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Mir, Sadiq Ahmed (2005) *From villages 477 and 482 to suburbia : the suburbanisation of Glasgow's Pakistani community*. PhD thesis.

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**FROM VILLAGES 477 AND 482 TO SUBURBIA: THE
SUBURBANISATION OF GLASGOW'S PAKISTANI
COMMUNITY**

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September, 2005

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ABSTRACT

This thesis combines socio-cultural and political-economy conceptual perspectives to explain the relatively recent, yet growing phenomenon of Pakistani suburbanisation in the Scottish city of Glasgow. Based on empirical evidence obtained through interview and focus group discussions with community members, it is argued that a dense network of co-ethnic social ties facilitates this dispersal, contributing to a series of discrete, micro-level concentrations of Pakistani families in suburban areas. It is also argued that suburban Pakistani identity may be considered 'hybrid', since the appeal of suburbia is often conveyed through decidedly 'mainstream' (white?) terms of reference (i.e. there is no reference to one's ethnicity or them 'being' Pakistani). Good schools, space and 'green' surroundings are all tantamount to the suburban dream. Finally, and setting these socio-cultural understandings against their relevant political-economic backdrop, this thesis investigates the impact of Glasgow's 'new' post-industrial economy on the creation and allocation of Pakistani wealth and prosperity. The main contention here is that post-industrial Glasgow has brought both 'dead ends' and 'new opportunities' to Pakistani business and employment in the city.

Through these findings this thesis looks to progress existing geographical research on Britain's non-white communities, where 'race' and ethnicity has become synonymous with the 'inner-city', and in which insufficient attention has been paid to the transformative geographical potential of the later generations.

Besides these academic concerns, this thesis intends to provide a welcome (and relevant) reprieve from stereotypical, hegemonic representations of British-Pakistani communities today. It is set against what is a very unsettling time for these communities. Since the 'textile town' riots of 2001 and the subsequent atrocities of '9/11' and '7/7', they have become lightning rods for increased public suspicious and vengeful reaction. Paraphrasing Alexander (2002), Muslims have become Britain's 'ultimate other'. The narratives of Pakistani success, prosperity, and integration proposed here thus provide a necessary - and valid - counterbalance to these negative representations.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It is certainly true that part of the PhD experience involves making new friends and establishing greater affinity with those you would already place within this category. Thanks are due to everyone I ever came into contact with during my rather attenuated eight (!) year stay at the Department of Geographical and Earth Sciences at the University of Glasgow (including those who were of course here during the previous two departmental guises). This includes my fellow colleagues amongst the staff and wider postgraduate community (even those I had the misfortune of seeing in cricket whites), and also my former buddies from the heady days of undergraduation, many of which contributed uniquely to my enjoyment of this comparatively hassle-free time of life.

Respect also to those with whom I have had the pleasure of sharing not just an office with, but so too the various trials and tribulations of being a PhD student. Marilyn and John C especially, thank you.

Thanks are due to all those Pakistanis, Glasgow-Pakistanis, Asians, British-Asians, Muslims, Glaswegians, or whatever the exactitudes of their preferred titles, who each sacrificed their time to contribute to this research. The same is also true of my supervisors Paul Routledge and Andy Cumbers.

Finally, this thesis is dedicated to my father Tariq Mir, whose own experiences provided the inspiration for this study, and whose lifetime's hard work and business achievements, made only possible through the input of a few notable others – including my *baijans* - allowed this study to happen. This thesis is also dedicated to my beautiful daughter Samira Mir, who was born two-and-a-half years into my undergraduate studies, and who has, to my delight, proved to be the most adorable cycle companion a father could ever wish for. Long may this continue!

DECLARATION

This thesis is based on the results of original research carried out by the author between October 2001 and September 2005. References to existing works are made as appropriate. Any remaining errors or omissions are the sole responsibility of the author.



Sadiq Ahmed Mir
Glasgow, September, 2005.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Setting The Scene

‘Although it is possible to predict the likely behaviour of the present generation, the social and economic goals of second generation Asians are wholly unpredictable, and it is they who will ultimately affect the behaviour of this distinctive and important group within Glasgow’s urban system.’ (Kearsley and Srivistava, 1974: 124)

Thirty years ago Glasgow’s Pakistani population was almost exclusively contained within pockets of sandstone tenements in selected areas of the inner-city. Nowadays, however, a ‘new’, accelerating and very specific pattern of dispersal is evident, characterised by the movement of Glasgow-Pakistanis to relatively prosperous ‘suburban’ areas on the fringes of the city. In the suburban council districts of East Dunbartonshire¹ (to the North of the city) and East Renfrewshire² (to the South), there are now 508 and 1,765 Pakistanis: 0.47% and 1.98% of each district’s respective populations. The scale of this dispersal is more appreciable when we remember that the number of Pakistanis living within the Glasgow City district itself (*not* including these suburban areas) stands at 15, 314, most of whom remain in the inner-city tenement areas of Govanhill, Pollokshields and Woodside. Therefore, while the community is still nucleated in a few, inner-urban areas, the growth of the suburban Pakistani population is such that it cannot be glossed over within modern day discussions of Glasgow-Pakistani settlement.

