushed' into self-employment running corner grocery shops, takeaways and taxi driving (Kalra, 2000).

In the recent years, immigration laws, family reunion laws have become more stringent leading to a newer phenomenon, that of 'marriage migration'. A significant number of children and grandchildren of former Pakistani immigrants continue to marry partners specially their cousins from their ancestral homelands. Ballard claims, 'No other group has been more adept at exploiting every available loophole, such that, for example, over 10,000 Pakistani spouses-the majority of whom are from Mirpur, are currently being granted right of entry into the UK each year' (Ballard, 2003: 33). Such marriages have been seen as a 'strategy' of the migrants to continue building on the kinship but can also be posited as problematic as 'first generation' of spouses in every generation may inhibit processes of individual and group integration, impeding socio-economic participation and cultural change (Charsley, 2005; 2007). One of the characteristics of chain migration is that people tend to join the same jobs that the original invitee would be doing in the new

4 Mirpur is a small city on the borders of India and Pakistan near Kashmir on the Indian side situated in Azad Kashmir in the Pakistani side. Many of the migrants in north of England belong to Mirpur (Ballad, 2003)

host country as the new migrant might not have any other network or knowhow of the labour market leading to clustering of migrants having similar social networks in similar occupations (Bornat et al., 2008; Battu et al., 2011; Horva´th, 2014). But, whereas the first generation was caught up in the myth of return (Dahya, 1979), the second generation increasingly sees return to escape the Islamophobia and racism they are confronted with in their migrant destinations (Bolognani, 2007). Even in current times, attempts to return form a part of many family histories but, faced with Pakistani bureaucracy and widespread corruption, the fear of being the victims of crime, the hot climate and tropical diseases, the process of reintegration in a demanding kin network or the disturbing experience of being a foreigner in what you consider your homeland, has made most returnees realise that the Pakistan they once knew no longer exists (Rytter, 2013: 211). This could be a considerable factor in shaping the occupational choices for Pakistanis migrants, which will be explored in this study.

Also evident from accounts of Shaw, Werbner and Kalra, most of the Pakistani men in the UK have their roots in the mills and factories where the first generation came to work (Werbner, 1990; Shaw, 2000; Kalra, 2000; Ballard, 2003). However, the transition from mills to taxi driving is not very clear as millwork is not similar to taxi driving (Kalra, 2000). To begin with mill work was paid employment and taxi drivers are largely self-employed; mill work had shifts, taxi driving hours are not fixed; mill work did not require any license, taxi driving requires licensing and some investment for getting a car, insurance etc. Then why and how did a quarter of Pakistani men get into this trade? Furthermore, while it is understandable for the first wave of migrants who might have faced substantial challenges in finding alternate jobs in the labour markets in the wake of industrial decline, it is not clear why the second-generation Pakistani men who are born and raised in the UK are also in taxiing in large numbers (Hills et al., 2010). This calls for a detailed understanding of the labour market trajectories of Pakistanis in UK with comparison to migrants from India and Bangladesh which will be discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter 4: Pakistanis in a 'merit-o-critic' labour market

This chapter explores the academic literature relevant to the research questions exploring factors affecting the employment choices of British Pakistani men and why many of them work in marginal jobs like taxi driving. Problems of the world do not always come in disciplinary silos and disciplinary silos can sometimes be 'restrictive in their approach' and thus jump to one-sided conclusions (Allen and Kitch, 1998), as such this sometimes requires deliberate crossing of the lines in order to gain a fuller understanding of the problem in hand. Also, as mentioned earlier, when researching occupational choice, some authors have suggested that 'the study of occupational choice and selection merges into the economic study of labour markets, the psychological study of personality adjustment, and the sociological study of social mobility' (Blau et al, 1952: 543). Thus, this review takes an interdisciplinary approach to explore issues of employment challenges among Pakistanis to identify social structural factors that affect employment choices and employment outcomes for ethnic minorities. This chapter begins by looking at the primary debates in economic literature on how academics explain the labour market disadvantage of Pakistanis in UK. People deciding to migrate to another country often come with a 'dream of a better life' (O'Reilly, 2009). The great American dream is already well known in academia, and many authors have used the metaphor of 'dream' to suggest some illusion migrants come with and go on to describe how the realities of their existence in the host country often end in a disillusionment. As with many immigrants, the primary motive for many Pakistanis to move to the UK was socio-economic. However, figures indicate, the great British dream has not been realised for many of these Pakistani migrants and, even after almost half a century of being in the UK, many members of this diaspora find themselves stuck at the lower end of the labour market unable to move up the social ladder (Kalra, 2000). This chapter reviews the literature explaining some of the labour market challenges faced by Pakistanis in UK.

The literature on employment challenges faced by ethnic minorities in the UK is substantial covering a wide range of issues over the past few decades (see for example, Smith, 1977; 1981; Wrench, 1996; Modood et al, 1997; Berthoud, 2000; Clark and Drinkwater, 2002; Dustmann and Fabbri, 2005; Tackey et al, 2006; Holgate and McKay, 2009; Hills et al, 2010; EHRC, 2010; Brynin and Guveli, 2012). Most studies of ethnic

inequalities start by looking at gross differences in outcomes such as rates of employment, economic activity, unemployment, income or access to higher-level occupations, comparing different ethnic groups with the white British majority. Such analyses show major differences, with most ethnic groups having poorer outcomes than the white British population except for some groups like Indians who have been shown to perform better in many aspects like a higher proportion being in professional managerial jobs, higher employment rates, and lower unemployment (Blackaby et al, 1997; Brynin and Guveli, 2012). The term 'ethnic penalty' has been used to account for 'any remaining disparity that persists in ethnic minorities' chances of securing employment or higher-level jobs, or income, after taking account of their measured personal characteristics such as their qualifications, human capital and the like' (Heath and Yu 2005: 192) which means some ethnic minorities are penalised for *being* ethnic minorities both economically and socially. Firstly, these 'penalties' translate into economic penalties in terms of higher unemployment (Carmichael and Woods, 2000), lower job levels (Khattab, 2012), higher pay gaps (Longhi and Platt, 2008) and face a 'glass ceiling' in growth and promotion at work in comparison to the white British population (Holgate and McKay, 2007). Secondly, such penalties effect migrants socially by affecting their social standing and intergenerational mobility (Dearden et al., 1997; Blanden et al., 2011; Corak, 2013). A considerable amount of literature (both academic and government reports) conclusively show that, while most ethnic groups suffer from 'ethnic penalties' in the British labour market, Pakistanis in Britain are more severely disadvantaged than other ethnic groups (Race Audit, 2017; Modood et al, 1997; Berthoud, 2000; Tackey et al, 2006; Hills et al, 2010; EHRC, 2010). Many Pakistanis not only tend to be concentrated in low-skilled manual jobs, but the proportion of those self-employed is also relatively high among Pakistani men (36.6%) compared to (13.6%) white British men (EHRC, 2010). Many studies have also confirmed that Pakistanis and Bangladeshis—both predominantly Muslim groups—perform poorly in terms of their labour market outcomes in comparison to Indians, although all three groups hail from the Indian subcontinent and therefore one might expect them to have similar experiences, if looking at labour market choice through the lens of ethnicity (Modood et al, 1997; Berthoud, 2000; Carmichael and Woods, 2000; Tackey et al, 2006; Hills et al, 2010; EHRC, 2010; Brynin and Guveli, 2012). Thus, there is a compelling need to further investigate the causes of such differences to better understand the challenges such marginalised groups face to better inform policy and practice.

In terms of employment, Pakistanis have the poorest employment rates at 52 per cent in comparison to British white (74%) and Indians (72%), (ONS, 2012). At the same time, Pakistanis also have the highest economic inactivity rate (46%) among people of working age in the UK. While this may be mainly driven by high economic inactivity rates for Pakistani women at 66 per cent, and for men at 28 per cent (EHRC, 2010), it still cannot explain the high unemployment rates for Pakistani men which is highest amongst all ethnic minority groups at 14.7 per cent, much higher than Indians at 6 per cent and the 6.8 per cent for the UK white population (Labour Force Survey, 2015). Dustmann and Fabri (2005), found Pakistani men earn respectively about 22 per cent lower wages than white British which is supported by a study on 'Pay Gaps Across Equalities Areas' by the EHRC in 2008, where Longhi and Platt report a pay gap of around 23 per cent for Pakistani men compared to White British men while Indian and Chinese men possibly had a pay advantage. In the same study, it was found that Muslim men had a negative pay gap of around 17 per cent relative to Christian men, while Jewish men had a pay advantage of around 37 per cent relative to Christian men. Pakistani and Bangladeshi Muslim men with lower qualifications experienced substantial pay penalties (Longhi and Platt, 2008).

Not only British Pakistanis tend to be concentrated in low skilled manual jobs (EHRC, 2010), the proportion of those self-employed is also relatively high among Pakistani men (18.6%) compared to white British men (13.6%) (ONS, 2012). Pakistanis are also very strongly represented in transport and communication, with taxi driving as the predominant activity. This is an 'extremely marginal form of self-employment' (McEvoy, and Hafeez, 2009: 58). The most common form of taxi driving followed is private hire, whereby the taxi is booked through a telephone office, rather than hailed on the street. Arguably the owner-drivers are engaged in a form of labour-only sub-contracting. The 'cabby is forced to take on the costs of illness and capital, together with the risks of slack business periods and illness, thus protecting the owner of the office and the radio service, which passes bookings to drivers, from many business difficulties. For the driver, the potential of violence is added to the indeterminate number of customers and insecure daily income' (Kalra 2000: 188-189).

Some of these ethnic differences are likely to be associated with racism and unfair practices by employers on the grounds of discrimination (Modood et al, 1997; Race Audit, 2017). However, as Modood and Khattab (2015) argue, some of these differences are also

likely to be associated with different ethnic practices and strategies. Self-employment among Pakistani men has been associated with barriers to employment whereby adopting self-employment is undertaken as an alternative strategy to unemployment (Clark and Drinkwater 2000). However, most studies on self-employment among Pakistanis are about corner grocery shops and take-away and, apart from Kalra, (2000) none in the UK has focussed on taxi driving in the past decades and this is where this study fills a gap.

Due to high unemployment and under employment, claimants from Pakistan claim the highest benefits across all ethnic minorities claiming benefits in the working age as per the Department of Work and Pensions report (DWP, 2012). In Kalra's account, claiming benefits was also a survival strategy after the decline of the industrial sector for the factory workers who lost their jobs and were rendered jobless for long periods of time (Kalra, 2000). This forms one of the key impetus for this study to explore why is it that one group is more disadvantaged in comparison to other ethnic groups as state policies, school practices would be the same for all groups.

There are of course several assumptions being made and questioned here. Taxi driving is generally not perceived as a socially desirable occupation, or even an aspirational vocation. The high economic inactivity rate of Pakistani men and women coupled with the high unemployment rate is not only a drain on the British exchequer but also places an extra burden on the head of the household who is usually male. It might help practitioners and policy makers to understand why Pakistanis in the UK are more disadvantaged in comparison to other ethnic groups like Indians for example, and which factors or fields need to be worked upon to help such groups in terms of their social mobility (Modood et al, 1997; EHRC, 2010; Brynin and Guveli, 2012; Zuccotti, 2014). In this respect, this study helps in understanding the factors affecting employment options and the socio-economic implications for the British Pakistanis and their British-born children. However, it is also imperative to look at the other key focus in this study to help in answering why taxi driving might be an employment option for many Pakistani men. So, the taxi industry in terms of its pull and push factors and the occupational requirements is borne in mind while conducting this study. However, it is first important to understand how academics explain the labour market disadvantage of Pakistanis which will be covered next.

Human capital issues: in a *merit-o-critic* society

> *The merit notion that, in a free society, each individual will rise to the level justified by his or her competence conflicts with the observation that no one travels that road entirely alone. The social context within which individual maturation occurs strongly conditions what otherwise equally competent individuals can achieve. This implies that absolute equality of opportunity, is an ideal that cannot be achieved*
>
> (Loury 1977: 176)

Michael Young used the term 'meritocracy' in a pejorative sense, in his 1958 book, 'Rise of meritocracy', 'warning against the inequalities that a meritocratic system produces and perpetuates' (Silwa and Johansson, 2013: 821). Lately, meritocracy has been hailed as an idyllic set of principles to which the broader society and organizations aspire to. As Shiner and Modood (2002: 209) have noted: 'Ideologically, occupational status is tied to education by the notion of meritocracy. This idea is often used to justify social stratification on the basis that individuals' positions within society are determined by merit, often defined as educational attainment' (aka Human capital) rather than ascribed social characteristics (such as class, gender or ethnicity). Thus, while economists have provided a variety of possible interpretations for the poor labour market performance of Pakistanis, most have cited poor human capital, limited English language ability, and mismatched skills for the service sector as the primary reasons (Modood et al, 1997; Dustmann and Fabri, 2005). Thus, by focusing on and analysing academic (under)achievements, it is widely believed that the key to success lies in educational attainment (Zuccotti, 2014). Thus, much has been written about the poor academic performances of Pakistani pupils in schools and colleges (See Modood, et al., 1997; Richardson and Wood, 2004; EHRC, 2010; Connor et al, 2004), almost as if to justify why Pakistanis fare poorly in their labour market outcomes. While there is considerable evidence to say that students who are eligible for free school meals perform poorly in schools as evident in figure 1. Furthermore, what is directly relevant for this study is this gap is the widest for students within Yorkshire and Humber region (figure2). However, such figures have to be seen and read with caution as they may not reveal the underlying factors behind such gaps.

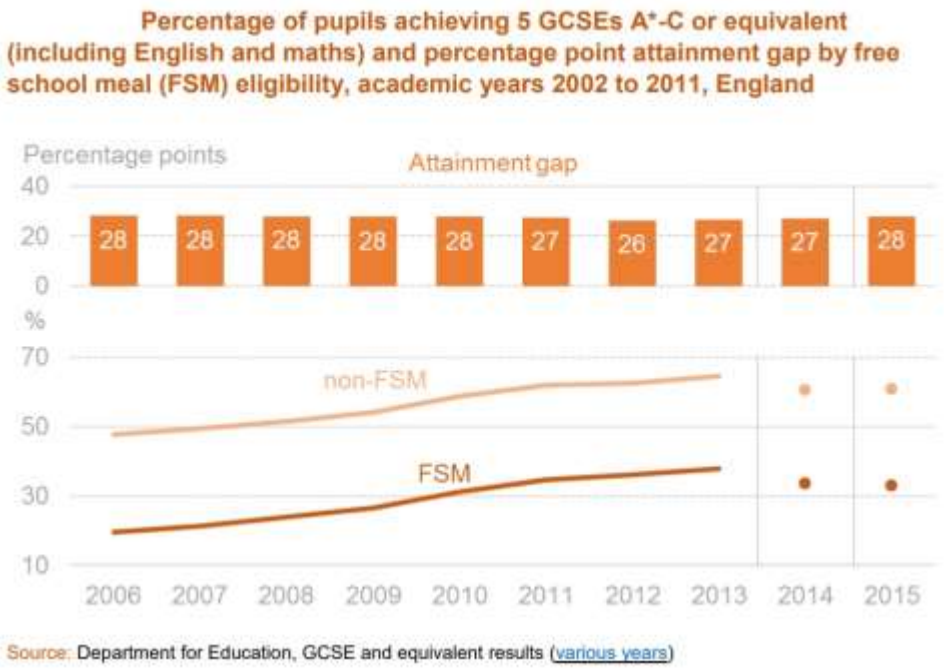


Figure 1 GCSE achievement gap of students eligible for free school meals in England, 2017

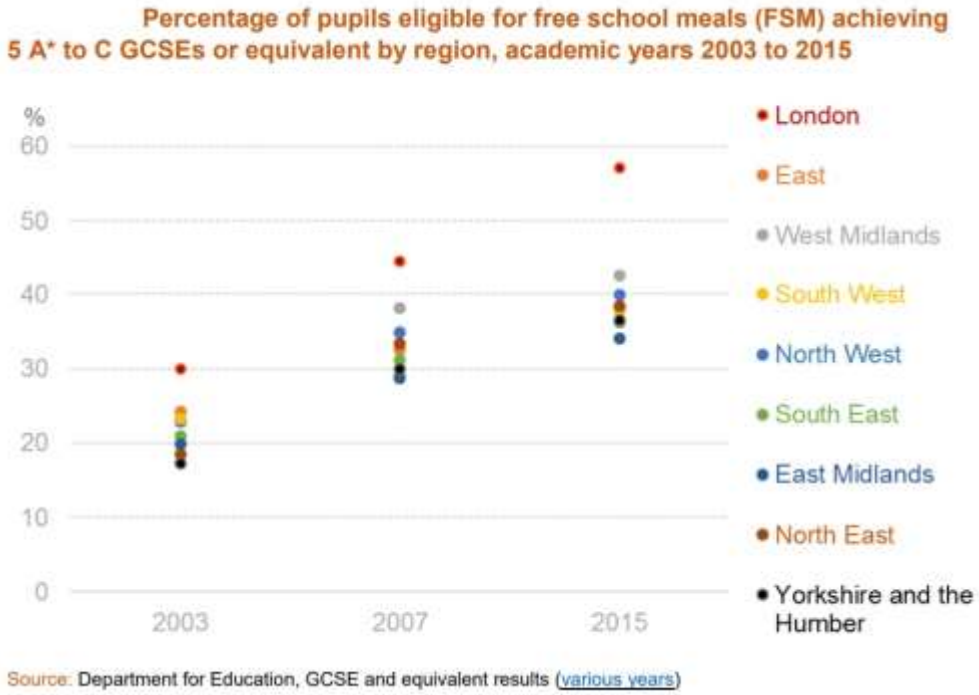


Figure 2 GCSE achievement gap within regions in England, 2017

Human Capital however, continues to be one of the most cited theory for occupational outcomes generally. Conversely, it is acknowledged that children from 'more occupationally advantaged families' (where parents are in professional, managerial also known as middle class jobs) tend to be 'more ambitious, achieve better educationally and have better occupational outcomes than other children' from disadvantaged backgrounds (Croll, 2008: 243). So, while it may be argued in a meritocratic society, 'choice is real it is also heavily constrained for many people' (Croll, 2008: 245). Furthermore, while equal opportunity policies in higher education have been introduced as per the law their effect on, access and employment in institutions of higher education (HEIs) has been marginal and some have alleged the UK is still educating different classes for different functions in society (Reay, 2017). Many studies also report that access to Russell Group universities is far from 'fair'. In a study comparing student applications and admissions to Russell group universities in the UK, unfair access is shown to take different forms for different social groups (Boliver, 2013). For those from lower social class backgrounds, the unfairness appears to be largely to do with barriers of some kind to applying to Russell Group universities and some make no application to university at all. In contrast, for those from Black, Pakistani and Bangladeshi backgrounds, the unfairness seems to stem entirely from some form of differential treatment during the admissions process by Russell Group universities. For those from state schools, however, unfair access to Russell Group universities seems to operate equally in relation to both application and admission (Boliver, 2013)

Further, women and men have different outcomes in their careers as their 'routes to education' are heavily gendered as per their ethnic cultures (Dale et al., 2002). Thus, the very process of accumulation of human capital itself is heavily influenced by structural factors like class, religion, gender and ethnicity. Yet human capital or the lack of it continues to be a major push factor in occupational segregation as some groups have better access to forming such capital while others do not.

However, recent evidence has shown the aspirations of young Pakistani men from working-class families in enhancing their human capital. Some minority groups are consciously using higher education to alter their own class status. An 'ethnic minority drive for qualifications' has been attributed to a certain 'mentality' (habitus) associated with economic migrants that includes an overriding ambition to better oneself and one's

family (Modood, 1993, 1998; Modood et al., 1997). Statistics suggest there has been an overall growth in the percentage of degree holders and formal qualifications (The Race Audit, 2017; Shiner and Modood, 2002) and evidence shows that minority ethnic groups are more likely and more committed to continuing their education after the age of 16 (Shiner and Modood, 2002). While Pakistanis and Bangladeshis are less likely than Indian groups to continue their education post-16, they are still more likely to study than the white population in UK (Shiner and Modood, 2002). In 2002, it was estimated that 77 per cent of 16-year old Pakistanis and 79 per cent of 16-year old Bangladeshis were in full-time education, both significantly higher than the 69 per cent of white 16-year olds still in education (Shiner and Modood, 2002). However, this ethnic minority drive for better human capital has not resulted in a concomitant elevation in their labour market prospects.

Zwysen and Longhi (2018) find substantial inequalities in the probability of ethnic minority graduates being employed, who are much less likely to find employment even six months after graduation compared to their white counterparts. Thus, many academics conclude that there are biases that are evident within both the education sector and labour markets that have far-reaching social implications suggesting that discrimination in education and the labour market combine to create a *cumulative pattern* of ethnic disadvantage (Gillborn and Gipps, 1996; Shiner and Modood, 2002; Abbas, 2002; Richardson and Wood, 2004). But, many social scientists maintain that education involves more than simply earning a degree or learning a particular set of skills. Education is a larger process of imparting or acquiring cultural knowledge and understandings that make the difference between struggling and succeeding in life. This could mean the lack of relevant cultural capital, social capital and symbolic capital outweigh the human capital achievements of some ethnic groups or classes (Bourdieu, 1986).

Further, it is also well established that newly arrived migrants lack knowledge about the functioning of the foreign labour market, as well as language fluency and awareness of the skills valued by employers (Dimereva, 2011). Additionally, Human capital is not necessarily portable, and migrants may find it hard to translate and adapt the educational credentials accumulated in their countries of origin (Bauder, 2005). Empirical research on the British labour market (Berthoud 2000; Heath and Cheung 2006; Modood et al. 1997) has established that, with control for education, there is some narrowing of the gap between the White native population and migrant groups, especially Indians, in terms of

access to white-collar jobs; nevertheless, the lower labour-market activity of migrants cannot be explained by a lack of human capital. Also, while the human capital explanations may be true to some extent for the first-generation Pakistanis, how does this explain the continuing disadvantage of the second and third generation Pakistanis who are born, raised and educated in the UK is not very clear. Many writers have thus viewed the human capital explanation with scepticism while explaining the labour market disadvantage as not holding true for the second generation of this group (Carmichael and Woods, 2000; Berthoud, 2000; Silberman and Fournier, 2008).

One fallacious assumption in the human capital approach is that the labour markets are meritocratic where individuals get jobs as per their qualifications and skills. Moreover, the human capital approach also ignores the obstacles various groups face while accessing the means to acquiring such human capital. While many academics have cited poor human capital, and limited English language ability (Dustmann and Fabbri, 2005), as the primary reasons, there is ample evidence of discrimination against ethnic minorities and poor recruitment and selection practices which prove disadvantageous for the black and ethnic minority groups (Heath and Cheung, 2006). As Shiner and Modood (2002: 209) have noted, 'Ideologically, occupational status is tied to education by the notion of meritocracy. This idea is often used to justify social stratification on the basis that individuals' positions within society are determined by merit (often defined as educational attainment) rather than ascribed social characteristics (such as ethnicity).' However, as mentioned earlier, the notion of meritocracy has been questioned and critiqued by many authors. Hence, some dominant explanations for the educational outcomes of ethnic minorities draw on Bourdieusian concepts like habitus, cultural capital and fields (e.g. Tzanakis, 2011; Thapar-Bjorkert, and Sanghera, 2010; Shah et al., 2010) to emphasise the importance of social class origins in limiting social mobility, this will also be further explored in the next section. However, insufficient attention has been given to the relationship between educational achievement and religion, and to whether religion may act as a constraint or resource (Werbner, 1990)–what Modood (2004) terms 'religious capital'—to ameliorate or augment the ethnicity disadvantage in forms of ethnic penalty.

Triple trouble: Asian, Muslim, and Pakistani

Despite religion and ethnicity being protected characteristics in the UK under the Equality Act 2010, there seems to be ample evidence of structured racism and discrimination against ethnic minorities in employment practices in UK (Race Audit, 2017; Smith, 1981; Hoque and Noon, 1999; Holgate and McKay, 2009), and predominantly, Muslim Pakistani men seem to be particularly disadvantaged alongside Bangladeshi and Black Caribbean men in the British labour market (Modood et al, 1997; Berthoud, 2000; Carmichael and Woods, 2000; Tackey et al, 2006; Hills et al, 2010; EHRC, 2010). Scholars also claim Pakistanis have been disadvantaged in the UK as the intersection of religion and ethnicity has led to more than one form of discrimination for this community (Smith, 1977; 1981; Wrench, 1996).

'Religious discrimination' can take specific forms, such as those associated with the concept of *Islamophobia*. A fairly consistent body of research evidence shows that, relative to other religious groups in Britain, Muslims report and experience discrimination of a greater frequency and seriousness than other religious groups (Said, 19782; Runnymede Trust, 1997; Beckford et al, 2006; EHRC, 2010). Muslims are considered more likely than Sikhs and Hindus to be disadvantaged in employment outcomes (Beckford et al, 2006: 10). It was The Runnymede Trust's report on 'islamophobia' in 1997 that brought the terminology into wider public use (which is incidentally well before the incidents of 11 September 2001). In doing so, the authors of that report in brief described their use of this word as, 'a shorthand way of referring to dread or hatred of Islam—and, therefore, to fear or dislike of all or most Muslims'. Such dread and dislike for the orient have existed in western countries and cultures for centuries (Said, 1977). In the last twenty years, however, the dislike has become more explicit, more extreme and more dangerous. It has manifest itself in all sections of the media, and society. While Edward Said's (1977) 'orientalism' did not use the word Islamophobia, it did echo the exclusion faced by the Arab Muslims and other oriental cultures in the western world. It means that Muslims are frequently excluded from the economic, social and public life of the nation and are frequently victims of discrimination and harassment (Runnymede trust, 1997: 1). The fact that the latter report was published in 1997, much before the 11 September 2001 attacks on the World Trade Centre in the USA and the Pentagon and the bombings in Madrid (2004), and London (2005 thereafter, or the recent Paris attacks (2015), it shows that

Islamophobia and its associated images appeared widely in various public discourses and media from before. For example, academics have claimed that, 'Since the 'Rushdie Affair'[5] the exclusion of minority religions from the national collective has started a process of racialization that especially relates to Muslims. People who used to be known for the place of origin, or even as 'people of colour' have become identified by their assumed religion. The racist stereotype of the 'Paki' has become the racist stereotype of the 'Muslim fundamentalist' Anthias and Yuval-Davis (1993: 55). Unfortunately, this is still a live and relevant issue as evident from the various media discourses and focus of academia on this issue. In a special issue on Islamophobia and the Racialization of Muslims in Critical Sociology in 2015 (Ghaill and Haywood, 2015), almost all scholars connect racism to Islamophobia for followers of Islam irrespective of ethnicity.

This would affect Pakistani young Muslim men and their own self-efficacy in succeeding in the labour market as evident in many studies and a general conclusion seems to be that there seems to be a strong 'Muslim penalty' for both Muslim men and women from different ethnic groups regarding economic activity and unemployment (Heath and Martin, 2013: 1005). In the same paper, it is noted that the Muslim 'effect' on unemployment varied considerably between the different ethnic groups, being much higher for Pakistani Muslim men than for other Muslim men (Heath and Martin, 2013: 1007). Many authors have thus posited that Pakistanis tend to be over represented in self-employment, unemployment or underemployment as an escape from the targeted racism against them (Clark and Drinkwater, 2002) which will be considered next.

Self-employment: an opportunity or a necessity?

Pakistanis are disproportionately represented in self-employment in Britain (Metcalf et al., 1996; Modood et al, 1997; Clark and Drinkwater, 1998; 2000; 2002; EHRC, 2010). The rapid growth of self-employment has been a pronounced feature of the UK labour market in recent years. The number of self-employed increased from 3.3 million people (12.0% of the labour force) in 2001 to 4.8 million (15.1% of the labour force) in 2017 (ONS,

5 (Rushdie Affair: Salman Rushdie's Satanic verses and the ensuing controversy across the world and the violent protests by Muslims in the UK, which led many people to see them as fundamentalists)

2018) The UK labour market has performed strongly in recent years. The unemployment rate fell to 4.3% in the three months to November 2017, the lowest level since 1975, while the employment rate remained high over the same period (75.3%) (ONS, 2018). This in part reflects the growth of self-employment, which has continued in recent years the upwards trend observed in the pre-downturn period. Consequently, self-employment now represents a larger share of employment, up from around 12% of the labour force in 2001 to around 15.1% in 2016 (ONS, 2018).

Research on this issue in the UK has focused on two sets of causal factors. First, it is argued that ethnic minority workers enter self-employment as a rational response to the labour market obstacles, often in the form of employer discrimination and marginalisation facing their group (Blume et al, 2005). This, however, ignores the possibility that there may be group-specific influences that would lead minorities into self-employment even in the absence of discrimination. This second set of factors includes such things as the existence of ethnic 'enclaves' that may provide a self-sustaining economic environment, the influence of religion and access to informal sources of finance and labour through familial ties or shared language as argued by Clark and Drinkwater (2000). However, it is found that ethnic minority individuals who live in areas that have a high percentage of their own group (the enclave effect) are less likely to be self-employed, which is contrary to what the protected market hypothesis would predict. However, one cannot ignore the fact that, the ghetto is 'the geographical expression of complete social rejection' where many ethnic minorities find themselves (Peach, 2005: 3) which needs to be borne in mind. Furthermore, those with poor English language skills and more recent immigrants have lower self-employment probabilities. Members of ethnic minorities in England and Wales who live in enclaves experience a higher risk of unemployment and a lower probability of self-employment in comparison to individuals who live in less concentrated areas (Clark and Drinkwater, 2002).

In an exploration of ethnic minorities entrepreneurship and cultural attributes, Basu and Altinay, find strong evidence for culture in the form of family traditions (referring to families in business) affect self-employment or entrepreneurship positively (Basu and Altinay, 2002). Brettell and Alstatt (2007) use the term 'occupational niche', to describe those industries where a particular immigrant group is over represented or concentrated. Modood and Khattab, (2015) also suggests that self-employment operates differentially

amongst different ethnic groups. Clark and Drinkwater cite Rafiq (1992) who argues that some religions view self-employment in a positive light. For example, in the Muslim and Sikh communities, entrepreneurship is looked upon favourably because prominent figures in both of these religions were businessmen. Adherents to such religions may have a stronger preference for entrepreneurship and the degree to which the religion is observed, which may be important (Clark and Drinkwater, 2002). This is interesting as in India, there are special castes (like Baniyas) and ethnic groups (like Gujaratis and Marwaris), who specialise in business activities (Forbes, 2014). In an article on the *Marwari* community the following was reported:

> *Marwaris usually have a very strong feel for numbers. They understand and can control them. That gives them an advantage in business over those who are not as adept. This ability is a function of our genetic pool as well as formative years, when one is able to benefit from exposure to the business ecosystem. It is probably similar for communities like the Chettiars, Gujaratis and Sindhis. All of them have a strong grasp on business—be it trading or manufacturing*
>
> (Forbes, 2014).

Therefore, it is also possible that family plays an important role in the decision whether to become self-employed as family members can be a source of cheap, informal and reliable labour, which could be a factor applicable to Pakistanis who tend to stay in extended large families (Jones and Ram, 2002). Rytter in an ethnographic study of Pakistanis in Denmark suggests after the decline of mills and factories in the 1970s, Pakistani entrepreneurs in the 1990s were willing to take the economic risk and soon became the 'immigrant group to operate the greatest number of corner shops and small grocery stores and driving a taxi became one of the largest ethnic businesses among Pakistanis in the Copenhagen area' (Rytter, 2013: 204) He further alludes that to succeed with a corner shop or a taxicab it was not important to have many years of education, but it was necessary to economise with money and income and the willingness to work long hours which was 'a natural ability' with Pakistanis (Rytter, 2013) However, it is unclear if this 'natural ability' is part of their habitus or cultural capital?

In the same study it was suggested, the economic capital to start these businesses came from savings and loans from banks or from extended networks of family and fellow villagers, the *biraderi* that offered practical help and economic support (Rytter, 2013).

Corner shops and taxi firms became family enterprises, pursuing a certain 'way of life', in which the husband, the wife and the grown-up children all contributed to running the business and soon many Pakistani families became '*nouveaux riches'*. However, in current times running a corner shop is looked down upon in the community, as it has become the business for those who cannot do anything else, especially in circles of educated families. In the corner-shop business, it is necessary to work long hours, just sitting in the back and waiting for customers to come. Furthermore, to keep these businesses alive, alcohol and possibly pornographic publications are often sold, and rumours of illegal activity like selling beverages or cigarettes without paying taxes abound (Rytter, 2013). Thus, the accumulation of money and wealth was no longer sufficient for a Pakistani family to maintain a prominent position in the changeable hierarchies of 'families that have done well'. They also strived for education to build their cultural capital (Rytter, 2013). In the UK, Pakistani self-employment is quite different both to paid-employment amongst the community and to self-employment more generally (Clark, 2014). In table 2 below, Clark looks at the pros and cons of self-employment amongst ethnic minorities to suggest that while for some ethnic groups or individuals self-employment may be path to prosperity where minorities may exploit their cultural capital for many it may not be so. Therefore, it is important to bear the distinction drawn between opportunity entrepreneurs and necessity entrepreneurs as mentioned earlier (Dawson et al., 2009)

Table 3 Pros and Cons of self-employment among ethnic minorities

Pros	**Cons**
Self-employment can be a path to prosperity for immigrant and ethnic groups.	Self-employment may be a response to discrimination in paid employment.
Minorities can exploit ethnic-specific cultural resources.	Declining self-employment rates may represent economic progress for an ethnic group.
Ethnic enclaves may provide a protected market.	Business outcomes are often worse for ethnic business owners.
Business growth can provide employment opportunities for others in the same ethnic group.	Self-employed ethnic minorities may face poor work conditions.

(Reproduced from Clark, 2015)

Amongst the Pakistani self-employed, the predominance of the transport sector is however, quite distinct with 53 per cent of workers classified in the sector, were nearly all in taxi driving (Clark 2014). Most taxi drivers in the UK are nominally self-employed and essentially offer their services to taxi companies as sub-contractors paying a fee to rent equipment, including radios and sometimes cars, from the company. Long hours of work are common and pensions, sick pay and paid holidays rare. While the nature of the work may offer some flexibility, this is nothing like entrepreneurship in the classic sense (Clark, 2014). It might suggest therefore that some groups could be utilizing the option of self-employment more than others as a way to survive in a labour market operating under the pressure of a recession and Pakistanis-Bangladeshis were able to reduce their unemployment penalty via turning to self-employment (Clark and Drinkwater, 2002; Clark, 2014).

In another attempt to explain the ethnic differences in the labour market, Blackaby et al, (1999) found significant differences between different ethnic groups in a quantitative analysis of over 100,000 males in the UK Labour Force Survey, where they explored employment prospects. They draw particular attention to the considerable disparity between Indian and Pakistani/Bangladeshi groups and argue that the 'differences are not the result of different levels of discrimination by the white majority; rather the predominately Muslim Pakistani/Bangladeshi community are less assimilated compared to other ethnic minority groups' [emphasis added] (Blackaby, et al. 1999: 1). This is a significant claim, which has been explored by sociologists and psychologists. However, the question remains to be answered is poor assimilation the cause of poor employment outcomes or is institutionalised discrimination in the labour market leading to poor assimilation of this group? To address these gaps, the next section will look at some of the key debates around assimilation in the socio-psychological literature.

Identity, assimilation and marginalization

Migrants from Pakistan have long been constructed as the 'culturally and socially most distant other' (Modood, 1997; Kalra, 2000; Werbner, 1990). Poor assimilation, or reluctance to acculturation has been posited as yet another reason for the labour market disadvantage of some minority ethnic groups (especially Pakistanis) and psychologists and

sociologists have explored this further citing interesting models and theories for different strategies adopted by migrants in the host country.

> *We have seen that in Britain, Pakistanis live on the margins of three lived-in worlds, the South Asian, with its aesthetic of fun and laughter, of vivid colours and fragrances, of music and dance; the Islamic, with its utopian vision of a perfect moral order, and the nationalist Pakistani, with its roots in the soil, in family, community and national loyalties, which connect it to the postcolonial international community and Commonwealth, and to ideas about democracy sovereignty and fair play... Culture is thus a discursive imaginary of selfhood, identity, subjectivity and moral virtue*
>
> (Werbner 2005: 17).

Traditional and segmented assimilation theories are also frequently evoked in the explanation of ethnic minority disadvantage (Gordon 1964; Portes 1995; Zhou 1999). Immigrant groups differ in the degree of their integration to the host society and, in the paradigm of traditional assimilation research, it is expected that groups which have established close relations with members of the native population are likely to transfer this profitable knowledge to the mainstream labour market (Gordon 1964). Contrarily, ethnic minority members confined to ethnic economies and enclaves might never acquire higher-reaching contacts and will thus be hindered by the weakness of their networks and will remain restricted to manual low-paid jobs (Portes 1995; Portes and Rumbaut 2001; Zhou 1999). What is more, assimilation processes may be decelerated by the reluctance of immigrants to invest in country-specific human capital, especially if they perceive their stay as temporary (Chiswick 2000; Dustmann 2000).

However, immigrants are often 'locked into a structural position in which their full acceptance as fellow citizens remains a horizon, they can just make out the contours of recognition, but it will never come within reach, as the horizon moves further away whenever they attempt to approach it' (Rytter, 2013: 210). In recent decades, it has become more and more difficult for Muslim immigrants to meet the standards of improvement set 'from above' and be fully recognised as integrated citizens (Rytter, 2011). Using the intersectional analytical framework Yuval Davis emphasizes that the 'positioning, identifications and normative attitudes of people to nations, states and nationalisms would vary, shift, contested as migrants are continuously in the process of becoming'(Yuval-Davis, 2015: 2).

According to Canadian psychologist, John Berry's (1980) theory of acculturation, immigrant groups who come from linguistic and religious backgrounds that are historically distant and therefore culturally disconnected from those of natives find it harder to adopt the values and norms of the latter (Robinson, 2005). Culture also affects the pattern of employment, including occupational choice and labour market participation and the acquisition of skills through experience (Metcalf, 2009). Unlike traditional assimilation theory, segmented assimilation predicts different outcomes for immigrants in respect to the segment of the host society to which they adapt (Portes 1995; Zhou 1999). Under segmented assimilation, acculturation may not necessarily lead to socio-economic success and upward mobility can be achieved without severing their strong ethnic bonds. For instance, Black Caribbean migrants in Britain (Model and Fischer 2002) and Indian and Chinese entrepreneurs (Heath and Yu 2005). Among new migrants, important differences in the strength of social networks are expected, as some of them New Commonwealth migrants arriving after the 1990s, for example can potentially rely on their large ethnic communities, while others may lack the support of established co-ethnics, and consequently remain restricted to the under-privileged segments of the host society. Do then differences between Pakistani and white British culture cause greater degrees of problems in the labour market than differences between the cultures of other ethnic minority groups and white British culture?

Kalra also notes that, 'culture is not something that has aided Pakistanis [in UK] but rather perceived of as a hindrance' (Kalra, 2000: 21). As suggested by Kalra (2000), 'Culture is as much a structure as the economy or politics'. Hence it is important to develop a perspective that can enmesh structure and culture to understand the effect on social action (Kalra, 2000). Studies that have addressed issues of Asian 'culture' in 'mainstream' social psychological literature also find an inherent source of identity conflict. In particular, theories have been proposed that second and third generation young Asians suffer from 'mixed up' and 'confused' identities because of the 'culture clash' that results from occupying a contradictory location between conflicting 'majority' and 'minority' cultures and identities (Archer, 2001).

Hofstede offers an organizational culture theory to explain attitudinal differences amongst people of different nationalities in his seminal work. He claims differences in attitudes are the result of different 'mental programs' that each individual internalises and by which his

or her behaviour is determined. These 'mental programs' are a product of early childhood, reinforced in later life through socialisation and life experiences in a cultural group or society (Shackleton and Ali, 1990: 110). In an empirical study, Shackleton and Ali, tested Hofstede's theory on different nationalities in Britain and found British Pakistanis, despite a lifetime spent in Britain, scored closer to their country of origin than the country of home. If culture is defined as the 'collective programming or the 'software of the mind' which distinguishes members of one group from another' (Hofstede, 1991: 5), then are the rules of this 'collective programme' (habitus) creating greater obstacles for this group to integrate more freely with the larger British society?

Furthermore, the assimilation strategies of migrants and minorities may also be affected by intersectionality of class, religious affiliations, gender, ethnicity and various forms of capital which will be explored in this study. While it is true there has been some upward mobility and progress among the younger generations, some writers have suggested, Pakistanis still reflect the 'class and occupational background' that they came with, which was rural, and not having the qualifications and transferable skills for jobs in an industrial economy like Britain (Modood, 1997; Kalra, 2000; Shaw, 2000). The social reproduction of class and culture is well-explored in literature and will be delved deeper in this study. The notion of 'reproduction' is not a static concept implying simple continuity of culture or class between South Asia and Britain. It has to be 'grasped as a local class, gendered and intergenerational power struggle, in Britain, waged through symbolic objects, and responsive to British class and life-style choices' (Werbner, 2005: xx).

The literature so far paints a picture of Pakistanis stuck between unemployment, self-employment and under-employment in the UK from an economic perspective and a marginalised, poorly assimilated community from the sociological perspective. This chapter initially aimed at finding relevant explanations for the labour market disadvantage of Pakistanis in UK in comparison to other ethnic groups. Though poor human capital has been cited by most academics as a primary reason, human capital is not formed in a vacuum but often intersectional factors like class, gender, religion and ethnicity might affect the accumulation of various forms of capital. Furthermore, statistically significant evidence for 'ethnic penalty', 'religious penalty' and 'institutionalised racism' which creates triple trouble for the Pakistani men. However, there are ample studies that paint the 'culturally distant' picture of the Pakistani community in opposition to the larger

multicultural British society, which puts the onus of their employment issues back to the British Pakistanis themselves, often ignoring structural factors, like class, religion, gender and ethnicity which might be disadvantaging member of this group *ab initio*. Additionally, the centrality of the relations of power and domination that used to be the domain of class analysis (Flemmen, 2013) is also central to social inequality which cannot be ignored.

Considerations of such various factors in a single study pose challenges around the research methodology, which needs careful consideration which will be discussed in the next part of this thesis.

PART II: Research Design and Methodology

Chapter 5: Researching 'with' the taxi drivers

In cognizance of the explorative nature of the study, an ethnographic methodology was adopted as it was thought that this provides an opportunity to provide a deeper understanding of structural factors arising out of the intersection of class, religion, gender and ethnicity(Lewis and Russell, 2011). Open access methods like conversational interviews (both informal and in-depth), participation and observation, were used for data collection. The actual practice of conducting this research posed a few challenges, which would be discussed later in this chapter with special focus on negotiating access; the multiple sites of data collection (like taxis, homes, mosques, takeaways, university); and the relevance of each site in terms of power relations between the researcher and participants. Following this, a reflection on the role of the researcher in the research process, and my own 'positionality' as a Hindu, Indian, middle class, educated woman, and how it affected my interactions with predominantly Muslim, Pakistani, male, taxi driver participants is deliberated with special focus on the emic-etic approach and ethnic matching debates within qualitative research (Michael W. Morris et al., 1999; Tatli and Özbilgin, 2012). Thematic data analysis was used to develop themes from the literature review and participants' data. There were few ethical concerns and considerations during the fieldwork, which are also worthy of discussion which have also been reflected upon. The chapter concludes by acknowledging some of the limitations of the study and some future research avenues.