The contemporary significance of Pakistani suburbanisation masks what is an important juncture within the overall development of the community. Crucial to the acceleration of the suburbanisation process has been the ‘coming’ of later generation Pakistanis within the city’s housing and labour markets, as predicted by Kearsley and Srivistava (1974) three decades ago (above). The Glasgow-Pakistani population is strikingly youthful (Figure 1.2) and the experiences, thoughts, desires and overall life

¹ Containing the settlements of Bearsden, Milngavie, Bishopbriggs, Lenzie and Kirkintilloch.

² Of which Giffnock, Clarkston and Newton Means are the main settlements.

strategies of young Pakistanis differ from those of their elders, making this a transitional point for the community. These generational differences have had geographical repercussions. Pakistani immigrants (the first generation) tried much harder to replicate traditional lifestyles upon their arrival in Britain; this we can gather from their relative (and academically well-documented) isolation from mainstream social, economic and cultural arenas (Dahya, 1973; Anwar, 1979; Khan, 1979). The maintenance of traditional cultural codes and strictures is nonetheless diminishing amongst young Pakistanis, for whom things 'Scottish' have greater resonance. Thriving ethnic centres, which offer a territorial base for the maintenance of distinctive ways of life and a space for the mobilisation of co-ethnic political activity (Solomos and Back, 1995) are thus becoming less of a necessity for Glasgow-Pakistanis. Increasingly, they are swapped for the perceived practicalities of suburbia (space, good schools, and seclusion) and the codes, values and associations that suburban living entails. In these instances the identities of younger Pakistanis are more in line with what we may call a *white*, middle-class, Scottish suburbanite identity, as opposed to a distinctly 'Pakistani' identity.

Figure 1.1: **Rows of tenements in Govanhill, a traditional area of Pakistani settlement in Glasgow**



'Unpacking' Pakistani suburbanisation nonetheless requires more extensive understandings of the community than any interrogation of 'culture' alone will permit. For one, it is important to recognise how the changing identities, or 'new' ethnicities (Hall, 1991), of second and later-generation Pakistanis are enmeshed within the changing economic context of the city, leading to the expansion of the

Glasgow-Pakistani bourgeoisie and a resultant socio-economic community profile that is more conducive to suburban house purchase³. A prominent example of this relates to the orientation of later generation Pakistanis towards university and college education, the impetus for which was provided by the migrant first generation who learned from their own experiences in the labour market, where they typically had to negotiate 'insecure' forms of employment with low skill requirements, or be dependent on the Glaswegian public in small retail and food businesses. They now hope that their children avoid the same work related stresses as they encountered, and they go to great lengths conveying the importance of tertiary education to their children, anticipating that this will lead them into what are viewed as more rewarding forms of employment in the city's burgeoning professional and managerial sectors. Given this 'hothouse' approach to education, many young Pakistanis are indeed striving to meet the expectations of their parents: nearly one-in-five Pakistanis aged 16 or over are currently in full-time education, compared to a figure of one-in-ten for Glasgow's white population (General Registers Office for Scotland, 2003).

Pakistani educational attainment must nevertheless coincide with a ready supply of 'white collar' employment and/or entrepreneurial opportunities for professionalisation and upward social mobility to take hold. A sole emphasis on (Pakistani) 'culture' thus offers only partial insights into the suburbanisation process. The community must also be placed against its broader urban, regional, state and indeed global context, since political-economic forces operating across these scales have been refracted locally, having significant impacts on the nature of work and employment in the city. This top-down perspective helps 'place' the success of many of today's young Pakistanis in professional, managerial and other 'white collar' forms of employment, since these forms of employment are emblematic of Glasgow 'new', and increasingly service and retail-driven, urban economy.

1.1.1 Labour market change in Glasgow

The nature of labour market change in Glasgow follows the post-industrial, advanced capitalist urban logic suggested previously by Sassen (1994a; 1996). Rapid

³ Similarities exist between the suburbanisation of Glasgow's Pakistani communities and that of the city's Jewish community, some thirty years ago. Like Pakistanis, Jews also settled first in the dilapidated Gorbals area immediately South of Glasgow's central business district. Having gone through the same inter-generational shift towards the professions, the community is now distinctly affluent and concentrated mainly in the South Glasgow suburbs of Giffnock, Whitecraigs and Newton Mearns (Benski, 1976; 1980; 1981).

deindustrialisation throughout the 1970s and 1980s translated into a shift from manual (blue-collar) to non-manual (white-collar) employment⁴. 'On the ground' this meant job losses in transport, communications and, most notably, manufacturing (coal mining, steel production and shipbuilding in particular); with employment 'booms' experienced in the financial and business services industry and public service provision. Another marked features of Glasgow's restructured labour regime is the increasing participation of women within the workforce; a decline in full-time male employment; and the growth of part-time, often 'casual' employment⁵ (see also Helms and Cumbers, 2004).

While the myriad impact of Glasgow's 'new' urban economy on the city's general population has been charted by Pacione (2004), amongst others, there is currently no indication of how urban change has been experienced by Pakistanis, or any other minority-ethnic group in the city for that matter. This is in contrast to the English-based literature in which there is a developing yet belated strand of work outlining the debilitating consequences of the declining textiles industry on Pakistani communities in the North of England (Kundnani, 2001; Amin, 2002; Amin, 2003). It is sufficient to say that explanations of Glasgow-Pakistani suburbanisation therefore require a more dynamic conceptual and theoretical perspective than one centred upon culture alone. It is necessary to give fuller consideration to the *broader urban context* into which the community is inserted; the urban context in this instance encapsulating not just the political economy of the city, but also, and as we see in Chapter Six, the city as a spatial setting to flows of people, goods, ideas, inter-personal relations and 'localized' capital⁶.

Summarising the discussion so far, Glasgow's Pakistani community is at a landmark juncture, driven by transitions that are both endogenous (demographic shifts concerning age and generation) and exogenous (concerning the restructuring of the Glaswegian political economy) in origin. Moreover, this is a period into which Pakistani suburbanisation offers a fascinating window since unravelling Pakistani

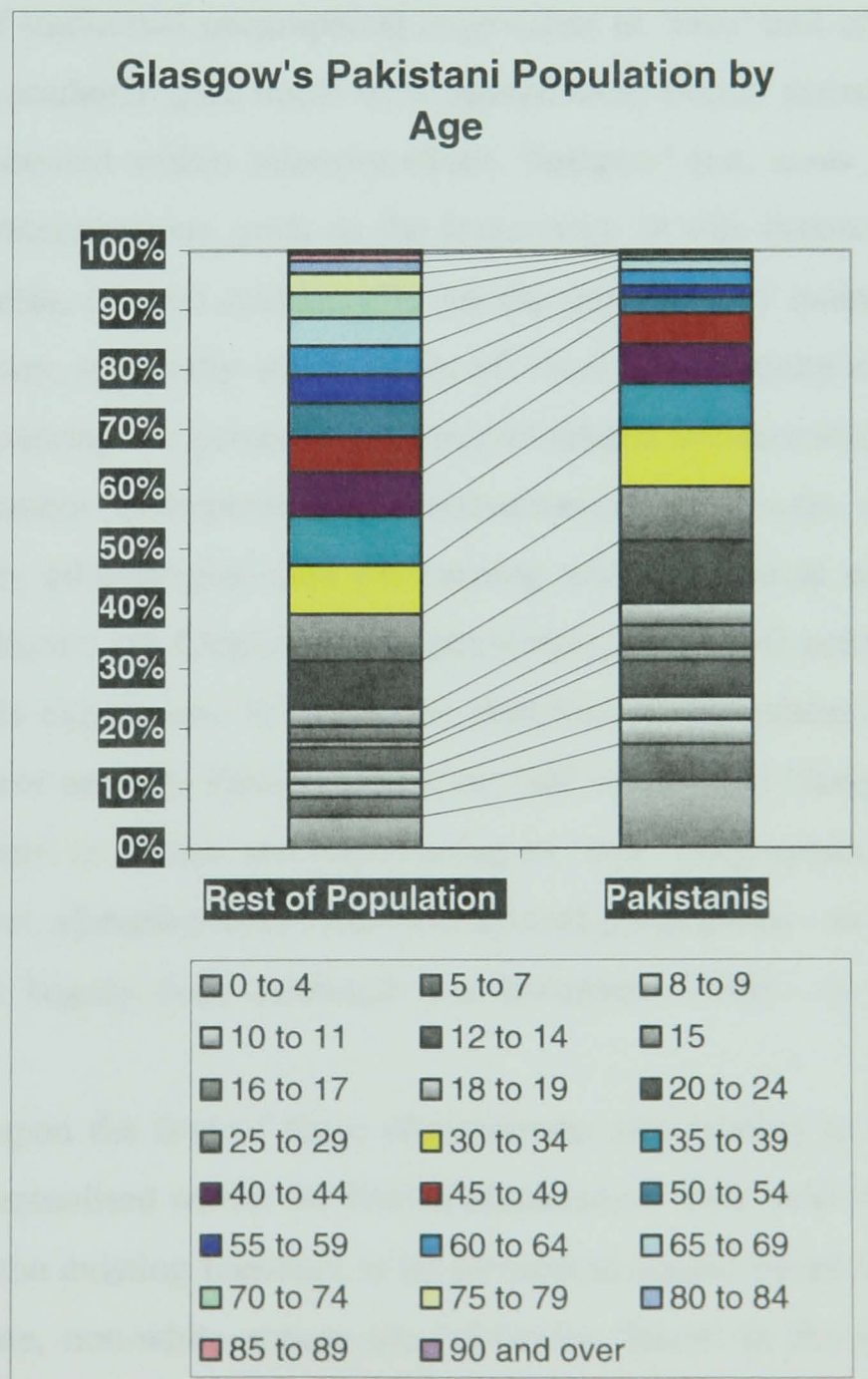
⁴ Glasgow lost around a quarter of its manual jobs between 1981 and 1991, while the number of professional and managerial jobs increased by around 16% (Bailey and Turok, 1999).