Philosophical musings: the construction of social reality

This study could be done in a number of ways depending on what one asks and seeks to find (Berger, 2013). However, what one asks and seeks to find is often driven by what one believes exists (ontology) and how that may be known (epistemology). Because the questions we ask relate directly to the answers we find, our choice of topic and approach must be consistent from the outset if there is to be practical lifeworld value in our research efforts (Angen, 2000). There is consensus among scholars as Guba and Lincoln (1994: 108) have noted, that 'methods must be fitted to a pre-determined methodology', and that, questions of methods are secondary to questions of paradigm (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1992; Cresswell, 2010). Paradigm is defined as the 'basic belief system or world view that

guides the investigator, not only in choices of method but in ontologically and epistemologically fundamental ways', (Guba and Lincoln, 1994: 105). Hence it is important to start with the ontological assumptions in this thesis, and how that has influenced the methodology of this research, however it is important to provide an understanding of the development of my own paradigm that has informed this research which will be shared next.

Reflecting upon my own ontological and epistemological orientations, the constant struggle between the power (lessness) of the individual in society and the power (fullness) of the society acting on the individual was a recurrent theme in my early philosophical ruminations. As a young girl, growing up in a lower middle class, Indian Hindu household in India, I thought of myself as a free agent who could do as I please. However, soon I found this ubiquity of 'society and its social norms', which had a great bearing on my life. There were rules for everything - how to be (a girl), how to dress (smart and elegant), what to study (for example, good students study science, poor students study arts), whom to marry (within your own class and caste), even which jobs to do (or not). These rules were different for women and men; the poor and rich; the young and old and even for various castes[6] and ethnic groups. I was subjected to few religious rules so, as a Hindu you cannot eat beef, as a Muslim you cannot eat pork. I would often wonder why the society is so 'rule bound'. Why do people always dictate others to do this or don't do that based on what was perceived to be acceptable or not by the society? Although my parents raised me to be an independent woman, it was mostly within the limits of these 'social rules'. Thus, I did not miss the presence of a 'structure', which was invisible to the naked eye, but was there all around me. Although I learnt to negotiate my way around this structure sometimes by bending its rules, yet mostly, I had to concede to its powers, and it left a lasting impression in shaping my world-view. Similarly, I found such rules or paradigms, affected my working life in multinational companies (largely American) where I worked for over 20 years before I moved to academia, which I soon sensed had its' own set of 'rules'. I thus started to see the embeddedness of structure, culture, history, politics, society, in people's daily lives. More importantly, what concerns me most is how the mere

6 The caste system in ancient India itself is a social stratification system based on occupational segregation

coordinates of where you are born, like the country of birth, or country of origin; or the family you are born in, in terms of class and religion, gender norms of the society, all tend to have significant impact on the opportunities and challenges to life chances of individuals in terms of education and employment choices.

However, I find my research philosophy rather uncomfortably nestled somewhere between the two extremes of the social structure affecting the life of the individual and the individual influencing the social structure. The reason why it is 'uncomfortable' is because it is not static and oscillates in a continuum between these two positions throughout the study. McCall defines methodology as 'a coherent set of ideas about the philosophy, methods, and data that underlie the research process and the production of knowledge' (McCall, 2005: 1774). As evident from the literature review, it was Bourdieu's constructivist structuralism, and Crenshaw's' intersectionality which resonated with my own philosophy and provided a paradigm, which I could apply to the research ontologically, epistemologically and theoretically, which will be explained in the next two sections.

Bourdieu's 'structural constructivism'

Since the time Thomas Kuhn, (1962) made 'paradigms' famous, scientists have deliberated on understanding this fairly enigmatic term. If we acknowledge that 'paradigms consist of scientific discoveries that are universally recognized and which, for a time, provide a community of researchers with certain types of problems and solutions' (Kuhn, 1962: 11), then Bourdieu's 'constructivist structuralism' can be considered 'paradigmatic' (Frere, 2013: 248). Even if we consider, the definition cited earlier by Guba and Lincoln (1994), Bourdieu's 'constructivist structuralism' could still be a 'world view that guides the investigator' (Frere, 2013: 248). Indeed, this Bourdieusian paradigm has opened a space for reflexion between the two poles that dominated twentieth century sociology for a long time- objectivism and subjectivism. Although, his concepts have often been labelled as being deterministic, leaning more towards objectivism than subjectivism (Jenkins, 1992), sociologists have recognised that Bourdieu's notions have allowed a reconceptualization of the relationship between individuals and their social environment (Frere, 2013; Schwartz, 2010; Sewell, 1990). Bourdieu's own ontology can be understood as situated somewhere between realism (a research philosophy which relies

on the idea of independence of reality from the human mind) and social constructivism (which considers all reality as socially constructed). His 'structuralism' refers to the idea that 'there are objective structures in the social world which exist independently of the consciousness and will of actors' (Bourdieu, 1987: 147). These structures are capable of orienting and restraining social practices in, and social representations of, the world. When using 'constructivism', on the other hand, Bourdieu suggests that actors' schemes of perception, are constitutive of their habitus (mental dispositions), and always exist in relation to their positions in social structures which he has called fields (ibid). The study takes a closer look using key Bourdieusian concepts to explore how employment choices might be shaped by both internal (habitus, doxa, Illusio) and external (the employment field, social spaces) structures in this case for British Pakistani men working as taxi drivers. To understand this, it is important to get inside the 'mental worlds' or habitus of these men to understand how and when critical decisions around employment are taken. In addition, more importantly, how such decisions are affected by intersectionality of factors such as class, affiliations (religious), gender and/or ethnicity? However, the pressing question was how one researches these mental dispositions within an intersectional framework which is discussed next.

Intersectionality: as a construct, framework and method

Since the time intersectionality gained prominence as a construct, scholars have ruminated on the epistemological implications for such studies in terms of how to do intersectional studies (Harris, 2016). McCall (2005: 1795), for instance, argues, 'what is restricting feminist research on intersectionality comes down primarily to methods – not substance, theory, or philosophy'. This is because researchers often struggle with the inter-categorical framings of differences, or anti-categorical framing of deconstructing such differences (McCall, 2005). Crenshaw (1991), for example, argues that intersectionality should not become purely anti-essentialist, but instead focus on coalitions (Harris, 2016). In sum, intersectionality struggles to deploy categories of difference in ways that affirm the reality of people living at varied intersections while not reifying the meanings of those intersections (Harris, 2016: 113). In the context of intersectionality research, both quantitative and qualitative methods can offer tools that generate rich insights depending on the research question being asked and the purpose of the inquiry. For example, quantitative research methods can be used for several purposes in intersectional analyses.

Firstly, quantitative methods are helpful in generating categories for comparison purposes. Related to category comparison, researchers can disaggregate quantitative data to analyse subgroups within a particular category to generate a more complex picture of reality than is presented when the entire racial category is examined (McCall, 2005; Griffin and Museus, 2011). Finally, researchers can quantify the findings of a qualitative inquiry into the experiences of a person or persons who are situated at the intersection of social identities or groupings to assess whether those findings are generalizable to the larger population at that intersection. Qualitative methods also have significant utility in conducting intersectionality research (Griffin and Museus, 2011). They can, for example, serve several purposes. Firstly, researchers can use qualitative approaches to 'excavate the unique voices of those who are situated at the intersections of multiple social identities and groupings, which can illuminate their unique experiences and realities that might otherwise remain unheard' (Griffin and Museus, 2011: 15; Crenshaw, 1991). Secondly, qualitative methods can answer questions regarding why particular groups at social identity intersections suffer from disparities in areas such as educational and occupational success or occupational segregation (Griffin and Museus, 2011).

Quantitative or qualitative: an 'epistemological battle in disguise'

Many of the studies and policy reports regarding the position of ethnic minorities in the labour market are quantitative, drawing upon large survey data like the UK's Census, and Labour Force Survey (LFS), and others (EHRC, 2010, Modood et al, 1997; ONS, 2016). Certainly, these have proved helpful in drawing attention to issues around (un)employment challenges for ethnic minorities leading to 'ethnic penalties' (Heath and McMohan, 1998); 'pay gaps' (Platt and Longhi, 2012); and occupational clustering 'in lower marginal occupations' (EHRC, 2010). They have also been helpful in providing insights into the differences between different ethnic minority groups like Indians, Chinese, Pakistanis, Bangladeshis, and African-Caribbean (Brynin and Guvelli, 2012; Modood et al, 1997; EHRC, 2010; Blackaby et al, 1999), where it has been highlighted Pakistanis in UK are severely disadvantaged in comparison to other ethnic minorities like Indian and Chinese in terms of their labour market prospects. Although these quantitative studies are helpful in highlighting the (what) trends, gaps, and areas of concern for policy makers, however, when it comes to explaining (why) these trends, the quantitative data falls short, calling for more qualitative studies to give depth to these

statistics and voice to people in these ethnic groups (Clark and Drinkwater, 2010). The reason being quantitative studies, without the relevant social or economic context, end up painting a partial picture of the issue being studied, obliterating significant contextual information. Further, to turn people into numbers is to strip them of their voice.

Despite their potential utility in conducting intersectional analyses, both quantitative and qualitative approaches have significant limitations, particularly when engaging in intersectional analyses. Quantitative methods have perhaps received the most attention for their limitations, being critiqued as inadequate to address the integrative, complex nature of identity. Furthermore, the disaggregation required by quantitative analysis tends to frame identity as homogeneous, ignoring differences within identity groups (Griffin and Museus, 2011). With regard to qualitative analysis, while scholars have asserted the importance of qualitative strategies to intersectional analyses however, qualitative methods are also not without their limitations. In addition to being time and cost-intensive, qualitative data can be challenging to interpret; it can also be hard to understand how the specific dimensions are coming together or are most salient in a particular experience (Griffin and Museus, 2011). Mixed methods have been considered as a useful methodological alternative with the potential to maximise the benefits and balance the limitations of both qualitative and quantitative strategies (Griffin and Museus, 2011). Mixed methodology is based on a third epistemological orientation- paradigmatic pragmatism as 'an epistemological middle ground'.

While authors have noted, the qualitative-quantitative divide is an 'epistemological battle in disguise' (Carter and Little (2007), there is no fundamental reason why these two paradigms need to be in opposition. There are synergistic opportunities in bringing together the strengths of both the approaches for a higher purpose of developing knowledge, which are both valid and relevant in intersectional studies. And the synergy does not necessarily have to be within the same study as in the use of mixed methods, but as researchers, we can draw upon the strength of each other's academic pursuit in building knowledge for the larger interest of the society and world. As noted by Atkinson:

> *Qualitative methods explore, and quantitative methods legitimize. The finding that qualitative methods generate must be empirically verified through rigorous methods of conventional (quantitative) research. Qualitative research is, however, a vital part of this process. Without it, researchers would remain too*

> *far removed from the phenomenon of interest to be able to generate creative hypotheses for testing*
>
> (Atkinson, 1992: 15).

Moreover, there is growing consensus among academics that science's 'objective' world 'is but an interpretation of the world of our immediate experience' (Angen, 2000: 386), which is none other than subjective. What this means is sociologists are 'now less wedded to the idea of a *science* of society, and acknowledge that social research is complicated, messy, personal and subjective (O Reilly, 2003: 111, original emphasis). Although, 'proponents of positivist quantitative research regularly imply that qualitative, especially Interpretivist, approaches to human inquiry are so rife with threats to validity that they are of no scientific value' (Angen, 2000: 378). But, then the move to detach oneself from the lived world through positivist objective practices is to shun our human moral responsibility and that only an interpretive approach to research can provide the thoughtfulness and care required to study the human condition (Angen, 2000).

Thus, even when quantitative studies continue to dominate social sciences with their positivist or realist paradigms, there is growing cognizance of valuable insights coming from qualitative data and more contextual subjective accounts where groups under the spotlight are not merely objects of study, or variables on a spreadsheet, or simply numbers expressed in percentages, but are being recognised as actual people living within subjective contexts that have bearings on their actions and who have a voice which needs to be heard and listened to. Hence, while valuable information was found through quantitative studies done by other eminent researchers that formed the foundation for this research, as an intersectional piece of work, this study seeks to contribute to the building of the knowledge by an in depth qualitative approach that could provide voice to the group in question here- the British Pakistani taxi drivers (Griffin and Museus, 2011). The research was thus conceived as a qualitative study with an inductive approach.

In reflection, one could say no method is superior to another. These are means to an end and not an end in itself. Each method has its own benefits and yet poses certain limitations that are contextual. As researchers come with their own epistemological beliefs and values (Hammond and Wellington, 2012), they need to be aware how this effects' their methodology and choice of methods. Which method is used is entirely depended on what is being studied, what are the time lines, and how the data is analyzed and presented

(Bechhofer and Paterson, 2012). However, some disciplines prefer certain methodologies and methods, which practically push researchers towards one method or the other, but with the rise in interdisciplinary research and research problems becoming more complex in a global, multisite, multicultural context, the qualitative researcher benefits from a multitude of tools in their tool box without being biased. However, an ethnographic approach was considered best for this study to understand which structural factors might influence the life chances of Pakistani men driving taxis in particular, and people from migrant communities or ethnic minorities in general. The ethnographic approach taken will be discussed next.

Ethnography in a taxi

Ethnography means the practice of writing (graphy) culture (ethno) (Bryman and Bell, 2011). According to Hammersley and Atkinson, 'In its most characteristic form it involves the ethnographer participating, overtly or covertly, in people's daily lives for an extended period of time, watching what happens, listening to what is said, asking questions – in fact, collecting whatever data are available to throw light on the issues that are the focus of research.' (2007: 3). It is both a research method and the written product of research. Ethnography uses 'naturalist' modes of inquiry. 'Many writers use ethnography as a method, this reduction of ethnography to method means that the value of other levels of ethnography, that is, as a full-fledged methodology and as a specific epistemology and ontology, are still often overlooked in academic writing research' (Lillis, 2008: 355). As Hammersley and Atkinson (1983) detail, there is a need to distance the ethnographic method from simply that of participant observation and move closer towards a more fluid conceptualization of ethnography. In this sense ethnography has no one particular method of data collection but rather is best viewed as a style of research that is distinguished by its objectives to understand the social meanings and activities of people in a given field or setting (Brewer, 2000). From this perspective of understanding people's actions and experiences of the world, ethnography is best characterized as a 'family of methods' which involves direct and sustained social contact with agents in the field to understand the representations of experience (O'Reilly, 2005).

The ethnographic tradition has historically been strongly connected to the understanding of experience of foreign (i.e. colonial) or marginalized 'others' (see Brewer, 2000; O'Reilly,

2005). In both cases the utility of ethnography represents an ability to better understand a way of life alien to the researcher and the mainstream collective imagination. From this it is possible to glean how ethnography can be used to better enable our understanding of the day-to-day reproduction of labour, experience and meaning in the work environment.

In the context of men in low paid working-class jobs, ethnography represents not just a methodological and procedural approach towards experience, but also a closer, symbolic imagining of experience, constrained by structures of culture and power (Bourdieu, 1987). By watching, listening, asking questions and sharing experiences in the field, the ethnographic process allows the researcher to acquire a close sense of the social structures and embedded cultures from the perspective of those who live it (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983). In this context, conclusions are drawn from the everyday routines, practices and experiences that constitute social action within and outside the workplace. As such, the ethnographic approach aims to achieve a deeper level of interaction through a 'reflexive engagement' that lends the participants a voice through the development of a reciprocal research encounter. Furthermore, the use of ethnography in this context sheds light on the normative assumptions, embedded cultures and hidden exchanges of workers through the perspective of everyday working life (Simpson et al., 2014).

Although ethnography as a methodology has gained popularity among social scientist, it is not without its critics. Issues around the reliability and validity of ethnographic data, has been raised (LeCompte and Goetz, 1982), and academics have often asked what knowledge can be produced by ethnography that cannot be generated by other means going to the extent of calling ethnographers 'gossips'(Carmel, 2011). In answer to this question, Huby et al, (2011) emphasize the situated experience of the ethnographer, and ethnography as a realistic account that emerges from this situated experience, which distinguishes the ethnographic method from other modes of enquiry and, for many, describes both its strengths and weaknesses.

Since the aim of ethnography is to understand the life of the 'native', (Greetz, 1973) as it is lived. The notion of 'everyday life' is key to definitions of the distinctive undertaking of ethnographic fieldwork. For many, the virtue of ethnography lies in its alternative to a social science framed in positivist terms. Some academics go as further to describe ethnography as 'anti-positivist' (O'Reilly, 2009: 125). Sometimes, the researcher begins

with variables already given by some theory, and then tries to figure out how to locate, decontextualize, and measure those variables. In contrast, the ethnographer has the freedom to discover and trace the complex and emergent connections that are a feature of social life as it is 'really' lived (Huby et al, 2011). Thus, this study aims to uncover the meanings taxi drivers make of their situations bearing in mind the intersectionality of their class, religious affiliations, gender and ethnicity and how being a Pakistani Muslim working-class male affect their occupational choices.

Ethnography is a demanding activity, requiring diverse skills, including the ability to make decisions in conditions of considerable uncertainty (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007). Some prefer to use the term ethnography to imply only one method of data generation - observing behavior. In practice, ethnographers often do more than just observe. They may also gather data through interviews and collection of documents, photographic images, observational accounts, layout of homes, architecture, uniforms etc. Denzin (1997) encouraged ethnographers to use triangulation to bring in more rigour in their studies. An ethnographic methodology with participant observation, semi structured interviews, informal conversations and focus groups were used to gather data for this study. While participant observation and interviews have been widely acclaimed in ethnography, informal conversations have been rarely given their due accreditation, but they can provide very rich data because these conversations are more free flowing, genuine and from the heart rather than calculated as sometimes is the case in formal interview settings. In formal interviews people often might see it as a performance (Goffman, 1956) and tend to give structured answers. During this research effort was made to break ice with taxi drivers by meeting them in natural informal settings like their own taxis, or their homes, the mosques they visit and community centres to which they are affiliated.

Finally, unlike the older tradition of ethnography, where the ethnographer was supposed to be 'a fly on the wall', (Power, 1989: 43) invisible in the field and the written product, contemporary ethnographers are growingly apprised of the subjective nature of interpretive research and more accepting of the fact that it is impossible and hence futile to keep the researcher invisible. Far from being a 'fly on the wall' the researcher is 'the elephant in the room' whose presence needs to be acknowledged. It is thus necessary to be reflexive of your own assumptions that have driven the research before moving on to

provide details on how the research was designed and why data has been collected in the way it has.

While 'gaining access' is widely acknowledged as vital to ethnography, depending on the school of ethnography espoused, analytical separation of accesses from other ethnographic data could be seen as contrary to the spirit of the enterprise (Calvey, 2008). For example, in much anthropology the primary aim is cultural interpretation (Fetterman, 1989: 28). In this case the very processes of gaining access are likely to demonstrate aspects of the culture being studied, and analysis of access processes is rightly included as part of the analysis of the culture itself which will be discussed next.

'Are you a spy?' Negotiating access, trust and participation

Negotiating access requires 'strategic planning, hard work and dumb luck' (Van Maanen, 1991). As a regular user of taxis, I had regular informal conversations with taxi drivers in their taxis about their lives, as to why they drive taxis, how their experience has been in the labour market in the UK, as well as how have they adapted their life in a different country (UK). It was during these conversations in the taxis that I became interested in this research as a potential area of inquiry. The discussions in the taxi proved to be a rich source of data as most taxi drivers were happy to talk about their lives if someone was interested to listen. As most taxi drivers in the northern cities (Leeds, Bradford, and Manchester) are of Pakistani origin, I used the opportunity, as a customer, to initiate conversation. The first step was to confirm their ethnic origin. Some private hire companies have apps, which give you details of the driver like name and car number once your vehicle is dispatched. Further it was easy for me as an Indian to identify Pakistanis, Indians and Bangladeshis based on their names, facial features, and English accents. I also confirmed my 'hunches' by asking them directly which country they are from. If the driver was of Pakistani origin and showed an interest in talking to me, I introduced myself and explained my research interest. It was during these talks, that I uncovered certain dichotomies, which formed the basis of my research questions.

The taxi proved to be an accessible site for me to get direct access to participants, but also posed concerns around ethics, informed consent and power asymmetries, which will be discussed in the next few sections. I would start the preliminary conversation in the taxi after obtaining their verbal consent. Here it is important to mention that early in the

research, I used to sit in the back of the car as traditionally most customers would. However, once I started the fieldwork, I realised it was difficult to have conversations as I was constrained from watching them speak as they were too. We relied on looking at each other through the rear-view mirror which was both inconvenient and not safe, so I switched to a practice of sitting in the front seat to attenuate the power distance (literally) between us. This proved to be helpful as the taxi drivers were more willing to chat and have deeper conversations when I sat in the front seat. I made simple notes on my phone in the taxi and detailed notes were made afterwards. Although these rides lasted for approximately 20 minutes (the average time taken for me to commute from my residence to the university or back), sometimes the drivers got so engaged in the conversation that they carried on talking even after we reached our destination. These conversations provided rich data and further opportunities to get more referrals for participants. Sometimes if I found the 'story' of the taxi driver warranted a bit more exploration, I would extend the ride to continue the conversation and exchange phone numbers to schedule an in-depth conversation sometime later. In fact, the exchange of phone numbers was like a litmus test for me to check if I had gained their trust (within that short time or not). More than 150 such rides were taken during the research period beginning March 2015 to September 2018. Of these I got the phone numbers of around 50 drivers and around 30 drivers agreed for interviews and exchanged phone numbers. Some taxi drivers introduced me to their friends when I visited them in mosques or community centres or their homes. Hence, a purposive, yet random, snowballing and opportunistic sampling method was used.

However, I found it difficult to get many of them to commit to a date and time or show up for the in-depth interview. In my preliminary fieldwork, I realised some of them just could not imagine that somebody was (actually) doing research on their lives. In one conversation, a taxi driver asked me "do they *pay you* to do this work?" or "*Who* will you report this to?" "Why have they engaged *you* in this research?" One even went to the extent of saying, "So now they have an *Indian imported spy* for us, hahahaha!" One taxi driver asked, "You are too old to be a student, tell me *really why* you are doing this?" One Pakistani corner shop owner whom I had approached for some references of taxi drivers said; 'I have spoken to many taxi drivers, but they do not want to speak to you as *they think you are from the tax department*. They cannot come to think why anybody would do research on them. (Tariq, Male, 56, Leeds1st generation). In fact, the very process of

gaining access speaks a lot about the culture being studied and, in my case, provided some insightful findings. For example, as a woman, I found it difficult to get them to meet me in coffee shops or restaurants. They were more comfortable chatting in their taxis; or that wearing traditional clothing like sarees and salwar kameez helped (or so I thought), in gaining their trust.

Academics like O'Reilly (2009) have emphasised the importance of building trust and rapport in an ethnographic interview. It was indeed a challenge to build trust and rapport in such short time in the taxis and I realised I had to 'earn' their trust. Also, in the years since 9/11 and 7/7, 'Muslims in Britain have in many ways taken on the status of a suspect community' (Ryan et al, 2009: 49). As a result, Bolognani argues that 'any piece of research involving Muslims becomes political' (Bolognani, 2007: 290). The climate of Islamophobia in the aftermath of various terror strikes even during the period of this research 'created a general sense of mistrust towards people investing issues concerning Muslims in Britain' (Bolognani, 2007: 281). Similar concern, have also been voiced by other non-Muslim researchers, researching Muslims (Ryan et al, 2009; Spalek, 2003; McLoughin, 2000). But even Muslim researchers researching fellow Muslims have raised issues regarding gaining the trust of participants who are 'their own people' (Chaudhry, 2010: 441).

It was interesting to note the process of building trust as a researcher and the continuous (re)negotiation of access based on who is known or not known to you as a researcher. It was a chance meeting of taxi drivers with the local police and councillors where I met a few of the taxi drivers to whom I had already spoken earlier. As other taxi drivers saw me interacting with my participants (who did not know who else I had interviewed) and the councillor whom I had met and interviewed earlier, they realised I knew many others (even the Councillor) in the community. I could feel their trust levels go up and their acceptance of me substantially increased which also helped me recruit a few more participants for in-depth conversations. It was a similar taxi ride to the city centre when I met one of the chief gatekeepers who went on to introduce me to the Mosques and the ladies Quran circle.

As mentioned earlier, I was initially viewed with suspicion either considered 'a tax inspector', or even as 'an imported spy' by some of the participants. The experiences of

researchers in recruiting and interviewing Muslim research participants raises questions about '(mis)trust', and who can research whom, how access is negotiated and trust established, how differences can be overcome and what strategies one needs to adopt to carry out research with specific sections of the population, especially within local areas (Ryan et al, 2011). Academics also believe that the biography of the researcher (who you are, what is your background) also affects the research relationship in many ways (Kim, 1994). This further made me reflexive of the subjective nature of research in general and qualitative studies in particular and to the issue of the emic-etic (insider-outsider) approach and ethnic matching issues which will be discussed in detail later, but back to trust first.

Celebrated author and Leadership coach, Stephen Covey, in his book, *The Speed of Trust,* says, to be trusted, one must be perceived as trustworthy. Trustworthiness comes from character and competence. Character is sensed by others from your integrity and intent. Competence is established by your ability and results. He also suggests the use of an emotional bank account between two people where each time you say or do something positive, it makes a deposit in the emotional bank account, which helps to build trust (Covey, 2006). Some of these tips were applied to gain the trust of participants in this research.

Based on my preliminary research experience, I realised the drivers would have certain questions regarding the intent of my research. I also had to pique their interest in this as a co-producer of knowledge (Pillow, 2003). Hence, I devised a 'trust pitch' (Table 4) where I attempted to pre-empt questions such as, 'why are you doing this research?' 'Who will the report go to or be seen by?' 'Why would anybody be interested?' 'How will this be of benefit to us?' This short speech was helpful in answering questions that they might have about the researcher's 'intent' and 'credibility' and build a foundation on which further 'deposits' in the emotional bank account could be made. I also used to physically carry a copy of my Master's Dissertation on the same topic and two university magazines (the alumni Network, and PhD prospectus) where I was featured, which I pulled out sometimes as further evidence to build my credibility.

Table 4 Trust Speech and Verbal Consent

Trust Speech and verbal consent
I am doing a research for my PhD at the University of Leeds. I was working in India for over 20 years before I moved here for my master's degree. I became interested in this topic for my master's degree in which I received a Distinction. I also won an award for being an outstanding student and doing quality research. I found lot of research has been done on other ethnic minorities in UK like Polish, Eastern Europeans, Chinese, and African-Caribbean but very limited on Pakistanis. As a migrant myself, I am basically trying to explore the factors affecting employment choices of migrants and what brings anyone into taxi driving- Is it a choice or constraint? Our conversation will be kept confidential and anonymized so no one would know your real identity. Also, you can always pull out of the conversation if you do not feel comfortable. So, if you are comfortable, it would be a big help if you share your perspectives and story. So why did you come into taxi driving?

Additionally, I used simple icebreakers to initiate conversation ranging from a variety of topics from the customary British weather talk to the traffic situation, or how was their day- Busy or Idle? Sometimes, they would be listening to Bollywood music (songs from Indian films), which is very popular with Pakistanis and we would strike a conversation about the film, singer or music of that era. I also watched many Pakistani movies online to build my own knowledge about their films. Such observations helped me to gain a common ground with the taxi drivers and it would then be easier for me to broach the topic of my research. These supposedly irrelevant chats were also very helpful not only to break ice and get them talking, but also to get their views on various issues thus helping me to discover their 'habitus'. In one such ride on the day after the Brexit referendum (24th June, 2016), the taxi driver was listening to the referendum voting analysis on the radio. When I asked, 'So how will Brexit affect you?' He said,

> *It affects everyone. The British People have just proved how racist they are. Earlier I thought they discriminate towards us specially who are not 'gori chamri' (fair skinned). They do not like migrants. My wife is a French (Pakistani) national. They don't like us there (in France) and now I don't know what our future is here (in UK). I never thought this would be the result. This is bad news not only for people like us, but the entire EU population here*

(Yusuf, Male, 36, Dewsbury, 1st Generation).

Many such topical conversations, which will be discussed in detail in the finding's chapters, were insightful.

Apart from the short term strategies in taxis, I also used some long term strategies, where once I got the phone numbers of the taxi drivers I would send them a short message over WhatsApp (if they had the app which is easy to identify if you have a smart phone) saying, "*it was wonderful meeting you today and I look forward to meeting you soon regarding my research*". I also sent them messages over their festivals like Eid, or any other seasonal festivities like New Year. However, sometimes there were other associated challenges with sharing the phone numbers with them. Like for instance, some of the taxi drivers also sent me Facebook requests, which I was initially sceptical to accept, but then on further reflection, I accepted. I was reflexive about a few ethical concerns here but culturally, in both India and Pakistan, relationships are built around trust. Not accepting a friend request would have been seen as not trusting them. And how could I earn their trust if I did not trust them in the first place? This would have been a huge withdrawal from the emotional bank account as mentioned earlier and detrimental to the research. However, these do raise questions on the fine line between the professional and personal (life) of the researcher, which are blurred oftentimes during fieldwork. As Wanda Pillow says, as reflexive researchers, one needs to do research 'with' the participants not 'on' the participants, so it is important for ethnographers to make such decisions when doing ethnographic field work (Pillow, 2003).

In order to do justice to the ethnographic research it was further necessary to spend more time with taxi drivers not only in their taxis but also with them in their communities like Mosques, community centres, taxi drivers' meetings, and union meetings. Thus, I joined the local Mosque for Quran classes, Eid celebrations, employability sessions, bake sale for cancer research, a winter festival (where I also doubled up as a volunteer to face paint children on the day). In the Quran classes, I met the wife of one of the taxi drivers who then introduced me to wives of other taxi drivers who were also interviewed for this research. Leeds is a small city and the Pakistani community is very well connected, so after a few events, I started meeting the same people over and over again which helped me establish credentials within the community. My acquaintance with key people in the

community, like councillors, imams and mosque managers, also helped in building trust over time however, every site had its own relevance, power dynamics which will be discussed next.

Site of interview and its relevance

Many academics have stressed how interview sites can yield important information about the way participants construct their individual and social identities (Sin, 2003). Carter (2004), a white male sociologist, cites in his experience of researching Afro-Caribbean nurses in the NHS where the location of the interview had considerable effect on the power dynamics between the researchers and researched. While the short preliminary interviews for this thesis were largely conducted in taxis, the in-depth interviews were done either in the homes of the taxi drivers or my own home. I found they were reluctant to meet me in any café (which could be due to the gender norms as being a male driver, it was considered inappropriate to go to a café with a woman), but they were also not comfortable in coming to the university, except for one taxi driver. In fact, he was very pleased to be at the university and said:

> *This was the dream with which I came to England, to study in the university but it was never to be*
>
> (Yusuf, Male, 36, Dewsbury, 1st Generation).

Interviews in homes of the taxi drivers provided access not only to the verbal data of the conversation, but also to aspects of their culture, which would otherwise be missed in a formal setting. Like in most Pakistani homes (also in many Indian households), you are expected to take your shoes off at the entrance. Food is an essential part of hospitality, so if you are invited into a home, then tea and snacks would most likely be served. When the participants came to my home I did the same, as this is a shared cultural norm. In one instance, when I was not able to prepare any snacks for the participant, I apologised saying I was out the whole day and could not cook to which he replied,

> *You should have come to my place; my wife would have cooked Biriyani (a traditional rice dish) for you. In our place food is like a must for guests and friends unlike these British people who will not bother and are too formal even with their own families*
>
> (Akhtar, 56, second generation, male, Leeds).

Although, I did feel they were more comfortable in their own homes, I don't think being in my home affected the conversation negatively. In fact, they were less distracted in my home in comparison to their own homes where we would often be interrupted by their wives or children who would come over to say 'hello' to me and sometimes sit down to join the conversation. In another instance, a visitor came by to the taxi driver's house (who is a single parent) and I was immediately requested to go to the dining area with his kids as the taxi driver said,

> *This man will not see it very favourably (a woman sitting in the same room as them, meaning men)*
>
> (Rameez Khan, Male, 53, Bradford, 1st Generation).

It was difficult to record interviews in taxis; however, recording was done where the participant was comfortable. In other instances, notes were taken. Sometimes participants were reluctant to allow recording, but when they became more comfortable they allowed the conversation to be recorded, and thus some interviews were recorded midway through. This contradicts some of the oft cited assumptions of the superior and dominant position of the researcher (Kvale, 1996), as in my case, more often than not, it was the taxi driver who decided when and where the interview would be held (if at all) and whether or not the conversation could be recorded.

The next section will discuss in more details the methods used for data collection like conversational interviews and why they were better suited than traditional structured or semi structured ones.

Methods: conversational interviews, observation and participation

The interview is 'probably the most ubiquitous of all qualitative data collection techniques' (Atkinson and Silverman, 1997). Our social life is also heavily reliant on conversations and talks, and the task of the ethnographer is to 'tune into such talks and engage in and ask questions relevant to her research (O'Reilly, 2009). Whatever the methodology like ethnography or case studies, interview as a method is used widely to gather data. It is acknowledged that interviews help to understand the world from the subject's point of view, to unfold the meaning of peoples' experiences, and to uncover their lived world

prior to scientific explanations (Kvale, 1996). Interviews are seen as a progressive dialogical form of research, suggesting mutuality and egalitarianism' (Kvale, 2006: 481).

The interview can be either structured as in surveys, or semi structured as used in most qualitative research, and unstructured, what Patton (2005) calls 'the conversational interview'. A structured interview resembles an interview schedule where the same questions are asked to every participant. The semi-structured interview approach uses some pre- formulated questions, but no strict adherence to them. Semi-structured interview allows the researcher enough flexibility to reword the questions to fit into the interview. Participant's responses in qualitative interviews are open-ended and not restricted to choices provided by the researcher. It can be used in a numerous different way, in a variety of epistemological stances. The conversational interview is open and relies on the natural flow of conversation. The researcher uses few if any pre-formulated questions. In effect, the interviewees have a free rein to say what they want. O'Reilly (2009) draws a distinction between qualitative research using semi structured interviews and the ethnographic interview that it is largely unstructured like an in-depth conversation. Kvale (1996) also calls these 'interViews' as in an exchange or interconnection of views rather than a one-way flow of information. The conversational interviews in this research took the form of 'conversations with a purpose' (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009) and included key themes such as the Pakistani men's occupational journeys; job opportunities presented and choices made; the daily routines of their taxi job; the skills drawn on and developed; aspects of the work they found most challenging and those which they enjoyed.

A qualitative researcher should always aim to listen carefully to the respondent, filter out important points made by the respondent, remain neutral and ignore one's own opinion, be sensitive to non-verbal data, avoid bias or imposing the researcher's own frame of reference (by asking 'leading' questions). However, the interview as a data collection method has been criticized by many writers on grounds of power dynamics and ethics (Wengraf, 2001). For example, writers have used phrases such as 'faking friendship'; 'exerting power'; the trust and rapport building in interviews being like a 'Trojan Horse' (Kvale, 2006: 482) to emphasize the neglect of power, control and domination in the literature on qualitative interviews in the past. Some of the concerns raised are that, 'the interviewer rules the interview; it is a one-way dialogue which is manipulated and instrumentalized by the interviewer where even the interpretation of the data collected is

monopolized by the interviewer' (Kvale, 2006: 485). Despite these allegations, the interview remains to be a powerful method, which provides the researcher and hence the world of research rich and reliable data. While some part of these allegations is true, like the researcher must establish a 'friendly' relationship but to call it 'fake' is like questioning the integrity of the researcher. There are many examples of good quality research where relationships established over the course of research have been sustained for a long period of time (O'Reilly, 2009). In any case when a research is carried on for a long period of time with repeated meetings and conversations, it is difficult to keep up the 'pretense' and eventually the relationship matures to a more authentic one. Also, when the qualitative researcher practices reflexivity - 'an examination of the filters and lenses through which you see the world' and is aware of these power dynamics, many of these challenges may be overcome (Bourdieu, and Wacquant, 1992) (discussed later in this chapter in details).

The observation undertaken in the taxis was focussed on the English language ability of the taxi driver, his personal attire, and body language. Sin (2003) even says interviews are good sites for observations they provided rich non-verbal and visual data apart from the verbal ones. Participation within the community activities in Mosques and community meetings was also a great source of information regarding their social connections and inter group dynamics.

As part of this research, I also signed up with Uber (Leeds) as a potential taxi driver, to understand firsthand the recruitment and licensing process. It runs weekly sessions for potential drivers strategically called 'IGNITE' where staff do a corporate presentation, followed by a one on one session to clarify any doubts or questions potential drivers might have. It also sends regular communication over text messages/emails to support the drivers through the licensing process and I was invited to one such session in Leeds. The visit to the Uber office helped in understanding some of the pull factors of the taxi business and helped in recruiting more drivers for the study. Apart from access negotiations, the other key question which plagues researchers is the sample size- how many are enough? Which will be discussed next.

Sample population: how many are enough?

Fieldwork was spread over 4 years from 2015 to 2019, in and around the cities of Leeds, Bradford, and Manchester, where around 5000 taxi drivers operate (Department of

Transport, 2017), many of whom are of Pakistani origin. Data collection was done through over 150 taxi rides, using conversational interviews and in-depth interviews with 22 taxi drivers, 4 in-depth interviews with wives of taxi drivers and a female taxi driver, 2 councillors (who also happen to hold taxi driving badges and are from Pakistani origin), and around 100 hours of participant observation in taxis, mosques, community events, homes. As an ethnographic study, effort was made to follow the taxi drivers where they spend most of their time in like taxis, mosques, takeaways, grocery stores, community centres, homes and taxi ranks.

Although the primary focus was on the experiences of the taxi drivers in this study, however, gathering only the taxi driver's version would have voiced just one side of the story. As was evident from the literature review, multiple influences affect employment decisions of individuals, and their employment choices in turn, affect their families. Thus, an attempt was made to speak to multiple stakeholders (assumed to be influencers) in a British Pakistani taxi driver's life, like their wives, grown up children, parents, people from the community, Mosque managers, taxi rank operators and policy makers, to get a holistic view of the taxi driver's situation and how they came about making this decision to drive a taxi for living.

Although I spoke to over 150 taxi drivers during this research, the final sample size used in this thesis is of 20 male taxi drivers of Pakistani origin and 1 female taxi driver (Indian origin (Sikh) married to a Pakistani and converted to Islam) and 1 female driving instructor (Pakistani origin) who were willing to give time for an in-depth conversation. While most of the taxi drivers were happy to talk in the taxi during the taxi ride period, reflecting on their decision to drive taxis, sharing their life stories, anecdotes about their experiences in the labour market, aspirations regarding their children and their memories of visits to Pakistan, many were not willing to provide time for in depth interviews outside the taxi. A few taxi drivers of Bangladeshi, Indian, Eritrean, Afghanistani, and English origins were also spoken to informally. I also spoke to 2 councillors (both Pakistani origin), 5 wives of taxi drivers (Pakistani), owners of 2 private hire firms (One English, other Pakistani), and 2 mosque managers bringing the total number of interviews to 30. The details are provided in the pages below.

Table 5 List of interviewees

Interviewees	**Gender**	**Number of Participants**
Taxi Drivers (in-depth interviews; some repeat interviews)	Male	19
Taxi Drivers (in-depth interviews)	Female	1
Taxi Drivers (conversations within the taxi)	Male	150
Driving Instructor (in-depth interviews)	Female	1
Wives of Taxi Drivers (in-depth interviews)	Female	4
Councillors (also taxi drivers) (in-depth interviews)	Male	2
Taxi Firm owners (in-depth interviews)	Male	2
Mosque managers (in-depth interviews)	Male	1
Total conversational interviews		150
Total in-depth interviews		30

Table 6 Participant observation hours

Observation in Mosques Quran Classes	10 weeks x 3 hour	30 Hours
Eid celebrations, and ladies club meets, Winter sale,	12 events	30 hours
employability sessions	4 events	12 hours
Community meeting with police on hate crimes and other community issues	6 different meets	18 hours
Uber office meeting	2 days	10 hours

Data analysis: themes, patterns, constructs

Coding is one of the oldest methods of analyzing qualitative data (Kelle, 1995). After the data was collected it was organised and analysed thematically in codes. Given the vast amount of data collected it was considered best to code the data under different themes. When analyzing the data, it was therefore important to understand how best to structure and analyze the different data that had been gathered. A code may be a word or a short phrase, descriptive of the content being coded (Saldana, 2008). While academics differ on ways of coding, most academics agree that there is no single 'boiler plate' or 'recipe' for coding qualitative data (Pratt, 2009). Codes may be informed from the meta-theories relevant to the research, which in turn are based on the researchers' ontological and epistemological assumptions; or the codes may come from prior theory that the researcher is privy to (Saldana, 2008). The literature review may also identify codes, which are visible in the data. While there is a science in coding it is largely an 'interpretive art' (Saldana, 2008: 4). Since coding may be influenced by the researcher's own 'theory-ladenness' and own ontological and epistemological assumptions, being reflexive in terms of acknowledging these and even questioning such assumptions is a good practice(Higgins, 2007).

The literature review had thrown up some themes like 'push and pull' of taxi driving; human capital elements; discrimination in the labour market; and identity and assimilation issues which were considered as a good starting point. However, since the research question focused on identifying structural factors, Bourdieusian consideration of fields, capitals and habitus were used to present the findings. The intersectionality considered in this research brought out the following structural factors like class, religious affiliations, gender and ethnicity which then formed a critical framework of analysis. While analyzing the data, I was looking for patterns both in terms of similarity and dissimilarity, frequency of occurrences, and reasons cited by participants as causation (Hatch, 2002). Although traditionally, the thesis is presented systematically starting with an introduction and background chapter, followed by a literature review, research design, data collection, analysis, findings and discussions; it is rarely the case that as researchers we do these steps in that order chronologically. The actual process is not as organized, often oscillating between these various steps throughout the period of research. In this study the review of the literature started after an initial exploratory research in the field. I had to go back

to the literature throughout the fieldwork to keep situating my findings within the academic discourse. For the final analysis, I used Bourdieu's fields and forms of capitals within an intersectional framework of the Class, Affiliations, Gender, and Ethnicity as mentioned earlier. The conducting of research requires not only expertise and diligence, but also honesty and integrity which leads to certain ethical considerations which will be discussed next.