⁵ Male full-time employment in Glasgow fell by 24% between 1981 and 1996 while male part-time employment nearly doubled over the same period. Full-time female employment decreased slightly over this period of time, while part-time female employment increased by nearly a quarter (Bailey and Turok, 1999).

⁶ This is in contrast to existing discussions of global economic restructuring which focus mainly on the 'global' flow of capital to the detriment of discussions of 'grassroots' capital flow (see Henry et al, 2002).

suburbanisation means confronting some of key issues and agents of change facing the community today. Some important questions are ultimately raised, all of which are attended to in this thesis: What are the social, cultural and economic factors underpinning Pakistani suburbanisation? How have these changed through time, and are they likely to change in the future? What, then, does this say about the modern day Glasgow-Pakistani community more generally, and does this provide an insight into the future economic, social, cultural, as well as geographical direction of the community? And lastly, how may understandings of Glasgow-Pakistani suburbanisation advance/reformulate existing theoretical understandings of Britain's non-white communities and the spaces they occupy?

Figure 1.2: Glasgow's Pakistani Population by Age



1.2 The Academic Context of This Study

This final question relates to how what is happening in Glasgow challenges established human geographical approaches to issues of 'race' and ethnicity in the city. Chapter Two documents the lacunae within this literature, so for now it is necessary to note only how the geographical literature is habitually located within the (often 'run down') inner-city; how its empirical scope is narrowed further by a reliance on statistical analyses of residential patterns, with little or no attention given to the more qualitative, 'human' systems of thought underpinning them; and how minimal interest is given to the 'new' geographies of later generation minority-ethnic groups (e.g. Lee, 1978; Peach 1979a, 1979b, 1996a, 1996b).

Even from this brief outline it should be clear that events in Glasgow urge a reconsideration of traditional geographical approaches to 'race' and ethnicity in the city. For one, the academic gaze needs to be spread more evenly across the city and not simply concentrated within minority-ethnic 'hotspots' (i.e. areas with obvious minority-ethnic concentrations, such as the inner-city). In this instance it needs to extend into suburbia, an area traditionally on the periphery of mainstream urban geographical enquiry, especially where issues of 'race' and ethnicity are concerned. Furthermore, uncovering the personal motives and related social, cultural, economic and spatial structures underpinning the suburbanisation process calls for the production of rich, ethnographic data (in keeping with the critical realist formula followed by this thesis: see Chapter Four); put simply, the verbal accounts of those actually *living* this experience. As such, the statistical measurement of residential patterns alone is not enough. Finally, with over half of the total Glasgow-Pakistani population now born in Britain and contributing to 'new' geographies of Glasgow-Pakistani settlement, shunning these inter-generational geographies – as the discipline of geography has largely done (although see Robinson, 1996) - is no longer an option.