Ethical considerations: access, consent, and disclosure

As Miles and Huberman note, 'We must consider the rightness or wrongness of our actions as qualitative researchers in relation to the people whose lives we are studying, to our colleagues, and to those who sponsor our work. Naiveté [about ethics] itself is unethical' (Miles and Huberman, 1994: 288). This is done to recognise and protect the rights of human subjects. To render the study ethical, the rights to self-determination, anonymity, confidentiality and informed consent were observed. Verbal permission was obtained from the persons before they gave the interviews informing them of their rights such as anonymity, confidentiality, ability to withdraw from the interview, and the right to withdraw data after the interview. Burns and Grove (1993: 776) define informed consent as the prospective subject's agreement to participate voluntarily in a study, which is reached after assimilation of essential information about the study. Participants were informed about the purpose of the study, the procedures that would be used to collect the data and assured that there were no potential risks or costs involved. The 'Trust speech' in Table 3 mentioned earlier in this chapter, was used to gain verbal consent. Written consent was difficult to get both strategically and also practically. Strategically, a written consent was a challenge, as explained earlier, as Pakistani taxi drivers were 'suspicious' of the intent of any research into their lives, and practically, sitting in a taxi while they are driving was challenging to get signatures. In these cases, the only way I could conduct the study within the ethical parameters was by adopting a reflexive approach, questioning at every step if what they are saying and how that might be reported to ensure no harm is done on them. Thus, anonymity and confidentiality were maintained throughout the study. Burns and Grove (1993: 762) define anonymity as when subjects cannot be linked, even by the researcher, with his or her individual responses. In this study anonymity was ensured by not disclosing the participant's name anywhere in the report, even when visiting Mosques and community events effort was made to reveal my identity when

meeting with potential participants. The topic of the research itself was found to be of interest to many and sometimes amusing which made access and consent easier. This research endeavoured an emic (insider) approach to bring to fore the perspectives and voices of the taxi drivers themselves. Moreover, while doing intersectional research, authorial reflexivity may prove useful (Harris, 2016). In the next section, I will look at how my own background posed challenges and how they were overcome in the research. I will also delve deeper into the insider – outsider approach and role of ethnic/racial matching and how that affects the research process.

Voices in a study- whose view is it anyway?

> *Are you a Pakistani?*
> *Are you married to a Pakistani?*
> *Are you in love with a Pakistani?*
> *Then how come you are so passionate about these people and taxi driving?*
> *Why did you choose this topic if you are not a Muslim yourself?*

(A young white British researcher at an academic seminar in Leicester, in March 2016)

These questions were asked at a seminar in Leicester after I had made my presentation about my research. These questions were both flattering and disturbing. Flattering, because I felt I have been able to put forward the concerns and 'voice' of my participants in a passionate way; disturbing, because it questioned the legitimacy and my right to research this topic since I was myself not a Pakistani, or a taxi driver, or even a Muslim. There has been a longstanding debate as to the emic versus etic approach in cultural anthropology (Morris et al, 1999). Within the Social sciences, this could be equated to the insider- outsider understanding the perspective of the actor (Merriam et al., 2001). However, every study involving people has multiple voices (whichever paradigm it comes from ontologically or epistemologically), which need to be acknowledged which will be done first. As Saeeda Shah (2004) warns there is a need for researchers to ask the question 'Am I being a 'social intruder'? And similar dilemmas, have been considered by researchers from various ethnic origins (See, Mansingh Gell, 1996; Song and Parker, 1995); of differing gender (Carter, 2004) and religion (McLoughlin, 2000; Ryan et al, 2010).

However, within academic literature, there is a growing debate about the extent to which one can research a group or topic, which is beyond one's own personal experience. This

debate has been ongoing in anthropology for a long time (Mansingh Gell, 1996) but has also been central concern of feminist researchers who have questioned the predominant male perspective in most research (Carter, 2004). However, when black feminist researchers questioned the white female researcher's white western perspective, the much-needed concept of intersectionality (Crenshaw, 1991; Brah, 2004, Gillborn, 2015) was brought into mainstream research. The debate continues to date with some academics who believe, in ethnic/racial/ gender/matching whereby it is argued that, for example, black researchers should conduct research on black participants; women on women; Indians on Indians; Muslims on Muslims (Egharevba, 2000; Spalek, 2005; Shah, 2004). There is a consensus that not sharing cultural characteristics (e.g. 'race', gender, class and sexuality) can hinder access, whilst making rapport building increasingly difficult (Koens and Fletcher, 2010). Gibb and Iglesias also raise the issue of familiarity especially with respect to knowledge of language for researchers which is critical in ethnographic field work (Gibb and Iglesias, 2017). Although most of the taxi drivers in the study were Mirpuri (a major town in Azad Kashmir- which is Pakistan administered) where 'Pahari' is spoken, which is a mixture of Kashmiri and Punjabi, most of them speak Urdu (which is the national language of Pakistan), which is almost identical in many ways to Hindi (one of the official languages of India). Since I could speak Urdu and I also speak Bengali, and English fluently, it was easy for me to distinguish between, Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi drivers from their accents. Thus, most of my conversations with the first-generation Pakistani drivers were in Urdu. In fact, the use of a familiar language mostly helped me with 'an insider status' as I was considered 'one of their own' (Gibb and Iglesias, 2017). Interestingly, I found the political dynamics between India, Pakistan and Bangladesh back home in the subcontinent is very different to the dynamics between people identifying as Indians, Pakistanis and Bangladeshis in UK- a foreign land as many taxi drivers mentioned during our conversations where they identified with me who is of an Indian background as '*apne*' (one of our own).

However, many a times I stood out as an outsider, in terms of my physical appearance and clothing. This was particularly evident when visiting mosques or community centers, as I did not observe the predominantly Islamic dress code of Hijab or Burqa, I stood out from the other Muslim women visiting the center or Mosque. However, I was conscious of the Islamic values of modesty in dressing and ensured I wore traditional Indian clothes like *Sarees* and *Salwar Kameez*, when visiting the Mosque or Community Centers which I

thought would at least help me get a semi-insider status. There have been serious debates around the insider- outsider position of researchers and how the researchers' own background and who they are, affects the research process and outcomes has been subject of some contested debates ((ManSingh Gell, 1996; Egharevba, 2000; Carter, 2004). Some researchers are of the opinion that ethnic matching is helpful to get an insider view while others feel, if the researcher is meticulous in the research process, it does not matter who the researcher is and who they research. There is another school of thought who feel some ethnic matchings are controversial like a Sikh woman researching Muslims as they might be biased towards their participants. (Werbner, 1996). There is serious opposition to this and rightly so from academics like Mansingh Gell, (1996), who questions a stalwart like Werbner's 'suspicious' criticism of Mansingh's (A jatt Sikh) account of Pakistani Muslims. She questions mainstream British anthropologists as to why she was 'assumed' to be:

> *Ethnically disqualified from saying anything, good or bad, about Muslims, or indeed about anybody not of my own particular ethnicity… Werbner, a Jew, is able to transcend her ethnicity - indeed magnificently so- and offer objective statements about the Muslims, while I, a Sikh, am not. As a Sikh, I remain circumscribed by my ethnicity, and any statements made by me regarding South Asian Muslims must perforce be suspect, tainted with ethnocentrism and my essential Sikh (i.e. anti-Muslim) heritage*
>
> (Mansingh Gell, 1996: 326).

However, Carter (2004), acknowledges that the identity of the researcher is a highly problematic methodological issue:

> *Given the imbalance of power between these groups (white and black, men and women) at a societal level, my whiteness and masculinity were, and are, potential sources of difference that make it difficult to establish a rapport between myself and my respondents*
>
> (Carter, 2004: 346).

Similarly, Itohan Egharevba, a British born, Nigerian woman, who conducted research on a group of south Asian women (2000), voices similar concerns:

> *In relation to ethnicity, religion, geography, culture, language and life experience, the differences between myself and the women appeared to be more significant than those that existed between white (people) and myself*
>
> (Egharevba, 2000: 230).

On the other hand, Song and Parker, (1995), note that where the interviewer and interviewee *do not* share the same ethnic identity, the position of the researcher outside the experience of the person being interviewed might bring something new to the interview. Similar experiences have been noted by others (Rhodes, 1994; Carter, 2004; Sin, 2007). Also, it is not always easy to 'predict how one will be placed by the participants' (Ryan et al, 2011: 52). Thus, how commonality or differences are constructed, interpreted or experienced is a matter of social construction. However, there are others who feel this is a very limiting perspective (Rhodes, 1994). While it is understandable, that ethnic matching might be helpful to gain access to the group/participants, it is not necessarily always helpful. The underlying assumption being questioned in all these experiences here is a positivistic belief in a single objective reality (Rhodes, 1994). This is the fundamental difference with positivist research in this approach where qualitative researchers following an emic approach feel, that however much a precarious situation they may be in, a participant is still an active agent exercising choice all along the way. This Weberian belief in the individual as the unit of analysis to explain social action is perhaps at the core of the emic approach (Morris et al, 1999). It is fallacious to assume that data generated by a researcher who shares a common identity or experience with the participants is richer or deeper (Ryan et al, 2011). Werbner suggests the purpose of research by anthropologists, which may be extended to socials scientists too, is that

> *They can speak for the silent, marginalized people who are victims of wider global politics or brutal national regimes. The challenge for [us] as intellectuals is to tell the truth on behalf of the little community, the civilian victims of human rights violations, wars and civil wars, with expert, eye-witness knowledge of the atrocities suffered, and to defend the rights of women, ethnic groups and indigenous minorities*
>
> (Werbner, 1996: 426).

Indeed, the purpose of research is not only to create knowledge but also to give voice to the voiceless. However, such debates are important, critical to any study and hence must

not to be ignored or brushed under the carpet. Such contestations also call for a more reflexive approach to the positionality of the researcher. However, to 'be reflexive' is easier said than done, as academics struggle with understanding the term itself. As Wanda Pillow rightly asks, 'is reflexivity confession, catharsis or cure?' (Pillow, 2003: 175), which warrants some deliberation next.

Reflexivity: The academic habitus and what it means for the research

While there is a growing agreement among academics, for a need to be reflexive (Foley, 2003), and many have hailed reflexivity as the hallmark of quality research (Tracy, 2010; Kim, 1994; Hammersley and Atkinson, 2002; Berger, 2013; Silverman, 2016), it has also been called a 'curse' (Davis and Klaes, 2003: 329). Buroway calls ethnography 'a reflexive science' (2003) and similarly Bourdieu calls for a reflexive sociology identifying the complex relationships between the objective world of scientific research and the subjectivities of the world we study as basic to all social organization(Bourdieu, 2003; Kenway and McLeod, 2004; Wacquant, 2004; Decoteau, 2016; Mead, 2017). Bourdieu argued that the social scientist is inherently laden with biases, and only by becoming reflexively aware of those biases can the social scientists free themselves from them and aspire to the practice of an objective science. For Bourdieu, therefore, reflexivity is part of the solution, not the problem. Reflexivity may be understood as 'a continual process of internal dialogue and critical self-evaluation of the positionality of the researcher as well as active acknowledgement and explicit recognition that this position may affect the research process and outcome' (Berger, 2013: 220). Bourdieu argues that as researchers, we need to interrogate the idea of a single 'perspective' and account especially for the particularity and influence of the 'scholastic' point of view (Bourdieu, 2000b). Bourdieu's intervention has throughout his work, argued for a more reflexive account of one's location and habitus, and for sustained engagement with ideas and social issues as practical problems. Bourdieu exhorts researchers to work with 'multiple perspectives' (Bourdieu et al., 1999: 3), the various competing 'spaces of points of view', without collapsing into subjectivism or relativism (Kenway and McLeod, 2004).

Theoretically, if one considers, Bourdieu's 'constructivist structuralism' in this argument, undoubtedly, even researchers, are also subject to their own 'habitus' as a 'system of durable dispositions' which could be limited by their own disciplines. As researchers, we

ourselves are 'positioned in a field' alongside our participants who might perceive our position differently from our own perceptions. It is in fact these differences, which make qualitative research so rich. Bourdieu takes as his subject precisely those attitudes, dispositions, and ways of perceiving reality that are taken for granted by members of a social class or a society. These unquestioned 'cultural arbitraries' are the underpinnings of any system of domination, of the hierarchies that characterize relations both among individuals and among social classes in society. As different classes and class fractions are engaged in a specifically symbolic struggle to impose the definition of the social world most in conformity with their interests (DiMaggio, 1979), then it may be argued that the 'academic field' of ideological positions reproduces in transfigured form the field of social positions. Then how does the researcher or ethnographer do justice to those being researched and to the research itself? Pillow (2003: 179) offers a simple solution where she encourages developing reciprocity with research subjects- that is doing research 'with' instead of 'on' them. She goes further to suggest a 'reflexivity of discomfort', which goes beyond acknowledging the characteristics of the researcher which might affect the research, addressing the power inequalities, or even how the writing up of the research is politicized, but as 'a practice of confounding disruptions' (Pillow, 2003: 188). What this means, is even the failure of our language and practices throughout the research need to be acknowledged in terms of how participants perceive the research and researcher and what the process of being researched upon or with means for them?

A person can be both an insider and outsider subject to the situation and context (Nelson, 1993). While it is indeed difficult to gauge how participants perceive a researcher, one can only gauge from the sense of comfort they feel while in the process of the research. In my own experience while conducting this study I felt, on one hand I was vastly different from my participants considering my gender, ethnicity, class and religion. However, there were also some characteristics, like language (Urdu), food, a common cultural heritage from the Indian-sub continent, Asian roots, and being a migrant belonging to an ethnic minority which provided a common ground for our interactions. However, the insider-outsider label is not static. As noted by many academics, the status/labels keep changing within the length of the same interview (Rhodes, 1994). The reason for this is the commonalities and differences I have with the population in question is on various levels and intersections. Being a fellow Asian, hailing from the Indian Subcontinent (which includes countries which were under the British Rule before the partition of India in 1947

like India, Pakistan and Bangladesh), speaking their languages (Urdu/Punjabi/Hindi), I felt I had an insider status. However, being of a different nationality, religion and gender indeed made me an outsider. It is important to highlight the differences here I have with the target population. I am an Indian, Hindu, woman from a middle-class family with an academic background. This is in sharp contrast to my participants who are predominantly Pakistani Muslim men predominantly from working class driving taxis.

Thus the study also challenged my own assumptions, beliefs and paradigms as a researcher. As an Indian, educated, middle-class, woman researching Pakistani Muslim, less-educated, working-class men there are constant challenges as a result of culture and stereotyping that require constant reflection. My interaction with ordinary Pakistanis has led me to appreciate the quandary they face in living a life of dignity, peace and happiness, while struggling to make ends meet in a country, they call home, surrounded by a society that considers them as 'aliens' amidst a dominantly different culture. In summary, while who you are as a researcher will affect the research, bringing in a reflexive practice throughout the research process is critical to conducting quality qualitative research. Further, it is equally vital to expressly share such reflections in your writing, framing of your questions and analysis of the findings. Finally, such insider-outsider binaries are not helpful when considering research of ethnic minorities by ethnic minorities since they stand to further marginalize minority voices within the hegemonic western representation by predominantly white western academics, where voices of researchers of colour with participants of colour need not only to be heard but acted upon as well.

Limitations of the study and future research agenda

There are a few limitations to this study. Firstly, the Pakistani diaspora is not a homogeneous group and so this study is not generalizable to the whole Pakistani community (Lyon, 2005; Small, 2009). However, generalizability was not the purpose of this study *ab initio*; rather, the study endeavored to put fore the voices of a subgroup within the Pakistani diaspora in UK to provide future researchers and policy makers to take note of such marginalized voices in their research and policy making process. Some aspects of cultural life may have been under- or oversampled, due to limited access, as the researcher was not living with the participants 24 x7. Secondly, as a researcher of a different ethnic origin, religious affiliation, class and gender, there could be biases in the interpretation of data which could have affected the results produced (Morris et al., 1999; Gibb and Iglesias,

2017). The researcher's own personal and cultural biases may have led to inaccurate translation or interpretation of a subjective culture, or selective perception or misinterpretation of cultural practices. Thirdly, the theoretical framework used could have influenced the analysis (Wacquant, 2004; Short and Hughes, 2009). Since the source of the strengths of ethnographic methodology is also the source of its weaknesses, the in-depth reliance on 'the human instrument' in ethnographic observation and analysis raises major issues concerning subjectivity, reliability, sampling selectivity, and replicability which cannot be ruled out. Additionally, my own 'habitus' as a middle class, Indian, Hindu, female researcher could have affected my research, fieldwork and interpretation of the employment habitus of the Pakistani, Muslim, male taxi drivers in this study. A reactivity phenomenon is possible, wherein behaviours of the taxi drivers could have been modified or hidden when the ethnographer was present in an effort to present the self in a manner they perceived was desired (Goffman). Finally, sole reliance on qualitative data and qualitative analysis makes cross-investigator replication of findings extremely difficult. However, as mentioned in this chapter, I have attempted to follow the guidance of previous researchers who have raised such questions and tried to conduct the research and write it to the best of my abilities bringing in a reflexive approach at every juncture of the research process (Pillow, 2003; Wacquant, 2004; Akram, 2012; Decoteau, 2016; Mead, 2017).

In terms of the future research agenda, there is undeniably scope for this topic to be followed up by future research both by qualitative and quantitative researchers. One clear area which emerged as a limitation was a comparative study of other ethnicities in taxi driving to see how the challenges faced by the Pakistani taxi drivers was similar or different to other migrants and minorities in this occupation, say Bangladeshis, Eritreans, Caribbean, Europeans. Further research endeavours need to be done looking at the regional and cross-country variations of the Pakistani taxi drivers not only within the UK but also across the globe since the 'taxi driver phenomena' is not limited to the UK. Additionally, a longitudinal study looking at the different generations of this cohort would be valuable in tracing the changing habitus between and within generations of Pakistani men and women. Another area which needs serious attention by future researchers is on skilled Pakistanis, since an in-depth study of their employment habitus might illuminate some additional factors which might have been missed in this study. Also, from the changing nature of work perspective, it would be crucial to see how the future of taxi

drivers might be affected with driverless cars being tested for future use in the UK and around the world.

The next part of the thesis presents the findings, discussions and conclusion.

PART III: Findings, Discussion and Conclusion

Chapter 6: Taxi - the good, bad and ugly

As a research about the occupation of taxi driving, it is important to first present the findings about the taxi industry and taxi driving as an occupation to contextualize the research findings and the decision of Pakistani men to drive taxis for a living citing the push and pull towards taxi driving. As Bourdieu himself insists, sociologists must account for 'occupational effects' on agents' habitus, that is, 'the effects of the nature of work, of the occupational milieu, with its cultural and organizational specificities' (Bourdieu 1987: 4). Thus, drawing on secondary sources, this chapter starts with a general overview of the taxi industry, followed by the categorization of taxi driving as a 'good or bad job' (Kalleberg, 2004; Goos and Manning, 2007). Understanding what it takes to be a taxi driver in the UK further illuminates the gendered nature of the job (which will be considered in the next chapter). The chapter then looks at some of the reports and studies around the world where the 'taxi driver phenomena' is witnessed, whereby work in this occupation seems to be taken up by immigrants (Bauder, 2005), to explore why taxi driving may be an 'immigrants job' (Waterman and Kosmin, 1986). With the advent of driverless cars, the chapter ends with a section on the future of taxi driving and how that might impact taxi drivers in general and particularly Pakistani men who constitute a large proportion of taxi drivers not only in the UK but also in other countries. It is argued, occupational segregation might have far reaching consequences than inequality, lower social mobility, or economic stagnation, but might put groups over-represented in such occupations prone to automation like taxi driving (Frey and Osborne, 2017) in danger of long terms of unemployment and may drive them out of the labour market altogether.

Taxi driving: The *Uber* cool industry

The taxi operation industry is a significant contributor to the UK's economic activity. Estimated to generate revenue of approximately £9bn in the UK (Ibis world report, 2016), it consists of taxis and private-hire vehicles (PHVs) for personal and business transport on British roads. The two-tier system in place in the United Kingdom distinguishes between taxis, which can pick up customers directly on the street, and PHVs, which must be pre-booked through a licensed operator· However, for the purpose of this study no such distinction has been made. Taxi driver here means anyone who drives a taxi for a

living although most of the drivers were PHVs. The Department for Transport's latest statistics indicate that there are nearly 356,000 licensed taxi and PHV drivers in England and Wales driving 78,000 taxi vehicles and 155,000 private hire vehicles (DfT, 2018). The area around Leeds, Bradford and Manchester, where this study was conducted, has around 35,000 licensed drivers operating 30,000 vehicles (DfT, 2018). For many people, taxis and private hire vehicles provide an essential form of transport enabling them to travel to work and to vital amenities such as shops and medical facilities, as well as leisure activity. An overwhelming majority (81%) of taxi and private hire drivers are self-employed (DfT, 2018). In the pre-booked market, however, drivers largely rely on a separate company to take bookings by telephone (or, increasingly, using smartphone apps). These separate companies are required to be licensed as private hire vehicle operators and there are a variety of contractual relationships between drivers and operators. Some operators charge a fixed fee for the use of their services (for example, Amber, Premier, Streamline, Wheels, and Speedline), while others (Uber) take a percentage of the driver or vehicle's earnings as commission. Some of the largest operators provide the vehicles themselves, usually by requiring their drivers to lease the vehicles from an associated company, but most drivers own their own vehicles.

Most operators are regional players except for Uber, which has a multinational presence with operation in 63 countries and 700+ cities (Uber.com, 2018). However, Uber's licenses in many cities have been under scrutiny following the decision by the London authorities to revoke their license (BBC, 2017). However, with, 3.9 million divers and 91 million monthly active platform consumers worldwide, Uber has created a major impact on the taxi business which cannot be denied (Uber.com, 2018). Uber drivers are younger (average age 40), more educated (almost 48% possess a college degree) and ethnically more diverse as in the figure 1 below. In Leeds, Uber has been operating since 2012 and almost 70 per cent of its drivers are of Pakistani origin as stated by taxi operator officials and drivers in this study. The recruitment process of taxi firms is largely informal, relying on referrals from current drivers. This could also be a potential reason leading to certain ethnic groups being over represented in this occupation.

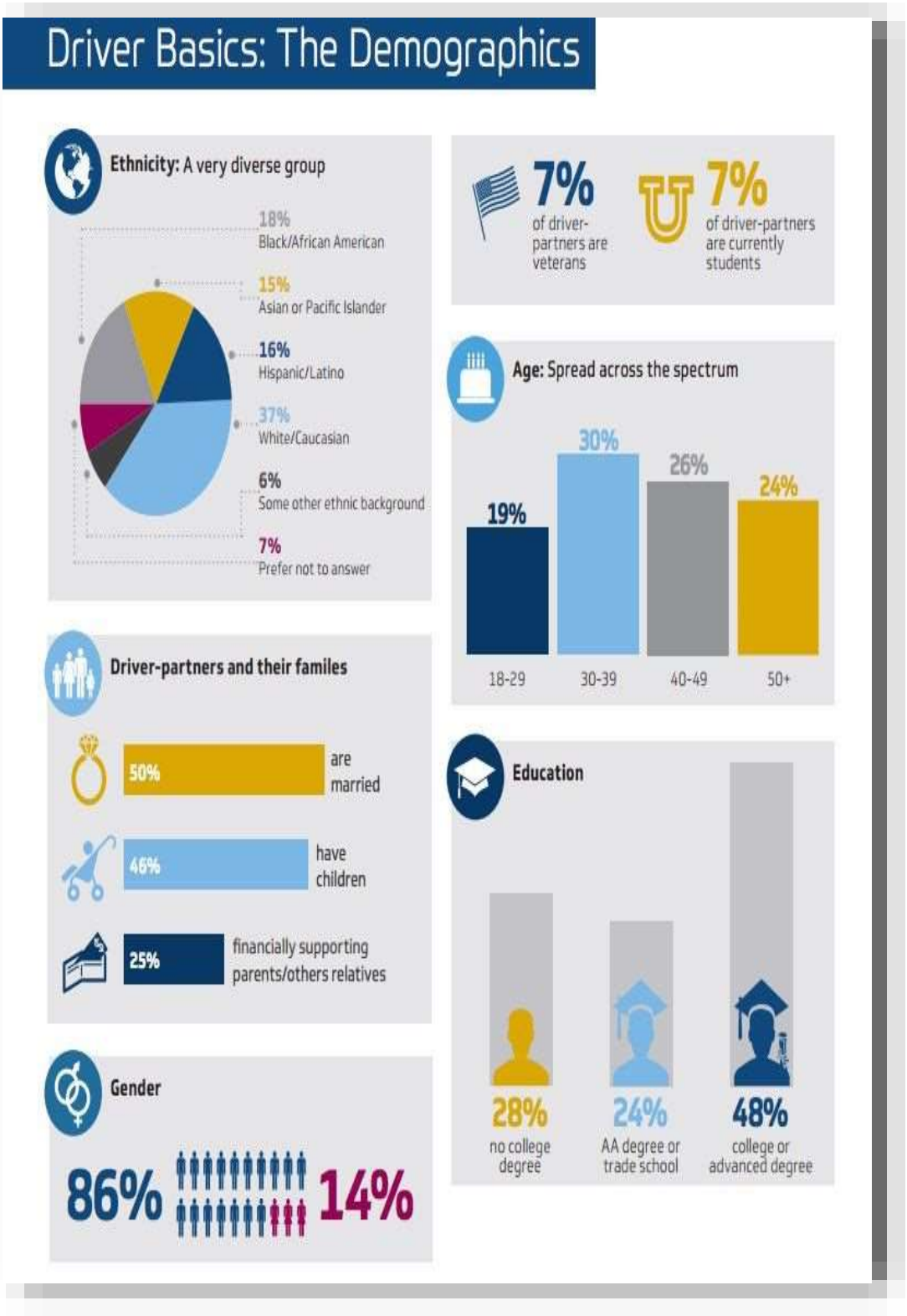


Figure 3 Uber USA Driver demographics

Source: (https://www.businessofapps.com/data/uber-statistics/#4)

In Uber's website they offer potential drivers the following assurance about taxi work:

> ***Make great money**: You can drive and make as much as you want. And, the more you drive, the more you could make. Plus, your fares get automatically deposited weekly.*
> ***Set your own schedule**: Only drive when it works for you. There's no office and no boss. That means you'll always start and stop on your time—because with Uber, you're in charge.*
> ***Signing up is easy**: Sign up today and you'll be on the road in no time. Plus, signing up takes less than 4 minutes. Don't wait to start making great money with your car.*

Figure 4 Why be a taxi driver? Uber's promise Source: (Uber.com, 2017)

These promises from Uber sum up the 'pull' of taxi driving which offers regular money, flexibility, autonomy, and ease of signing up. For ethnic minorities and migrants with poor English language ability and little educational qualifications, it is considered a potentially good option.

The entry requirements for a taxi driving job does not require any particular qualifications, but one needs an operator's licence, which can be obtained from the licensing unit of the local council or from Transport for London (TfL) if working in London. Each unit has its own conditions of license, but one will normally need to have held a full UK or European Economic Area (EEA) driving licence for at least 12 months (3 years in London); pass a criminal records check; pass a medical examination; be over 18 (21 in many areas including London); pass a geographical knowledge test; complete a driving skills assessment; be a UK or EU citizen or have the right to stay and work in the UK (National careerservices.com, 2015).

While taxi driving allows the flexibility to choose working hours, but one is likely to find more work in the evenings and at weekends, Friday and Saturday evenings normally being busiest times. One can expect to work between 40 and 60 hours a week if full-time. Earnings depend on the level of fares, the number of journeys made, and the hours worked. However, drivers working around 40 hours a week in a major city can earn between £12,000 and £20,000 a year. Some taxi drivers may be able to earn up to £30,000 a year (National Career Services, 2015). Extrapolating this data to 50 weeks per year would

mean about 2000 hours of work around the year earning anywhere from £6 per hour to £15 per hour.

It seems from the above description that from a human capital perspective, taxi driving as an occupation is apparently a viable option for people with poor language skills and educational attainment. It offers flexibility, autonomy and an opportunity to earn a reasonable amount of money directly proportional to the hard work put in hours by individuals. It is also more financially efficient as a self-employment option in comparison to starting a business of your own as the capital investment required to start as a taxi driver is much less compared to a starting a restaurant or take away, for example (Blanchflower and Oswald, 1998). However, the downside of this is there is no guaranteed income, the rising cost of insurance and cars and the changes in regulations such as cars older than five years cannot be used as taxis, which means taxi drivers have to save money for buying newer cars every five years to avoid losing their licence.

Another noticeable aspect of taxi driving seems to be that it is a highly gendered job with almost 96 per cent of drivers being male (DfT, 2018). In the USA, female Uber drivers account for 27% of the company's US workforce. However, the majority (96%) of taxi drivers in UK are male (DfT, 2018) and so it may be safe to consider taxi driving as a male dominated occupation. There are also reports of crime against taxi drivers like theft, assault and murders. The British Transport Police reported around 250 such cases registered with them from 2009 to 2012 (FOI response 334 -13, BTP, 2013). The crime rate against taxi drivers has increased drastically as in 2012 and 2013, over 322 cases of crime against people reported as taxi drivers were registered with the BTP (FOI response 98 -14 BTP, 2014). Thus, as a profession, taxi driving is not free from its share of risks and challenges, requires unsociable hours of working, and does not guarantee the minimum money required to make ends meet. While this might partly explain why it is such a male dominated occupation, the gendered nature of taxi driving will need a deeper probe, which will be considered later in this study but first it is important to look at taxi driving form the job quality angle.

Taxi driving, the job: 'good or bad'; 'lovely or lousy'?

In the quality of job literature, there are various characteristics of a job that distinguish some jobs as 'good or bad', generally referred to as the 'quality of jobs' (Kalleberg, 2004).

These might include the level of economic compensation such as pay and fringe benefits; the amount of control that people have over their jobs, and the degree to which the jobs require high levels of skill; the degree of job security; the opportunities for advancement to better paying jobs, and less tangible benefits such as satisfaction, respect, and professionalism as mentioned in table 7 below (Kalleberg, 2004). It is further argued that people differ in what they want from their jobs placing varying degrees of importance on the different dimensions and as such there is variance on what is judged to be of high or low quality. The presence or absence of one of more of these aspects of job quality, coupled with differences in the importance that people place on these job characteristics, leads people to be more or less happy with their jobs and to evaluate them as being 'good' or 'bad' jobs (Kalleberg, 2004).

Goos and Manning, on the other hand take a slightly different approach by looking at occupations to divide them as what they call the 'lovely and lousy jobs' and claim, in the UK, between 1975 and 1999, there has been a growth in 'lousy jobs' (mainly in low-paying and low-skilled service occupations) together with a (much larger) growth in 'lovely jobs' (mainly in professional and managerial occupations in finance and business services) and a decline in the number of 'middling jobs' (mainly clerical jobs and skilled manual jobs in manufacturing) (Goos and Manning, 2003). Many studies and reports categorize taxi driving as a 'marginal', 'precariat', 'elementary' job (McEvoy and Hafez, 2008; EHRC, 2010; Savage et al, 2008) thus one might consider taxi driving to be in the 'lousy' or 'bad' jobs category. However, such divisions do not always prove to be useful as from a purely functionalist perspective, some people may have to take up the so called 'lousy' jobs due to economic pressures which might leave them feeling 'lousy' about the work they do. In the case of the taxi drivers in this study this dichotomy between the 'loveliness' of taxi driving when pitted against its 'lousiness' throws up a rather muddled picture which will be discussed in the next chapter discussing the push-pull factors.

Table 7 Taxi driving job characteristics

Job Characteristics	Good Aspects	Bad Aspects
Economic compensation Pay & Fringe benefits	Decent money- ranging between £6.00 per hour to £15.00 per hour	Like Zero-Hours contract; No guaranteed income; No work-No Pay
Degree of control	Flexibility- work in your own pace and schedule Autonomy- be your own boss	Odd hours of working- weekends, late nights Affects work-life balance adversely Directed by the operators
Skills required	Licensing tests; Customer service orientation; ability to use SAT NAV	Perceived to be low skilled; often called 'elementary', 'marginal', 'precariat' type of job
Job security	Extremely limited	Uncertain workloads; Too many taxi drivers operating in some cities/areas
Opportunity for advancement to better prospects	None	Most taxi drivers continue driving taxis for many years. No opportunity to elevate to taxi rank owners or any other better options
Job satisfaction	Limited	Low- taxi drivers often described their situation as 'in a rut'; stuck; 'I have no choice'
Respect	Limited	Racial abuse; Hate crimes; perceived as socially undesirable
Professionalism	Limited	Dependent on customer ratings

Inspired from 'Job Characteristics' (Kalleberg, 2004)

As evident from the table above, while taxi driving has some good aspects of a good quality job like, flexibility, autonomy in terms of degree of control, all other facets of a good quality job are very limited like job security, job satisfaction, respect, professionalism, opportunity for advancement. Another consideration that is evident from many studies, which is also relevant to this research is the extent to which taxi driving is taken up by migrants not only in many UK cities but also the rest of the world and this called for a deeper probe to see if taxi driving is indeed perceived and positioned as an 'immigrants' job which needs deliberation as this is relevant for the Pakistani drivers.

Taxi driving: an easy job for migrants?

Taxi driving is identified as a low skill level jobs in most countries, which usually requires secondary school and/or occupation-specific training. It is not only in the UK where a large number of Pakistanis drive taxis for a living. In a report by the Canadian government titled, '*Who drives a taxi in Canada?*' it was reported that 'half of the taxi drivers in Canada are immigrants, and that immigrants from India, Pakistan, made up one third of all taxi drivers. Immigrants accounted for up to 80% of taxi drivers in 8 Canadian cities (Toronto, Vancouver, Calgary, Edmonton, Ottawa-Gatineau, Winnipeg, Montreal, and Hamilton). Pakistani origin taxi drivers made up almost 12 per cent of all taxi drivers (Xu, 2012). In the Canadian report, while there were over 50,000 taxi drivers in Canada, almost 6000 immigrant taxi drivers of which 1500 were Pakistani taxi drivers, had completed their post-secondary education and a few also had post-graduate degrees making them overqualified for the job (Xu, 2012). Over-education occurs both among locals and immigrant taxi drivers, but the rate is mostly higher among immigrants with over 200 immigrants who were doctorate or medicine and related degree holders for whom taxi driving was the main job (Xu, 2012). It is of relevance to note here that both Canada and Australia have employed a points-based immigration system. Canada, the first country to introduce a points-based system, in 1967 where a distinguishing feature is that it 'prioritises broadly desirable human capital, rather than a specific job offer' (Xu, 2012). Similarly, the Australian points system -that also focuses on skills and educational qualifications has been considered a model which the UK government is currently reviewing to introduce post Brexit (BBC, 2017). However, there are many reports of immigrants largely from the Indian subcontinent both in Canada and in Australia working in low paid jobs such as taxi driving (Xu, 2012; ABS, 2016). In a recent news, an

international cricketer of Pakistan, Arshad Khan was reported to be driving taxis for a living in Australia, following his dismissal from the international team for Pakistan (Guardian, 2017). On the official website of Australia, it was mentioned that the number of student visa cancellations are increasing dramatically each year due to the breach of this visa condition. 'This includes international students working as drivers for Uber, Ola, Taxi or delivering food with Uber Eats. It has been reported that international students sometimes take it lightly or lose track of the hours they worked in ride-sharing services like Uber or Ola. As a result, they are risking their student visas be cancelled by the Department of Home Affairs due to breach of Condition of their visa' (visaaustralia.com, 2019). In another study involving taxi drivers of New York in the United States of America, it was again suggested that Pakistanis were over-represented in taxi driving (Schaller, 2006; Mitra, 2008). This raises questions as to why qualified men (or women) who migrate to developed countries in search for a 'better life' take up taxi driving considering that many economists suggest a human capital explanation to occupational choices (or constraints).

This is a contrast to the UK where there is no verifiable data about the educational degrees of taxi drivers, however, it is assumed most of the taxi drivers seem to have poor human capital (EHRC, 2010). In 2008, the Labour government introduced the UK's first points-based immigration system heralded by ministers as being based on the Australian system. It replaced a labyrinthine scheme which saw 80 different types of visa granted. The new system contains a lengthy list of sub-tiers of migrant, but broadly they are classed as one of four 'tiers. Each tier offers its own allocation of points for specific 'attributes'. For each of the groups, a person earns points according to different criteria: English language ability, capacity to support oneself financially, age and previous experience (UK Visa blog, 2018). Tier 3 was intended to be a pathway for unskilled immigrants, but after the accession of A8 countries, the British government decided there was no need for further unskilled immigration from outside the EU. Because the UK is still a member of the European Union (as the post Brexit migration policies have not been formalised), the points-based system currently, only applies to people who are moving to the UK from outside the European Union also called the third country nationals (UKgov.com). Along with freedom of movement across the EU, barring temporary restrictions for some new member states, EU citizens enjoy freedom to work after coming to the UK (Ciupijus, 2012), whereas migrants from outside the EU can only arrive on a work visa after

obtaining a job and those tend to be in skilled jobs which is defined as one where the salary is more than £30,000 (UK visa blog, 2018). Hence migrants from outside the UK cannot come to be taxi drivers. However, most of the taxi drivers in UK are from ethnic minority groups.

The department of transport recently released a report on the age and ethnicity of taxi drivers in UK, where it was reported the average age of a driver was 48 years old, with 26% of drivers being aged under 40. Those aged 60 or over made up 19% of drivers (DfT, 2018). In the same report it was reported the two main ethnic groups of drivers were White and Asian or Asian British in 2017/18, making up 49% and 38% of drivers respectively (Figure 5). There was an increase in the proportion of non-UK nationals working as drivers in England, rising to 21% in 2017/18, compared to 13% in 2007/08 (DfT, 2018) (See details in figure 3 below) which is suggestive of taxi driving being an immigrant's job. Furthermore, 23% of drivers usually worked 7 days a week, which increased from 18% in 2007. The majority of drivers (40%) usually worked 5 days a week (DfT, 2018). Although, many taxi drivers in this study also suggested that most taxi drivers are migrants because this is the 'best and easiest opportunity' for them as mentioned in quote below:

> *Mostly the people who are newly arrived from Pakistan to the UK, they find this like the best opportunity to earn money and massive flexibility as they can work when they want to. And also, they don't need much local area knowledge as long as they can put in the post code, the SAT NAVS have made a great difference these days. In fact, so in many parts of the world, taxi drivers are from the immigrant cultures whether it's the Africans in the US or the Vietnamese. It's actually a good way of getting your foothold in a new country and you know it's a great way to get introduced to the culture of the local community as well.*
>
> (Sahil, Male, 38, Bradford, 1st Generation)

In the figure below, from the DFT report (2018), it is important to note that many drivers 'declined' to reveal their ethnic identities (almost 35 %). This raises questions of how drivers perceive their identities with respect to their occupations and the way they view the surveys by government authorities.

PHV drivers

Ethnicity	Volume
Asian or Asian British	1084
Asian or Asian British (Bangladeshi)	9351
Asian or Asian British (Indian)	3006
Asian or Asian British (Other)	12028
Asian or Asian British (Pakistani)	10772
Black	530
Black or Black British (African)	13503
Black or Black British (Caribbean)	867
Black or Black British (Other)	812
Chinese	113
Chinese or other ethnic group (Chinese)	230
Chinese or other ethnic group (Other)	343
Decline to answer	35095
Mixed	58
Mixed (Other)	554
Mixed (White and Asian)	388
Mixed (White and Black African)	394
Mixed (White and Black Caribbean)	119
White	476
White British	6085
White Irish	156
White Other	12658
Grand Total	**108622**

Figure 5 PHV driver data by ethnicity in England, 2018

It is worth mentioning here that before the wave of Pakistani migrants who arrived in the UK in the 1950s, 30 per cent of London's 'cabbies' were Jewish and it was suggested then that taxi driving was 'an immigrant's job' (Waterman and Kosmin, 1986). Harold Abrahams a British Jewish track and field athlete who himself worked as a taxi driver, is quoted as saying:

> *When we finished our National Service [after the Second World War], suddenly we wanted freedom, and taxi driving offered us that freedom, away from the factories, and away from the bosses. We were our own boss, our own entrepreneur*
>
> (Cited in the Jewish Museum web archives, 2000).

This desire for freedom and independence reflects a common trend at that time amongst many Jews to be self-employed (Waterman and Kosmin, 1986). Incidentally, a number of the Pakistani drivers spoken to as part of this research also mentioned this desire for self-employment. However. Self-employment out of necessity as opposed to self-employment from an opportunity needs to be distinguished and borne in mind in any study involving self-employment (Dawson et al, 2009). Further, in another study, on ethnic minority taxi drivers in Canada the author goes on to say:

> *Factors such as racism/discrimination, the nature of their social position (e.g., immigrant status, language barriers, lack of access to economic resources, lack of 'Canadian' work experience), and the social and organizational characteristics of work (e.g., employment contracts and the nature of work) constituted threats to taxi drivers' health and influenced their health-related behaviours. They experienced economic exploitation, economic uncertainty, occupational violence, fatigue, and high levels of competition, and they engaged in risky behaviours on the job*
>
> (Facey, 2003: 254).

However, with the future of taxi driving itself under threat from automation (Frey and Osborne, 2017), it is worthwhile to mention this might be a policy area which is currently neglected and might need the attention of policy makers.

The future uncertain- driverless cars, the end of taxi drivers?

With driverless cars being piloted by all tech and auto giants from Apple and BMW to Uber and Google, the future of taxi driving is uncertain. Car makers are spending millions to get the technology on the road (Autoexpress, 2018) General Motors has already partnered with ride-sharing and ride-hailing services with a view to introducing autonomous fleets. It has recently invested $500m (£378m) in Lyft and a further $1bn (£760m) in a self-driving test centre in Detroit (NY times, 2018). Uber too has placed a lot of stock into autonomous car research. Uber initially moved into the field in 2015, partnering with the robotics department at Carnegie Mellon University in Pittsburgh (businessofapps.com, 2018). Economists have predicted taxi drivers might be one of the occupations to be obsolete due to automation (Frey and Osborne, 2013; 2018). And while research and development in this area is continuing with full thrust, what will it mean for taxi drivers? Will driverless cars be the end of taxi drivers? Will it see a shift in jobs and work culture?

The UK is one country that is leading the way for autonomous cars. The 'Driven group' is a consortium of British tech companies that is pioneering research into autonomous cars. At the moment, driverless car testing is currently concentrated in small urban areas and city centres, but it has unveiled plans to test a fleet of autonomous vehicles on motorways by 2019. The cars will aim to drive entirely on their own, although a human driver will be present to take over control if needed (Autoexpress, 2018). One of the biggest benefits autonomous cars will offer is mobility to those who currently cannot drive. A study by the Society of Motor Manufacturers and Traders (SMMT) found that six out ten people with limited mobility will benefit from an autonomous car (SMMT, 2017). However, while there are many studies looking at the impact of autonomous vehicles on climate change, to cost and benefit to customers, not a single study was found focussing on the socioeconomic impact of such technology on taxi drivers who earn their livelihood from driving taxis. While this is outside the scope of this study, yet this needs serious consideration in future research. When speaking to people in councils and unions, it became apparent that this was not in the radar of many people.