Expanding upon the first of these observations, and relating to how space is traditionally conceptualised within the British literature on 'race' and ethnicity in the city, a feature of the existing literature is its theoretical simplicity as far as space is concerned. For one, non-white spaces are habitually 'fixed' in the inner city. As Chapter Two posits, the hegemonic status of the inner city means that the experiences of non-white communities within other (not necessarily urban) spaces are

overlooked. Moreover, this has contributed to the cementation of unhelpful, place-based imageries of non-white communities within the British psyche. Secondly, space in the majority of this work is nothing more than an immobile canvas on which residential patterns are plotted and mapped. Space, in other words, appears unproblematic and unimportant; passive rather than active. Yet a dense network of inter-personal connections, business activities and other movements – often stretching far outside the city itself - underpins Glasgow-Pakistani suburbanisation. The space(s) of Glasgow's Pakistani community are thus neither stable nor bound to the inner city. Rather, they constitute an extended, potentially limitless terrain within which people and (economic, cultural and political) forces interact at a variety of levels, and in an assortment of ways. Uncovering these systems of interaction therefore means going against the grain as far as traditional perspectives on 'race' and ethnicity in the city are concerned. Space is to be seen as fluid and unbounded, not as fixed or immobile, this giving rise to visions of the city as the spatial context within which various flows, networks and interactions take place.

It is in this light that we can appreciate the value of recent developments in human geography relating to the foregrounding of post-structural, post-colonial and post-modern (hereafter referred to as post-positivist) inspired understandings of space. The protagonists here view space not as a circumscribed territory but as a networked and socially produced entity in which movement and interaction are inevitable processes (e.g. Soja, 1989; Massey, 1997; Massey, 2004). As we see in Chapter Three, these developments have had a positive, trickle-down effect within work on 'race' and ethnicity in the city (for example, Brah, 1996; Crang et al, 2003), disrupting readings of minority-ethnic spaces as bounded and autonomous 'enclaves'. These spaces have instead been 'opened up'; seen not only as *part* of their broader city, region and international context, but also the *product* of them, or, more accurately, the people, practices and inter-relations which inhabit them.

Reflecting now upon the body of existing research specifically 'on' British-Pakistani communities, this is limited by its reliance on 'culture' as sole analytical vessel (what is termed here the 'culturalist' perspective). These studies consequently delineate only the cultural norms, traditions and values of British-Pakistanis, and are therefore poorly positioned to comment upon the positioning and relationship of these communities to the broader urban context and political economy in which they are located. Moreover, since interest in second and later generation Pakistanis is also

minimal within these studies, the emerging cultural narratives are based more or less on the experiences of the earlier migrant generation. It is fairly unsurprising, then, that these sociological studies perceive Pakistani communities as marked by their reluctance to adopt Western attitudes and their tenacious retention of traditional beliefs and lifestyles (Dahya, 1972; Jeffery, 1976). Indeed, the extent and nature of British-Pakistani's links to their homeland became an important research agenda – culminating in Muhammed Anwar's (1979) classic example of the culturalist approach: *The Myth of Return* – a qualitative piece of work carried out in Rochdale, Greater Manchester (England). The lack of Pakistani integration was seen as the net result of many Pakistanis viewing their migration not as an attempt to find permanent settlement, but as a vehicle to accumulate sufficient wealth in order to make possible an eventual return to Pakistan with, of course, improved social footing. Integration, therefore, was a double-edged sword for Pakistanis. On the one hand they were determined to enter and obtain relative success within the indigenous labour market, whilst on the other hand; ties formed outside employment were deliberately kept to a minimum in the belief that this would easier facilitate a return to their homeland. Accordingly, Anwar portrays a Pakistani population *unwilling* to integrate within the British cultural arena, one in which Pakistanis made a conscious effort to remain just that: Pakistani:

‘What appears to have been happening in Britain is a situation of ‘pluralism’ or ‘integration’ in which Pakistanis are keeping their structural and cultural identity and are participating in the wider community institutions only where it is inevitable, such as in employment and education.’ (Anwar, 1979: 222)

Preceding the broad scale establishment of the second generation within civil society, *The Myth of Return* concluded by pondering whether the coming of the second generation would lead to a weakening of cultural and familial bonds with Pakistan. In reality, the myth of return did not last long enough to necessitate an interrogation of the attitudinal and social mores of the second generation. In the 1980s most men were long since joined by their wives and children and, because of the extent of local financial commitments (money invested in housing and business, for example), few were in a position to either support relatives in Pakistan or finance return visits (Shaw, 1988, 1994). With these developments, the myth of return has

'almost ceased to be a central feature of British Pakistanis' perceptions and ideologies' (Shaw, 1994: 35).