Many of the taxi drivers in this study were convinced that the driverless cars technology is a 'myth'. They said, they were not sure if such a technology would actually be used for public transportation as one said:

> *Do you really believe they will bring driverless cars in taxi? Will people actually want to get into a taxi with no driver? What will happen if there is a machine failure? Who will be responsible? No, I do not think this is something which will be implemented in this country*
>
> (Yusuf, Male, 36, Dewsbury, 1st Generation)

Others, did some instant reflection when asked about the impact of driverless cars and suggested they would do other businesses like a takeaway or platform taxi business

> *I, personally, have never thought what will happen if driverless cars come into the picture, but I have a lot of friends who are drivers like me, young 30-40 years of age, this friend of mine has a degree in gas engineering, so people are thinking of doing something other than taxi driving, I want to do something else as well, like I am a qualified chef, I have been a chef before, when I worked in my brother's business, I can make my takeaway business, or I can make my own taxi business of sorts, like I operate or work through a website*
>
> Hafeez, 38, Male, 1st generation, Bradford)

However, some of the councillors mentioned they were part of projects and plans to introduce driverless cars:

> *I am already working on this project. When such technological advances come they come with their advantages and disadvantages. One of the reasons they are looking at driverless cars is not only for taxis but to improve public transport help the people to get to their destination quicker, reduce the congestions on the road and make public transport cheaper. So, when you have these driverless cars, you can stop a car at a bus stop and get in and where as you usually pay 2.50 pounds to get to Pudsey for example, most likely you will pay may be only 75 pence or 80 pence so that's better for the public. But the other thing people say. What is the risk factor going to be like? It's a trial and error you see. We do have accidents which do happen. But then we do use driverless equipment day in, and day out like for example, the lifts we use- that's driverless. You press a button and it takes you up or down and there is a risk there too. If it breaks down what do you do. There is an emergency button but till there is the risk. But nothing major has happened to my knowledge similarly it's going to be like that with driverless cars*

(Councillor B, 45, Male, 2nd Generation, name and place omitted)

From the above quotes it is evident that the drivers are clueless about their future and the government and state officials are not as concerned. This is a major gap in policy and practice, which was witnessed at the time of deindustrialisation, when many communities like those in steel (and coal and textile workers) were left redundant, with no one willing to take responsibility for them (Gardiner et al., 2009). The advent of technology is a welcome step; however, the socio-economic impact of such technology is to be kept in mind when introducing such changes which might affect the lives of many people (Taxi drivers in this case).

However, the overall time period estimated for such changes to take place was around another 15 years so many taxi drivers said they "*will cross the bridge when we come to it*". Others suggested they hope the government will offer them packages to buy out the driverless cars so that they may '*still be able to have an income'*. Since this was not the major focus of the research, a detailed investigation was not done, yet, it seems this is an area which future researchers especially those in transport studies with a sociological bent of mind or work and employment researchers working in the area of automation might be interested to take up.

Nonetheless, taxi driving still continues to have its own 'pull and push' factors currently which will be discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter 7: Between the pull and push- the 'lived experience' of taxi driving

The primary purpose of the current study was to explore the structural factors which affect the employment choices of Pakistani men and why a quarter of Pakistani men in UK drive taxis for a living and to determine if the decision to drive taxis is a choice or constrained by other structural factors. The findings have been divided into three chapters focusing on the three research questions as set out in the introduction. The chapter will first present the demographic details of the taxi drivers, which serve as a foundation to the ensuing analysis and discussions. The demographic details illuminate the intersections of class, religious affiliations, gender and ethnicity which have affected the labour market options of the taxi drivers which will be discussed in the final analysis. In this chapter, the 'pull and push' factors of taxi driving as an occupation are focussed on as mentioned by the participants. However, the 'lived experiences' found in the analysis of their accounts question such binaries of 'pull and push' factors in occupational segregation and migration studies. Instead, the 'lived experiences' draw attention to the 'limited choices' experienced by the Pakistani men in this study to conclude that taxi driving is an 'enforced choice' given the constraints they face in accumulating valid forms of capitals which then affect their social standing in various fields.

As mentioned in the ethics section all names have been changed to maintain anonymity of participants. The demographic details about the participants as given in table 8 below which will be discussed first as they draw attention to the intersecting factors which overlap to produce a structure which affect both the 'push and pull' of taxi driving.

Place and Country of Birth

Almost half of the taxi drivers interviewed in this study were born in the UK and were based in cities of Bradford, Leeds or Dewsbury. Many of the first-generation participants were born in Pakistan in or near Mirpur (the capital city of Azad Kashmir which is administered by Pakistan). The rest (very few) came from other cities of Pakistan like Lahore, Karachi, Punjab, Rawalpindi and the Swat valley. This is an important consideration, given that Mirpur is a small city and many of the taxi drivers come from

rural/ farming background from this city. People who were born in the UK or migrated to the UK before the age of 16 have been considered as second generation in this study. Almost 54 per cent of the participants in this study are second generation in UK. Generational differences were also important in this study as the place of birth had monumental effects on the cumulative capitals of the Pakistani men in this study which will be discussed in the following sections.

Age and taxi experience

The average age of the drivers in this study was 40 years at the time of the study with the youngest being 27 and the oldest being 54 years old. The first-generation drivers arrived in the UK after their marriage in their twenties between 19 to 29 years age. The average taxi driving experience of the drivers was 10 years with some rookies who were driving for just 3 weeks to the most experienced being a driver for 25 years. The average age when most of the second-generation taxi drivers started driving taxis was 22 years old. This is an important point to note as this is a vital age when young people need a lot of support while entering the labour market. If this is linked to the high unemployment rate among young people (16-24 year olds), which has always been high in the UK, and higher for ethnic minorities youth at almost three times that of white youth (ONS, 2018), it could be a critical consideration in policy matters. Most of the taxi drivers worked full time in taxis (10-12 hours a day) with just 3 of the participants who mentioned they do this work part-time (4-6 hours) alongside being students or in other family businesses.

Marital status and family

Most of the drivers were married with kids. The average number of children were 3. While some drivers did mention their wives worked part-time (like in the NHS or a pharmacy, or schools), most of the first-generation drivers had British Pakistani wives, many of who were housewives and did not go out to work. Few drivers were divorced and were raising their children as a single parent. Many of the taxi drivers who came to UK after marriage got married in an early age between 17 years to 21 years old. The average age of arrival post marriage in the UK was 22. Most second-generation drivers had their parents or in-laws living with them or near their homes. Most first-generation drivers had extended families back home in Pakistan and had financial responsibilities for their siblings or

parents. These are important considerations as the marriage route to UK appeared to be both a facilitator and a constraint. While these transnational marriages facilitated their arrival in UK, they also constrained their labour market prospects as many arrived in UK with limited cumulative capital in terms of CHESS as will be deliberated later.

Parents' education and work experience

Many of the taxi drivers in the study identified themselves with the working class as they had working class parents, who worked in mills and factories in the industrial era and taxi driving itself is considered a 'precariat' working class job (Savage et al, 2013). As far as their parents are concerned most of the mothers of the first-generation taxi drivers had little to no education (with some education in Mosques/Madrasas) and were mostly housewives. The fathers educational qualifications varied with some having less than 'O' level education in Pakistan and others being graduates (Pakistan). Almost all the second-generation taxi drivers' fathers worked in factories or textile mills in UK suggestive of a working-class background. Of all the first-generation taxi drivers, most of their fathers were either farmers in rural Pakistan or owned farm land, few were government officials, and some worked in the private sector or had their own businesses. The working class and rural backgrounds alongside their parents' education and occupations all have strong bearing on their children's careers (Zuccotti, 2015) and so this was also borne in mind while analysing the data.

Taxi driver's education and (past) experience

There were huge differences in the educational attainments of the taxi drivers depending on their length of stay or if they were first-generation or second-generation in the country. In terms of educational qualifications, the first-generation taxi driver tended to possess few qualifications although some did come with university degrees from Pakistan and some had acquired their degrees from the UK, including few who had a master's degree and one who had an MBA degree from a reputed UK university. Almost 50 per cent of the taxi drivers interviewed had a graduate degree either from Pakistan or the UK. Almost all second-generation drivers had at least O level qualifications, some had completed their A levels, few even had additional qualifications in plumbing, electrician or as gas mechanics. Some first-generation drivers also were trained chefs, tailors, pharmacists or Imams (religious preachers) in their past occupations. Noteworthy, is that few second-

generation taxi drivers were working in standard employment, what may be called as 'good jobs' (salaried, secure and with benefits such as pensions and sick pay in call centres, travel agencies) but then quit to come into taxi driving as they felt 'alienated from their community' in such jobs.

Religious affiliation

All the taxi drivers were Muslims and as followers of Islam, religion appeared to be a strong element of their identities. However, although all the taxi drivers identified as Muslims, their degrees of religious practice were not homogeneous. Some were more religious than others who confessed they did not follow the tenets of Quran, such as five times prayers as required in Islam or sometimes indulged in smoking and alcohol consumption which was considered 'haram' as prohibited in Islam. Many of them did not maintain a beard (which is one of the visible identifiers of Muslim men) although some did. However, irrespective of their religious affiliations, they were regular visitors of Mosques and participated in all community events held around the year in mosques. Many of them believed in Shariya (Islamic law) and hence did not have traditional bank accounts and remitted their saved money regularly to Pakistan or used the money to buy property or jewellery. Although the Pakistani community is a very closely-knit community build around the concept of '*biraderi*' or kinship the 'universal Muslim brotherhood', was also equally strong as part of their identities as many of the taxi drivers who were connected on my social media would post showing their support to Muslims in UK like after the Finsbury Park attack, in June 2017(BBC, 2017), or around the world in any eventuality, like after the Christchurch shooting in the Mosque in New Zealand in March 2019 (BBC, 2019). Almost all taxi drivers mentioned they were subject to racist attacks owing to their religion and were subject to Islamophobic behaviour either by their customers or employers in the past.

As evident, it was difficult to draw a stereotype of a taxi driver. Taxi drivers in this study were both 1st and 2nd generation. They had various levels of education with some very highly qualified too. They had varied levels of fluency in English with some taxi drivers with excellent command over both spoken and writing skills. While some of the previous sections might be suggestive of taxi driving to be a viable option for 1st generation migrants, many of the taxi drivers were second generation born and bred in the UK. However, the factors which were similar for all participants were their class; religious

affiliations; gender; and ethnicity which needs consideration as the intersectional nature of their identities has a strong bearing on their habitus, cumulative stock of capitals and their labour market trajectories. As most of the taxi drivers in the study came either from a working-class background or a rural/ agricultural back ground; all were affiliated to Islam and identified as Muslims and all (but one of them) were men; and they were of Pakistani origin, the basis of the analysis was the intersectional structure. All names have been anonymised and pseudonyms given, and direct quotes will be mentioned as (name, gender, age, city and generation)

Table 8 Demographic details of taxi drivers in this study

Sl. No	Name	Age at time of study	Marital Status	No of Kids	Country / Place of Birth	Migration Route	Age arrived in UK	1st/2nd Generation in UK	Father's education	Mother's education	Fathers occupation	Family / friends in taxi	Qualification of taxi driver	Other skills work experience	English Fluency	Taxi experience	Home ownership
1	Hussain Butt	27	Married	1	Pakistan (Lahore)	Marriage	20	1st Gen	Graduate, Pakistan	school, Pakistan	Retail Pakistan	Yes	Masters, UK	Security Guard	Fluent	3 weeks Part/ Time	Rented
2	Shahid Dar	31	Married	2	Pakistan (Karachi)	Marriage	19	1st Gen	Graduate, Pakistan	school, Pakistan	Government service	Yes	BA, LLB (law) UK	Chef	Fluent	6 months Part/ Time	Rented
3	Imran Shah	37	Married	3	Pakistan Mirpur	Marriage	29	1st Gen	High school, Pakistan	None	Business Pakistan	Yes	HS Pakistan	Father in laws Grocery shop	Basic	4 years	Rented
4	Mohammed Dar	48	Married	5	Pakistan Mirpur	Marriage	22	1st Gen	High school, Pakistan	school, Pakistan	Business Pakistan	Yes	HS Pakistan	Uncle's Business	Basic	25 Years	Owns 3 houses
5	Gulnawaz Bhatt	40	Married	2	Pakistan Mirpur	Marriage	25	1st Gen	Madrasa	None	Imam Pakistan	Yes	Islamic studies Masters, Pakistan	Arabic Teacher Sportsman	Fluent	8 years	Own
6	Rameez Khan	53	Divorced	3	Pakistan Mirpur	Chain	22	1st Gen	Madrasa	None	Farmer Pakistan	Yes	BA, Pakistan	Bakery	Moderate	17 years	Owns 2 houses
7	Adil Hasan	36	Divorced	3	Pakistan Mirpur	Marriage	23	1st Gen	Graduate Pakistan	High school Pakistan	Government service Pakistan	Yes	BA, Pakistan	Global travel agency/supermarket	Fluent	6 years	Own
8	Sahil	38	Married	2	Mirpur Pakistan	Marriage	21	1st Gen	School, Pakistan	None	Farmer Pakistan	Yes	Primary school Pakistan	Restaurant	Moderate	12 years	Own
9	Yusuf Khan	37	Married	2	Rawalpindi, Pakistan	Marriage	24	1st Gen	School, Pakistan	school, Pakistan	Business Pakistan	Yes	Masters ICT Pakistan	Factory	Moderate	8 years	Own
10	Shaheed	42	Married	3	Punjab, Pakistan	Chain	20	1st Gen	High school, Pakistan	school, Pakistan	Business Pakistan	Yes	HS Pakistan	Forklift ware house	Basic	12 Years	Own
11	Shiraj Ahmed	36	Married	2	Swat Pakistan	Chain	21	1st Gen	Graduate, Pakistan	school, Pakistan	Government service Pakistan	Yes	BA, Pakistan	Corner shop Business	Fluent	11 years	Own
12	Shafiqullah	45	Married	3	Mirpur Pakistan	Chain	22	1st Gen	BA Pharmacy, Pakistan	High school, Pakistan	Government service Pakistan	Yes	Pharmacist Pakistan	Take away	Fluent	18 years	Own
13	Sania Mirza**	45	Married	2	Mirpur, Pakistan	Marriage	19	1st Gen	High school	None	Farmer Pakistan	Husband Taxi driver	High school, Pakistan	Driving instructor	Moderate	6 years	Husband's own

Sl. No	Name	Age at time of study	Marital Status	No of Kids	Country / Place of Birth	Migration Route	Age arrived in UK	1st/2nd Generation in UK	Father's education	Mother's education	Fathers occupation	Family / friends in taxi	Qualification of taxi driver	Other skills work experience	English Fluency	Taxi experience	Home ownership
14	Abid Chaudhary	43	Married	3	Leeds, UK	Chain	NA	2nd Gen	High school, Pakistan	Madrasa	Factory, UK	Yes	A level, UK	Tailoring	Fluent	10 Years	Own
15	Suhail Md	47	Married	3	Mirpur Pakistan	Chain	3	2nd Gen	High school, Pakistan	Madrasa	Factory, UK	Yes	A level, UK	Restaurant / catering	Fluent	12 Years	Own
16	Amzad	35	Married	3	Leeds, UK	Chain	NA	2nd Gen	School, Pakistan	Madrasa	Factory, UK	Yes	A level, UK	Qualified Plumber	Fluent	15 Years	Own
17	Usman Malik	27	Married	none	Bradford, UK	Chain	NA	2nd Gen	High school, Pakistan	None	Factory, UK	Yes	A level, UK	Odd jobs/ taxi driver	Fluent	2 years	Own
18	Shamim Khan	38	Married	2	Bradford, UK	Chain	NA	2nd Gen	High school, Pakistan	None	Factory, UK	Yes	BA, UK	Lloyds Bank Call centre	Fluent	1 year	Own
19	Sajid Malik	41	Married	3	Leeds, UK	Chain	NA	2nd Gen	High school, Pakistan	None	Factory, take away, UK	Yes	BA, LLB (law), UK	Uber/taxi driver	Fluent	18 years	Own
20	Raza Ali	41	Married	3	Dewsbury, UK	Chain	NA	2nd Gen	High school, Pakistan	None	Factory, Grocery shop, UK	Yes	A level, UK Grammar school	Travel agency	Fluent	8 years	Own
21	Allahdita	28	Married	3	Bradford, UK	Chain	10	2nd Gen	High school, Pakistan	None	Factory, UK	Yes	A level, UK	Retail sales ASDA 18 years	Fluent	6 months	Own
22	Akhtar	56	Married	3	Mirpur Pakistan	Chain	4	2nd Gen	Graduate, Pakistan	High school, Pakistan	Factory Supervisor, UK	Yes	MBA, UK	Partner Radio Channel	Fluent	18 years	Own
23	Rafida Choudhary*	45	Widow	3	Leeds, UK	Chain	NA	2nd Gen	Graduate, India	High school, India	Factory, Business, UK	Husband Taxi driver	BA, UK	Police custody officer/ Taxi driver	Fluent	4 years	Own
24	Aisha Choudhary***	38	Married	3	Leeds, UK	Chain	NA	2nd Gen	High school, Pakistan	school, Pakistan	Factory UK	Husband Taxi driver	A Levels, UK	Housewife	Fluent	NA	Own
25	Nafisa Malik***	41	Married	3	Leeds, UK	Chain	NA	2nd Gen	Graduate, Pakistan	High school, Pakistan	UK-Factory Supervisor	Husband Taxi driver	FE College, UK	HR/ Social Care NHS/ Housewife	Fluent	NA	Own
26	Councillor A****	42	Married	3	Omitted	Chain	NA	2nd Gen	NA	NA	UK-Factory Supervisor	Yes	A level	Taxi driver	Fluent	NA	Own
27	Councillor B****	45	Married	3	Omitted	Chain	NA	2nd Gen	NA	NA	UK-Factory Supervisor	Yes	BA, UK University	Taxi driver	Fluent	NA	Own

*(Female taxi driver) ** (Female Driving instructor) *** (Wife of taxi driver) **** Councillors hence their identifiers have been omitted to maintain anonymity

The Pull of Taxi: flexibility, autonomy, and ease

The reasons cited by the taxi drivers themselves as to why they came into taxi driving which is often called the 'pull' factors which attract taxi drivers to the occupation is presented first. As mentioned in the chapter on taxi driving, this occupation offers 'flexibility', 'autonomy', 'decent' money and an 'ease' of doing business which are often cited as an attractive proposition for potential drivers in various private hire taxi firms' websites, and even the national career services' website (NCS, 2017; Uber, 2017; Amber, 2017). The entry requirements are less stringent than other occupations making it easier for many migrants and minorities to consider this as a viable opportunity. Taxi licences are relatively easy to procure from the local council and once you have a 'badge' valid for three years, you can choose to work with any operator of your preference (Leeds city council, 2017). Customer details are sent to registered drivers via operators who provide their own applications to be run over smart phones. The conducting of taxi business is often seen as easy to operate with little to no book keeping, no requirement to maintain capital intensive stocks as in other traditional businesses, requiring very little start-up investment in comparison to say starting a take away or grocery store (Blanchflower and Oswald, 1998).

Flexibility: '*I can work when I want*'

Of all the reasons cited by participants in this study, flexibility was the chief pull factor as mentioned by almost all taxi drivers. The flexibility taxi driving offers, allows drivers to control the number of hours they can work every day allowing them to choose the time of the day when they would like to work. They can also choose the days of the week, month or year they are able to work.

> *I decided to do taxi driving because it's flexible. You can work when you want to work, and I can have a break off for an hour if I want to. That was the main reason I started doing taxi driving*
>
> (Suhail, male, 47, Leeds, 2nd generation).

The flexibility, in this occupation also comes from the self-employed nature of the job. Drivers are not bound by any employment contract with any employer (taxi ranks/ operators in this case). Rather they have a service contract with the taxi ranks/operators,

where they offer their services for exchange of a weekly fee as in the case of some private hires (Amber, Premier) or a commission per ride as with others as (Uber).

The need for flexibility was said to be crucial for many of the participants for several reasons including religious and domestic. Firstly, many cited they needed time for their regular prayers at the mosque and taxi driving offered them this flexibility. Since many of them were practicing Muslims, they need to offer five prayers in a day as required by their religion. However, there was no homogeneity amongst taxi drivers in terms of the extent to which they followed all the religious practices. Some said, they go to the Mosque while on a lunch break, others mentioned they pray in their homes in the evening or as they 'find time'. The other reason, why flexibility was cited as important was for domestic reasons. For instance, many taxi drivers cited a clear division of labour in the domestic front. Their wives largely managed the 3 Cs affairs at home namely cleaning, cooking and children, while the men were responsible for all the chores outside the house. Most of the taxi drivers had 3 or more children of school going age who needed to be dropped to school or taken to after-school classes and other co-curricular activities at various times of the day. Taxi driving offered them the flexibility to balance these various tasks along with working. Akhtar, who has an MBA degree from a reputed UK university in the North of England, confirms this:

> *So, I have my personal reasons for getting into taxi driving, due to the flexibility and freedom it gives me to do what I want as I want. But this also concurs with a lot of taxi drivers as they feel this allows them to perform their religious duties and they can pray, and they can work when they need to work and take a break when they need to do their prayers. I have three boys, one of them is into football, the other into martial arts and one into music. They need a chauffeur to drive them around (laughs) so I can still keep my job and my fatherly duties going you see. I am a taxi driver and so I have the flexibility to do what I like*
>
> (Akhtar, male, 56, Leeds, 2nd generation).

Another participant who works as a taxi driver and a councillor in a local council feels that taxi driving gives him the flexibility and ease of doing two roles and giving time to his family, said:

> *I'm working as a councillor, and I find it easier to be in a self-employed business like taxiing rather than working for someone because I can give more time to my council business. Now I can work when I want to, and then leave when I*

want to I don't need permission, I don't need to tell anyone that I'm going to the meeting because I start at 9 in the morning once I drop my kid off to school and if I will have to do the meeting I will go couple of hours and then if there is a meeting during the day either in the ward or in the civic hall, I will come do my business and I will go back again for the last hour or so. At 5 I will finish because I rather give time to my family.

(Councillor A, Male, 41, 2nd generation, name and place omitted).

Rafida, the only female taxi driver from the Pakistani community to participate in this study also mentioned flexibility as the major attraction in taxi driving. She worked in the police department earlier (before her first child was born) and was married to a family in the taxi business. After her husband's death, she became a taxi driver and said:

As a mother of four children, this suited my life more than any other job I could do

(Rafida, Female, 45, Leeds, 2nd Generation).

The other Pakistani woman Sania, whom the researcher met during the Quran classes in the mosque works as a driving instructor. She also had a similar story where after her husband (also a taxi driver) was bed-ridden due to an illness, she started giving driving lessons to other women. She cited flexibility as the key factor in her decision to do this job:

You see, in our community it is very difficult for women to go out and work. There are many restrictions. But after my husband became ill, I had no option, I was like, I will not live on benefits, and it is 'haram'. Allah has given me the strength to do this. I knew driving from before as I used to drive my children to school and tuition classes. So, after he became ill, I thought this is a flexible option which will help me to run the family and also why not help other women learn driving as they will not go to men for classes

(Sania, Female, 42, Leeds, 1st Generation).

In the above quote while flexibility is cited as a factor, cultural expectations, gender norms, also raise questions on choices available to such women. Conversely, both these women who took up these jobs had a compelling reason to get into this occupation. Other women (wives of taxi drivers) whom I met during my visit to Mosques for Quran classes or other events, mostly mentioned they were '*happy to be house wives*' and take care of the three Cs-cooking, cleaning and children. However, some of the wives also worked in the NHS, in

social care in part-time jobs which afforded them with some flexibility to balance their domestic duties. Nonetheless, most of the women were keen to get their daughters and sons well educated so that they can do regular jobs outside the taxi industry. This is a contradiction which might be indicative of a changing trend in Pakistani men and women's participation rate in the labour market within the community which will be discussed in the last section of this chapter.

Autonomy: '*I am my own boss'*

Alongside flexibility the other key pull factor cited was autonomy, which in many taxi driver's words is defined as '*freedom and being your own boss'*. As Rameez Khan, a first-generation Pakistani from Mirpur puts it very clearly:

> *In taxi there is freedom and that is the main thing, basically in taxi driving, you are your own boss, no one can say you anything. If you want to take leave for a day or a month, you can just switch off the radio and leave. No need to apply for leave and wait for your boss to say yes. When you are ready for work again, just switch on your radio*
>
> (Rameez Khan, Male, 53, Bradford, 1st Generation)

It is important to note that he says things like '*no one can say you anything*'; '*no need to apply for leave*'; '*or wait for your boss to say yes*'. These raise questions on where do these assumptions or thoughts come from? Where did they experience such behaviour? How did that experience affect their habitus? The autonomy perceived in taxiing, is also another form of '*being in control*' of your job and own life (Kalleberg, 2004), which was considered important for many Pakistani taxi drivers as cited by Abid, who is a second-generation British Pakistani man:

> *Many Asian people try to be in control of what they are doing. It's a culture you know we don't like to work under somebody else. Even in Pakistan most people are in their own employment like they are into farming or carpentry and they are successful doing their own work. As a taxi driver you are self-employed. You come to work when you want to. You switch off the radio and go home*
>
> (Abid, Male, 43, Leeds, 2nd Generation)

Abid's quote too alludes to '*culture*', and the desire to be '*in control*' affecting their habitus where he feels '*we don't like to work under somebody else*'. This was quite common in most of

the interviews and taxi ride conversations. There was almost a post-colonial rebellion in some of these statements around autonomy where some taxi drivers said, 'they did not want to work under the '*gore*' [white people]'. Sajid, a second-generation driver who has worked extensively in other jobs before moving to taxi driving said:

> *You see working for the gore [white] people is risky. You see, from the outside the 'gore' [white people] don't show but from the inside they do [racist behaviour] you understand me? From the outside they love you to bits 'oh you are something else' but from the inside they resist you. And it's because they do not like us being in this country. I feel they still feel they are the masters like back in the day [like during the colonial period] and they treat us like that in jobs. I mean they will boss around, make fun of our culture. They are happy if you listen to them with your heads down, if you raise your head, ask for a raise or promotion, then they start finding faults with you'*
>
> (Sajid, Male, 41, Leeds 2nd Generation)

This quote too points to '*culture', 'bossing behaviour', 'the colonial era'* and its aftermath. Thus, Sajid felt it was best not to work *under* 'white' people and preferred to be self-employed. This self-employed status was important for many of the drivers and is imperative especially considering the recent case of Uber, where in a landmark employment tribunal ruling the courts have dismissed Uber's appeal and stated that its drivers should be classed as workers with access to the minimum wage and paid holidays (The Guardian, December 2018). Uber being a part of the sharing economy, one of the key issues is that of employment rights and employment status. However, as per a 2018 Uber and Lyft Driver Survey with over 1200 drivers, 75% of drivers overall stated they were happy with their status as independent contractors, with only 21% stating they would like to be employees (therideshareguy.com, 2018).

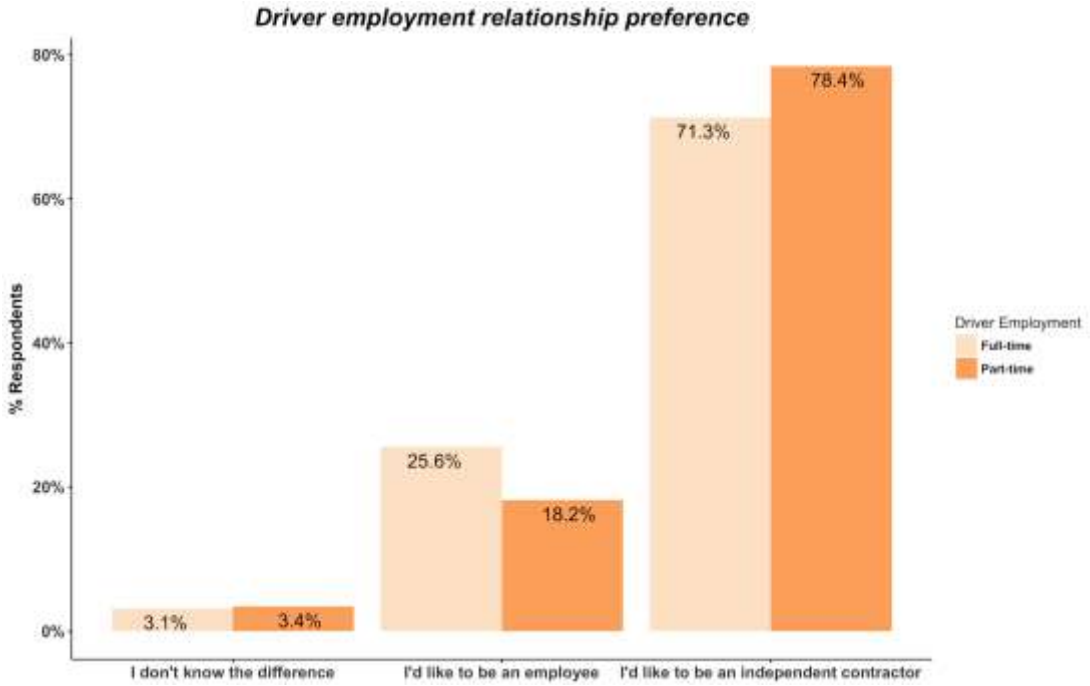


Figure 6 UBER driver employment relationship preference[7]

As mentioned in chapter 6, this desire for freedom and independence reflects a common trend even amongst many Jews who worked as cabbies to be self-employed in the 1950s (Waterman and Kosmin, 1986). Incidentally, not only the Pakistani drivers spoken to as part of this research, but also drivers from other ethnicities like Bangladeshis, Eritreans, Ethiopians, Algerians, Caribbean's, Sikhs and also white English drivers mentioned this desire for self-employment as crucial in their decision to do taxi work. However, the difference between English and the migrant drivers was the element of choice. While the English drivers mostly indicated a degree of choice, the migrant drivers generally referred to more 'push' factors than 'pull'. Thus, self-employment out of necessity as opposed to self-employment as an opportunity must be distinguished to see if this decision stemmed out of choice or there were other factors that constrained such options (Dawson et al, 2009) which will be discussed in the next section on push factors of taxi driving. However, back to pull factors first.

7 Source https://therideshareguy.com/2018-uber-and-lyft-driver-survey-results-the-rideshare-guy/

Money: It pays the bills

The flexibility and autonomy that taxi driving offers when coupled with the money in this trade is something, which many taxi drivers saw as another major 'pull'. Although many taxi drivers also complained of business going down, with "*too many taxi drivers on the road*", still, it may be argued taxi driving makes good economic sense in some ways.

> *Main reason I see for Pakistani men driving taxis is because the pay is good. I would work in McDonalds and barely earn £200 for 4 days work, whereas I would easily earn £200 in the weekend if I drove taxis. If you drive taxis, you will earn and build up some cash, you will make about £400 in a week easily. In a year of driving taxis, I earned so much that I was able to pay my rent, I wasn't able to before, because I wasn't able to save, so I needed help from the council… I mean, taxi drivers who work the weekend could earn £300 - £400, easy. In any other job, you could work for a week and still not earn that much*
>
> (Yusuf, Male, 36, Dewsbury, 1st Generation).

These are not attractive figures yet as some drivers said, "*it pays the bill!*" However, it is important to note that the economic aspect of taxi driving is also relative as many taxi drivers considered this is 'good money' only when compared with other options like working in McDonalds, shift jobs, cleaning, carpentry, packing, or courier services. This is an important point as mentioned earlier, if the options available are not many then the element of choice is restricted. Many drivers also came into taxi driving because the investment required to become a taxi driver was considerably less than say opening a take away or a grocery store. Some were already working in their own takeaways which they closed and came to taxi driving as the investment required in take away or grocery shops was much higher than taxiing. However, the money in taxi is not guaranteed and you tend to make more money working long, unsocial or anti-social hours and over weekends, as the rest of the week does not offer much opportunity to make money. Furthermore, the associated cost of driving a taxi like paying the fees to the operator base, fuel costs, insurance, and maintenance sometimes does not leave them with much at the end as suggested from the quote below from Raza Ali, a 2nd generation taxi driver:

> *There was a time when I was earning £70-£80 a week and there was a time when I was earning £2000 a week when you work the weekends. And you know taxi drivers may earn £600-£700 a week, that's gross, and most likely*

people can earn that much, but out of that your expense per week is about £300. Fuel is around £100 to £120, paying to base is about £80 to £100, then your maintenance on your vehicle and your insurance so your expense is around 50% of your earning and you are not left with much

(Raza Ali, Male, 41, 2nd Generation, Place omitted)

These aspects of taxi work raise questions on the pull factors as cited by the taxi drivers. As on one hand they state this is good money, while on the other hand, the rising cost of running a taxi takes away the net cash in hand leaving them with less money (economic capital). This illustrates the relational nature of the pull factors. The other pull factor which many taxi drivers cited was that they considered this to be an 'easier' option which will be discussed next.

Ease: It's easier than cleaning or packing

Taxi driving was considered as 'an easy job' to be in by many as a motivator for being in this occupation. It is however, relevant to understand this seemingly simple word 'easy'. 'Easy' has two facets to it- the ease of 'entry' into this business, like getting a license, getting a car; and the other aspect is the ease of 'doing' this work, like getting ready customers, easy transactions and little to no book keeping, especially when you are with a private hire company. This is important as many migrants and minorities do not have enough knowledge of the rules and regulations of the UK (host country) and may find jobs or businesses where such knowledge is crucial as off putting. Additionally, 'easy' is a relative word and is used in comparison to other options like cleaning, plumbing, carpentry, construction, or working in other retail jobs where '*you don't get your hands dirty*':

'Yes, that's why I've been doing it for 25 years. You meet a lot of new people and it's a very easy job to do, you don't get your hands dirty or anything so it's a really easy job'.

(Amzad, Male, 35, Leeds, 2nd Generation)

Nafisa, a second-generation British Pakistani woman, and wife of taxi driver also mentioned that many taxi drivers specially the first-generation men who arrived after marriage to this country found taxi driving to be an 'easy' option:

That's how it was for most of them [husbands] you see. The [British Pakistani] girls get married in Pakistan and then the husbands come over [to UK] you

see and then they do not know what to do and this just becomes an easy option for them."

(Nafisa, Female, wife of taxi driver, 41, Leeds, 2nd Gen)

TJ, who is managing a taxi rank for over 20 years says, it is the ease of getting a license and being self-employed, that's a great pull for the taxi drivers from Pakistan:

For Pakistanis I feel it's easier as they seem to think that nobody can stop them except themselves from getting the badge. Now with the badge you can work in any company that you choose; just if you do not like it there you can move on so it is not a commitment, it's literally like you can jump from one base to the next. So, it's very flexible and so easy. And the money you earn is your own

(TJ, British White female, operations manager of a taxi firm, 43, (place omitted).

Shahrukh, has been driving taxis for over a decade now and considers taxiing as a better option and found the test for licensing 'easy' during his time along with the money as the pull for taxi driving.

Earlier I used to work in restaurants, take-away but the money was not very good, so one of my village friends suggested to give the taxi test. When I gave the test around 12 years back, it was very easy to pass, now they have made it harder. But back then it was easy, so I found this easy to get in and do

(Shahrukh, Male, 34, Bradford, 1st Generation).

This 'ease' however, is more perceived than real. Taxi driving is not entirely an easy job. Taxi drivers work long hours (10 to 12 hours on an average day), almost 5 to 6 days a week, which may affect their health. There are studies in the field of medicine which confirm, taxi drivers face health issues due to long hours of sitting in cabs. In a report from Japan, it was estimated that most taxi drivers are in risk of 'low back pain of vehicle drivers which are mainly caused by long hours of driving in a restricted posture, car vibration or shocks from roads, and mental stress associated with driving' (Miyamoto, 2007: 112). A similar study by Anderson and Raanaas (2000), in Norway made similar observations regarding high chances of musculoskeletal illness in taxi drivers. This could be dangerous too, leading to accidents. In a study conducted in Sydney, Australia, taxi accident rates are most elevated at the end of weekend night shifts, suggesting a 'black time' (Folkard, 1996) that results from the combined effects of long shift hours with the

natural low point in the human circadian rhythm. Concerning types of accidents, collisions with pedestrians are over-represented among taxi drivers, particularly accidents that result in fatalities and serious injury (Dalziel and Jobs, 2000). In the UK, some studies have reported similar physical and mental challenges for people from Pakistani origin, but not specifically for taxi drivers.

Many participants in the current study also acknowledged that taxi driving is not as easy as it is deemed to be, as they have to work long and unsocial hours like 'early mornings, late nights'. Most taxi drivers said they worked on an average of 10 to 12 hours per day and sometimes longer on weekends. Nafisa, a second-generation British Pakistani woman who is a social worker and the wife of a taxi driver pointed out:

> *But driving a taxi all day is not easy you know. I sometimes wonder how my husband does it all day. Their shoulders must hurt, we don't realise it, but it completely drains you, you know*
>
> (Nafisa, Female, wife of taxi driver, 41, Leeds, 2nd Gen)

The other facet of 'ease' is that of getting into this business. Most taxi drivers in the study indicated that they already had family or friends in taxi, which helped them to come into this occupation. While it is understandable for all the first- generation taxi drivers who mentioned they worked in jobs referred to by their family members in UK upon arrival and that many also worked in family businesses like takeaways, grocery stores, textile shops before moving to taxi driving. However, all second-generation taxi drivers mentioned they had someone in the taxi driving occupation in the family who was their primary source of information about the same. This is perhaps one of the most crucial observations, as the social networks (social capital) of the taxi drivers had a huge impact on the kind of jobs they went into, taxi driving being the most likely one.

Gulnawaz, came to UK after his marriage with '*dreams of beings a teacher*' but he did not have the information and the '*knowhow*' of how to apply to be a teacher. He reached out to his family and friends most of whom were taxi drivers and so he says:

> *You see when I came here after marriage, I found, most of the Pakistanis in my circle were taxi drivers, I didn't have to go far to get information, all the colleagues I met were in taxis, that time I didn't have access to information, so I would call my taxi driver friends and they would tell me, 'do this, do that',*

so I would get information quick. At first when I had my driving license, I used to work in the delivery business. Pretty much all the Pakistanis start off with takeaway, where you build up your local knowledge, so I got into driving taxis

(Gulnawaz, Male, 40, Leeds, 1st Generation)

This access to information from their ethnic social network about taxi work was something which was consistently cited by most taxi drivers as a key to getting into taxi driving. When a migrant arrives in a new country, it is difficult for them to find accessible information and depend on their social network for help (Demireva, 2011; Battu et al., 2011). This is where such networks become very critical in shaping the types of jobs available to migrants. TJ, who has been running a taxi firm for over two decades, confirms this:

Well I found, like I've been doing this for 20 years and I found 95% of Asians like Pakistanis, Indians come into the taxi business through relatives, so they have come over and married and that is how they have come about being taxi drivers just like brother's son or some kind of relative

(TJ, British White female, operations manager taxi firm, 43, Place omitted)

This social network built around family and friends in taxi driving is a very crucial factor and would be discussed in detail in the next chapter where social capital would be considered. However, this social network is both a 'pull' and 'push' factor; where on one hand friends and family in taxiing means they have all the information required at hand to get into taxiing; yet at the same time it is also limiting, as it shuts the possibility of these men trying other options or occupations other than taxi driving.

As evident, the pull factors are not very straightforward and as such the push factors emerged – that is the challenges cited by taxi drivers in gaining standard employment which will be discussed next.

The Push: Racism, islamopbhobia and lack of 'good jobs'

There were many challenges cited by the taxi drivers which often 'pushed' them into taxi driving. While poor human capital was one of them this will be discussed in the next chapter on capitals. While many taxi drivers acknowledged their poor English language ability and lack of qualifications as push factors, many also felt, even with the right degrees and qualifications (human capital), they may still not get the right opportunity: This is an important consideration, in terms of the employment habitus of migrants and minorities, where when the 'game' itself seems impossible to play, the players often seclude to not playing the game at all (Bourdieu, 1984). Both first-generation and second-generation taxi drivers felt 'racism was everywhere' and that they faced direct and indirect discrimination in jobs they applied for. Some also suggested a dearth of 'good jobs' to apply for, especially with the decline of the manufacturing industries and rise of the service sector. The shortage of jobs was also felt to be gendered as many felt they were unable to find suitable 'manly' jobs as they felt many of the service sector jobs were too 'girly'. These are factors which need serious deliberation which will be considered next.

Triple trouble: I am a British Asian Pakistani Muslim, that's my fault!

The prejudice against Muslims has increased over the last few years (Garner and Selod, 2015). Media coverage of Muslims associated with crimes like terror attacks has added fuel to the Islamophobic atmosphere already prevalent in western countries (Saha, 2012). Additionally, media reports pertaining to young British Muslim teenagers travelling to Syria allegedly to join terror organisations like ISIS (BBC, 2017) and of sex grooming gangs being associated with Pakistani men largely has created further trouble for people from Pakistani origins (Cockbain, 2013).

This concern was voiced by the many educated, English speaking taxi drivers like Hussain, who did his master's in supply chain management after arriving in the UK and aspires to work for ASDA, LIDL or Sainsbury in their purchase department. His English is good, and he is computer literate. He applied for many graduate internships with his coveted companies but was unsuccessful. He started driving taxis just a few weeks back at the time of the interview. He sounded low and thought he might not be getting a job due to his '*Muslim sounding* name':

When I came here initially, I tried to get a job as I had a graduation degree in management from Pakistan, but I could not find any decent job. I soon realized, my degrees are of no use in this country, so I decided to go to university to do a master's degree. I completed my Master's degree, in supply chain management from [X] university. Since then I have been applying for various jobs in ASDA, LIDL, Sainsbury, Morrisons but I couldn't really get a job. I tried a lot. Even now I am applying for the graduate scheme with companies. I have applied in more than 50 positions till now, but I have not got any response till now. I don't know if it's my name [Muslim sounding] or something else which is the reason?

(Hussain, Male, 27, Leeds, 1st Generation).

Akhtar, a taxi driver who was also associated with the local council on race relations training and in campaigns against hate crimes explains this beautifully:

When we train in the race field, we say there are three levels of this (racism). First is prejudice, where there is prejudice, its harmful to the individual but not to the others because ***prejudice is a belief****, it's inside you. It is basically like you are pre-judging based on a stereotype. So, somebody walking down the street, he is wearing what looks like an Islamic hat, so you assume he is a terrorist. That is prejudice. That's inside you. So, while it is inside you, it is [still] harmless. It's hurting you, as an individual because you have not opened up to the beauty of diversity and the beauty of humanity as a whole and it affects you mentally and spiritually. So that's there. But the moment that (Islamic hat wearing) person is stopped from getting on a bus or stopped from walking down the street, told to move on from a place because he looks that way then it becomes discrimination. It is an Act.* ***Discrimination is an Act. It is prejudice in action****. So, somebody NOT allowed to do something, while somebody else is, is discrimination.* ***When discrimination becomes institutionalised, it becomes racism****. Like in offices there might be an unwritten rule that doesn't allow certain kind of people or groups to come into a certain industry. Like under representation of minorities in the police force, or the armed forces and places like that. Some institutions have closed their doors to certain groups of people because of the way that discrimination has become institutionalised. It becomes an ideology. So, when something becomes an ideology it becomes an –ism. Like classism, socialism, racism and any 'ism' is a schism as it causes a split. And any such thing splits humanity and that's not good*

(Akhtar, 56, Male, Bradford, 2nd Gen)

The above quote is relevant for several reasons. Firstly, it carefully explains the differing levels of discrimination at a micro, meso and macro level; secondly, coming from one of the taxi driver participants it challenges the stereotype of the uneducated, unaware taxi driver; thirdly, it shows the varying degrees of experiences which could lead to discrimination as experienced by ethnic minorities, specially Pakistanis in UK.

Experiencing discrimination was something, which all the taxi drivers spoken to confirmed in the affirmative. In response to the question – 'Have you ever experienced discrimination or racism?', while most taxi drivers mentioned they did experience racism and Islamophobic behaviour, their interpretation or response to it was diverse as their coping mechanisms were different in different spaces and situations. There were many instances of racism and discriminatory behaviour in the various fields like employment, schools, universities, social spaces and in their own taxis (their self-employment field), which demonstrates how ubiquitous such discrimination is for them:

> *We are often been called Pakis, Bombers, terrorists, rapists, groomers; we are questioned all the time and forced into conversations that they don't necessarily need to say. When I was in school racism was not even an offence, so you just had to find your own way*
>
> (Akhtar, male, 56, Leeds, 2nd generation)

Rameez Khan, a first-generation taxi driver, mentioned how he felt he lost his job as a security guard because he took some time off to pray during his duty hours.

> *When I did the security job for few years, one day I had to take a break to pray. I was at the entrance of the building. I just went to the side of the door, put my mat on the floor and prayed, as it was time for Namaz (the daily prayers Muslims do 5 times a day). Next day, the manager called me and fired me. He did not give me any valid reason for doing that. But I know he fired me because I prayed*
>
> (Rameez Khan, Male, 53, Bradford, 1st Generation)

Adil, another first- generation taxi driver, who migrated from Pakistan to US and then to the UK, worked in a global travel agency before. He is very articulate and speaks excellent English and seems to have a lot of experience, but he also felt the 'penalty' not only in the labour market but in his personal life too. In the quote below, it is evident how race and religion penalised him. He quit his job and came into taxi driving a few years back.

Hell yeah there is racism! Especially when it comes to promotions and stuff. If you are an Asian or Muslim you have less chances of getting promoted and to be honest several years back I was in a relationship with a white girl and that ended because I was a Muslim and because the girl's sister was in the British Army and she progressed to the intelligence department and it did not look good on her CV to have me in the family. So yeah, I am a British Asian Pakistani Muslim that was my fault!

(Adil, Male, 36, Leeds, 1st Generation)

Shiraj, came to UK from the Swat valley. He alludes to the power difference between Pakistanis and the English and says as an '*outsider*', migrants have to '*endure*' a bit of racism:

Yeah, well yes, there is racism all across, but you see it's their [English people's] country and they are allowing us to live here so we have to stay as per their terms and conditions. My cousins tell me it is best to keep quiet and not say anything, as they are more powerful here. In Pakistan we are more powerful. But life here is better than Pakistan. You know the political situation there, so we stay here and endure some bit of racism

(Shiraj, Male, 36, Leeds, 1st Generation)

Shiraj's comment raises many questions regarding identity, belongingness and power differentials felt by migrants and minorities in the host country. It is also pertinent to note that power dynamics change with geographical spaces, as migrants feel powerless when they are not the dominant group in a society, but they know there are spaces like their own country where they have power. It is important to note some of the words he used like '*allowing us to stay*', '*their terms and conditions*', '*they are more powerful here'*, which alludes to a contract like relationship between migrants and the host nation's dominant groups. Similar concerns have been raised in the academic literature where the stratified citizenship of migrants and ethnic minorities as second class citizens has been raised (Bauder, 2005; Erel, 2010; Anderson, 2013; Rytter, 2013). Although racism seems to be everywhere, yet some drivers acknowledged the opportunity this country offers them for which they are grateful:

Racism is everywhere. Even in Pakistan there are different races (castes) and they fight against each other. At least things are not so bad here. People will sometimes say some things, call names, but then there is so much opportunity here, so I just turn deaf to such comments, its best that way

(Shahid, Male, 31, Leeds, 1st Generation)

Ironically, while many taxi drivers thought being self-employed will '*save*' them from racism in the work place, they faced racist behaviour from their customers in their own taxis on a regular basis:

> *Yes, I have experienced racism so many times, an incident happened just two weeks back, customer get in the car, and starts saying stuff like "you got an ugly beard", I tried to stay calm because I knew if I retaliated I would only make things worse. I stayed quiet, after 10 minutes, I felt like he crossed the line, because he started calling me stuff like bomber or terrorist, then he started punching the dashboard and all, so I stopped the car then I dropped him off … but anyway its happened loads, especially the beard comment, it happens more with the ones with bigger beards. I try to avoid talking back, because you never know how they are or what may happen. But I am used to it now, but after an incident like that you stay upset for like a couple of weeks. I was considering changing my job, because last month itself I had 3 or 4 instances about the beard comment, I don't understand why people do it, is it media influences, or peer pressure?*
>
> (Gulnawaz, Male, 40, Leeds, 1st Generation)

Some drivers also experienced severe forms of racism as hate crimes against them in their own taxis. Awais, a second-generation Pakistani who was attacked by a group of teenage school children by pelting stones at his car which broke his windscreen and his nose said:

> *I find this [hate crimes] especially in my current job [which is] taxi driving because I can bet that you have never heard of attacks on any white taxi drivers. All you see or hear is attacks happening on Asians. I mean, I have had customers who have called me the 'p' word [Paki] and start swearing as well*
>
> (Awais, Male, 32, Leeds, 2nd Generation).

However, the manifestation of racism is not evenly spread across the British diaspora and not so across the entire day. Many taxi drivers mentioned drunken behaviour at night as the main time when they experienced racial abuse:

> *Racism, well I don't know how you find them outside but inside they (English people) are racist. I have spent time with the English community. I used to play cricket for about 8-9 years, and they were all English people I was the only Asian and they are all nice people on the surface. But you get to see the real colour of a person when they have had a bit to drink. So, you have this lovely nice person in your car, and you take him to a pub. Four hours later you drive the same person home when he has had a bit to drink and it all comes out.*

'You (Paki) you (terrorist)!' And these days it is just all around you. 'Kick this person out! Kick them (Muslims) out!' So yeah unfortunately it is there (racism)

(Abid, Male, 43, Leeds, 2nd Generation)

Apart from drunken behaviour taxi drivers also mentioned experiencing *Islamophobia*, and many of them mentioned the term showing their awareness of the rhetoric popular with media and current affairs:

'Yeah I have experienced racism and recently lot of islamophobia and that's because of some small minorities Muslims. I'm never gonna lie to anyone, I am a Muslim I am proud to be one, but you know I can't represent everyone, every Muslim- some have different ideas and thoughts. As a Pakistani you have double penalty that of being an Asian, and a Muslim and also a Pakistani, so triple really! Hahaha!'

(Amir, Male, 32, Leeds, 2nd Gen)

This multiple 'penalty' for Pakistanis is well documented in academic research, but sadly, sometimes it also extends to other ethnicities as well. Mohammad, a second-generation taxi driver worked in a media house before he quit and came into taxi driving. He thinks sometimes Islamophobic behaviour is targeted towards non-Muslims as the people doing such behaviour cannot tell the difference between Muslims and non-Muslims*:*

'Taxi drivers are like a barometer of social attitudes besides social media where you find lots of such attitudes. You know, I feel for people who are not even Muslims and Asians. I once had to report an incident for somebody being cornered. They were a couple actually being cornered by another group. Clearly to me I knew they were Sikh. And these people who had cornered them, this group kept saying "people like you! People like you!" and I knew they were not talking about people like Sikhs, but they were meaning people like Muslims (Chuckles)'

(Raza Ali, 45, Leeds, 2nd Gen)

While racism and islamophobia made their social and labour market experience poor, many taxi drivers and others like their wives, councillors in this study also felt there was a dearth of 'good jobs' and 'opportunities' for them. Another taxi driver, who now works as a councillor and aspires to be the Lord Mayor of the city one day said:

Talking about the private taxi drivers there are two types of people, there are those when they don't have any other skills, and do what they're doing, but then there are those individuals with education, and I have argued a case, majority of the Pakistani young people are going into the self-employed business because there aren't many opportunities for them

(Councillor A, Male, 41, 2nd Generation, name and place omitted).

This is a push factor which has been raised in the literature on post-industrial Britain affecting working class people generally (Mcdowell et al., 2014) and Pakistani people (Kalra, 2000) where it is argued that the decline of the industrial sector and the concomitant rise of service sector left many working class people without relevant skills and knowledge for service sector jobs which were less physical labour and more emotional labour where the skills required are not easily transferrable which will be discussed next.

Deindustrialization and Poor jobs: *'This is better than cleaning and packing!'*

One major push cited by many taxi drivers was deindustrialization. As the average age of the taxi drivers was 40 years, many had seen the 'hay days' of the industrial era or heard of those days from their parents or in laws. However, as manufacturing declined in the late 1980s and early 1990s, many of their parents, the older Pakistanis, suffered periods of structural unemployment. Away from factory work, the most available types of employment for Pakistani men were jobs in retail and warehousing, as packers, in driving taxis and delivery, and working in restaurants. As such many allege they were 'pushed' into self-employment running corner grocery shops, takeaways and taxi driving (Kalra, 2000).

Moreover, post-industrial Britain saw a rise in the service sector jobs, which many Pakistanis felt were too 'feminine' unlike the 'masculine' jobs of the industrial era. There has also been a growth in 'lousy jobs' (mainly in low-paying service occupations) together with a (much larger) growth in 'lovely jobs' (mainly in professional and managerial occupations in finance and business services) and a decline in the number of 'middling jobs' (mainly clerical jobs and skilled manual jobs in manufacturing) (Goos and Manning, 2003). This has created a bottle neck for many migrants who might not qualify for the top level 'lovely jobs' and are over qualified for the 'lousy jobs'. This was also voiced by a few participants:

So, in UK now they don't have any jobs, believe me, they don't have any good jobs. They are all gone like call centres, all in other countries and most of it in India and some other cheaper countries. So basically, there was this tory prime minister what's her name? [Margaret Thatcher?] Yes, she ruined this country and stopped all industries, so no factories, no mills, all gone. Now what jobs you have? Waiters, salesman, till jobs, cleaner, no good jobs you see. Believe me in this country if tourists and students stop coming, then business goes down. In the last couple of years, they put high university fees and so less international students are coming now and that affects our taxi business, the night life business and even the food business has gone down.

(Raza Ali, Male, 48, Leeds, 2nd Generation)

The sheer dearth of good jobs was also evident in their experiences with job centres. In response to, 'Have you ever used a job centre or recruitment agency to look for work?' many taxi drivers said there was '*no use going to job centres as they only push you into lower end jobs',*

A similar experience was reported in a CERIC report on Active Labour Market Policies (ALMP) comparing Denmark and UK (Ingold, et al., 2017). Some who did go to job centres did not have a positive experience either:

I went there but because I did not have any [UK] experience, they were asking me to do cleaner job, I am not interested to do cleaner job, so I discussed with my friends and family. So, they said do taxi job its easy and better than cleaner job

(Shakhrukh, male, 30, Leeds, 1st Generation)

I've tried job centre, but I wasn't successful through job centre and the recruitment agency would prefer you to be working under their contracts so they can make money- not you, they would not be helping you get a job, you'll be on their books, you'll working for them doing odd jobs here and there and I was not interested in that one

(Shaheed, 33, Bradford, 2nd Gen)

As mentioned earlier, there was a gendered definition of 'good and bad jobs'. Like Linda McDowell's 'yobs' (McDowell et al., 2014) and Paul Willis' 'lads' (Willis, 1977), many taxi drivers were averse to service sector jobs as they felt the jobs available these days were 'girly' and not 'manly' enough for them.

You see as a Pakistani man, I can work hard in factories, do manual hard work, but I cannot flutter my eyes behind tills, that's too girly. And moreover, if I work in Primark or Sports Direct, there can be a woman supervisor or something! Can you imagine? (Rolls his eyes and sighs heavily) And I tell you, especially Pakistani and Kashmiri men, they are mentally not slaves, they never even like to take instructions [from women]. And when I did the retail security job, I saw this twenty-year-old girl in the retail shop, telling me do this do that, why you did this? You can't smoke, you can't do this, you cannot take break and so and so. And that control makes you angry inside. She is like a kid and she is trying to control me yeah'

(Rameez Khan, male, 53, Bradford, 1st Generation)

This is again indicative of the habitus where gender and ethnicity had their effect on the employment habitus. Many suggested all the jobs which were available these days were low end jobs like waiters, salesmen, cleaners which as per them were not 'good' jobs. The reason why jobs like waiters, salesman, and cleaners were not considered 'good' was because they felt such jobs did not offer either good pay, autonomy (Kalleberg, 2004) refer to table X, and freedom like Rameez says:

A few days back a customer was misbehaving, I just asked him to get out of my taxi. If I do a job in a company like a regular job, I cannot do that. I have seen in jobs of waiters and all when you are serving a customer so many times they abuse you badly, you have to endure that behaviour, but they cannot do that in a taxi. I can just stop the taxi and ask them to get out.

(Rameez Khan, Male, 53, Bradford, 1st Generation)

As mentioned in the pull factors, autonomy was very critical to many drivers, and if the job did not offer such autonomy, then many were reluctant to do such jobs. However, taxi driving provides some autonomy only when seen in comparison to other precarious occupations like sales, or service jobs like cleaning, waiting tables or flipping burgers. However, most taxi drivers do not enjoy much autonomy as they are guided by the taxi ranks, or the platforms they work for and are often subject to abusive behaviors by their customers. In most of the taxi apps, drivers are rated by their customers and if a driver receives low ratings, then they are either penalized by getting less workloads or not given jobs at all.

As evident from the above, the pull of taxi was offset by the push in many ways as given in the table below which suggests a dichotomy in the accounts of the taxi drivers which

needs further probing as discussed in the next section- what is wrong with taxi driving? Furthermore, while the 'pull' factors faced by the taxi drivers were mentioned by most other taxi drivers from other ethnicities (like Bangladeshi, Indian, Eritrean, Ethiopian and even English origin drivers), the 'push' factors were slightly different for many and especially for Pakistani men which needs to be borne in mind which points to a 'lived experience' which is difficult to place between the binaries of 'pull and push' which will be discussed next.

Taxi driving- the Lived experience

Taxi driving is not a socially desirable occupation, often shunned by the white indigenous people (Hafeez and McEvoy, 2009). As such taxi driving tends to attract migrants and minorities with poor human capital, strong social capital in taxi industry, limited economic capital and a cultural capital where caring and customer service values are required. Yet, some question it raises is why one ethnic group is highly concentrated in this role. Why do not men or women of other ethnicities in similar situations take this up in such large numbers? And why don't the White British do this job in as significant numbers as Pakistani men? Indeed, at this point one may reflect as one participant asked – '*what is wrong with taxi driving?*' It is a legal occupation, which helps one earn a '*decent*' amount of money, offering 'flexible' hours of work and 'autonomy'. However, the following section exposes the dichotomy in taxi drivers' accounts between the 'push and pull' factors and reports the 'lived experience' of driving a taxi which produces a disarrayed description of why they choose to drive taxis.

TJ, who is managing a taxi firm for over 20 years when asked 'why is it that the English do not drive taxi in large numbers?' and she explains:

> *'Basically, the white people they're not willing to work because for a lot of [white] people taxi driving is a low-class job that's like the 'piss' of the 'piss' of the 'piss' [keeps putting her hands down]. Now, white people it's very very rare that you'll get a white driver [in Leeds] and in our situation [the taxi rank TJ works for] we get a lot of businessmen that have their own businesses who have now retired and are doing a part time that's the white drivers we have that's very rare of a young white driver coming up do you know what I mean its 90% of the time retired people. The way I see it white people think taxi driving as a low-class job and that's a fact'*
>
> (TJ, female, taxi operator manager, and place omitted)

The above quote it is important to note that jobs also have a perceived 'class'. As mentioned earlier, 'class pervades all aspects of English life and culture', and that 'England is a highly class-conscious culture' and have 'rules which are highly classed' (Fox, 2004). Jobs have also been used to 'classify' people into classes (Savage et al., 2013). This point will be borne in mind in the final discussion.

Additionally, while many taxi drivers cited flexibility and autonomy as the pull factors of taxi driving, they did not consider taxi driving as a 'good' job. As Yusuf, says:

> *My take on this is that everyone has different circumstances, so everyone does it for different reasons. The main advantage of this job though is that there is a lot of freedom, no set time, no boss, no questions but this is a third-class job, no doubt about it*
>
> (Yusuf, Male, 36, Dewsbury, 1st Generation).

While Yusuf, calls this 'a third-class job', others like Abid felt, '*this is a degraded job',* and others felt *'there is no future in this*'; or as one taxi driver said:

> *I know why you are doing this research because people think taxi driving is the lowest of the lowest kind of job. You can't get any other job, so you become a taxi driver. If I could do any other job, I would. I don't like the taxi job, but I have mouths to feed, and bills to pay!*
>
> (Abid, Male, 43, Leeds, 2nd Generation).

The quote above clearly demonstrates the lack of choice felt by many taxi drivers and Abid was not the only one to mention this. Some also thought taxi driving was not even a self-employment but a precarious form of employment like a zero-hour contract where they did not have any rights, holiday pay or sick pay, it was a 'no work-no pay' type of a contract which left them in an unwarranted situation if they were to face any exigencies:

> *We live for the day. For every hour we spend outside the taxi we lose potential income and that's not good. We come in this trade for flexibility but actually there is not much flexibility. We are like on a zero-hours contract- no work, no pay.*
>
> (Asad, 35, Bradford, 1st Generation)

This agrees with Dawson et al's study where they draw attention to self-employment out of opportunity vs self-employment out of necessity (Dawson et al., 2009). Many taxi drivers, who initially mentioned the 'pull' factors, eventually concluded that '*this is not the best option*', yet they are doing it as they '*do not have many other options*'. Many of them initially tried other jobs like working in a bakery, take away, warehouse before moving into taxi driving. Moreover, the decision to drive a taxi was often not the most acceptable to their family members. As Naushad, a second-generation British Pakistani woman who got married to her cousin in Pakistan said, when her husband came to UK he worked in a

bakery. Then when she was pregnant with their first baby, he first mentioned his thought of being a taxi driver she was not happy:

> *I was against it. I almost wanted to strangle him (laughs) coz I had that image coz when we were at school and I was born and brought up here so in high school we used to have all these taxi drivers hovering outside school and I had that image you know of a sleazy taxi driver and I didn't want him to be that (laughs again) and I had to come to terms with my own idea and image you know it's really weird but I was so against it at that time*
>
> (Nafisa, 45, Leeds, 2nd Generation).

Nafisa's quote is also relevant about the symbolic capital of being a taxi driver. This was also voiced by a few other taxi drivers who thought taxi driving was perceived to be a '*bad job*', or that '*there was no respect in taxi driving*'. The other wives spoken to voiced mixed responses. Aisha, also a second-generation Pakistani woman who is the wife of a taxi driver has a different take and says,

> *I am fine with my husband driving a taxi. He bought this house with his taxi money, he runs the family since I am a house wife. He pays for my children's requirements and fulfils their wishes and desires, with this taxi money so it is fine really!*
>
> (Aisha, female, wife of taxi driver, 38, Leeds, 2nd Generation)

This dichotomy in the accounts of the taxi drivers and their wives was further highlighted when I asked taxi drivers if they would want their sons to do this job after them, each one of them vehemently said, 'No!' as evident from the quotes of the drivers below:

> *No No No! He will not be a taxi driver. Never! This is not a business to be in. There is not respect in taxi driving. People are rude and call us names. I have told my kids to get education so that they can do decent jobs.*
>
> (Shahrukh, Male, 34, Bradford, 1st Generation)

In fact, while they cited their good reasons for driving taxis themselves, most taxi drivers had high aspirations for their children and dreamt of them being educated as professionals and being in 'good jobs' as Akhtar explains:

> *Ok let me explain this for you. See I have three boys. One is 15 the others 12 and 11[years old]. And exactly' Hell NO! I would not want them to be taxi drivers because there is a massive vulnerability. I mean, I grew up in the 1960s*

in England and I remember the days of 'Paki bashing', I remember the days of racist name calling. But you know because, we want our children to have and we still have this dream. Our children have to be doctors, lawyers, architects and accountants. We want them to have a professional life. …you want a good clean office, you need to go for a nice fresh suit, tie and all that. We still have that image and I Think that's what everybody has. Even if you ask the white working class, you know those so-called chavs, who live in council housed environments; those chavs on the streets, they want the same for their children. We all want that for our kids. We want something better for them than what we are doing. And the experiences of working in the field of transport whether it's on the buses or in the taxi driving industry means that you want your kids to avoid having that kind of experience as it's not a nice experience'

(Akhtar, Male, 56, Leeds, 2nd Generation)

This is consistent with studies exploring educational aspirations of migrant parents not only in UK but across the world (Thapar and Sanghera, 2010; Shah et al., 2010; Teney et al., 2013). Many taxi drivers mentioned one of their reasons to stay in the UK was their hope for a better life for their children in terms of better education, and a successful career:

I came to this country after my marriage. I married my Aunt's daughter who was a British Citizen. We have been divorced now, my wife left me in 2007. I am a single dad. She does not come to even meet the kids. My youngest daughter was just 2 years when she left us. I have 4 kids- 3 daughters and one son. My daughter goes to Leeds Beckett University in social care course. My other daughter goes to Huddersfield University in a nursing course. My third daughter is doing her A-levels and Insha'Allah (by the grace of God) will go to university next year

(Shahrukh, Male, 34, Bradford, 1st Generation).

Yet, what is disconcerting is that many of the second and third generation British Pakistanis are still in this profession in large numbers (EHRC, 2010). Thus, from a policy perspective this is an important issue because aspirations without proper support remain dreams as TJ, a manager in a taxi firm says:

'…because irrespective of what you want for your kids if there's an easier way there's only so many options you can take and if there's an easier way to get them started, they're going to take it. When you talk to taxi drivers they'll always say 'no' they don't want their kids to be in this trade because they are working these hours to provide for the kids so they don't have to come here and

do this job that everyone frowns at because it is a hard business to work in, you get racism, you get discrimination- irrelevant of your colour its everywhere. I don't want my kids facing that never! No taxi driver would want their son to be a taxi driver but if you get 5 or 6 knock backs, you need money behind you what are they gonna do? They are gonna drive a taxi and that's personal experience.'

(TJ, Female, taxi operator manager, place omitted)

A local councillor from a taxi driving family, also voices a similar concern*:*

it is about poverty and deprivation and it's about lack of opportunity and lack of choices so how people end up driving taxis it's not through choice but there are no other possible employment opportunities available and that's why people get into this what I call ***an enforced choice****.*

(Councillor B, Male, 45, 2nd Generation, Place omitted)

Thus, while migration studies often look at 'pull and push' factors when discussing the decision of migrants and minorities to move to a country or take up an occupation, the 'lived experience' is often more complex than the simple binary of 'push-pull' and is located outside such boxes as in the case of the taxi drivers here in this study. In the table below, the pull and push factors with their 'lived experiences' have been put in order to suggest the decision to drive taxis is an 'enforced' one that rises out of many constraining factors which are not easily boxed into either a 'pull or push' factor.

Table 9 the push-pull of taxi driving and the lived experience

Pull factors	Lived experience	Push factors	Lived experience
Flexibility of time	Long Hours, un social hours, work during weekends	Human capital issues like poor education, low skills, English language ability	Migrants and 2nd generation minorities with education, skilled certifications, and fluency in English also driving taxis
Autonomy - freedom	Jobs dictated by taxi ranks/ apps Adverse Customer ratings	Racism and discrimination	Facing the very same problems of racism they wish to avoid in regular work places in their own taxis
Autonomy - Self-employment	Work like a zero-hour contract; no rights, no work- no pay contracts	Islamophobia	Triple penalty owing to race, religion and ethnicity; Hate crimes; Lack of opportunity
Decent money	No guarantee; sometimes earning less than living wage; rising costs of insurance, maintenance, fuel, Air quality surcharge	Deindustrialization Poor job options in job centres, labour market practices	Taxi driving a better option only in comparison to poor options in labour market so not really a choice
Ease of operation	Hard work - health issues Taxi policies and tests becoming harder, rising competition	Family and friends recommend taxi driving	Lack of knowledge of other jobs Limited social capital

As mentioned earlier, the pull to taxi driving is accompanied by a push many of the participants experienced in their past jobs and experiences. Many push factors like poor human capital, lack of opportunity, and discrimination were mentioned. However, it is imperative to understand the push and pull factors do not operate in a vacuum but operate in spaces or fields as Bourdieu suggests like in families, schools/ universities, community and labour market practices which need to be considered. In the academic literature, the push and pull metaphor is often used to highlight the dichotomy of a single phenomenon like the decision to do (or not) something (for instance decision to migrate or be self-employed) whereby pull can be associated with choice (agency) and push to constraints (structure). In the case of the taxi drivers there were clearly defined and universal push and pull factors, however, the complex experiences of the taxi drivers' working lives turned many of the pull factors to pushes. Most taxi drivers cited flexibility, autonomy, money and ease of doing this business as the major pull factors. The push came in the form of discrimination and racism, islamophobia, deindustrialization and poor jobs, and their limited capitals and social networks. These factors further shaped the employment habitus and the cumulative capitals of the taxi drivers. However, the accumulation of such capitals was further affected by the different fields which played crucial roles in the development of the structure which will be discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter 8: The Sociology of Human Capital and the Economics of Cultural Capital

This chapter expands on the finding of the previous chapter with specific focus on the various forms of capitals and how they are valued. As is evident from the previous chapter on findings, taxi driving was cited as an 'enforced choice' given the limited choices available and many barriers faced by Pakistani men in the UK labour market and their wider social participation. Since human capital has been cited by academics as the main barrier to social mobility and labour market challenges, therefore it has also been hailed as the solution to such problems (Becker, 1994). However, this chapter argues that for migrants and minorities the very process of accumulation of human capital is mediated by other forms of capitals and that the various forms of capitals in turn are produced and valued differentially by the fields in which migrants subsist and operate in. Therefore, when it comes to choosing occupations, contrary to the claims of some neoclassical economists, and post-structural sociologists, who suggest occupation is a 'rational choice' made by the 'free thinking' individual exercising their agency, this thesis challenges such neoliberal explanations of occupational choices to propose that occupational choices are shrouded in structural constraints that come from an intersection of several factors, chief among them being class, religious affiliation, gender and ethnicity for the Pakistani men in this study.

These factors emerged as the factors the Pakistani men in this study were born into which limited their employment 'choices'. For example, one does not decide the family in which they are born in, or the parents they are be born to; however, the family confers a certain class, religious affiliation, and ethnicity to the individual who is born with a certain gender which itself is socially constructed in terms of norms, rules and gendered expectations. While this is true of most individuals in any society, migrants and ethnic minorities are often at the receiving end being dominated by the rules made by the dominant group in the host country, where the various resources they come with or find at hand is legitimised and valued differently by the host nation members, institutions and employers (Bauder, 2005; Al Ariss and Syed, 2011; Atkinson, 2013). However, this is not to say migrants do not have choices as they do exercise their agency (Erel, 2010) however precarious their situation may be, but that most of them do face challenges within the structure and that

their choice as often limited (Bourdieu, 1989). In the next few sections each of the capitals will be discussed in detail with respect to the findings and literature around the formation, migration and conversion of resources brought from the country of origin into the various forms of capitals as legitimised and validated by the host nation.

Migrating and converting capitals

Bourdieu's theory of forms of capital is suggestive that the various 'species' of capital are convertible (Cederberg, 2012). So economic capital can be used to stay in, or return to, school and acquire the cultural capital of a formal qualification. Cultural capital, in the form of a university degree may also carry with it the social capital of a loyal alumni network or the symbolic capital of being a degree coveted in the labour market (or not). And social capital in the form of a network may be used to find a job and thereby generate economic capital (Kelly and Lusis, 2006b). However, as the findings suggest, not all resources held by the Pakistani men in this study were convertible into valid forms of capital. In table 1 (Chapter 1), the various forms of capitals have been mapped drawing from various sources and how they are valued in the labour market. However, the findings suggest for Pakistani men some resources were more valued than others which will be discussed next. The fields, forms of capitals and habitus are intricately bound to each other in a complex pattern almost like the threads of a fabric but together they create a unique design or pattern for everyone. The way each capital is accumulated depends on how such capital is valued in each field which is a microcosm of power play in the larger social space of a host nation. The study found five forms of capitals which have a ricocheting effect on the habitus which will be discussed next.

Cultural capital: whose culture has capital?

Bourdieu defines cultural capital as 'A person's education (knowledge and intellectual skills) that provides advantage in achieving a higher social-status in society'(Bourdieu, 1984b). As per Bourdieu, cultural capital can exist in three forms: in the embodied state, i.e., in the form of long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body; in the objectified state, in the form of cultural goods, and in the institutionalized state (Bourdieu, 1986). Bourdieu argues that academic capital is affected by cultural capital, and vice versa; If one has a high degree of schooling, then it is likely that he or she will have more cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984a). Further, the cultural capital of a person is linked to his or her habitus (embodied

disposition and tendencies) and field (social positions), which are configured as a social-relation structure (King, 2005: 223). The field is the place where social groups endeavour to establish and define (what is) cultural capital, within a given social space; therefore, depending upon the social field, one type of cultural capital can simultaneously be legitimate and illegitimate (Emirbayer and Williams, 2005). In that way, the legitimization (societal recognition) of a type of cultural capital can be arbitrary and derived from symbolic capital.

Cultural capital consists of many things like, traditions, beliefs, norms, customs, fashion, religion/religious practices and taboos (like following the Quran, abstinence from alcohol), language (English ability), accent (non-English), etiquettes, art of conversation, ethics, values, attitudes—all of which affects the cultural capital of the Pakistani men in this study. Owing to its historical, geographical and ethnic diversity, Pakistan's culture is a melting pot of Indian, Persian, Afghan, Central Asian, South Asian and Western Asian influences (Britannica.com, 2018). There are over 15 major ethnic groups in Pakistan that differ in physical features, historical bloodlines, customs, dress, food, and music. Some of these include Punjabis, Sindhis, Baloch, Pashtuns, Kashmiris, Hazaras, Makranis and Baltis, coming from regions as close to the Indus Valley near Karachi, or as far as Africa or Tibet. Other than ancient ethnic elements, the religious influence of Islam has also strongly shaped Pakistani culture since it first came to the region in AD 700 (Culture Trip, 2018). In the ethnographic research it was evident that being predominantly Muslim and being Pakistani both had their effects on the perceived cultural capital of these men in UK. Pakistani traditions are very different from English traditions, and Islamic ones are different to Christian traditions, and it was very difficult to unpick the religious traditions from the ethnic ones and which of those affected their labour market outcomes. For example, the majority of Pakistani names are derived from Arabic, Turkish and Persian names which are therefore 'Muslim sounding'.

> *Pakistani names usually include a surname which identifies a person's class, or other status indicator like land owners, may be called 'Chaudhary'; 'Bhatts' and 'Dars' which are of Kashmiri Hindu origin who later converted to Islam.*
>
> (Raza Ali, male 41, Dewsbury, 2nd Generation)

Due to Islamic and tribal influences, non-urban regions of Pakistan have varying levels of gender segregation, while big cities too have conservative expectations in terms of

interactions between men and women. Status in the workplace is of prime importance in Pakistan and older people and people in senior positions are expected to be treated with the utmost dignity and respect (field research notes). Pakistani weddings epitomise the richness of the culture (Werbner, 1990). A single wedding showcases many elements of these local traditions.

> *Pakistani weddings are laden with a multitude of colours, beautifully embroidered flowing fabrics in silks and chiffon, tantalizing food, traditionally decorated stages and a lot of music and dance. Weddings in Pakistan are a serious deal, with preparations starting months before. After all, most local weddings last anywhere from three to six days. The celebrations usually start with a day dedicated to henna application, followed by a musical night and a night of traditional rituals to bless the couple. Then, there are dinner parties that last two days thrown by the bride and groom's side of the family*
>
> (Werbner, 2005).

However, the rich culture of Pakistanis is not viewed as such favourably in many western societies manifested as 'cultural racism', or 'islamophobia' (Ahmad and Evergeti, 2010; Saha, 2012). For example, many of taxi drivers complained they were often abused by being called '*fucking Paki',* which is difficult to discern whether this abuse arises out of islamophobia or racism (or perhaps both). Other reported abuse hurled at them was '*curry eating jihadists*', where there is both a racist and religious element where *curry* refers to their food traditions and *jihadist* to religious affiliation. Some of the women in this study also mentioned, they have faced derogatory remarks due to the wearing of hijabs. These perceptions have wider implications on the self-efficacy of many of the drivers as Shiraj, a first-generation driver said,

> *When I first came here, I applied for jobs here, but I kept getting rejected. Then after some time I said 'Ok I am a Muslim, I am a Pakistani, my culture is different from yours, take it or leave it! If you don't want me, I don't need you also. I am happy in my taxi, thank you very much!*
>
> (Shiraj, Male, 36, Leeds, 1st Generation)

However, ironically, the '*thank you very much*' at the end sounded like a very 'British' thing to say. This was a regular feature of the conversations especially with the second-generation younger drivers, where they spoke in a heavy Yorkshire accent, used the

language which was indicative of a very strong 'English lad culture' (Edwards, 2004), yet, they continued to feel alienated from the British culture and people.

While much has been written about the negative perception of the west about eastern cultures, the reverse is hardly ever considered. Many taxi drivers and their wives echoed sentiments of not being able to adapt to the western world view:

> *You see, it's difficult to adjust to this culture. These are not the values you want for your children. Drinking, changing partners every now and then, and not taking care of your aging parents. This is the most infuriating thing I see here. Old people doing all their chores by themselves. I mean your own parents! How can you just leave them on their own? When I came to UK, my elder brother was taking care of my father and mother till their last day. Here I am taking care of my Uncle as he raised me as a father. He is now retired. I have told him, 'you don't have to work now. I will take care of you'. Pakistanis and Indians are good in this matter not like these 'gores' (white people*
>
> (Allahdita, Male, 28, Dewsbury, 2nd Generation)

However, there were aspects of the Pakistani and Islamic culture that were considered positively for certain jobs like the abstinence from alcohol., was considered a positive aspect of their cultural capital for being a taxi driver as

> *The biggest reason I see is the fact that most Pakistanis are non-alcoholics we work on the weekends in order to survive, whereas the English, 90% of them are alcoholics and that's why less English people come into this, so they do specific hours. One of the reasons why I work weekends is because you earn a lot more than what you would on weekdays. You could earn 25 pound an hour on weekend and not even make 50 pounds on a weekday. I think the fact that they are alcoholics does affect, because they won't be able to work weekends*
>
> (Gulnawaz, Male, 40, Leeds, 1st Generation)

A white English manager of a taxi firm also confirmed this and said:

> *Since the Pakistani men abstain from alcohol, that is one worry less, as we know they will be available on weekends when rest of the English people are busy drinking and getting drunk in pubs. That is the time to make money and these men are always available to work during such times. We have tried white drivers, they do not like to work during weekends, but Pakistanis are hardworking in that respect*
>
> (Taxi operator, 54, name and place omitted)

The other cultural value that aided Pakistanis is their hospitality. Cultural and religious beliefs encourage Pakistanis to show love and respect towards guests. In Islam, a guest is a blessing from God, and it is taught that they must be given the best treatment possible (Researcher notes, Quran class 2016) Thus, customer friendliness, servicing was considered to be a natural attribute that helped Pakistanis in being taxi drivers, take away owners, or servicing the community through grocery stores. This is akin to the 'Filipino-ness' of the workers from Philippines in Kelly and Lusis's study of migrant domestic workers in Canada (Kelly and Lusis, 2006b), where certain Islamic values and 'Pakistani-ness' of these drivers was considered a virtue for taxi driving. However, such cultural values did not always aid them in their acquisition of human capital for other standard jobs as will be evident in the next section.

Furthermore, cultural capital is intricately linked not only to ethnicity but is also connected to class, religion and gender, which interact with one another to form a class-based, gendered, religious forms of cultural capital (Fox, 2004; Bennett, et al., 2008). Thus, it is important to understand how the intersection of factors like ethnicity, religion, class and gender affect the cultural capital conversion or accumulation of migrants and ethnic minorities. Equally important is the relation between cultural capital, social capital and human capital as the determinants of success in the labour market. Bourdieu himself dismisses claims of human capital theorists while advancing his cultural capital as the best hidden and socially most determinant educational investment, namely, the domestic transmission of cultural capital. Although he considers academic capital as part of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984b), in this analysis, human capital has been separated from cultural capital following the definition of human capital as knowledge skills and formal qualifications (Becker, 1964). While Bourdieu considers academic capital as part of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986), however, human capital as a concept is important to be distinguished from cultural capital since it is continued to be used as the *lingua franca* amongst academics for labour market distinction which will be explored next.

Human capital: I have a Master's degree but no job!

Generally human capital refers to an individual's knowledge, information, ideas, skills and personal health (Becker 1964). Human capital is defined as the stock of knowledge, skills, social and personality attributes, including creativity, embodied in the ability to perform labour to *produce economic value* (Investopedia, 2018 emphasis added). The concept of

human capital goes back at least to Adam Smith. In his fourth definition of capital he noted: 'the acquisition of … talents during … education, study, or apprenticeship, costs a real expense, which is capital in [a] person. Those talents [are] part of his fortune [and] likewise that of society' (Smith, 1776). Becker's book titled *Human capital: a theoretical and empirical analysis, with special reference to education* was fundamental in arguing for the expansion of human capital. He suggested that individuals make choices of investing in human capital based on rational benefits and cost that include a return on investment as well as a cultural aspect (Becker, 1964). He explored the different rates of return for different people and the resulting macroeconomic implications. He also distinguished between general to specific education and their influence on job-lock and promotions.

While Becker acknowledges humans have the 'power' to reason and seek out their own best destiny which may be understood as agency, Becker ignores the fact that 'as an investment', the accumulation of human capital needs economic capital among other capitals like cultural and social capitals to be considered as a *valid* form of capital. Although he does acknowledge that families play a critical role in the accumulation of human capital in his book *Human Capital revisited*, he still insists that the decision to invest in such capital is an individual rational choice (Becker, 1994). He ignores the social, cultural and symbolic challenges faced by individuals who may be part of a lower standing social group or country where the access to such investment may be limited or not even be available. And this is where Bourdieu argues that the studies exploring the relationship between academic ability and academic investment show that they are unaware that ability or talent is itself the product of an investment of time and cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1985).

Contrary to the merit-based human capital approach (Becker, 1994), which is often criticized for creating an illusion of 'free choice' by isolating the individual from the socio-economic structure, Bourdieu's relational theory of capitals corresponds to varied resources (capitals), which can take monetary and non-monetary as well as tangible and intangible forms (Samaluk, 2014). Not surprisingly, when endeavouring to evaluate the profits of scholastic investment, such studies can only consider the profitability of educational expenditure for society as a whole, the 'social rate of return,' or the 'social gain of education as measured by its effects on national productivity'. This typically functionalist definition of the functions of education ignores the contribution which the educational system itself makes to the reproduction of the social structure by sanctioning

the hereditary transmission of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1985). From the very beginning, a definition of human capital (as mentioned in the beginning of this section), despite its humanistic connotations, does not move beyond economistic considerations and ignores, *inter alia*, the fact that the scholastic yield from educational action depends on the cultural capital previously invested by the family. Moreover, the economic yield of the educational qualification also depends on the social capital, again largely inherited, which can be used to back it up. Further, women and men have different outcomes in their careers as their 'routes to education' are heavily gendered as per their ethnic cultures (Dale et al., 2002). Thus, the very process of accumulation of human capital itself is heavily influenced by structural factors like class, gender and ethnicity. Yet human capital or the lack of it continues to be a major push factor in occupational segregation as some groups have better access to forming such capital while others do not.

In this study, from a human capital perspective, many of the drivers mentioned they felt, they were not well qualified for the 'good' jobs. Although many first-generation taxi drivers came with degrees from Pakistan in law, pharmacy, IT, their qualifications were not recognised in the UK and they were unable and sometimes unwilling to invest in further education in the UK. Most of the first-generation Pakistani men came through the marriage route and found taxi driving 'easier' than getting into a university or college. Many of the first-generation taxi drivers in the study also acknowledged that they did not have the right qualifications to pursue other more '*decent jobs in this country'*. Given the lack of educational qualifications, they had limited options to choose from like cleaning, warehouse work, or deliveries and many believed taxi driving was '*a better option'*. Some also felt they did not get good opportunities as their English language ability was not very good.

Most second-generation drivers spoke fluent English while many first-generation drivers spoke basic to moderate English and some very poor. One first-generation driver who has been here in the country for 25 years still spoke in broken English and was very happy to converse in Urdu when given the option. Many first-generation taxi drivers suggested, their language remained poor as they mainly got jobs available within the Pakistani community upon their arrival where they were mostly required to converse in their own language. Many suggested they had enrolled in English language classes upon arrival but discontinued as they had to start working to support their families. Some made efforts to

find jobs in workplaces where they had a primarily non-ethnic clientele to improve their English, but such jobs were difficult to get. Many visited job centres upon arrival to find jobs but were dissuaded by their friends and family members.

From various conversations with the drivers in their taxis and homes, it was evident that class also affected their human capital. Many did not possess the basic skills to apply for jobs like writing a CV or completing a job application or know how to access the jobs market. The lack of computer skills was also a barrier in completing online applications––now a requirement for many posts (Researcher field notes). However, many second-generation drivers also felt ill-equipped to meet the demands of applying for a job with similar challenges. However, many first and second-generation drivers did have university education, computer skills, and professional degrees in law or pharmacy from Pakistan, but their degrees were either not recognised here in the UK or their experience from Pakistan was not valued in the British labour market. Shafiqulla, a first-generation Pakistani who came after his marriage to UK with a bachelor's degree in pharmacy said:

> *Although, I have a degree from Pakistan in pharmacy, but it has no value here. I have to give another exam or do a new course. Also, I did not have any work experience with any big company. I was doing my own pharmacy business in Pakistan. My English at that time was also not very strong. I want to do pharmacy work here but there are too many restrictions here.*
>
> (Shafiqulla, Male, 45, Bradford, 1st Generation)

Gulnawaz, also a first-generation migrant, was a good student, very good in sports and had completed his master's degree in Islamic studies in Pakistan, and *dreamt of being a teacher* in UK, but faced many constraints to get into education in UK:

> *Basically I tried you know, I went to an English language course, I had to do ESL course and two years teaching course to teach in schools here, but I didn't have a lot of time as I also had to support my family here and also send money to my parents back home in Pakistan, so that's why I didn't pursue it.*
>
> (Gulnawaz, Male, 40, Leeds, 1st Generation)

This was often repeated by many drivers where they reported that the choice between education and income often left them with poor qualifications. However, some of the drivers who had the support of their family members were investing the time and money required to achieve the qualifications that would help them '*work with dignity'* in the future.

Shahid was one of the few part-time taxi drivers in this study who is studying law and aspires to be a lawyer:

> *I am doing law from X [post-92] University. This [taxi driving] is just temporary arrangement for me. My wife also goes to college, but we get support from my father-in-law, so I am doing this part-time. But, I have to pay my own fees. But after my degree I can start my own practice or get a job in law firm. Till such time it is OK. I would like to be a lawyer and work with dignity*
>
> (Shahid, Male, 31, Leeds, 1st Generation)

It is important to mention here that Shahid's father is a government servant in Pakistan and his father-in law runs a B&B and take away in Bradford. It was his father who encouraged him to go to university. Thus, family support is also critical in the accumulation of human capital which will be further discussed in the chapter on fields.

However, sometimes migrants do a cost benefit analysis of 'money or education' (Rytter, 2013) deliberating about investing in acquiring qualifications versus the money they may make driving taxis and find it more 'rational' to do this form of work. For instance, Councillor B, started his life as a taxi driver. When he decided to quit taxi driving and go to education, he was questioned by his other taxi driver friends who said:

> *When I wanted to go to university, my friends in taxi driving said to me. It's too late for you to go back to school. You can earn about 20,000 pounds per year, if you go to school that's around 4 to 5 years. You will lose making about a 100, 000 pounds. Also, then there is no guarantee you will get a job and I thought, yes, they have a point.*
>
> (Councillor B, Male 45, 2nd Generation, Place omitted)

However, many interviewees also showed a reluctance to continue into education. Nafisa, a second -generation British Pakistani and social worker is married to a taxi driver who explained why her husband did not want to go into further education:

> *'So, when my husband came (to UK) I told him you need to start going to college or university. You see he was university educated there (in Pakistan) and he wanted to go into law. So, I wanted him to go to college and improve his English and do all that so that he could better himself in that way. But he kind of refused to go to college, I don't know it is this thing they have like 'I have already been to college and university [in Pakistan], but they don't*

recognize it here'. But I think that's a personal thing. Like I have a cousin who is into doing courses and that type of thing. He is a taxi driver too, but he did a plumbing course and he is registered now, and he does that as well part time. I used to tell him go to college prepare yourself for doing something else you know but he just didn't want to go and then it just happened (driving taxis) you see. I think once you start working it is difficult to take a break you see

(Nafisa, Female, Wife of taxi driver, 41, Leeds, 2nd Generation).

While Bourdieu also seems to subordinate economic capital, yet, money affects other forms of capital in direct and indirect ways in that both cultural capital and social capital are affected by class, which is related to economic capital. Thus, the relationship between human capital, cultural capital and social capital is mediated by economic capital as this is the most tangible form of capital out of all the rest. Bourdieu is very explicit that the practical value of academic qualifications is only realizable in the appropriate socio-econmic context, since the same qualifications receive variable values based on the family, country of origin and the market in which migrants or minorities use them (Bourdieu, 1977: 506). Instead of gaining access to occupations that reflect their education and training once they upgrade their language skills—as human capital theory would predict—many migrants categorically lack access to the upper labor-market segments or to the formal labor market altogether (Bauder, 2008). Hence, human capital is intricately bound to its sociological connotations and economic capital itself may further affect the sociological ramifications of accumulating human capital. Hence, it is important to understand economic capital and its effect on other forms of capital which is discussed next.

Economic capital: money matters!

Economic capital refers to material assets that are 'immediately and directly convertible into money and may be institutionalized in the form of property rights' (Bourdieu 1986: 242). While economic capital by itself is not the differentiator as per Bourdieu, but there is undeniably a relational effect of economic capital on class which then affects cultural capital, social capital and symbolic capital. On the basis of empirical research, it is shown that the socioeconomic capital of the family is a deterrent to the accessibility of higher education (Van et al, 2017). Thus, the lack of economic capital can put individuals in a probability of achieving poorer forms of other capitals *ab initio.* It has been reported that

children's education is hampered by overall low aspiration and morale due to a lack of economic opportunity (Social Mobility commission, 2017). Bourdieu uses the analogy of a game of roulette to describe how individuals 'play the educational game':

> *Those who have lots of red tokens and few yellow ones, that is, lots of economic capital and little cultural capital, will not play in the same way as those who have many yellow tokens and few red ones.*
>
> (Bourdieu, 1993: 34).

From an economic capital perspective, while Pakistanis have often been noted to be amongst the poorer sections of British society, there seems to be a gap in the understanding of many such reports. For example, while they are indeed the highest benefits seeking group (DWP, 2018), or the fact that many Pakistani children qualify for free school meals (Gove.UK, 2018), their home ownership rates are high with almost 58 per cent of Pakistanis living in their own homes (Appendix B). This is the second highest ethnic group after Indians and White British groups, 68 per cent of whom own their homes (Gov.UK, 2018). Many of the taxi drivers in the study also lived in their own homes (Table 8). Some even owned multiple homes that they rented out. The remittance from Pakistanis living abroad has been cited as a huge contributor to Pakistan's GDP. Pakistan has the sixth largest diaspora population in the world, with approximately 7.6 million Pakistanis living abroad. Pakistan received over $20 billion (15.88 billion GBP) in remittances in FY2018, representing almost 7 per cent of the country's GDP (Gov.pk, 2019). This is also indicative of the economic challenges as Pakistanis living abroad often have extended families back home in Pakistan, where they have duties and responsibilities to fulfil (culture). For instance, Amzad, a second-generation Pakistani Plumber, mentioned, he came into taxi driving as he had to get his sister married and that required extra money that he was not being able to make in his plumbing job:

> *I am a qualified plumber, but business was very down those days [4 years back]. So, my cousin, he is now with Uber, and he suggested I come into taxi driving. I passed the test and started working 10-12 hours a day. First week I made about £600. I never made this kind of money before, so I stuck to this. I got my sister married in Pakistan. I am very happy, my mother is very proud too*
>
> (Amzad, Male, 35, Bradford, 2nd Generation)

Yusuf came to this country as a student aspiring to complete his higher education in ICT but soon faced financial constraints and could never do a master's degree.

> *I had graduated from Pakistan in ICT. I came to London on a student visa and started studying in London, for a foundation course in Business and Information Technology because I wasn't allowed to start a master's degree straightaway. I had about £10,000 which was enough for this course, but I didn't have enough money to do a master's degree, I had done well in the foundation course. I looked in many places, all places needed £15000 for the masters, and I was still considered an international student as I hadn't achieved a permanent resident status, so I wasn't eligible for grants either. So, the plan to do my masters seemed increasingly distant by the minute. Then I started working in McDonalds, KFC and the plan changed to save enough to start a business, and I started driving taxis*
>
> (Yusuf, Male, 36, Dewsbury, 1st Generation)

For migrants with caring responsibilities, investment of time is also a critical factor. The choice between investing time to acquire the right qualifications (human capital) is often at the expense of earning a livelihood and for some the money (economic capital) required to invest in accumulation of human capital is not accessible as councillor A says,

> *Now you [the researcher] are lucky that you gave up your job and you are studying. Many of our members will find it difficult to give up their jobs. Education isn't free anymore for adults for further education in this country. People find it very difficult to meet the ends and if there was an opportunity for them to get into the law, science, teaching or any other field or profession they would do so.*
>
> (Councillor A, 41, 2nd generation, Name and place omitted)

From an economic perspective, many of the taxi drivers said, while the job offers good money as mentioned in the pull factors, however, the reality, that this is a job with no guaranteed income continues to plague many of them, often pushing them to claim benefits. However, many of the second generation confessed that even though they did not have dire economic challenges, they perhaps did not realise the opportunity they got and the value of education. Like Usman, who was born and bred in the UK got into a drug peddling group when he was in high school. He was attracted to the money it offered:

I was never good in school and use to bunk classes. Then some of the older boys I knew asked me to deliver some packets for which they said they will pay me £,300-£,400. Imagine as a 16-year-old, you get £,300-£,400 for driving to a location with a packet [containing drugs], the temptation is too much. Both my father and brother were taxi drivers, I had my own car, so it was easy for me to do this back then. However, my elder brother soon found out and he told me if I don't stop this he will tell my father. Now my father was a very strict man. He did not say anything if I didn't do well in school, however, he would have thrown me out of the house if he had come to know of this. So, I got scared. I hate taxi driving so I worked in a bakery for some time. Then my father got me married. My wife works in the NHS. The money in bakery was not good so now I am driving taxis just like my brother and father.

Usman, Male, 27, Bradford, 2nd Generation)

Thus, not only economic adversity but knowledge about how to gain economic capital is crucial especially for young adults. While Usman did not have an economic compulsion, however many young people in this country do 'fall into' the wrong company (social capital) and such networks then become critical in defining the rest of their lives. Social capital thus has often been hailed as the panacea of social inequality which will be discussed next.

Social capital: All my friends are taxi drivers!

Defined as 'the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance or recognition', (Bourdieu 1985: 248; 1980) social capital has been hailed as 'something of a cure-all for the maladies affecting society' (Portes, 1998: 2). The most frequent use of social capital is in the field of stratification. It is frequently invoked as an explanation of access to employment, mobility through occupational ladders, and entrepreneurial success. Social capital stands for the ability of actors to secure benefits by virtue of membership in social networks or other social structure. Pierre Bourdieu (1997) was interested in how various types of capital 'assets' could be used to maximise accumulation which, in turn, confer power and profit on their holder (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 119).

For Bourdieu, social capital has two key elements- first, social networks, which can provide actual or potential recognition and access to resources, and second, sociability,

which is the ability and disposition to use and sustain networks (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 119). Thus, there is a *quality* element to social networks which turns them into valid social capital. Anthias and Cederberg, argue that while ethnic bonds do act as resources of social capital for many groups, they do not usefully function as social capital unless they additionally provide ways of compensating for structural forms of disadvantage' by which they mean class and how that affects the quality of the social capital in question (Anthias and Cederberg, 2009: 901). In the United Kingdom, for example, a government survey found that more people secure jobs through personal contacts than through advertisements (Keeley, 2007). Thus, social capital symbolically becomes a huge influencer in the labour market outcomes of certain groups and individuals.

As such, social capital can help acquire other forms of capital for example access to economic resources like subsidized loans, investment tips, protected markets; or embodied cultural capital through contacts with experts or individuals of refinement; or, alternatively, they can affiliate with institutions that confer valued credentials (institutionalized cultural capital). Coleman offers a more refined analysis of the role of social capital in the creation of human capital which suggests that the two are intricately bound (Coleman, 1988). Some of the mechanisms that generate social capital (such as reciprocity expectations and group enforcement of norms), the consequences of its possession (such as privileged access to information) are important considerations for social capital. It is also suggested that resources (or benefits) obtained through social capital have, from the point of view of the recipient, the character of a gift, that is to say that the donor of such resources gives the recipient the benefit of knowing him or her free of cost. Thus, it is important to distinguish the resources themselves from the ability to obtain them by membership in different social structure. Whereas economic capital is in people's bank accounts and human capital is inside their heads, social capital inheres in the structure of their relationships (Portes, 1998). To possess social capital, a person must be related to others, and it is those others, not him/herself, who are the actual source of his or her advantage.

The most common function attributed to social capital is as a source of network-mediated benefits beyond the immediate family. This comes closest to a point made by Bourdieu (1979, 1980), for whom parental support of children's development is a source of cultural capital, while social capital refers to assets gained through membership in networks

outside the family. The role of social networks is equally important in studies of ethnic business enclaves and ethnic niches. Enclaves are dense concentrations of immigrant or ethnic firms that employ a significant proportion of their co-ethnic labour force and develop a distinctive physical presence in urban space. Many consistently highlight the role of community networks as a source of vital resources for ethnic firms. Such resources include but are not limited to start-up capital; others are tips about business opportunities, access to markets, and a pliant and disciplined labour force. Ethnic niches emerge when a group is able to colonize a particular sector of employment in such a way that members have privileged access to new job openings, while restricting that of outsiders. As in the case of enclaves, social mobility opportunities through niches are entirely network-driven. Members find jobs for others, teach them the necessary skills, and supervise their performance. The power of network chains is such that entry level openings are frequently filled by contacting kin and friends in remote foreign locations rather than by tapping another available local worker. The opposite of this situation is the dearth of social connections in certain impoverished communities or their truncated character.

Networking and word of mouth are also of paramount importance when job seeking in Pakistan (Kwintessential—a guide to Pakistan, 2018). Social networks and ties are further strengthened by marriages and the traditions of gift exchange is very strong (Werbner, 2005). Many of the first-generation taxi drivers came through the marriage migration route as mentioned in the background and findings chapter (Ballard, 2003; Charsley, 2005; 2007). These men come with a diverse cultural capital having been born and bred in Pakistan. They come with few educational qualifications or educational degrees that are rarely valued in the British labour market, which often leaves them with limited knowledge of jobs and ways of getting information about jobs available in a foreign labour market. This further increases their dependence on their family and friends here in the UK for finding jobs or source of earning a livelihood.

As evident in the demographic details of the taxi drivers (Table 8) almost every taxi driver in this study had family members or friends within the Pakistani community in taxi driving. Most taxi drivers both first and second generation mentioned they found taxi driving to get into as 'an easy option' as most of the information required for them to be in taxi driving was available first hand through their own family members and friends. It was either, a cousin, or brother, or brother-in law or father-in law who would introduce them

to taxi driving. It is almost like a niche carved out for them. Although many said, they disliked taxi driving as it is frowned upon back in Pakistan, one even said,

> *I was almost not willing to marry my Aunt's sister because everybody like my friends in Pakistan were making fun of me. They were saying, 'now you will be a taxi driver!' They were right, you see, I am a taxi driver now! I tried many jobs, but eventually I gave in! All my wife's family is in taxi driving and I was not getting any better job, so I also finally joined them*
>
> (Hussain, Male, 27, Leeds, 1st Generation).

While, this is understandable for the first-generation taxi drivers, what was difficult to understand was that many second-generation Pakistani men, some of who had the so called 'decent jobs' like in call centres or travel agencies, also quit such jobs to become taxi drivers. Upon being asked why they did so, they suggested, since many of their family and friends were in taxi driving, many a times they felt alienated from the community being in regular nine to five jobs:

> *See I had a good job in Lloyds bank call centre, I was working there for last 6 years. But for every occasion, like Eid, or any family marriage, birthdays, I would miss such occasions as I would not be able to come leaving my job. I was very lonely there as the only Pakistani in my division. Then one day, my cousins said, just leave, and I quit*
>
> (Shamim, Male, 38, Leeds, 2nd Generation)

Similarly, many second-generation men who have completed their graduation from UK universities mentioned, they too came into taxi driving due to their family members being in taxi like fathers, elder brothers and cousins.

Hence social networks have been key in many taxi drivers' choice of this occupation. This is in agreement with other studies of social networks and social capital where the networks of migrants and minorities is always not a capital worth exchange in the host nation (Barbieri, 2003; Bauder, 2005). The community ties provided a secluded social network that was not really a capital that could be used for better job prospects as the network mostly pushed them into taxi driving. Thus, while migrants negotiate their ways around the validation of the forms of capital (Erel, 2010) as mentioned above, it is really the host nation's dominant culture and groups that symbolically decide which resources are legitimate forms of capital and how they are valued. Various types of networks are

compared for this such as 'intra-ethnic and inter-ethnic; locally based, national and transnational; informal and formal, including migrant community organisations' (Ryan et al, 2015: 4). However, in an 'Economic Approach to Social Capital', Glaeser, et al suggest individual social capital might be seen as the social component of human capital. They further propose a model where social capital rises in occupations with greater returns to social skills, and that people who invest in human capital also invest in social capital. However, they fail to find robust evidence that religious groups generate social capital complementarities (Glaeser, et al, 2017). Thus occupations, transnational links, socioeconomic status, and class affect the social capital of individuals and groups alike which has been considered in this study. However, as mentioned earlier, it is eventually not just these forms of capitals but how they are valued which in fact creates the differences 'between and within groups' (McCall, 2005) which forms the symbolic capital which will be considered next.

Symbolic capital: who decides the worth?

Symbolic capital is the form that the various species of capital assume when they are perceived and recognized as legitimate (Bourdieu, 1998). Thus, in Bourdieu's framework, symbolic power is the ability to define what will be valued and rewarded, and struggles take place over how capital will be valued- 'the conversion rate between one sort of capital and another is fought over at all times' (Bourdieu, 1984: 246). Thus, symbolic capital can be referred to as the resources available to an individual on the basis of honour, prestige or recognition, and serves as value that one holds within a community. Symbolic capital distinguishes itself by being primarily cognitive and based on recognition by dominant others in the field (Bourdieu 1997a: 163). Symbolic capital is that particular capital that 'rescues agents from insignificance, the absence of importance and meaning' (Bourdieu 2000: 242).

The concept of symbolic capital is grounded in the theory of 'conspicuous consumption', first introduced and expounded in late-19th century works by Thorstein Veblen and Marcel Mauss. Veblen argued that the *nouveau riche* utilized lavish displays of wealth to symbolize their entrance into a previously-insulated upper class, embodying objects with meaning that existed only to magnify and confirm their newfound class and status. Mauss subsequently expanded on this argument, suggesting that social competitions for prestige favoured those who spent recklessly and forced others into 'the shadow of his name'.

Mauss' theory marked a departure from Veblen's in that he did not seek to frame the individual actor's actions within a cultural context; instead, his theory focused on the overarching structural implementation of status boundaries. Both conceptualizations, in turn, provided groundwork for Bourdieu's unifying theory of symbolic capital (REF).

The explicit concept of symbolic capital was coined by Bourdieu, in his books *Distinction* and, later, in *Practical Reason- on the Theory of Action*. Along with theories forwarded by Veblen and Mauss, symbolic capital is an extension of Max Weber's analysis of *status*. Bourdieu argues that symbolic capital gains value at the cross-section of class and status, where one must not only possess but be able to appropriate objects with a perceived or concrete sense of value (Bourdieu, 1985).

In an ethnographic study of Pakistani families in Denmark, it was found there are numerous arenas in which families strive to accumulate the symbolic capital of status and recognition in the Pakistani community (Rytter, 2013). There are many ways in which migrants compete to gain such symbolic capitals. While men compete at carving out careers or prosperous businesses, holding prestigious positions in the numerous Pakistani cultural, political and religious associations, or acquiring a reputation by doing volunteer work for the community or generously donating money to various causes, women may compete at having the most beautiful dresses, the largest and most well-furnished homes, the most expensive jewellery, the most polite daughters-in-law, the most extensive knowledge of Islam, and the best cooking' (Bajaj and Laursen 1988: 130). Families in general will gain in reputation by erecting three- or four-storey houses on the family's land in Pakistan (Ballard 2003: 45) or by providing 'their' village with remittances. Finally, holidays in exotic tourist destinations have also been mentioned as a way to make claims for recognition as '*a family that has done well*' (Bajaj and Laursen 1988: 133). However, for the second generation, the arenas for competition and mutual evaluation may be educational performance, demonstrations of love and respect for one's parents, knowledge of Islam, influential positions in youth organisations, volunteer work. Social mobility among Pakistani immigrants and their descendants must be seen as the outcome of a village-like immigrant community's fierce competition for symbolic capital and recognition within the context of changing social and economic conditions (Rytter, 2013).

These are important as shown in the Table 10 below that maps how the various forms of capitals are valued and judged for Pakistanis in UK. It is the dominant group in the host society that decides what is valuable amongst the resources owned and embodied by the migrants and minorities, in this case the Pakistani taxi drivers. Thus, not every part of their cultural, academic, social or economic resources is valued, where they must convert such resources into acceptable forms of capitals. For Pakistani men in this study, the various forms of capitals had their perceived positive and negative connotations which render some resources as capitals and others as constraints. Table 10 is an extension of Table 1 in Chapter 1 and has been reconstructed using various sources, conversations, observations and field notes.

The five capitals (Cultural, Human, Economic, Social and Symbolic—that form the acronym—CHESS) confer varying degrees of powers to people in terms of their social mobility. Using the analogy of the game of chess here, where incidentally, 'white pieces always move first', and players alternate turns, depending on the powers and positions of the various pieces like kings, queens, knights, bishops, rooks, pawns. The movement of each piece is legitimised in terms of how many steps they can take and in what direction. Migrants and minorities start as being pawns (the weakest group) with limited mobility. The dominant group members can be Kings (the most important group) or Queens (the most powerful). However, if a pawn can persist and make it to the end of the board, the pawn could suddenly gain a lot of power and even be the one to checkmate! In Table 10, drawing from various sources, the forms of capitals (CHESS) have been shown in terms of how they are valued in the labour market and society at large (Bourdieu, 1986; R. Putnam, 1993; Brown, 1995; Barbieri, 2003; Lau, 2004; Bauder, 2005; Kim et al., 2006; Erel, 2010; Demireva, 2011; Flemmen, 2012; Samaluk, 2014).

Table 10 Forms of Capitals and how they are valued for Pakistani men in the study

Forms of Capital	What it consists of?	How it is valued?	Positive Capital for Pakistanis	Perceived Negative Capital for Pakistanis	How does this affect their labour market prospects?
Cultural Capital	Part/s of a culture acceptable and valued by the host society. Traditions, beliefs, norms, customs, fashion, religion/ religious practices & taboos, language, accent, etiquettes, art of conversation, ethics, values, attitudes	Appearance- dress codes, fashion Art of conversation- language, accent, etiquettes, during interviews and selection processes World views- traditions, beliefs, norms, customs, religion/ religious practices and taboos (Ethnic stereotypes- certain ethnicities valued over others); Work ethics, values, and attitudes, Soft skills	Strong work ethic, Values- family centric, respect for elders, hard work, ready to work unsocial hours & weekends, abstain from alcohol	Islam(ophobia), Burqas, Beards, Non-alcoholic, consanguineous marriages, recent sexual abuse reports	Considered for jobs requiring unsocial hours, abstaining from alcohol is helpful from a safety perspective, hence good for driving taxis
Human Capital	Knowledge, and Skills, Language ability, Higher Educational Qualifications, Professional Accreditations, Awards and certificates are considered markers of human capital	Language ability, higher the proficiency the better. Technical knowledge and Skills, Professional qualifications like Law, Medicine, Engineering and ITC are highly valued. CV/ business writing skills	Increasing number of university goers, English language ability of 2nd generation, self-employment drive	Poor English language ability, Poor performance in school/ GCSEs Over-represented in low skilled occupations such as taxi driving	Jobs where language ability is not so important, and qualifications not essential criteria
Economic Capital	Possession of money or wealth in various forms Lifestyle- Type of house owned, area of residence, type of car owned; Material possessions- gold, diamonds, artefacts, money, property, land, size of business, consumption pattern	Employment status, Income level, Home ownership, car ownership, Credit rating, access to banks and financial institutions	High house ownership; access to loans from community, personal savings habit, landed property in Pakistan and/or UK;	Benefit claimants; eligibility for Free School Meals; Poor credit rating as many do not have bank accounts/ credit cards	Low investment businesses, self-employment
Social Capital	People who you know and socialise with - Family networks, community networks, Professional networks, links to people or groups further up or lower down the social ladder people possessing high economic, cultural or human capital	Knowing influential people like Senior managers, professionals, people in higher employment status like CEOs, Directors etc. in terms of quality of referees, recommendations received, social media profiles like LinkedIn	Strong links within community in UK and continued links with home country Pakistan	Strong sense of community with religion as the linchpin Closed, non-assimilated, segregated group who socialise only amongst themselves	Job information/ access limited to those within the community
Symbolic Capital	How people perceive your worth? Socially constructed values attributed to certain characteristics, labels, positions, accreditations, may differ depending on the context, time, geographical area, political situation; relationship between qualification, rank, and remuneration	Status symbols- artefacts, expensive cars, land, property, Social caste/class, community leadership, political leadership, prestigious qualifications, and designations held, how the media reports about you. Education- Oxbridge institutions considered at the top, Russel group university qualifications preferred than post 92 universities; Overseas qualifications have inferior status than UK qualifications	Successful role models from Pakistani community in Politics, Sports, Business, Music & Arts	Negative image fundamentalists, terrorists, security threats, rapists, paedophiles (Rotherham case)	Triple penalty-discrimination on grounds of being Asian, Muslims, and Pakistanis

(Bourdieu, 1986; R. Putnam, 1993; Brown, 1995; Barbieri, 2003; Lau, 2004; Bauder, 2005; Kim et al., 2006; Erel, 2010; Demireva, 2011; Flemmen, 2012; Samaluk, 2014)

It is worthwhile to note here that, in the case of Pakistani men in this study, who often start as pawns (weak) of a chessboard, there are few role models within the Pakistani diaspora in UK, who are 'sons of immigrants'; from a working class background; affiliated to Islam; men of Pakistani origin; who have moved to positions of power like the current Mayor of London, Sadiq Khan, the current Chancellor and ex-Home Secretary, Sajid Javid and many others who have moved up the ladder from humble beginnings. (British Pakistani Foundation, 2019). However, what makes Sadiq Khan, the Mayor of London, and Rafiq Khan a taxi driver, is the difference in their volumes of capitals or their ability to convert their resources into valid forms of capitals.

Thus, the various forms of capitals are crucial in understanding individual, within group and/or between group differences as they are instrumental in creating various social positions in the various fields in which migrants and ethnic minorities work and operate (Bourdieu, 1998). Such differences are further attenuated by the doxic rules of the various fields where the dominant group decides the rules mostly in their own favour. While high skilled migrants might find it easier to convert their existing resources into valid forms of capitals (Erel, 2015), low skilled migrants and minorities, often have to negotiate the conversion of their resources into such validation in face of domination in the various fields they operate in the host nation. Moreover, capitals are formed in various fields that have a definitive effect on the formation and validation of such capitals.

The four fields that emerged as critical to such capital formations were the family, academic, community and employment (FACE) which will be discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter 9: The nexus of fields, capitals and habitus

Bourdieu's idea of social space as social differentiation in a society was based on provision of social resources, commonly equated to social class and lifestyle that creates social distinctions (Bourdieu, 1998). Social agents may embody the markers of social position—that is, they may come to reflect the social space they inhabit (e.g. type of car driven, clothes worn, vernacular used in the workplace). Two key aspects of social space (class and lifestyle) are volume and composition of capital. Many forms of capital, including scholastic, economic, and cultural, determine social space, but also social space in turn determines capital (Bourdieu, 1986). Social space and capital are mutually reinforcing. Individuals who share similar social spaces also share many similar conditions in work and life. These conditions form the likelihood of group formations and those who live in similar social spaces are more likely to live and socialize in similar places. All of these components of social space in turn form a kind of class-consciousness for individuals (Bourdieu, 1986). As evident from the previous two chapters, the pull and push factors are not enough to explain the lived experience of taxi drivers. Moreover, the labour market trajectories of migrants and minorities are affected by the volume and composition of various forms of capitals. Not all resources are considered valid forms of capitals hence migrants and minorities struggle to convert their resources into valid forms of capitals. Moreover, such processes do not happen in a vacuum but rather in various fields. As Archer suggests if we can unpick each of the fields, it may prove valuable for a better understanding of how policy makers might be able to make an impact in each of the fields. However, each field is also affected by an intersection of factors such as class, religious affiliations, gender and ethnicity. This chapter will thus first look at the link between the formation of capitals and fields and then look at the intersectional factors and their effect on the capitals to offer a complex yet, much needed understanding of the formation of the employment habitus. In this study, four major fields were identified which have a bearing on the employment options of individuals—the family (home), academic (schools and universities), community (spaces such as mosques), and employment (the wider labour market) which will be discussed next.

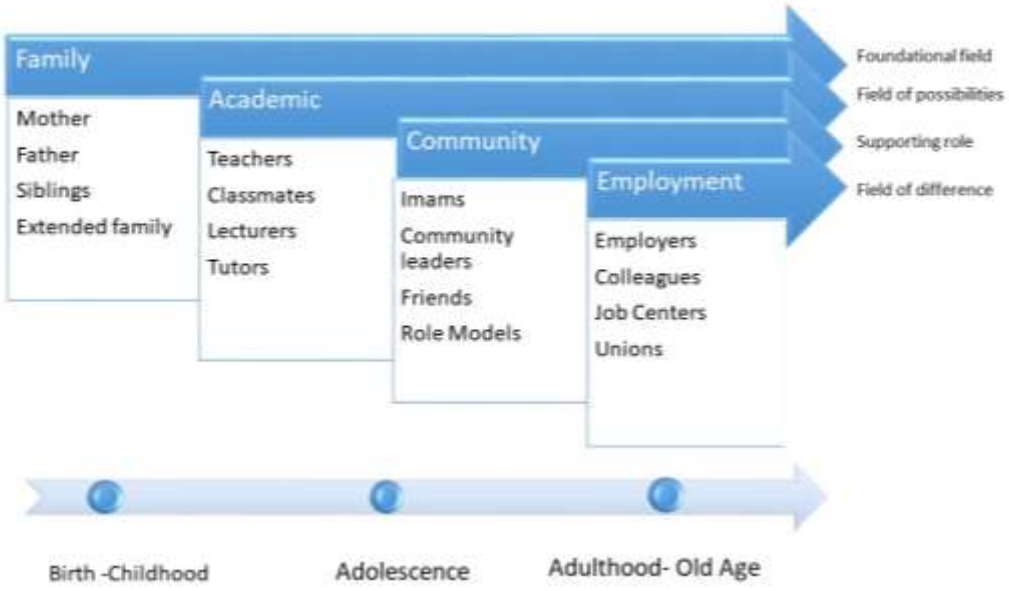


Figure 7 The fields and key actors

Family: the foundation field

Bourdieu's principal concern centres on understanding how the dominant class reproduces its domination and he posits the 'family' as a key site of social reproduction (Thapar-Bjorkert and Sanghera, 2010). 'Because learning is an irreversible process, the habitus acquired within the family forms the basis of the reception and assimilation of the classroom message, and the habitus acquired at school, conditions the level of reception and degree of assimilation of the message produced and diffused by the culture industry, and more generally, of any intellectual or semi-intellectual message' (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977: 43-44). Besides, the family as a unit of analysis has been used by many academics in the field of education, while it has been established the earnings of migrants' and minorities are related to their family background (Corak, 2013: 2; Zuccotti, 2015), however, family as a field has been rarely considered by academics in labour market outcomes.

The family is the first field a child encounters and plays a critical role in shaping the foundation of the habitus of the individual. Since family is the first field a child encounters,

the family forms the foundation of the habitus. Family confers upon individuals their identity. Family is also the field which reproduces the elements of class, religious affiliations, gender norms and ethnic traditions. Family also stays for lifelong (mostly) while there is a choice for all other fields, one does not have a choice as far as their family goes. Once one is born in a family, the family name, the family class, the family rules apply to the child. While as an adult they have a choice to move away from the family, it was evident in the findings that family is important in the Pakistani community.

Moreover, both parents (father and mother) play a critical role in the development of the habitus. While fathers tend to be role models for many boys, mothers influence their development. Since in the Pakistani taxi driver household the mother's play a bigger role in the life of the child as she spends more time with the child, it may be worth the efforts to make them aware of options. Siblings, and extended family members also influence the habitus in multiple ways. The gendered notions between siblings as passed on by the parents also have a bearing on the world views developed in the formative years of a child. Extended family members often encourage reproduction of norms and traditions. Parents are often scared to break rules if their own position within the extended family is weak. While in terms of policy matters, there are safeguards in place for domestic violence, there are not many avenues of help for effective parenting. Moreover, the cultural differences make a universal parenting code very difficult to administer or follow.

In a report by the social mobility commission (2015), they found if both parents are low educated, they tend to spend less time won their child's development as compared to more educated parents (Figure 30. Moreover, it is not clear if the graph below in Figure 8 is for families with one child, how does this change if there are more children like in the Pakistani household as average 3 kids? However, it is not the time but the 'knowhow' which is more important. Therefore, good parenting is more about quality than quantity of time. To improve the quality of parenting programmes, some previous governments set up the Parenting Early Intervention Programme (PEIP), which gave local authorities money to spend on five approved evidence-based parenting providers between 2008 and 2011. The programme suffered from a range of issues. First, many local authorities struggled to recruit parents, and some reached just 30 parents or fewer. Second, the approved programmes had too few practitioners to manage the expansion (Social Mobility Commission, 2017). During the fieldwork, the researcher did get to know of

such sessions being organised by some local authorities in schools during school holidays which were attended by a few women whom the researcher met during the Quran classes. These sessions may be a good starting point for making a difference in the family field.

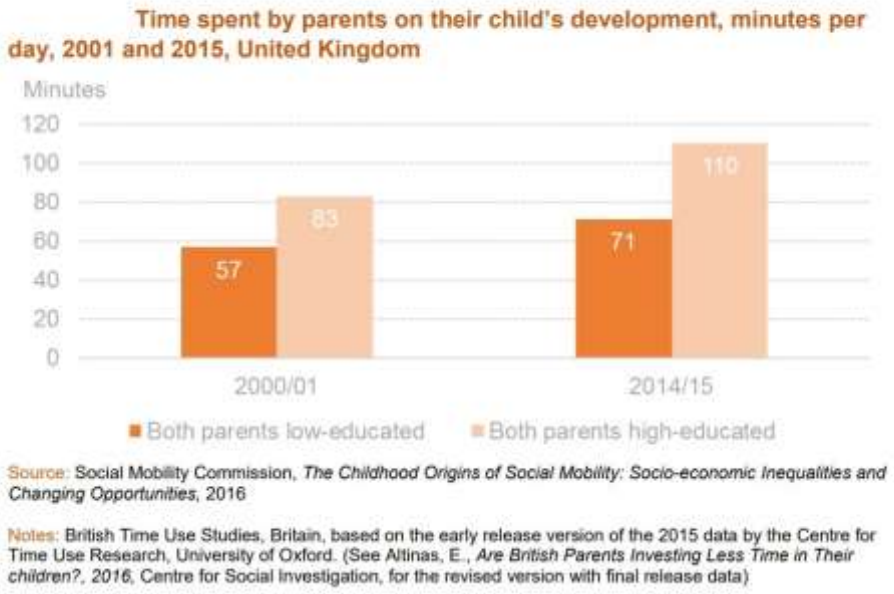


Figure 8 Time spent by parents on child's development

However, families have their own rules, and individuals in a family are subjected to those rules depending on their positions within the family which in turn are determined by their, gender, age, marital status. The family also decides the strategy of social mobility in terms of money or education (Rytter, 2013). These rules are also not homogeneous for a family within any ethnic group as it is further affected by the intersection of class, religious affiliations, the position of the family within the wider community and the accumulated forms of capital the family members hold and cultural traditions owing to ethnic identities.

As per the ideal type suggested, family comes first in Pakistan due to religious, cultural, economic and societal values. Pakistani society is not led by individualism, but rather by collectivism, where family and other relationships stand strong (Hofstede). In Pakistani culture, the male members of the family usually hold the key position. The family is headed by the oldest male member and usually he will be the sole source of income for

other members of the family (field research notes). Mostly Pakistani family structures are patriarchal where, the eldest male member is considered the head of the family. So, if the grandfather is still alive, technically he would be the head of the family and most decisions related to land ownership, or marriage, would be done with his consent. The eldest son takes on the role of the breadwinner and supports the entire family until his younger siblings (mostly boys) start earning as well. Women are largely expected to be the home-makers with primary responsibility for the three Cs- caring, cleaning and cooking. Most of the older generation women in the families are less likely to be educated as most taxi drivers mentioned their moms were not educated and had only ever gone to mosques for Quran classes at the most (Table 8). The current generation of women who were born and brought up here in the UK, who are wives of taxi drivers, were all very fluent in English and had at least 'O' level educational qualifications (since education till 'O' levels was free during their school time). One woman was college educated and worked in the voluntary social care sector. However, many of these second-generation British Pakistani women have married their cousins from Pakistan who come here as first-generation migrants with limited education and poor English language ability. As mentioned in Chapter 3, this is a common practice adopted by many Pakistanis for two reasons; one to keep the landed property within the family, and the other as a route taken by many to come to UK to maintain their kinship (Shaw, 2000; Werbner, 2005; Ballard, 2003). A similar strategy is also adopted by migrants of Pakistani origin in other countries like Australia and Canada (Bauder, 2005).

Family as a field thus confers a certain positionality on individuals within the family structure itself considering their age, gender and educational status. In a Ted talk given by Pakistani Nobel Laureate Malala Yusufzai's father, Ziauddin Yousafzai he says,

> *People ask me, what special is in my mentorship which has made Malala so bold and so courageous and so vocal and poised? I tell them, don't ask me what I did. Ask me what I did not do. I did not clip her wings, and that's all.*
>
> (Ziauddin Yousafzai, 2014)

This positionality shapes the habitus of individuals. Most of the taxi drivers in the study had 3 to 4 children who are of school going age who need support in terms of being dropped to school, being taken to after school classes and other co-curricular activities. Anne West, in her research argues that the family is of fundamental importance for

explanations in the achievement gaps for pupil from some groups which cannot be attributed solely to schools; the evidence points towards factors like financial and material resources playing a key role which suggests class and economic capital play a role (West, 2007).

Many of the taxi drivers mentioned the importance of their families in getting into the taxi business. Raza Ali, went to a Grammar school, speaks fluent English, worked in a travel agency, tried taxi driving for a few years and now runs a business in Dewsbury and largely caters to the Pakistani/Asian community and says:

> *Well, the first thing is a lot of these Pakistani people are second and first-generation Brits that means the first and second generation are lower working-class people where both mother and father were uneducated, and father was working at the factory. So majority of what happens in the child's upbringing happens on the streets so they don't have the social or the academic grooming, if you are not groomed academically, you won't get the basic marks; if you don't get the basic marks you won't get into university; and if you don't get into university you get a job with minimum wage. So, the only job above minimum wage is either bus driving or cabbing or cleaning and so that's why they end up cabbing. They have the empowerment of self-employment and you don't need much education and the pay is good*
>
> (Raza Ali, Male, 41, Dewsbury, 2nd Generation)

Contrary to above quote, Councillor B shared a different perspective when he mentioned that he started his life as a taxi driver because both his father and elder brother were taxi drivers. However, after a few months into taxi driving he met his teacher, an Indian academic who suggested he get back into education and enrol in the university. Councillor B spoke to his elder brother who encouraged him to study and said he will take care of the 'family responsibilities'. Councillor B feels he was 'lucky' to get his family support but that '*not everybody is that lucky'*:

> *Luckily I had my family who were very supportive of me and one day I spoke to my brother who was driving taxi and I said to him I have had a change of mind I don't like doing taxis I want to do something different. He asked me what I want to do. And I said I want to go back to college and study and I remember my brother's words to this day and this is going back 25 years and he said, 'If you really want to study and make a difference you don't have to*

worry about financial priorities I will take those responsibilities' and that brought me to university

(Councillor B, Male, 45, 2nd Generation, Place omitted)

He went on to finish his education, got a job with the local council and now works as a councillor. Although he maintains his taxi license to this day and drives once in a while, 'to get a feel of his ward', he emphasised on the role his family played in supporting his education. Hussain on the other hand, came to UK for higher education, he did a masters from a UK reputed university, yet could not find a job. He married his uncle's daughter and his uncle suggested he start driving a taxi. Hussain is not happy driving a taxi as he feels, his father back home in Pakistan is not happy with him driving a taxi:

My father [in Pakistan] is not happy that I am working as taxi driver. He says what was the use of doing [a master's] degree if you had to work as a taxi driver? I keep telling him the situation in this country is not very good for us [Pakistanis] and this [taxi work] gives good money so he keeps quiet, but I know deep inside he is not very happy

(Hussain, Male, 27, Leeds, 1st Generation).

Many of the taxi drivers seemed to have reconciled to this occupation as their own 'fate', but had high aspirations for their children and thought that sending their children to school and university will make a difference to their children's lives:

My aspirations for my children is that they have to do well in school. If you get educated and do well in school and once you get your education and do really well then, your options are really open and without education your options are really restricted

(Abid, Male, 43, Leeds, 2nd Generation)

Therefore, it is expected, the actors within the academic fields can help (like teachers or counsellors in schools and universities). However, the experiences of many ethnic minorities especially from Pakistani, Bangladeshi and Black Caribbean backgrounds has not been very positive in the academic and employment fields. Academics in the field of education have also questioned the effect of education in schools and universities on the social disadvantages of certain groups. Thus, the academic field is of considerable importance for the shaping of habitus and accumulation of capitals which is discussed next.

Academic: the field of (im)possibilities

The academic field, comprising of experiences in schools and universities is considered as the field of possibilities. As discussed in Chapter 4, the illusion of meritocracy has been often posited as the fair order of the day. However, the academic fields have their own rules, which are further complicated when seen through the intersectional lens. Diane Reay suggests the 'the UK is still educating different social classes for different functions in society'. She argues, 'a working-class child starts the educational race halfway round the track behind the middle-class child. Even if they are in the same schools as middle-class children, they are in lower sets and they get less experienced and more supply teachers. Working class children also get a more restrictive educational offer' (Reay, 2017). Other studies have reported other structural factors like 'ethnic segregation in schools and neighbourhoods', (Burgess et al., 2005); or religion as a differentiator of families' attitudes towards education (Franceschelli and O'Brien, 2014); similarly the construction of gender within Pakistani families (Macey, 1999) have been posited as possible explanations for the differences constructed for various groups in the society, which have wider implications in the labour market.

Schools shape the employment habitus through teacher's attitudes and perceptions, courses offered (or not) to pupils from certain backgrounds and the location of the school itself. Experiences in school can have life changing effects on children. Attitudes and expectations of teachers can affect the confidence of the child and influence how they perceive themselves in the wider world (Bourdieu, 1986; Abbas, 2002; Crozier and Davies, 2007). In a research with Pakistani and Bangladeshi heritage parents, Crozier and Davies report that while teachers, head teachers and other educational professionals referred to the South Asian parents as "hard to reach"(2007). However, it was clear from the parents that they knew little about the education system or what their children were doing in school; moreover, it was also very apparent that the parents were not 'difficult, obstructive, or indifferent'--the kind of behaviour 'hard to reach' implies. The authors therefore consider that rather than parents being 'hard to reach', it is frequently the schools themselves that impede accessibility for certain parents (Crozier and Davies, 2007). Furthermore, there is evidence of discrimination in teacher's treatment of people from ethnic minorities' (Gillborn, 2000). However, such experiences are not the same across all groups. Children of Chinese and Indian heritage are positively disposed and considered

to be more intelligent based on their math skills, where they continuously tend to perform better (Huang and Lamb, 2014; Hajela and Sumption, 2017). In contrast, children from African heritage and those from Pakistan and Bangladesh are negatively perceived by teachers to have lower intelligence (Gillborn, 2000). Many of the taxi drivers mentioned the differential treatment they received from teachers as demotivating them to do well in school. But there were also instances of positive reinforcement, which helped like in the case of Councillor B (in earlier section) who started off as a taxi driver but was encouraged by his professor to stick to his academic pursuit which eventually helped him move out of taxi driving into social work and politics.

Schools are also spaces where a lot of ethnic minority children face bullying and racism. Many taxi drivers recounted their experiences of racism in school. Many of the taxi drivers mentioned this as sad memories of their school life. Allahdita, came to UK at the age of 10 as he was a very good student back in Pakistan. His uncle had migrated here before and Allahdita's father wanted him to get a better education. However, his experience in the UK state school was not very welcoming:

> *'I went to a school in Dewsbury where there were not many Pakistani or Asian children. However, I faced many challenges in school. My English at that time was not very good. My friends would ask me is your father a terrorist? Have you ever used guns and bombs? I was called "fat paki", "Osama [bin laden]", and even "taxi driver" in school! I remember that once all my friends were invited to a birthday party of a white classmate except me. I cried and went to my uncle who said, "Gore aise hi hote hain" [the white people are like this only]; "you just focus on your studies and make friends with children in the local mosque". I was very lonely in school. One day after the 2007 bombing some boys started abusing me and calling me a "terrorist". I was in my GCSEs final year. One month before the exam, I ended up beating up a white boy and was put in detention. I refused to go back to school. Never finished my exams. So I started helping my uncle in his takeaway. Then I got a few odd jobs here and there like in bakery, warehouses. But every time anyone mentioned anything derogatory about Islam I would quit. My uncle got me married to his daughter. My wife counselled me a lot. Then we both decided I should take up taxi driving, as then I will be my own boss. Now I face abuses now and then from drunk customers, but I have learnt to take it as part of life (says laughingly). You mature with age I guess! Hahaha!*
>
> (Allahdita, Male, 28, Dewsbury, 2nd Generation)

These experiences shape the habitus of children and continue to affect them as adults. Some taxi drivers mentioned they were wary of being in traditional jobs where they felt the same racism and bullying would continue and so they thought taxi driving would give them an opportunity to earn money without having to endure any such subordination. Ironically, many of the taxi drivers face the same racism and bullying from their customers on a regular basis. Allahdita Khan's quote illustrates this well. Similar experiences were shared by a few others, like Abid, who is a second-generation British Pakistani and was a good student at primary school:

> *I grew up in Beeston where I went to school. I was very good at school, primary school, middle school. High school was a bit of a cultural shock because when we were in middle school it had largely an Asian community, when you go to high school there is only 10-12 Asian people out of 12-1,300 people, so it was just over whelming it was too much. But the grievances I have is with respect to school. I was really clever when I was in middle school, I was probably the cleverest kid in middle school going into high school and I was in all the top sets in the high school so from that factor I should have done much better that what I have done till now. But as I said in high school there were not many Asians and in them days it was different culture than it is now. I mean in those two years; my teacher never called my name once. Them kind of things makes a lot of difference. You lose interest because they are not interested in you. And all my friends were not as clever as me taking days off from school and we would walk back home and I saw they would do this and that and I used to be sat in school talking to nobody and I thought why can't I do that (laughs) and so I thought if they are not interested in me I will also go out and do that sort of thing. My education just went down from there. So, if you don't have any education you can't do anything else can you?*
>
> (Abid, Male, 43, Leeds, 2nd Generation)

Such experiences are still rampant in schools, where many academics have raised such concerns (McCrone, 2002; Reay, 2004; Archer and Francis, 2005; Johnson and Kossykh, 2008), however, what is not clear if it is the ethnicity, religion or the working class backgrounds of these children that affects the teacher's perceptions, where intersectionality becomes an important analytical consideration. Aisha, wife of a taxi driver, mentions that she is not sure how her husband's occupation will affect her son's future even though he is going to school and they have high aspirations for him:

Well, my son he is just doing his GCSEs, but he doesn't have a clear idea of what he wants to do at the moment, but I suppose if his dad was into something like a Doctor or something then… I don't know but my husband has a lot of ambitions for him to do well. But yeah I don't know your kids kind of look at you and I don't know if (what your father does) drives their ambitions down or it doesn't make them do as they would if your parents had some high flying jobs but I think it in a way directly affects the way that your children think about your status and everything like that

(Aisha, Female, 38, Leeds, wife of taxi driver)

One clear concern which was voiced by many participants was that many of them were unaware of a clear career plan when they were in schools. So, if a student wants to be a lawyer or a doctor, teachers need to be able to tell them how and what they need to do in order to make their dreams come true. Teachers can also be instrumental in changing the gendered stereotypes by challenging the habitus students acquire from their family, community and society at large by developing critical thinking skills and reflexivity for students. Councillor B, too feels, the academic field has a huge responsibility as far as social mobility goes, but also asked whether or not schools are really in a position to take this responsibility to handle the 'dreams' of their children and parents:

But they need a lot of support and schools need to provide it. So, say if a child wants to be a doctor then the school needs to tell them what subjects to study, what grades are required. What education do I need to go through to be a doctor? Like a plan you see because, without that, you just have a dream you see for your child which has no substance. It's good to have dreams but dreams don't always turn into reality without any action. And often these are the dreams we want our children to become lawyers, doctors, and accountants and unless we have a plan in school, positive parenting, equality, hard work and education we cannot give shape to their dreams without these

(Councillor B, Male, 45, 2nd Generation, Place omitted)

Thus, the actors in the academic field have a critical role in shaping the employment habitus. The academic field actors like teachers/lecturers, counsellors/tutors, classmates can play a big role in shaping reshaping the habitus. While the education system has a come a long way in terms of technology and blended learning, many a times the attitudes of teachers are sometimes affected by their unconscious biases. A lot of organisations and academic institutions in the UK are actively utilising unconscious bias training (UBT) in response to calls for internationalisation not only in the curriculum but also teaching

methods and organisational cultures. Ethnic minority and migrant students often find themselves caught between different teaching cultures and if teachers/lecturers do not support them in their formative years they could grow up with a poor self-worth and self-efficacy.

Schools and university actors also could be helpful in migrants acquiring not only degrees and qualifications but the valid forms of capitals like human capital, social capital and cultural capital. From a human capital perspective, academic institutions can help set up employability focussed support like CV writing workshops, mock interviews, presentation skills for students. They could also be helpful in forming alumni networks to build the social capital of such students to help them in the future in their job hunts. The other habitus shaping field which is discussed next is the Pakistani community.

Community: the field of support

It is acknowledged that the process of learning to adopt the behaviour patterns of the community is called socialization. Thus, individuals acquire beliefs, values, social norms, and practices that allow them to successfully interact with society (Göncü and Gauvain, 2012; Rogoff, 2003). The most fertile time of socialization is usually the early stages of life, during which individuals develop skills and knowledge and learn the roles necessary to function within their culture and social environment. For some psychologists, the most important period of socialization is between the early ages of one and ten. But socialization also includes adults moving into a significantly different environment, where they must learn a new set of behaviours (like migrants for instance). In this context, community also helps shape the habitus of individuals and develops a collective habitus of the community. The Pakistani community (*biraderi*), is the other habitus shaping field, as it has its own rules that creates a 'collective habitus'(Bourdieu, 1977b; Wacquant, 2016), which then shapes the habitus of the individual. While families and the academic field have received some attention, there is negligible focus on community spaces as fields. Some authors contend these spaces create boundaries which are safe spaces for the marginalised communities but also tend to keep them segregated from the wider society (Ahmad and Evergeti, 2010). The 'racialisation of space' needs to be probed and one needs to challenge the view that British Muslims wish to live 'parallel lives' as 'unwilling citizens' separately from others and disengage from British society (Phillips, 2006; Thomas and Sanderson, 2011). These could have far reaching consequences especially on

the labour market outcomes of such groups. The Pakistani community in general is a very cohesive field where a collective habitus is evident.

A community is thought of here as a small or large social unit (a group of humans) who have something in common, such as norms, religion, values, or identity (Ritzer, 2007). Communities often share a sense of place that is situated in a given geographical area (e.g. a country, village, town, or neighbourhood) or in virtual space through communication platforms. Durable relations that extend beyond immediate genealogical (family) ties also define a sense of community (Ritzer, 2007). While 'Community' has been called problematic by many academics, since 'the term Community has many meanings in the literature but little concrete presence'; However, the term continues to be used, not because of its usefulness to academics, but 'because of its continued resonance with policymakers and the public' (Walkerdine, and Studdert, 2012: 5). Nonetheless, 'when we analyse social structures not recognizing that they depend on groups with collective pasts and futures that are spatially situated and that are based on personal relations, we avoid a core sociological dimension: the importance of local context in constituting social worlds' (Fine, 2010: 355).

Many of the taxi drivers mentioned mosques were like the lynchpin of their identities. This was where they socialised the most. Most mosques organised community events round the year for Muslim festivities like Eid and during Ramadan religious sessions would be conducted. Many of the taxi drivers encouraged their children to participate in these sessions to give them a stronger sense of their roots. Some of the taxi drivers were part of the working committees of these mosques and felt being a taxi driver gave them more flexibility to fulfil their commitments towards the mosques—apart from fulfilling their regular duty to pray five times a day as a practicing Muslim. They felt a sense of meaning working for various causes to support Muslims around the world and in the UK.

The community for the Pakistani people in this study was cited as an extended kinship and a great source of support. Many taxi drivers depended on the community support in time of need whether it was financial support or social support. Some however, felt, it was still the family that was the main source of support as Nafisa says, when her husband was considering opening a take away, they realised they do not have many family members in this city, and it might be difficult for them:

Also we come from a family where we do not have enough cousins or relatives like you know other people we know from Mirpur who used to live in Chapel Town and the Mirpuri community have a lot of brothers and all in the same family and they will do business and stuff and my husband always thought that he did not have that kind of support to do business.

(Nafisa, Female, 41, Leeds, 2nd generation, wife of taxi driver)

Many people in the Pakistani community are making huge efforts in pushing their social mobility (Shah et al., 2010). As part of the ethnographic research, much time was spent in mosques. One mosque conducted a few employability sessions which the researcher attended in which sessions from successful role models from the Muslim community were called upon to share their knowledge and experiences with adolescent children of the community. These are welcome steps as it is not possible for the State to provide all the support alone, it is prudent that communities come forward to partner with the state machinery to eradicate structural inequalities. However, there were a few concerns raised in the sessions. There still seemed to be a visible segregation based on gender in such sessions. While young girls mostly signed up for pharmacy, social care and nursing sessions, boys signed up for those on dentistry, medicine, law or accountancy. However, it was not clear if such preferences come from the family, schools or communities or the workplace itself. How do young people pick up these cues? Who prescribes such roles? Although, as evident from the above, the above field has a huge influence on the habitus and as such it influences their employment habitus that is further reproduced by the employment field. While it was evident in this study the Pakistani community is trying to improve the employability of the next generation by organising various employability sessions. The community still needs to question their gendered assumptions, quality of advice and the reach of such sessions to all factions of the community.

The community also needs to promote role models in the right way. Intriguingly, in some of the taxi conversations with respect to some global icons within the Pakistani community like Nobel laureate Malala Yusufzai, Mayor of London Sadiq Khan, and Ex Home Secretary and current Chancellor Sajid Javid, (both of who are from similar working-class back grounds) many Pakistani taxi drivers did not speak of them very highly making sneering comments about them. Many of the comments were politically charged like for Malala, a driver said, 'This is all political agenda by the British government to show Pakistan in a bad light! Her father is doing all this so she can become the Prime Minister

one day!' Some made comments with reference to Sadiq Khan like '*oh he is not a true Muslims or Pakistani, he is too English!*' Similar comments were made when referring to Chancellor Sajid Javid one said, '*He is a Tory English man in a brown skin!'* Such comments are debatable and should be debated. The community will benefit from having open healthy debates so that they can pick the right role models for them to showcase to the next generation while also allowing for such critical and reflective thinking to happen within safe spaces.

One challenge the community faces is the negative perceptions people have about Islam and the traditions of the Pakistani community. While many mosques and community events are open to people from other faiths, for instance one of the mosques in Leeds conducts an open day for people of other faiths to come and know about Islam. However, these sessions are not well attended, and the discussions are on a very surface level. More active interventions are needed for social cohesion where people from the wider community including other faiths, ethnicities may participate in their celebrations, events. The West Indian carnival held in Leeds every year during the August Bank holiday is a good example of showcasing the culture of an ethnic minority. Similar efforts will have to be made for other ethnic groups where the community can work towards compensating for the devalued capitals.

However, the role of the host nation communities is also extremely important as integration cannot be one sided. The English people will also have to try to welcome migrants and minorities. Some councils have made inroads into many such communities by bringing the community leaders from various ethnic groups together to discuss common issues and challenges (the Migrants Access Network, by one city council is a good example). However, as mentioned earlier, employability and social mobility is the way out of inequality. And therefore, actors of the employment field have a big part to play in this. While the cohesiveness with other Pakistanis and Muslims came across as strong, the relationship with the English community still came across as one bereft of trust and bonhomie, where cultural barriers, and racism were often cited as the major factors:

> *But Yeah, surely the English people are racist though they don't want to say so. I've spent time with the British community in my college, some are really nice people, but they do not like to mix with us. In fact, even I do not like to mix with them. Their socialising is equivalent to drinking and pubbing. I've*

nothing against them at all but you see our cultures, values, are all very different. There is no commonality. So, sometimes I feel it is best to stay away from them
(Hussain, Male, 27, Leeds, 1st Generation).

Even though the experiences of migrants and ethnic minorities within the British labour market have been considered by many, the workplace itself and the wider labour market as a field of employment has been neglected by academics. Labour markets are important sites for the reproduction of social order: They operate at the intersection of economic, political, social, and cultural processes, and they are politically, socially and culturally regulated (Bauder, 2008) and therefore need to be considered.

Employment: the field of difference

The employment field, or the labour market, is the field where the difference between migrants is made evident as mentioned in the literature review. The employment relations are a very complex one with the key actors being the State, employers, employees, and the employee voice representatives such as the unions, community unions, and job centres.

The role of the State is of paramount importance. Both as the rule maker and an employer, the State lays the foundation of how migrants and minorities are viewed in public. Hence the rules they make, the programmes they launch, and the way they deal with issues pertaining to migrants and minorities, all shape public attitudes towards migrants and the habitus of migrants and minorities themselves. Brexit is a great example of how the State created a migrant crisis which did not exist in the first place but led people to make a decision which has increased hate crimes and hostile environments for migrants and minorities in the process.

Employers too play a big role as evident in the findings. Many of the push factors mentioned were rooted in the experiences of the taxi drivers in the employment field. While the equality Act protects ethnic and religious discrimination, it was clear such discrimination is rampant in direct, indirect and subtle forms. In fact, it was the subtle discrimination which affected them more than the direct ones. While many organizations have equality, diversity policies, these are often considered as 'empty shells'. A new direction for diversity management is inclusion as a sense of belonging is crucial to eradicating inequality within the workplace. However, the particular challenge with Pakistani men in this study is they tend to work in small and medium enterprises, where

such policies are negligible or non-existent and so many taxi drivers felt 'the workplace was not welcoming of them':

> *So when you asked me why taxi drivers don't want their children to drive taxis, I mean I have not been a taxi driver for massive years, but there are people who have been taxi drivers for 20 -30 years, so if you ask those and even the older generation, the way they were treated when they came here in the workplace. I mean the security of tenure for anybody in any job here has basically decayed. Don't get me wrong, but there are taxi drivers with degrees coming out of universities driving taxis. Even unpaid actors and graduate students are also into taxi driving. So, they all earn their income that way because the workplace is not welcoming of them.*
>
> (Raza Ali, 53, male, Leeds, 2nd Generation)

Researchers commissioned by the Department for Work and Pensions sent nearly 3,000 applications for 987 vacancies under false identities, using the names 'Nazia Mahmood', 'Mariam Namagembe' and 'Alison Taylor'. Each had similar experiences and qualifications and had British education and work histories on their CVs. They found that an applicant who 'appeared to be white' would send 9 applications before receiving a positive response of either an invitation to an interview or an encouraging telephone call. Minority candidates with the same qualifications and experience had to send 16 applications before receiving a similar response (The Observer, 2009). This was echoed by one participant very well:

> *So, somebody NOT allowed to do something while somebody else is, is also discrimination. When that becomes institutionalised, it becomes racism. Like in offices there might be an unwritten rule that doesn't allow certain kind of people or groups to come into a certain industry. Like under representation of minorities in the police force, or the armed forces and places like that. Some institutions have closed their doors to certain groups of people because of the way that discrimination has become institutionalised. It becomes an ideology. So, when something becomes an ideology it becomes an –ism. Like classism, socialism, racism and any ism is a schism it causes a split. And any such thing splits humanity*
>
> (Akhtar, 56, male, Leeds, 2nd Generation)

Media reports and the way media projects certain groups is also an important consideration for this group as evident from the below quote:

From my training days the opportunity came to set up a radio station in Bradford, me and a group of my friends who also worked in the race field and as well as someone who had a recording studio. We decided to apply for the license for the local area Asian radio franchise. I was the chair of the group and we bid for it and we were successful, and we got the license. And I worked there for two years. However, after the first Gulf war, I became a bit disillusioned with the way media was working and I realised that, well although we think we are in control, but actually we are not in control as far as the media output is concerned. And all of my political experiences kind of crystallised into me thinking well, this is probably not for me, I mean I don't want to part of a system that actually dictates and socially engineers attitudes towards certain people and groups in the society and so I just resigned and decided to go on a walk about. (Hehehe laughs), I am still walking about really

(Akhtar, 56, male, Leeds, 2nd Generation)

Some taxi drivers also mentioned, they feel even if they get jobs, they face barriers in 'moving up the ladder' as Councillor A said:

I will not say there isn't equal opportunities but there is a fierce competition, when you apply for a job, you feel there are barriers. Well, even if you get the job, then for those promotions and senior positions and so on and so forth, you've got to fight and struggle more than your [white] counterparts, but where there is an equal opportunity, it's to do with your quality, and I sometimes feel that we [community] can do more to get [Pakistani] people on those level.

(Councillor A, Male, 41, 2nd generation, name and place omitted)

Migrants may be unable to internalize the codes of conduct of the host nation's workplace. They may be unfamiliar with the norms and conventions of the hiring process, or unable to judge employers' expectations. Rather than selecting the most suitable worker for a job, these norms and conventions may serve as cultural means of distinction between indigenous job applicants and migrant job seekers (Bourdieu 1984). Pakistani taxi drivers in the study mentioned the many challenges they face in the labour market with regards to their forms of capitals like cultural capital, human capital, and economic capital, but the two main capitals which affected their labour market trajectories are social and symbolic capitals. Their social networks and ties often limited them to jobs such as taxi driving as many of their family and kinship members worked as taxi drivers. Economically, too, they were dependent on their families and communities as many did not have bank

accounts, although in terms of home ownership most of the taxi drivers lived in their own homes and some even had multiple homes. It is difficult to distinguish between such categories as evident in the quote below that summarises how the intersectional effects of these various identities and fields influenced their labour market outcomes:

> *You see people from Mirpur do not struggle much economically; we have money and lead a happy life back home in Pakistan. I never thought when I came to UK, we have to do menial jobs like construction and all and in retail jobs there is no guarantee of hours. I tried to get decent jobs but did not get any. And the ones I got were no good as I was not in control- every time I need holidays, it's a problem, if I want to pray it is a problem even if someone dies in the community and I want to attend the funeral it is a problem. So not control at all. In taxi, I am in control. Bradford has no factories. We have limited options. Takeaways and shops need much high investment of time and money. So, taxi driving is better. I don't mind my son driving a taxi, but I will try to make him a lawyer or at least work in banks*
>
> (Imran, Male, 37, Bradford, 1st Generation)

Imran's quote above is filled with paradoxes. On one hand, he claims, he had a better life in Pakistan. He had higher aspirations when he came to the UK and never thought he would be doing lower menial jobs. In retail, zero-hour contracts are prevalent, which leaves workers with no guarantee of income, however, he is happy to drive a taxi however, that too has no guarantee of any income, but at least he feels that he is 'in control'.

Thus, migrants and minorities journey through various fields like family, academic, community, and the employment field, each of which helps them develop the various forms of capitals. However, the various fields and capitals affect the social standing of migrants and minorities which is further affected by an intersection of factors such as their class, religious affiliations, gender and ethnicity which warrants separate discussion which will be done in the next chapter.

Chapter 10: Towards an intersectional understanding of social structure and human agency

> *This idea that we all have the same life is false. Race, class, gender come together to shape the life chance of people in very different ways*
>
> (Kimberle Crenshaw, 2016: NP).

This thesis set out to explore the following research questions:

How do structural factors affect the employment habitus of Pakistani male taxi drivers in the UK?; What are the push and pull factors of taxi driving for British Pakistani men?; To what extent is taxi driving a choice?; And how do Pakistani men negotiate agency within the intersectional nature of the structures in which they are born in?

The previous chapters (7, 8 and 9) answered the question on 'push and pull' factors, and whether taxi driving is a 'choice'. It was evident in these chapters that while there are a few 'pull and push' factors, the 'lived experiences' of the taxi drivers were difficult to box into either of them and that although taxi driving appears to be a 'relatively better choice' than other low skilled low paid precarious jobs like cleaning, plumbing, warehouse jobs, it is an 'enforced choice', given the kind of options and the structural constraints the taxi drivers face in gaining standard employment in the British labour market. This final chapter focuses on the primary research question and identifies four structural factors which affect the employment options of the taxi drivers and thus, their agency.

While a number of factors are discussed in the intersectionality literature race, class and gender have dominated the discourse. In this study race was not used as ethnicity was found to be more useful since there are differences within the Asian groups like Indians, Pakistanis and Bangladeshis for instance. Furthermore, the critical factor which differentiates Pakistanis and Bangladeshis from Indians is religious affiliation as the former groups are predominantly Muslims and the latter predominantly Hindus. Religious affiliations are further used to differentiate between the degrees of religiosity within groups as that too helps understand the 'within group' differences. However, as discussed earlier in chapter two, class continues to matter. Moreover, as Bourdieu uses class as the

starting point of his social reproduction theory, this chapter will start considering class, before moving to affiliations, gender and ethnicity as the base of the structural framework.

The other key consideration which came out of the theoretical deliberations of structure and agency was the metaphor of structure. While many academics have devoted a lifetime to the structure and agency debate, few have focussed on structure as a metaphor, which has been left largely implicit by academics with an assumption that it is self-explanatory. Responding to the call by academics to consider the hitherto 'unexamined metaphor of structure' (Sewell, 1992), this chapter introduces a new metaphor for 'structure' and 'habitus' as a 'cage' arguing that migrants and minorities develop a cage-like habitus that is a product of their class, affiliations (religious), gender, and ethnicity in response to the various doxic rules they face in fields such as family, academia, community and employment. In terms of labour market outcomes, this has further consequences as occupational choices are often shrouded by intersection of such structural factors as evident in the findings chapters (7, 8 and 9). This is further contextual to the field one is operating in such as the family, academic, community, and the employment field, where various forms of capitals are legitimised (or not) conferring varying degrees of power that affects the self-efficacy of human agency.

However, the 'cage'—both metaphorically and literally—is not deterministic. Although the cage confines the actors and restricts their movements, it also allows them to move within and out of it. Hence, they are able to exercise their agency albeit within such structures. Expanding on the metaphor, a cage potentially has a key to allow a person to be 'set free' and the study identifies this **KEY** as access to **K**nowledge, **E**qual opportunities, and a **Y**earning for a better life. However, this KEY is accessible to migrants and minorities only when actors of the four critical fields actively make an effort. In the concluding section, the implications of the findings have been deliberated upon in terms of what does this mean for policy and practice. But first the four intersectional factors and their role in shaping the cage like habitus is discussed as provided in a table form in Table 11 below where it is argued that the various fields (FACE) and intersectional factors (CAGE) affect the experiences of migrants and minorities which then shapes their habitus.

Table 11 fields and cage interaction

Fields/CAGE	Class	Affiliation (Religious)	Gender	Ethnicity
Family	Rural, Working class	Affiliation to Islam comes from being born in a Muslim family	family structure- Patriarchy, gendered norms/ masculinity, gendered expectations different for boys and girls	Identity as a Pakistani/ Kashmiri/ Mirpuri British?
Academic	Teachers' attitudes towards students from different social classes Fellow students' attitudes Types of schools/ universities accessible choice of subjects encouraged	Mosque influence Quran studies Employability sessions/ guidance from Mosques	Types of subjects suggested to boys and girls gendered norms and expectations from parents, community	Types of courses encouraged /discouraged for Pakistani students, based on ethnic stereotypes
Community	Types of social networks kinds of occupational knowledge available	Islamic way of life 'Muslim brotherhood'	Gender norms within community and expectations	Identity, belonging, segmented assimilation, acculturation
Employment	Access to types of jobs	Restrictions on jobs which can be done owing to religious beliefs like selling of alcohol, pork meat, non-halal meat Islamophobia	Gendered preference of jobs for men/ women	Racial discrimination undervalued Pakistani degrees Cultural/ethnic stereotypes often negative

Class acts!

Although in past decades some writers have suggested that in the modern western world class is losing its relevance (Burrage, 2008), 'class continues to count' assert others (Martin, 2010: 1204). That class is reproduced in terms of a distinction of taste is at the heart of

Bourdieu's oeuvre of work. In all his key concepts class plays a pivotal role in that the varieties of capitals are largely affected by class as seen earlier. Although some authors feel we are moving towards a classless society, many authors have insisted class still matters and rightly so. 'In the Marxist reading, class is not, at root, about culture, but about the position people occupy within the structure of an economy, including the economic function they fulfil and the demands and imperatives they face as a result' (Umney, 2017: 8) and in that sense class exists and will continue to do so as long as economic inequality exists in society. While it has been discussed earlier, the English society is 'highly class conscious' and there are class-based rules for everyone (Fox, 2004), the working-class background of the taxi drivers came across as a strong factor in shaping their habitus.

As mentioned earlier, most taxi drivers came from a rural or working-class back ground. In almost all the interviews the past jobs mentioned by the taxi drivers for themselves and their fathers were in factories, warehouses, bakeries, takeaways, courier, or security. While a few shared some of their 'dream jobs' as policeman, lawyer, or accountant, when asked about their aspirations, most of them mentioned semi-skilled, manual jobs like 'plumbing', 'electrician'. This not only reflected their working-class background but shows how deeply manifested class is in limiting peoples' aspirations. Class in turn affected other fields like the academic field in terms of the kind of schools they went to, the courses they took up in school or colleges, and even the employment field like the jobs they were willing to take up or not (Table 11). While many second-generation taxi drivers spoke fluent English and possessed very good communication skills, for the first-generation migrants, English language ability was also a deterrent for jobs in the predominant service sector. Like Aisha, wife of a taxi driver said:

> *You see my husband is from rural Pakistan, and back there you do not speak English every day. Even in schools and colleges, Urdu is the main language then when he came here it was difficult to get adjusted to the language here. I am British and have studied in schools here so my English is fine, but I cannot go out and work you see, so I am fine if my husband is driving a taxi, that's the only thing he can do given his poor English. Now it is much better, but in the beginning it was really hard for him. There are so many funny incidents (hahahaha) when he did not understand what the customer was saying!*
>
> (Aisha, Female, Wife of taxi driver, 38, Leeds, 2nd Generation)

This is important from an intersectional perspective as it was not just the ethnicity, but the class which affected the English language ability of the taxi driver. Although the taxi drivers have high aspirations for their children, it was evident that their working-class backgrounds had a ricocheting effect on how they pass on elements of their own classed habitus to their next generation. Their class also affected the accumulation of the various forms of capitals (CHESS) as seen in Chapter 8. Moreover, the family not only confers the class, but also religious affiliations. Some affiliations and the degree of such affiliations sometimes carry privileges or penalties depending on the field and actors in context.

Affiliations—religious privilege and penalties

Affiliation to Islamic values has been another major influence on this group. The religious affiliation of the family one is born into is passed on to the individual and most people do not question their parent's religious beliefs and continue to follow that religion. Religion plays a critical role in the choice of many Pakistani men opting for taxi work. For example, the need for flexibility was considered crucial for many of the taxi drivers being a Muslim, they needed time for their regular prayers at the mosque and taxi driving offered them this flexibility. Many of them mentioned that as practicing Muslims they needed a flexibility in their jobs where they could pray five times a day and manage their schedules during the Holy month of Ramadan. Many perceived traditional jobs lacking that flexibility and many even experienced discriminations due to their religious practices in previous jobs. During afternoons many taxi drivers visited the mosque for the afternoon 'azaan'—the call for prayer. It is a ten minutes affair from start to finish, and something that many employers allow in their premises, but most taxi drivers felt, they would not be able to do this if they were in traditional jobs. It is also important to note that their religion also imposed some restrictions on the type of jobs they were able to do. Like many taxi drivers explained they would not be willing to work in places that sell alcohol or pork meat as that is considered 'haram' in Islam. Thus, jobs in places like restaurants, pubs, or shops that sell alcohol was considered '*haram*' (forbidden acts in Islam) not something that they considered as a viable employment option:

> *I couldn't work in restaurants which sold alcohol, due to my religion, some people don't bother, like me I didn't think I would do this kind of job. The good thing about taxi driving in relation to my religion, is that I am able to*

perform my religious chores without worrying about leaving work, for example I could just turn off my system, and go read Namaz

(Gulnawaz, Male, 40, Leeds, 1st Generation)

However, this also helps them get jobs as taxi driver, as not consuming alcohol is considered a virtue of a good driver. However, many taxi drivers also felt they are doing '*haram*' (forbidden acts in Islam) by transporting customers to pubs which sell alcohol, they also bring customers back home from pubs in a state of drunkenness which they felt was wrong, but they felt stuck in doing this. Some even were considering quitting taxi driving and start a corner shop or take away due to this.

I have decided many a times to quit as I feel a little bit conscious of the fact that, I should not be doing this kind of thing as I feel I am helping customers get alcohol [in pubs] and it was something that's was going against the grain of Islam. I don't know, I will quit soon I guess.

(Raza Ali, male 53, Leeds, 2nd Generation)

The other challenge for Muslim communities is that across the globe they are often the victims of a rhetoric that often associates them with terrorism and extremism, or portrays the presence of Muslim communities as a threat to national identity (Ahmad and Evergeti, 2010; Garner and Selod, 2015; Jones et al., 2018). They are often portrayed as a monolithic group; whose religion and culture are incompatible with the concepts of human rights and democracy. This intolerance, left unchecked, can enable a climate that fosters hate crime against Muslims, which is an attempt to isolate them from society. Only a strong response from all actors in society can effectively challenge discrimination, intolerance and hate crimes against Muslims. Some drivers sought Islam as a refuge from such hate to continuously reflect on their own attitudes and positionality:

This outward appearance of a Muslim, the long beard, the style of dress, or the demeanour and the prayers, there is something outward but also something inward which means to constantly wash your intentions. Before every prayer there is a ritual where we wash ourselves what we call 'Wuzu', but internally there has to be constant 'wuzu' going on. So, people might be sitting in their cars or sitting in a lecture, but your souls should be cleansed constantly. That's by examining your intentions all the time. The Prophet Abu Salem said, the greatest 'Jihad' is with yourself, so the greatest struggle in life is to clean your intentions. I truly believe, the only way any one of us is going to get through this

is by examining our intention and making sure what we do we do for the right intentions. And that means when taking the fare from your customer, to making sure that you are taking only what you need to and unfortunately lot of people don't do that. You see there are a lot of pitfalls while doing business

(Gulnawaz, Male, 40, Leeds, 1st Generation)

This reflection was also evident in many of the deliberations in the Quran classes, where the head of the study circle continuously stressed on 'internal reflection'. The community events around raising awareness around Islamophobia also stressed on such reflections. However, such sessions need to reach out to the wider public through media, or schools and universities. Workplaces also have to consider more about how to educate their employees about religious acceptance and inclusion in their day to day operations. While gender in the workplace has made some strides, it has largely been about women. As mentioned many a times in this thesis, the other intersectional structural factor which had monumental effect on the choice of taxiing for these men was gender.

Gender- being a (hu)man!

Patriarchy has long been the order of the day across many communities and is defined as 'a system of social structures, and practices in which men dominate, oppress and exploit women' (Walby, 1989: 214). However, masculinity is today understood to be a fluid, socially constructed concept that changes over time and space (i.e., historically and culturally); it is often only discussed at the structural level with little consideration given to the strategies men use to negotiate masculinities in their everyday lives (Coles, 2009). Many of the interviewees identified taxi driving as a more 'macho' job than working in the 'girly' service sector. Like Mohammed says:

I cannot do the girly jobs in retail shops, you know smiling and fluttering your eyelashes at customers. This (taxi driving) is better than standing behind the counter on a till. Moreover, if I work in a retail shop like Primark or something can you imagine, there might even be a female boss and she will tell me what to do or not. That is not something which is acceptable to me. We Kashmiri men do not like to be told what to do (especially by women)

(Mohammed, Male, 48, Bradford, 1st Generation).

The refusal to work 'under a female boss', or using feminised skills were considered against the very essence of being a man especially for those who were less educated. The

gendered division started from their families and moved on to their communities. Even mosques have strict segregation between men and women in terms of Quran classes, prayer rooms, and sometimes certain events too. This segregation was evident in their attitudes towards labour market and educational preferences too.

However, the gendered divisions also posed additional burden on the Pakistani men who were supposed to be the 'Bread-winner'. Many of them assumed it was easier for the researcher who was a 'woman' to quit working and study to pursue a degree while the same options or choices would not be available to them as 'men':

> *I am a man and it is my duty to provide for my family not only here but back home in Pakistan. I cannot quit working to study like you [researcher]. You are a woman so easy for you but not for a man, you see*
>
> (Rameez Khan, Male, 53, Bradford, 1st Generation) As one taxi driver said:

Most of the taxi drivers were married and most of their spouses were housewives. When asked if they would prefer their wives to work, most of them said they would not like their wives to work out side of their homes as they have caring responsibilities and that in their culture, it was expected that the man provide for the family and woman take care of the housework. Many of them had dependent parents either staying with them here or back home in Pakistan. They also had to send money back home for extended family and this put additional pressure for them to earn more.

Taxi driving as a male job is well established in many countries. In this study too, most of the drivers were men and only one female Asian taxi driver participated. She is a second-generation woman of Indian Sikh origin who married a Pakistani and converted to Islam. She is one of the 2 or 3 women who drive taxis in Leeds. She says working as a taxi driver gives her the flexibility to work around her kids and maintain a work-life balance. She works from 8.00 am in the morning to 4.00 in the afternoon and may be an hour or two in the evening. She considers this as a flexible and rewarding option. As a practising Muslim now, she goes to the mosque, wears a hijab but she is happy to be a taxi driver. When she was asked why taxi driving and no other flexible jobs she says,

> *If you weigh the pros and cons of taxi driving, there is more money in taxiing than other work from home options. Also, the culture I belong to, whether you consider my Sikh background or Muslim culture, the kid's life revolves around*

their mothers and vice versa. I would like to be part of the growing up process for my kids and hence this work gives me that flexibility. I do encounter funny reactions from customers who sometimes think I am standing in for my husband. Once a bunch of students got in and asked are you really the taxi driver? I laughed and said yes. They were cool though, but I could see the amusement on their faces through the rear-view mirror. It amused me too!

(Rafida, 45, second generation, female, Leeds).

Thus, it seemed being a woman, she actually exercised 'choice' and chose taxi driving unlike many of the men in this study where it appeared they were enforced to take up taxi driving. While many of the taxi drivers did not see taxi driving as a viable option for women, one of the male taxi driver in this study said in fact, taxi driving could actually be a good option for women looking for flexibility, yet there are associated risks perceived with taxi driving which perhaps discourage more women from joining and sometimes their spouses/ parents would not want them to join this trade:

Well I think there are one or two Asian women taxi drivers. But if you think where the bulk of the money is made in taxi driving is in the evening and night shifts on weekends. And in such time which person would want his wife or daughter to go out and face such kind of onslaught and drunken behaviour like molesting and violence. So that's why this is not an industry where women are likely to go. Although during the day there is plenty of work and it would be acceptable, and I know of English women taxi drivers who work during the day. But as far as the evening trade is concerned it's unlikely and I will tell you although it's a great trade to be in for women who have got kids going to school and if they want to augment their income and they could do this between 9 and 3 when the kids are in school and they could do a women only services as well as there is a massive requirement for that I think.

(Akhtar, male, 56, Leeds, 2nd Generation).

While this might partly explain why taxi driving is still such a male dominated occupation, the gendered nature of taxi driving warrants a deeper probe which could be taken up by speaking to other women taxi drivers which was not possible to do in this study.

Not only in terms of jobs, there was also a noticeable gendered perception of education. While many of them send their daughters to university for higher education, they thought it was an expectation in the community for these girls to be educated to get better prospects of marriage:

These days, people expect women to be educated especially in this country, so we are sending them to university. She can work if she wants now, but after her marriage she can work only if her husband allows her to. But most Pakistani men don't want their wives to work

(Rameez Khan, Male, 53, Bradford, 1st Generation)

Additionally, most of them mentioned segmented choices for courses for their sons and daughters. For instance, subjects like healthcare, social work, pharmacy were cited as the preferred choices for their daughters while mentioning their sons, it was mostly law, accounting, and medicine. The distinction between boys and girls in terms of the choices of their subjects of study have been explored in education studies (Dale et al., 2002) however, further research is needed to see how these choices are shaped by the habitus of the parents and children themselves and if class plays a role in such choices.

The wives of taxi drivers who are mostly second generation British Pakistani women, drive around in their own vehicles doing the outside chores like dropping children off to school however, most other wives are stay at home moms who mentioned they were happy to manage the domestic affairs while their husbands took care of the livelihood. Aisha, a second-generation British Pakistani woman who is married to a taxi driver, said:

Unless and until you are in some grave need, it is better to be at home. I have tried some part time jobs but when you do a calculation on benefits versus working part-time jobs, it is always better to be at home. My husband earns enough [as a taxi driver] and he has bought this house [a three-bed house]. My children are doing well in school so why do I need to work?

(Aisha, female, 38, Leeds, 2nd generation)

One woman who worked as a driving instructor, (catering largely to Pakistani women who want to learn driving) mentioned also made a '*choice'* to do this [teaching women how to drive] as her husband was suffering from a certain illness which left him bed-ridden. She had learnt driving from her husband when he was a taxi driver and they had his car which she now uses for her driving lessons. She got a lot of support from the community who helped her get clients as she was in dire need of an income and was filling a much-needed gap in providing driving lessons to women of the community. She also cited flexibility as a major reason for her choosing this work as she could run her classes in the afternoons when she had finished her domestic work like cooking and cleaning, and her children were in school which is also the time when many of her female clients were free

for taking their lessons too. Thus, while notions of gender were very strongly embedded in patriarchal beliefs. some opinions varied, and some evidence of changes were noticed, however, there was still a persistent gender segregation in terms of family life, education, communities and employment. Thus, it seemed women in this occupation demonstrated more choice than the men which then points to how gender is viewed within the ethnic culture and traditions. Nevertheless, the most crucial intersectional factor after religion continued to be ethnicity which will be discussed next.

Ethnicity: the hyphenated Brit(ish)!

Ethnicity like gender is a contested factor. Ethnic identity is a contested terrain when it comes to migrants and ethnic minorities (Burdsey, 2006). Most of the Pakistani men interviewed in this study come from or near Mirpur (the capital city of Azad Kashmir which is administered by Pakistan). Many in their introductions identified themselves as Kashmiris as opposed to stating they are Pakistanis. Many of the first-generation taxi drivers identified themselves with their Pakistani identity while many second-generation drivers referred to themselves as British. Approximately 50 per cent of the participants are first generation migrants who have come to the UK through the marriage route, that is by marrying a British Pakistani woman who would most likely be a cousin, the rest are second generation ethnic minorities and few (2 participants) were third generation whose fathers or grandfathers came to this country to work in the mill towns of northern England. Very few (3 participants) also took other routes of arriving here like on a student visa (Tier 4), or as a highly skilled migrant worker (Tier 5) or as an asylum seeker (refugee) and then eventually married a British Pakistani woman and converted their status to either British citizens or got an indefinite leave to remain (ILR). Due to the sensitivity of the issue, the citizenship or visa status of all the drivers could not be ascertained however, many of the 1st generation taxi drivers mentioned they had 'indefinite leave to remain' (ILR) or 'right of abode' under the family visa category (UK Visa and immigration, 2017). However, as Mohammed, a 1st generation Taxi driver shared his dilemma over his identity:

> *I sometimes think how it would be if I was still in Pakistan. I would probably be working in some government department like my father. But then when I go to Pakistan I see it's such a dirty and corrupt country. UK is clean, organised and beautiful. But I like the culture of Pakistan, there is so much 'apnapan' [*warmth, homeliness and belonging*] there you know, British people are very cold just like their weather, not warm. But the government here gives many*

facilities for their citizens. I am a British citizen now, but am I [truly] British? I wonder!

(Mohammed, Male, 48, Bradford, 1st Generation).

For transnational migrants, this identity is difficult to define as many find it problematic to just hold a singular identity (Brah, 1995). Many migrants identify with their home country and the host country but in differing ways. Psychologists and sociologists have considered this in many of their studies(OSTBERG, 2003; Qureshi, 2006; Burdsey, 2006; Ramji, 2007; Modood and Ahmad, 2007; Berry and Sabatier, 2010). In the case of British Pakistani Muslim men driving taxis, the identity is hard to define. Many of the taxi drivers are of Kashmiri origin hailing from cities in and around Mirpur. In that respect they are Mirpuris, Kashmiris, Pakistanis, Muslims, Asians and British all at the same time. On top of that they have a sense of 'commonality' with other taxi drivers. However, many of them mentioned while this turmoil in their experience of identity was constant, their sense of common identity was not static. It was dynamic and contextual. For example, many of them recounted how in the early days when their fathers came to the UK, they identified themselves as 'black' with other migrants of colour who faced discrimination in the society. As recounts Akhtar:

Back then in the days, we all were 'kale' (blacks) - Indians, Africans, and Pakistanis, all blacks! It is only in the recent past that we [Asians] have been assigned the colour 'brown'. During those days we would stick together. It was all of us against them 'gore' (Whites)

(Akhtar, male, 56, Leeds, 2nd Generation)

Many were thus friends with other Asian people like Indians. It was this same feeling which also helped the researcher, who although was Indian and Hindu, however, most taxi drivers felt she was 'one of their own' as mentioned in the research methodology (chapter 5). However, many of the older taxi drivers mentioned that religion was not a big part of their identity in the early days when their fathers or grandparents arrived here. There were hardly any mosques to pray (Peach and Gale, 2005). It was during the 1989 riots against publication of Salman Rushdie's 'Satanic verses' when many Pakistanis came out openly defending their 'Muslim identity'. The 'universal Muslim brotherhood' then put them together with other fellow Muslims like those from the Middle East like Arabs and also Bangladeshis:

Significant things have happened within the Muslim community. First was the publication of satanic verses. I found that where before Mosques were full of older people, long bearded people, who didn't speak very good English. After the book [satanic verses] came out younger people started coming into the Mosques. It was almost like an awakening for the people to realise, for when their faith became threatened and came under attack and they felt this was another way of being marginalised and disenfranchised

(Raza Ali, male, 53, Bradford, 1st Generation)

Thus, like culture, identity too cannot be put in 'rucksack approaches' as the historical and national context have a huge impact on identities of migrants and minorities (Erel, 2010). However, apart from the 'Muslim identity', being Pakistani posed additional challenges for many drivers who described how they felt it was more difficult for them to get jobs *'just because they were Pakistani'*. And even if they got one, they found getting promotions or enhanced opportunity was challenging. In taxi driving, they felt there was a certain relief in being free from such hierarchical pressures that they felt is omnipresent in a regular paid employment. In case of these drivers, this clearly demonstrated their exercising agency amidst the structural challenges they perceived in the labour market.

However, this desire to be their own boss was rooted in their experience of the labour market, which was not always very pleasant. Many taxi drivers mentioned their initial experiences in the labour where they faced abuse, racist comments and hate crimes directed at them. Many of the newer arrivals who directly went into taxi driving spoke of their friends and family members warning them about the prevalent racism in this country where they said, 'it was no use trying for a job'.

Ironically though the pull to taxi was to avoid such racism in the workplace, many of them were subject to racist comments, verbal and physical abuse as taxi drivers on a regular basis from their customers especially when customers are under the influence of alcohol. So, they experience the very same abuse they thought they would avoid in the labour market. Their experiences support extant research on such 'everyday racism' faced by ethnic minorities in the British labour market (Tackey et al., 2006). While there is evidence of an ethnic penalty as Asians, and a religious penalty as Muslims, these men also seem to be paying a third penalty as Pakistanis. Hence, race, religion and ethnicity all seem to be putting this group in a more precarious situation. While most of the participants were full time taxi drivers, many had previous experience of working in traditional jobs like in

customer service roles with super markets or call centres and recounted their feeling of alienation, and 'subtle racism'.

> *It just takes a look sometimes you know, I was telling Raj (A Sikh woman, who was working on hate crimes from the local authority) and I said to her, you know what I mean about the 'look'. And She said, yeah I know exactly what you mean (hahaha laughs) you cannot report a 'look' you just feel it when people give that look. There is no sound, but you can hear it.*
>
> (Raza Ali, male 41, Dewsbury, 2nd Generation)

Subtle racism is difficult to prove but is nevertheless felt by those experiencing it. It is expressed as a sarcastic passing remark, a seemingly innocent question, or a sneering smile, or a joke that is meant to pass of as 'banter', but it is done with a clearly demeaning intent. This was also acknowledged by the erstwhile PM Theresa May while releasing the Race audit Report in 2017:

> *People who have lived with discrimination don't need a government audit to make them aware of the scale of the challenge. This [race] audit means that for society as a whole - for government, for our public services - there is nowhere to hide*
>
> (Theresa May, Prime Minister, UK, November 2017).

Many of the taxi drivers mentioned this type of jokes being cracked in their presence alongside being called a *'Paki', 'bomber', 'Osama*[8]*'*, '*Abu Hamza*[9]*'*. As evident in some of the quotes below of some 'Lunch time banter' by white co-workers shared by Adil in his supermarket job in Leeds):

> *Co-worker 1- OK, what do you call a Muslim flying a plane?*
> *Co-worker 2- Terrorist?*
> *Co-worker 1 – 'Pilot', you racist cunt! Hahaha!'*
> *Co-worker2- 'I am not racist- racism is a crime… and crime is only for Muslims. Hahaha!*

---

8 (Osama Bin laden was the founder of al-Qaeda, the organization that was responsible for the September 11 attacks on the twin towers in the United States, along with numerous other mass-casualty attacks)

9 (Abu Hamza, is an Egyptian cleric who was the imam of Finsbury Park Mosque in London, England, where he preached Islamic fundamentalism and militant Islamism)

(Adil, Male, 36, Leeds, 1st Generation)

Adil further mentions,

> *'this joke originally had the word 'black' in it I know, but they changed the word to Muslims because I was sitting there, I know and moreover this was just after the London bomb attacks, so I didn't say anything'. However sometimes racism is not subtle but direct'*
>
> (Adil, Male, 36, Leeds, 1st Generation)

While these might seem like simple workplace jokes, they do affect minorities adversely. What is important to note in the above quote is how the context of the joke and the timing *(after the London Bomb attacks*) stripped Adil off his agency to retaliate or complain. In a previous quote too, one taxi driver was quoted as saying sometimes you have to *'endure a bit of racism'*. As an ethnic minority myself, this is a very common thing to hear when minorities talk within their own circles.

Thus, as evident from the above, the occupational choice of the Pakistani men in this study reveals many layers of challenges which affected their employment habitus and as such their employment options.

The employment habitus of the taxi drivers in this study was relentlessly found to be affected by their working class/rural backgrounds since many of the first-generation Pakistani drivers were from rural/agricultural families in Pakistan and the second generation were mostly people whose parents worked in the textile mills or factories in industrial Britain in Leeds, Bradford or Manchester. Religious affiliation affected all participants, irrespective of which generation they were or their degree of affiliation, as being followers of Islam, discrimination was experienced by all of them that affected their self-efficacy in employment. This was evident in many of the quotes as mentioned in the previous chapter. The other factor that emerged as a key explanation for taxi driving being a predominantly male dominated profession was that it was considered a more 'manly' profession than the service sector jobs available in post-industrial Britain. Finally, gender and ethnicity had larger implications for this group as '*being a Pakistani man*' affected the perceptions of employers in the labour market. What does this mean for the structure and agency debate? This calls for a re-examination of the metaphor of structure in the light of this knowledge which will be done next.

CAGE - A new metaphor of structure

> *A bird born in a cage feels flying is an illness*
>
> Alejandro Jodorowsky, film maker

> *Britain is a country where we despise prejudice, embrace equality and believe in the fundamental right of the individual to make the most of his or her talents in a free society. Yet all too many of us remain trapped by the accident of our births, our destinies far too likely to be determined by our sex or race; … our deeply held religion or belief make us lesser beings in the eyes of others. And far too many of us are still born into families without the material or social capital to give us the right start in life*
>
> (Trevor Philips, Chief of EHRC, Foreword 'How fair is Britain?' 2010)

As evident in the findings chapters, the study concludes that while taxi driving offers a viable option for many of the Pakistani men in this study in terms of flexibility, autonomy and ease, it is still an 'enforced choice' for many and if they were able to get better access to knowledge, equal opportunities in the labour market and a yearning or motivation to seek a better alternative, many would not choose taxi driving as a form of (self)-employment. The employment habitus is thus not a product of deliberate reflexivity but one which is a product of various intersectional factors Class, Affiliations, Gender, and Ethnicity also acronymic as CAGE. The employment habitus of migrants and ethnic minorities is shaped by such intersecting structural factors that often limits their opportunities in the labour market. It is also noteworthy that occupational segregation is many a time described using words such as 'trapped', 'stuck', 'imprisoned', 'caught', 'pushed', 'captive'—indicative of a cage-like structure that needs to be considered in light of the structure and/or agency deliberation (Platt, 2009; Demireva, 2011; Brynin and Longhi, 2015; McDowell et al., 2016). Thus, habitus is the 'mental' structure which is embodied in the individual and affects their agency (Bourdieu, 1998). Therefore, habitus itself is also a structure that affects human agency positively or negatively. Further, while the habitus is unique for individuals, but it also has a collective pattern for some groups who share the same structural factors such as class, affiliations (religious), gender and ethnicity (Bourdieu, 1987). Therefore, the structure-agency debate is incomplete without consideration of intersectional structural factors such as class, affiliations, gender and ethnicity. Intersectionality also allows for de-essentializing identities and avoiding the 'rucksack approaches' to culture (Erel, 2010).

While Bourdieu's theory of social reproduction using his 'box of tools' such as fields, capitals and habitus were found useful to an extent to understand the importance of structure, there remain some unanswered questions. For instance, how can we deconstruct structure? What are the building blocks of habitus? How can we know or measure (if at all) the social standing of any group? Why are there differences within and between groups who might be classed or grouped as similar in any societal hierarchy? Such questions also raise problems around the deterministic portrayal of structure offering little solace to believers of human agency. Moreover, when reading Bourdieu in relation to social mobility and occupational segregation within the labour market, it is indeed a challenge for policy makers and practitioners as to where to start and to intervene?

This section offers a more fruitful framework to analyse occupational segregation and occupational choices 'between and within groups' by bringing an intersectional lens to the Bourdieusian framework. It is argued that the intersection of the four factors namely, class, affiliations (religious), gender and ethnicity (CAGE) form the habitus as a structure envisaged as a 'cage' which then becomes a foundation for the accumulation of various forms of capitals- cultural, human, economic, social and symbolic (CHESS) which are then valued differentially in fields like family, academic, community and employment, (FACE) that determine the social standing of individuals. While this true for all individuals in any society, migrants and minorities are particularly challenged as the symbolic value of their capitals is determined by the host nation's dominant rules and groups; this has implications for policy and practice which is also discussed. But first a new metaphor for structure.

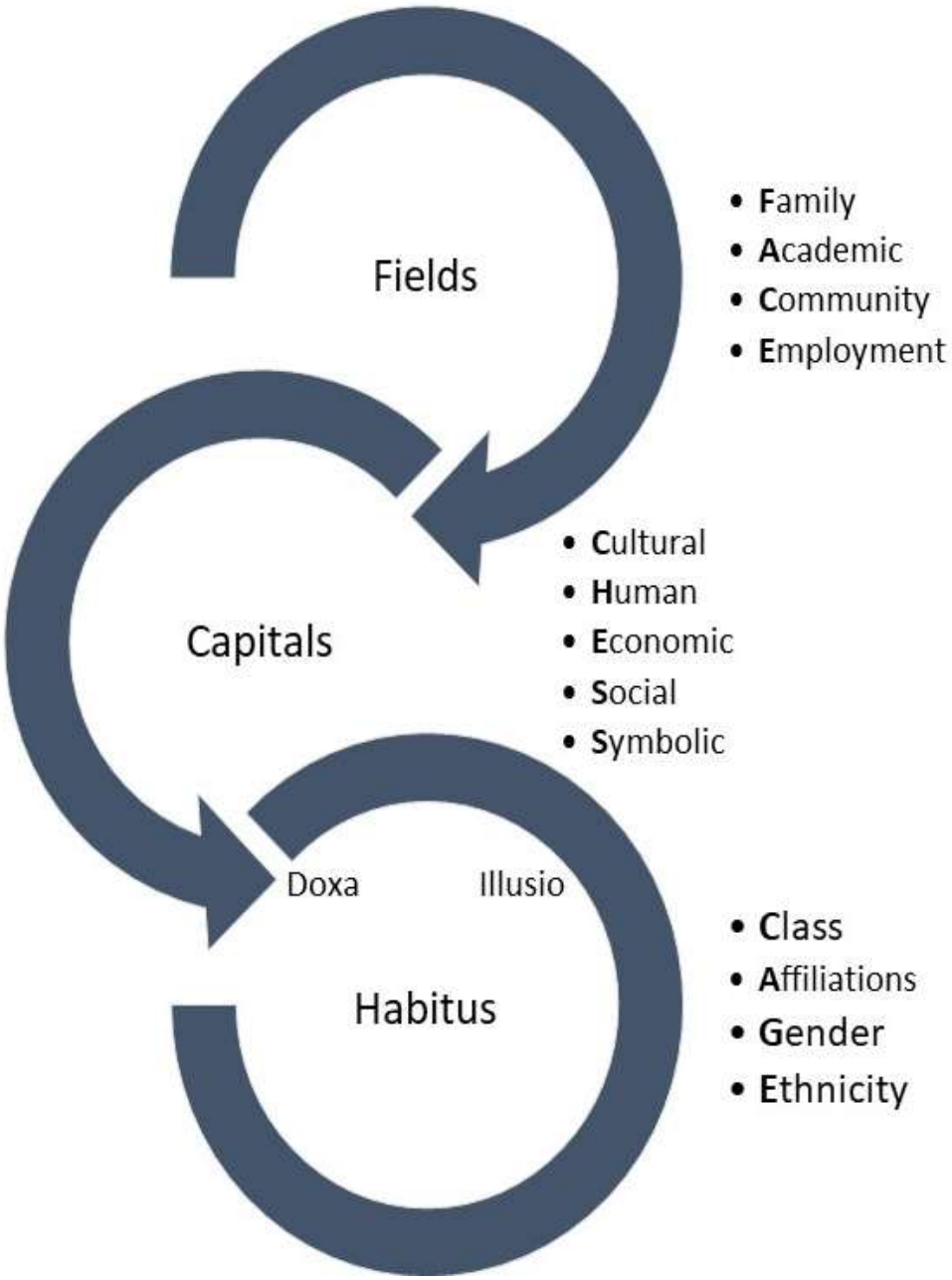
A search for the synonyms of structure, shows up words such as 'construction', 'assembly', 'building', 'edifice', 'erection', 'arrangement', and 'organisation', which when applied to different situations and contexts conjures up different images of the 'structure'. Similarly, agency is synonymous with 'activity', 'action', 'work', 'intervention', 'help', 'support', 'assistance', and 'organisation'. Furthermore, while structure has mostly had a negative connotation in academic literature, suggestive of 'constraints', 'determinism', 'limiting', and 'controlling', agency has been the mark of 'choice', 'free-will', 'possibilities' and 'autonomy' in the sociological debate on structure and agency. However, while agency has been equated with choice, it is a simplistic representation and might not always be as it appears. An agent might be undertaking an activity, or action, even working, or

intervening, but the action might not be of their 'choice'. Choice has two elements quantity and quality. One is said to have a choice when they have alternate options; secondly, they have a genuine choice when they are able to choose the better alternative of all the options. However, if the structures one is born into, limits a person's options or if because of who they are, they are denied the choice of the better option, then their actions with the leftover options cannot be called agentic. Many academics, especially Margaret Archer, took the reflexive turn offering the 'inherent reflexivity of being human' as the solution to structure and as the evidence of agency inherent in human beings (Archer, 2010).

However, while reflexivity has been offered as an indicator of agentic capabilities of human beings (Archer, 2010), reflexivity is a misnomer as being reflexive itself invokes synonyms such as 'automatic', 'spontaneous', 'impulsive', 'involuntary' and 'instinctive', which— is not what reflexivity is meant to be as anyone who teaches critical thinking and being reflexive in academia would be well aware of. Being 'reflexive' as it is meant in sociological theory is when there is a *pause* between the *stimulus* and *response* where structure is the stimulus and habitus is the response. If habitus is the auto-reaction of the mind to the structure around us, then agency can be achieved when reflexivity is employed depending on the context. However, such reflexivity is a learnt skill which is not common or inherent. Nonetheless, it is possible to put people in situations when they do take the pause to reflect and then be reflexive. Thus, reflexivity is like the re-programming of the habitus.

As seen in the findings chapter, the taxi drivers interviewed described the various constraints they faced in fields in which migrants and ethnic minorities operate, like family, academic, community and employment that impose their own doxic rules often excluding them from fully participating in opportunities, thus limiting their life chances. These fields yield their power over individuals as the rules for success in these fields are often designed by the dominant group, - in this case white middle-class Christian men. As each of this field shapes the employment habitus in many ways, there is an overlap in many of the factors in each field. In this section, the interconnectedness of the fields, capitals and habitus is discussed as given in Figure 9, an attempt has been made to explain the interconnectedness of fields, capitals and habitus.

Figure 9: The field-capital-habitus nexus



Conclusion and Implications: The key to the cage

> *We believe that how far you go in life should be based on your talent and how hard you work – and nothing else. That was the ambition set out by the Prime Minister on the steps of Downing Street in July 2016, and it remains this Government's abiding mission to tackle burning injustices.*
> (Damian Green – First Secretary of State, Foreword 'Race Audit Report', 2017)

Work plays a central role in the lives of most people. Our occupation indicates our educational level, skill level, sometimes even intelligence in people's imagination, leading to stereotypes and reductionist image of the individual (Bourdieu, 1987). While it is widely acknowledged by politicians and academics in UK that how far one goes in life should be based on talent and hard work and not based on your class, religion, gender or ethnicity, yet, Britain still has a long way to go in providing equal opportunities to its ethnic minorities and other disadvantaged groups. The coordinates of one's birth in terms of which country one is born in, which religion, which class of family, and gender, all seem to have a bearing on what occupation one might end up doing for a livelihood. Occupational segregation based on any such characteristic other than capability and individual choice is a 'bane for equality' (Blackwell, 2003).

This study took a closer look at one such occupation that of taxi driving for one such group that of Pakistani men in UK, who are over-represented in this occupation. The study aimed to find how the choice to drive taxis was formed and to identify the structural factors affecting the employment habitus of these men. Taking an ethnographic approach and drawing on the Bourdieusian toolbox, the research found that while taxi driving appears to be a viable option for these men offering flexibility, autonomy and ease of operations, it is an 'enforced choice' given the limited options they have in the British labour market. Thus, the 'pull' of taxi driving is set against the 'push' from the labour market divulging a 'lived experience' that is unique to these taxi drivers. Furthermore, taxi driving, like many other marginal and elementary occupations seems to be predominantly a 'migrant's job' thus perpetuating occupational segregation leading to unequal access to other opportunities in the labour market. Some of the other ethnic minorities who were found to be driving taxis during this research were from Afghanistan, Eritrea, Ethiopia, India (mainly Punjab), Bangladesh and few Middle Eastern countries.

A strong human capital explanation prevails in academic and policy circles that suggests migrants with poor English language ability, low qualifications, and little transferable skills, find it difficult to get 'decent' jobs in the British labour market. Yet the study found many of the taxi drivers had university degrees, spoke fluently in English, and demonstrated very good communication skills, which could be valuable in the service sector. While taxi driving provides a better alternative to other low skill, low pay jobs like cleaning, carpentry, construction work or other zero hours contract jobs in the gig economy, yet it appears the intersection of class, religious affiliations, gender norms and ethnic identities affected the occupational choice of Pakistani men in this study in constraining and limiting their options.

Their employment habitus came across as a CAGE like structure where these men often felt 'trapped, stuck, and alienated' not only from the British labour market but also the British society in general. Being predominantly from a working-class background, being Muslim, and of Pakistani origin, it appears these men had multiple barriers in the labour market. Firstly, coming from a working-class background largely from the erstwhile industrial era, many of the taxi drivers had limited knowledge of the alternate opportunities in the rising service sector. Secondly, while religious affiliations also pulled many to taxi driving seeking flexible, autonomous work options, however, it was evident Islamophobic and anti-Pakistani attitudes across the British society has caused challenges for this group pushing them to the margins of the labour market. Thirdly, in a post-industrial society, many of these men found being behind the steering wheel more 'manly' than being behind the tills of a retail shop. Gender norms of a deeply patriarchal culture, where the man is the 'bread winner' often left them with little time, money and opportunity to invest in their own human capital (Becker and Tomes, 1994). Finally, their ethnicity affected their cultural capital accumulation in a western country dominated by middle class, Christian, white English male values, rules and norms.

In terms of their cumulative capitals all the five capitals (CHESS) affected them often leaving them with limited choices in the labour market. While cultural capital primarily came from their religious affiliations and ethnic identities, their social capital, in the form of limited networks often pushed them towards taxi driving with almost all taxi drivers being induced into taxi driving by a family member, or an acquaintance from the Pakistani community. Economically, though the Pakistanis are at the fore of benefit claimants, they

are also a group with high home ownership. Owing to their cultural norms, they maintain extended families in UK and their country of origin Pakistan. The capital which affected the group most was the symbolic capital. Being perceived in a racialized and Islamophobic way, the Pakistanis paid a triple penalty being Asians, Muslims and Pakistanis. Owing to these challenges, many of them appeared to have conceded to their 'fate' acquiescing to the ubiquitous discrimination and futility of their cumulative capital being at odds with the British cultural norms and expectations in each field. Thus, many of them had ended up with poor aspiration for themselves, in terms of the types of jobs they thought would be available to them pushing them to marginal self-employment options like taxi driving. This when seen in conjunction with their negligible knowledge of other opportunities raises questions in terms of policy and practices directed towards the social mobility of migrants in general.

Thus, while their choice to drive a taxi was perceived to be better than other low skilled, low pay service sector jobs, yet institutionalized discrimination, lack of information about other jobs and a lower confidence in gaining success in other jobs were instrumental for many to look for self-employment as taxi driving provided the flexibility, autonomy, ease of operation with an opportunity to earn a 'decent amount of money'. Thus the 'choice' to drive taxis for a living was also a manifestation of their agency albeit rooted in many disadvantages and constraints faced by them in the British labour market. Thus, it would be fallacious to think that these taxi drivers are totally 'powerless' mental slaves of their CAGE, created by the structure they are born in. They have clearly identified a 'niche' in taxi driving given the structure they are born in to make a choice however limited such choices are. They have achieved some upward mobility in terms of their lifestyle in comparison to their country of origin Pakistan, yet as citizens and residents of this country many of them are left underutilised.

From a functional perspective, it is inevitable some people will have to drive taxis till driverless cars become a reality. However, the decision to drive a taxi should rise out of a choice and not because of your class, religion, gender or ethnicity. Furthermore, before driverless cars come and replace these drivers, it is crucial to prepare this group for the future or else history is set to repeat itself when just like their fathers and grandfathers at the end of the industrial era, this group will find itself devoid of the niche they have created for themselves in taxi driving. However, they do have higher aspirations for their

children, which is where policy and practice can make a difference. With better access to Knowledge, Equal opportunities and a Yearning for a better career, many of the future generation Pakistani boys and girls might benefit from better labour market prospects. For this the KEY to the CAGE is access to knowledge about other occupations, equal opportunity, and a Yearning for a better career. This has implications for policy and practice for the key actors in the four fields FACE which will be discussed next.

Knowledge is power

> *Knowledge is power or ("ipsa scientia potestas est") 'knowledge itself is power'*
> Sir Francis Bacon's *Meditationes Sacrae* (1597).

In the finding chapters, a repeat pattern was that many of the taxi drivers did not have the 'knowhow' of other jobs. It was suggested they 'took up' taxi driving as the information required to be a taxi driver was easily available to them owing to their social networks. 'Knowledge is power' in the sense that knowledge can affect all forms of capitals. Thus, knowledge is about knowing what is valued in the host nation (Bauder, 2008). And if migrants and minorities may be able to know that, they can find out ways and means of accruing such capitals (Erel, 2010). The cumulative stock of capitals is therefore, in essence the cumulative stock of knowledge one holds. Thus, not only is knowledge crucial for human capital issues, but the right knowledge can guide migrants and minorities (and other disadvantaged groups), to learn the various resources which are critical to improve their cultural capital, human capital, economic capital, social capital, and even symbolic capital (CHESS).

Since it is often alleged that migrants lack the knowledge required to navigate through the labour market (Bauder, 2005), thus, if the labour market is to work for everyone, those with lower skills and qualifications need to be able to improve their career prospects and realise their ambitions. Therefore, it is of fundamental importance to consider the knowledge as an investment where all the actors in all the four fields need to intervene. Not much literature on ethnic background and participation in training is available, however, in a recent report by the social mobility commission on the adult skills gap, it was mentioned based on existing research it has been reported that men from Pakistani and Bangladeshi backgrounds in employment tend to receive least training (Cheung and McKay, 2010), that Pakistani and Bangladeshi adults were less likely to participate in adult

learning, and that Bangladeshi and Black Caribbean adults were less likely to do job-related training (Bhattacharyya et al., 2003 cited in Social mobility commission report, 2019). In another report, by the social mobility commission -*The Elitist Britain*, (2019) it is acknowledged that *'Giving young people from all backgrounds access to the knowledge and skills needed to succeed in life is key to bridging the social mobility gap.'* (Elitist Britain, 2019).

From a human resource management perspective, it is also imperative to equip, newly arrived migrants with the knowledge and skills required to navigate their ways through the labour markets. Thus, the recommendation in this thesis is to start a 'Critical Skills Programme' for such newly arrived migrants especially those who come through the family reunion route. While job centres are meant for these purposes, they are not very effective as mentioned earlier. The critical skills programme should be aimed at all migrants who come through the family reunion process as they are the ones who come with limited skills and knowledge about the labour market (Bauder, 2005).

While the individuals' investment in and acquisition of adult skills is imperative, the government and employers' role in knowledge development and skills cannot be overlooked. Especially when it comes to migrants and minorities, this would mean an extra effort and programmes for such groups. For this to become a reality, employers and government have to create opportunities for individuals through training and better career progression. The government's National Retraining Scheme provides an opportunity to refocus the adult skills budget on those with lower skills and qualifications in particular, anyone experiencing or risking their jobs being displaced by technology (Social Mobility Commission, 2019). As per Frey and Osborne (2013) taxi driving is one such occupation.

In view of the advent of driverless cars for taxi drivers a special reintegration programme will be required so that they may learn how to manage the transition from current taxi jobs to other skilled jobs in the labour market. The other opportunity is to train existing drivers in operations of such cars when they are available. This would require specialist training first to build awareness about what driverless cars are and how they would operate. The basics of managing business, the legal framework around operating such cars will be critical to such a programme.

However, many training and development measures of the past governments, charity organisations, job centres and local councils have not yielded the desired results since equal opportunity is still a distant dream for many ethnic minorities' and migrants (The Race Audit, 2017). Discrimination is still ubiquitous. Unless employers take strong measures to eradicate racist, classist, sexist, Islamophobic practices prevalent in their recruitment, selection, promotion practices, any number of knowledge interventions will not be helpful.

Equal opportunity

While Britain has come a long way from the kind of racism witnessed in the early 1960s to 1970s, equal opportunity is not 'equal' for all ethnic groups. While some groups have done very well since those times (for instance Indians, Jews and Chinese), for some groups equal opportunity is still a long way away (Pakistanis, Bangladeshis, and Afro Caribbean) (The Race Audit, 2017). As evident in the findings, Pakistanis face a triple penalty in terms of race, religion and ethnicity. While one may wish for such behaviours in the labour market to go away, they will not do so without any interventions in all the four fields. Inequality is a complex problem and cannot be solved in a unidimensional way. In the social mobility commission report (2019) a number of policy recommendations have been made which are all very pertinent to social mobility (see Appendix E). However, these are voluntary suggestions which may or may not be taken up by the actors in the four fields (FACE).

However, one good point to start would be to monitor data based on the CAGE factors (Class, religious affiliations, gender and ethnicity). While the gender data has been already made mandatory, there are growing calls for ethnicity data to be monitored as well. Class data would be a challenge as it is both sensitive and difficult to gather. However, estimates can be made based on parental occupations, socio economic data. Religion is a protected characteristic and therefore monitored in the equal opportunities forms in the UK, so should not be a challenge to collect the same. However, a challenge with collecting such data is many a times people may 'prefer not to say' in fear of adverse consequences. However, efforts in the direction of achieving equal opportunity should not be stopped because of lack of data or focus. While efforts to make social mobility accessible across the society will have to continue, the role of the key actors to develop a 'yearning for a

better life' which is a quintessential ingredient to social mobility, as migrants and minorities will have to take their share of onus in this journey.

Yearning for a better life

A final challenge which needs to be addressed is raising the self-efficacy and aspirations of the disadvantaged group members themselves. Tehmina Basit, suggests the notion of 'aspirational capital' as a crucial extension of, or substitute for, cultural and social capitals, depending on the familial background of the young people, and contends that 'it is a strong motivating force in improving the life chances of young minority ethnic British citizens' (Basit, 2012: 131). While Aspiration is not a capital, it is indeed important for members of the society to achieve upward mobility. However, as evident, it is the sum total of the value of the various forms of capitals (CHESS), which will help elevate the aspirations of migrants and minorities or for that matter any individual or group which lacks such aspirations or sense of yearning for a better life.

As mentioned earlier, reflexivity is a key element of agency (Bandura, 1989; Bandura 2000); however, as evident reflexivity is not inherent (Atkinson, 2010) and especially for groups who have multiple intersections of barriers reflexivity is constrained. The taxi drivers appeared to have conceded to their 'fates' whereby they almost live a reclusive existence within the safety of their taxis (*Illusio*). They however, have high aspirations for the next generation and if efforts can be made in the right direction to support their aspirations, it may be possible to rekindle their yearning for a better life.

For such empowerment, the families and communities will have to come together to uphold role models for the next generation to look up to. Schools and Universities will have to engage with the students delivering more inspirational teaching. Teachers and career counsellors will have to relook at the curriculum and the support available to minorities from challenging backgrounds. Employers will have to re-examine their employment practices especially around recruitment and selection; promotion strategies and the overall organisational culture to promote inclusivity (CIPD, 2017).

Other actors like Media also has a critical role to play as part of the state machinery in terms of how they reproduce the image of migrants and minorities in their news, drama, and films (Saha, 2012; Cockbain, 2013). Media has a wider reach and hence effects the

social attitudes of the general population and minorities themselves. Academics and researchers as actors can also take an active role in all the fields by engaging in making their research public by disseminating their findings in more accessible formats for the communities, policymakers and employers to better understand such research.

As evident, all the four fields (FACE) are critical where such yearning may be supported. Consequently, family members and members of the community have an equally important role to play in developing the aspirations of young people within this group. And academic institutions and actors within the employment relationship can further support in the realising of such dreams and aspirations without '*clipping their wings*'. Thus, the final recommendations for the KEY to the cage would be to increase the access to knowledge for minorities and migrants. Ensure equal opportunity in all the four fields. And Help disadvantaged groups develop an aspirational yearning for a better life and employment options.

People with privileges are often blind to the benefits they draw, and as such sometimes fail to see the challenges faced by those who are disadvantaged and not high up in the social order. This thesis is dedicated to all such people so they can reach their true potential.

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Appendices

Appendix A - PhD Data Collection Schedule

Background Questions

Name: ……

Phone # …….

Email ID (if any) …….

Date of Interview …… Place of Interview ……

Verbal Consent taken yes/ no

Years driving taxis ……. Operator- Amber/ Premier/ Uber/ Other

Current Age: …… Age when came to UK ……

Country of Birth UK/ Pakistan/ Other

Own education Country UK/ Pakistan

Own education level School/University/Certifications ……

Father's occupation ……Father's education……

Mother's occupation ……Mother's education ……..

Marital status Married/Single/Divorced/Widowed

Wife's status British Pakistani/ Pakistani/Non-Pakistani

Wife's occupation Working/ Housewife ……..

Children	Number	Age	Gender	school/university/jobs
	1.			
	2.			

3.

4.

Children education Faith schools/ Standard schools/ University/Job……..

Aspirations …….

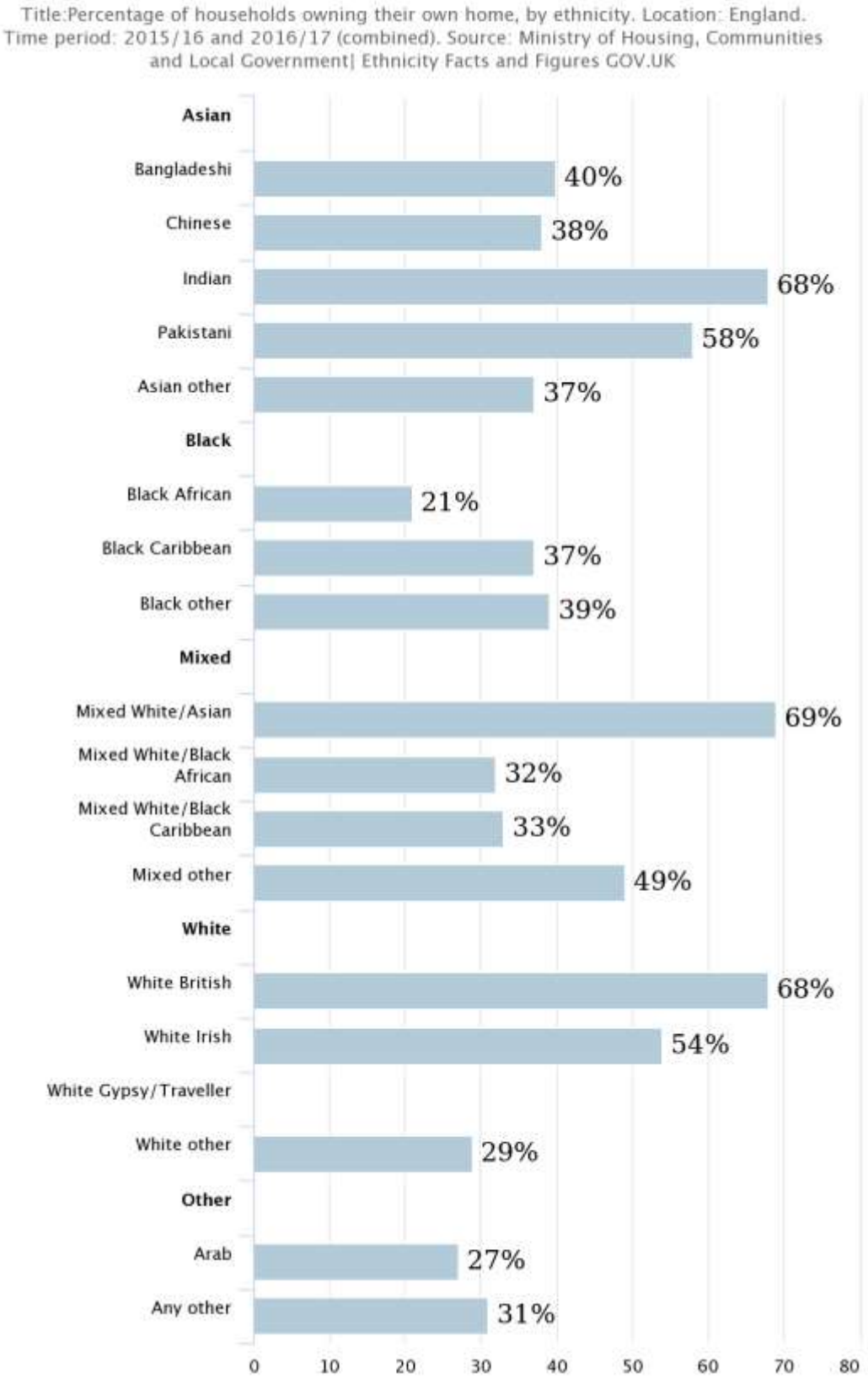
I confirm I am sharing my views independently out of my own choice without any coercion and agree to my views being used for the purpose of research by Meenakshi Sarkar of University of Leeds.

Signature…….. Date……
Place……

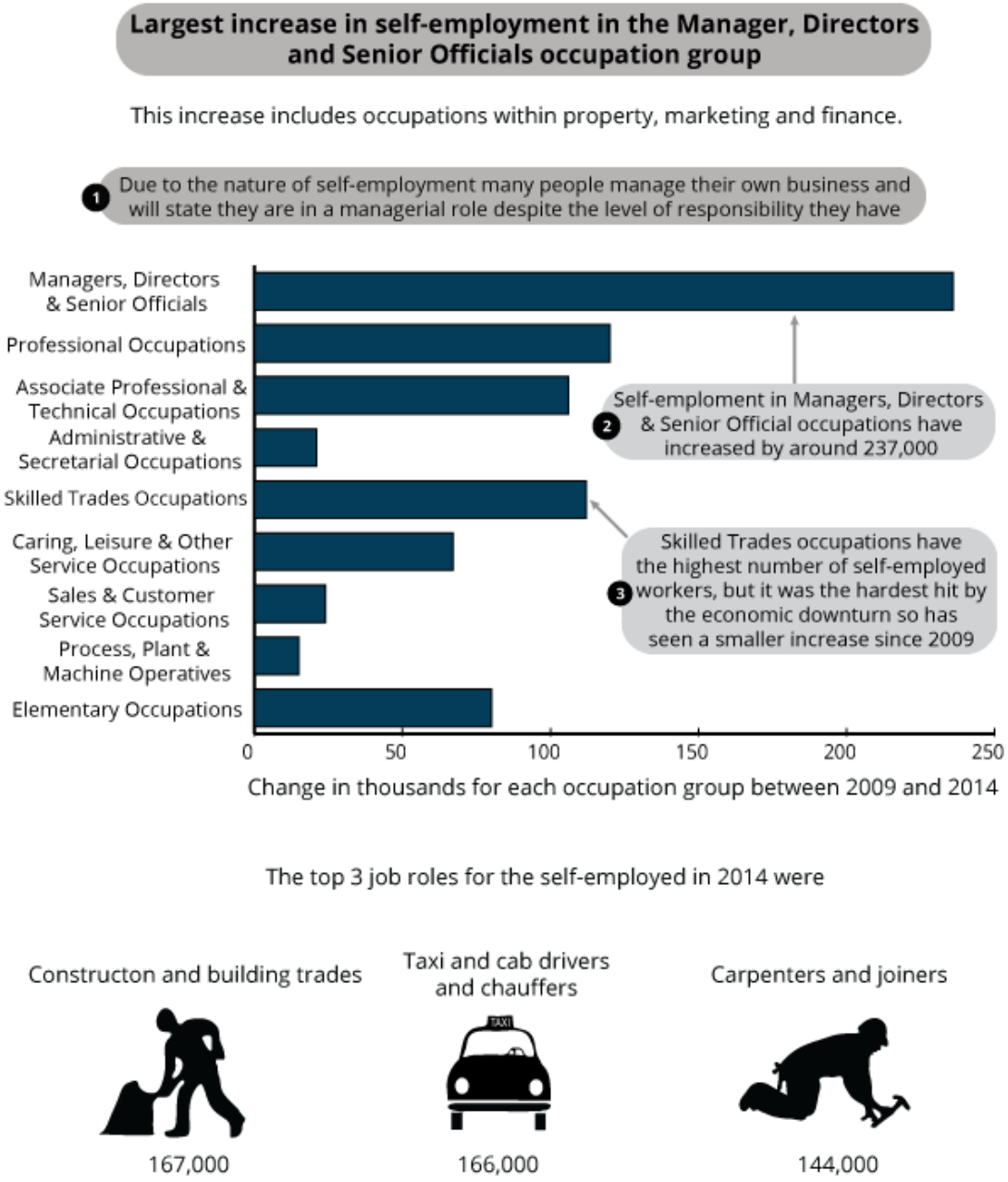
Main interview questions

1. Why did you choose to drive taxis for a living?
2. What do you like about taxi driving as an occupation?
3. Is there anything you dislike about taxing?
4. What aspirations did your father or mother have for you when you were a child?
5. If you had a choice what would be your dream job?
6. Why didn't you achieve that job/dream? How did you achieve that?
7. Did you try other jobs/ do other jobs before you came into taxi driving?
8. Do you remember any particular incident that triggered your decision to get into taxi driving?
9. If you were a child again what would you do differently with your life?
10. How has being a man affected your choice of career/job if at all?
11. How have your parents influenced the job you do if at all?
12. How has your faith/ religion affected your choice of job if at all?
13. If you had a choice would you be doing anything different? Why?
14. What aspirations do you have for your children? Why?
15. What support would you like your children to get to follow their dreams?
16. Are you happy with how your life has panned out for you in this country?
17. Any other as per the responses given.

Appendix B – Homeownership rates of ethnic minorities



Appendix C- Self-employment patterns



PHV drivers

Ethnicity	Volume
Asian or Asian British	1084
Asian or Asian British (Bangladeshi)	9351
Asian or Asian British (Indian)	3006
Asian or Asian British (Other)	12028
Asian or Asian British (Pakistani)	10772
Black	530
Black or Black British (African)	13503
Black or Black British (Caribbean)	867
Black or Black British (Other)	812
Chinese	113
Chinese or other ethnic group (Chinese)	230
Chinese or other ethnic group (Other)	343
Decline to answer	35095
Mixed	58
Mixed (Other)	554
Mixed (White and Asian)	388
Mixed (White and Black African)	394
Mixed (White and Black Caribbean)	119
White	476
White British	6085
White Irish	156
White Other	12658
Grand Total	**108622**

Age	Volume
21-25	1910
26-30	8609
31-35	14602
36-40	18526
41-45	20377
46-50	17694
51-55	12756
56-60	8266
61-65	4057
66-70	1315
71-75	408
76-80	90
81-85	11
86-90	1
Grand Total	**108622**

Gender	Volume
Female	2419
Male	106203
Grand Total	**108622**

*Data extracted on 23/10/2018

Appendix E Social Mobiltiy Commission recommendations 2019

Policy recommendations

1. **Social diversity should be a key mission across the whole of British society to ensure we make use of the talents of people from all backgrounds. Enacting the 'socio-economic duty' clause of the Equality Act 2010 should form the centrepiece of this.** Obligating public bodies to give due regard to how they can reduce the impact of socio-economic disadvantage would send a powerful signal.

2. **Data on the socio-economic background of employees should be collected and monitored by employers in the same way as gender or ethnicity.** Employers should follow Cabinet Office advice on the best measurements to use, including parental qualifications, occupation, type of school attended, and eligibility for free school meals.

3. **Financial barriers to entry to leading industries and professions must be tackled, including unpaid internships of significant length.** Employers should comply with National Minimum Wage Regulations. But given the confusion among employers and interns around the law on this, there should be specific legislation which clarifies and tightens the rules around internships.

4. **Recruitment practices should be open and transparent.** Internships and entry level jobs in particular should be openly advertised to help young people from under-represented groups get a foot on the ladder.

5. **Employers should adopt contextual recruitment practices** that place attainment and successes achieved in the context of disadvantage, including underperforming schools and less advantaged neighbourhoods.

6. **Class pay gaps, and differences in retention and promotion rates should also be addressed.** Better access to jobs is only the beginning; progression within an organisation is also key to real social mobility. Employers should look at barriers to progression and send a message to staff that fostering an inclusive culture is paramount.

7. **Leading social mobility employers should take a sector leadership role and share best practice.** For a culture of equal opportunities to spread more widely, sector leaders should take a role in sharing and promoting best practice within their sector.

8. **Universities should revolutionise their practice in relation to disadvantage, by contextualising admissions and reforming their approach to outreach and partnership.** Highly selective universities in particular should recognise the differing circumstances faced by applicants.

9. **School admissions processes need to tackle social segregation in schools.** High performing comprehensives, grammar schools and independent schools should all do more to increase the numbers of pupils from lower socio-economic backgrounds.

10. **High quality careers advice needs to be available to young people from all backgrounds.** All pupils should receive a guaranteed level of careers advice from professional impartial advisers. For those facing disadvantage there should be further support available.

6 | Elitist Britain: Summary Report