Despite the fallacy of the 'myth of return', the same cultural narratives – of intentional isolation – still persist within more recent studies of British-Pakistani communities. One of the main reasons for this is that these studies focus mainly on the dramatic, conflictual and 'exotic' aspects of the British-Pakistani experience such as racism (Hopkins, 2004), rioting (Drummer and McEvoy, 2004), and other 'everyday' yet 'mysterious' aspects of Pakistani/Muslim life like consanguineous (intra-familial) marriage (Shaw, 2001). Merging this interest in (Pakistani) culture with political-economy provides one way of shedding these well-trodden narratives. According to Kay Anderson, such a culture/political-economy theoretical perspective:

'[Break] with the dichotomous culture/identity models that have enjoyed a long history in theorising about 'race' and the city...offering [instead] fresh stories that displace stale scenarios of otherness and marginality' (Anderson, 1998: 220).

Applied in Glasgow, this would allow for a recognition of how new (and old) Pakistani identities are constituted in, by, and through, Glasgow's own transitions from industrial city to declining city, and finally to post-industrial city (see Chapters Six and Seven).

This call for a merging of culture with a more 'material' concern for the economic and political is not new in human geography. The demand for this fusion arose from discontent emanating from human geography's 'cultural turn', when some critics lamented human geography's abandonment of those things that supposedly 'mattered' – namely capital and class formation - in favour of concern for the 'less pressing' issues of identity, meaning and representation (Sayer, 1994; Gregson, 1995). Yet bearing in mind the empirical concerns of this thesis, one of the most illuminating uses of this co-joined culture/political-economy theoretical perspective comes not from orthodox approaches in human geography, but rather from developments within the literature on Asian business and minority-ethnic entrepreneurialism in both Britain and the rest of Europe. As with the British sociological literature on British-Pakistani communities, this literature was previously hindered by its rigid attention to culture alone. Here, researchers tried only

to extrapolate the cultural factors contributing to high levels of self-employment and entrepreneurialism amongst Euro-Asian communities. Illustrating the tensions between the culturalist and ensuing culture/political economy perspective, while Werbner (1990) stuck to the former and suggested that U.K. Pakistani business success is solely attributable to the distinctly *Pakistani* cultural values of thrift, trust, self-reliance and close family and religious ties; Monder Ram (1994), siding with the joint culture/political economy perspective, suggested that although social networks are a key Pakistani business resource, culture alone provided only a partial explanation of Pakistani business start-ups. Ram subsequently proposed that culturalist explanations underestimated 'the impact of racial discrimination in all its forms [on] the reliance on 'community' resources for survival' (Ram, 1994: 43). In other words, Ram was stating that these 'cultural' attributes needed *situating* within the broader citywide social structures that gave rise to them, in this instance the racist and discriminatory tendencies of the 'host' society. These findings were propagated by Ram's selected ethnographic research methodology, where in-depth interviews with Pakistani restaurateurs gave an indication of the unfavourable opportunity structures within the city's wider labour markets ("It [self-employment] was my only chance to progress"; interview extract taken from Ram, 1994: 44).

While the systems of racism perpetuating self-employment are of no immediate concern to this thesis, I am at this moment interested in the fundamentals of Ram's critique: that while cultural factors are important, we must not fail to consider the (political) economies and institutional contexts within which Asian business are located. The relevance of this is that the same principles need applying to understandings of Pakistani suburbanisation in Glasgow. British-Pakistani communities (or indeed any other minority-ethnic community) must no longer be conceptualised as operating within a political-economic vacuum, which has been standard approach up till now. This sensitivity towards not just the cultural inclinations of minority-ethnic communities, but so too the communities' embedding within - and close relationship to - the more general economic and political fortunes of the city and its positioning within a global geo-economy was earlier subsumed under the theoretical framework of *mixed embeddedness* (Kloosterman et al, 1999, but see also Rath, 2000), but this was again referring specifically to the experiences of minority-ethnic business. My argument is thus to show that this notion of mixed embeddedness is as relevant outside the realms of business as it is within it, not least

in this particular study of Glasgow's Pakistani community where Pakistani entrepreneurialism and business success is a key engine of the communities outward dispersal (Chapter Seven). These ideas and the overall need to contextualise minority-ethnic communities politically, economically, spatially *as well as* culturally forms the critical core of this thesis.

1.3 Aims and Objectives

The primary objective of this research is to explain the relatively recent yet accelerating settlement of Pakistanis into desirable suburban neighbourhoods in the Scottish city Glasgow. Implicated within this is the following set of subsidiary research questions, each of which form the basis of discussion in this thesis:

Research questions:

- How has the geography of Pakistani settlement in Glasgow developed since the community's arrival in the U.K?
- To what extent is the dispersal of Glasgow-Pakistanis to prosperous suburban areas on the Northern and Southern fringes of the city a feature of contemporary patterns of Pakistani settlement in the city?
- How do Glasgow-Pakistanis articulate the appeal for suburban life (or not, as the case may be), and how do these representations of suburbia reflect broader cultural changes inherent to the community, notably the 'coming' of British-born generations within the housing and labour market, and the ongoing embourgeoisement and developing class consciousness of the community?
- Following the literature charting the effects of Glasgow's 'new' urban economy on the Glaswegian population more generally, how has Glasgow's declining manufacturing sector and growing service and retail sector affected the distribution of wealth and prosperity amongst Pakistanis, the city's largest non-white ethnic group?
- Following on from the above, how have policy-led operational changes to the 'corner shop' [or CTN (convenience stores, tobacconists and newsagents)] retailing sector impacted upon the viability of these traditionally 'Pakistani' enterprises, and what are their consequences for the Glasgow-Pakistani entrepreneurial landscape more generally?
- How does the contemporary development of Glasgow's Pakistani community inform established academic insights into issues of 'race' and ethnicity in urban Britain, which remain nearly exclusively fixed upon 'inner city' areas of high residential segregation?
- How does the economic profile of Glasgow's Pakistani community compare to that of other Pakistani communities elsewhere in the U.K, and what inferences may be drawn from this in terms of the relative 'success' of this community compared to other British examples?

Working through these research questions in broadly socio-cultural (Chapter Six) and political-economic (Chapter Seven) terms, I contend that Pakistani suburbanisation cannot be sufficiently explained independent from a broader (global) context of uneven spatial development and Glasgow's own specific and painful history of growth, decline and restructuring.

These conclusions tie into a wider theoretical directive opposing the mono-dynamic interpretations of space utilised by existing academic contributions to issues of 'race' and ethnicity in the city, which are together guilty of *fixing* (urban) space along 'racial' lines. This is attested in Chapter Two with reference to the human geographical literature. By neglecting the experiences of non-whites in areas *besides* the inner-city, the inner-cities have themselves become synonymous with 'blackness' [what Cohen (1993) would term the 'spatialisation of race']. The more specific concerns of this thesis are, however, with suburban areas and the implicit assumption that they remain a (largely unquestioned) sanctuary of 'whiteness' and 'pure' British identity.

In contrast to these approaches, which together have the effect of portraying the inner-city as a 'container' of Britain's non-white population, this thesis uses evidence obtained through individual interviews and focus group discussions with Glasgow-Pakistanis to instead suggest that the lives of these individuals are played out across a much more extensive and sufficiently 'global' spatial setting. They are most certainly not limited to Glasgow itself (or indeed Glasgow's inner-city). While many human geographers continue to suggest that 'integration' and wellbeing of Britain's minority-ethnic groups is assessable (and measurable) via micro-scale statistics relating to residential segregation, more pertinent determinants of community development are sourced elsewhere, outside Glasgow, meaning that they are rarely formally recognised amidst stricter concerns for small area analysis of residential segregation. Arguing that more dynamic and theoretically informed (post-positivist) interpretations of both space and identity are central to explanations of Glasgow-Pakistani suburbanisation, this thesis utilises ideas recently progressed within the fields of cultural studies and human geography concerning hybridity (Bhabha, 1994) (see Chapter Two); diasporic space (Brah, 1996), transnational space (Crang et al, 2003) and relational space and identity (Amin, 2004; Massey, 2004) (see Chapter Three) to place the community within its relevant urban context, paying particular attention to how Glasgow's political-economic reorganisation has affected the

distribution and allocation of wealth and prosperity across the city's largest non-white community.

1.3.1 Undesirable strangers?

Putting these academic debates to one side, this thesis is also a counterweight to those popular narratives of the British-Pakistani experience which rely upon stories of social and economic marginalisation, self-segregation, rioting, and (more recently) of terrorist threat; all of which have as their setting the 'run down' inner-city. This study looks not to discredit these, but rather, to show that more nuanced and complex realities are in existence.

Over the last four years British-Pakistanis have come under intense public scrutiny as a result of both national and international events. In the summer of 2001 there were street confrontations and riots involving Asian youths in Oldham, Bradford and Burnley, and these were followed by the political fallout of '9/11'. Since this tumultuous year, the integrity, morality and allegiance of British-Pakistanis have become lightning rods for increased public suspicion which, in extreme cases, translated to far-right political activity and attacks on Pakistani homes, workplaces and places of worship (ignited further by the '7/7' transport bombings: 'Race attacks rise after bombs', *Guardian*, August 1st 2005). Existing levels of suspicion intensified with the publication of a Home Office report into the 'mill-town' disturbances, which linked them to weakened South Asian social responsibility as a result of years of voluntary cultural, social and geographical separation from indigenous culture and society (Denham, 2001). These events prompted Ash Amin, a prominent British-Muslim human geographer, to make the following appraisal of current British/Muslim relations:

'We – immigrants, asylum seekers, Muslims – once again are becoming the objects of the nation's gaze, lumped together as undesirable strangers.' (Amin, 2003:460)

Since the Northern English disturbances in particular, second and later-generation British-Pakistanis have fared particularly badly at hands of public opinion, especially young males. Kundnami (2001: 108) explains:

‘Like most inner-city race riots in Britain since the 1970s, those in Oldham, Burnley and Bradford involved young men, and their street defiance too has led to their wholesale vilification in public opinion. The media gathered snippets of fact and fiction to demonize them as drug dealers or addicts, petty criminals, school dropouts, school dropouts, car cruisers, perpetrators of gratuitous attacks on elderly whites, beyond the control of their community, disloyal subjects, [and] Islamic militants.’

Such widespread disaffection with young (predominantly) male Muslims is ultimately in danger of rendering invisible the positive inroads made into British society by a seemingly large and growing component of this group. Many young Glasgow-Pakistanis’ achievements in both ‘formal’ labour market occupations (especially the growing band who are joining the professional and managerial classes) and self-employment (in both ‘new’ and ‘old’ areas of Pakistani enterprise: see Chapter Seven) certainly propel them into this category, so this documentation of Glasgow-Pakistani suburbanisation shall hopefully restore some complexity to these otherwise stereotypical views of young British-Pakistanis and Muslims.

The aims of this thesis are nevertheless not exclusively restricted to academic concerns or concerns for social justice. There were personal motives and objectives vested in this study relating to how the research process gave me the chance to confront complex and personal issues of identity and ‘belonging’. Much of the motivation for this project stemmed from my position as someone of *mixed-Pakistani/Scottish* parentage. My relationship to the community pre-doctorate was (and, to an extent, remains) one of uncertainty and ambiguity: was/am I ‘part’ of this community? I had previously felt peripheral to the community, associating more with an orthodox Glaswegian/Scottish identity. Yet I felt uneasy – if not guilty – that this was the case. I felt disloyal to my father, for instance, whom, aged sixteen, came to Scotland as a migrant and who remains proud of his heritage (even if his accent does not attest to this!). As such, this research was seen as an opportunity to immerse myself ‘in’ the community at a level not yet realised, even if this was in accordance with an agenda that was more academic than it was personal. For that reason the project acted as a platform from which to (re)assess my relationships to both the community and the broader notion of a British- or Scottish-Pakistani identity.

These academic, community, and personal concerns are ultimately reflected in the structure of this thesis. *Chapter Two* contains a literature review of (British)

human geographical approaches to issues of 'race' and ethnicity in the city. It maps out the *academic* place of this thesis and the need to subvert the ongoing academic spatialisation of 'race' (black inner-city/white suburbia) in light of the radically changing nature of contemporary British minority-ethnic communities. *Chapter Three* outlines the theoretical base of this study, highlighting the conceptual 'tools' that were used to make sense of the empirical findings. The discussion centres upon the arguments of post-positivist theorists who have collectively challenged static and bounded conceptions of identity and space, highlighting instead how both are product of interrelationships, networks and flows, often stretching back in time and space. *Chapter Four* provides a pivot between the first and (empirically driven) second half of the thesis, detailing the methods used within this study as well as the methodological and ethical issues that informed their selection. *Chapter Five* acts as a suitable precursor to the empirical chapters by providing a useful historical and quantitative snapshot of Glasgow's Pakistani community. Included here is a selection of decennial maps depicting the community's incremental suburban dispersal. These maps, the latter three compiled by the author using 1981-2001 census data, provide an illuminating quantitative backdrop to this study's broadly qualitative empirical concerns. *Chapter Six* begins the task of introducing this study's empirical findings. This chapter is primarily interested in the socio-cultural context of Glasgow-Pakistani suburbanisation and the networks, bonds, affiliations and hybrid identities invested in this dispersal. These socio-cultural concerns are benefited in *Chapter Seven* with a discussion of the political-economic context of the suburbanisation process. The focus here is on the 'dead ends' and 'new opportunities' confronting Pakistanis in a city radically altered and restructured along 'new' and more competitive lines. These issues have important implications for Pakistani affluence and wealth distribution within the city, and so they must be recognised as essential determinants of the contemporary suburbanisation process.

1.4 Conclusions

This introductory chapter mapped out the social, political (and personal) purpose of this thesis, arguing for a study of Glasgow-Pakistani suburbanisation in light of the radically changing overall nature of Glasgow's Pakistani community. This was fleshed out in the light of existing academic and popular imageries of Pakistani communities in Britain. Academics have emphasised (first generation,

'immigrant' Pakistani) 'culture' alone, isolating the communities from the broader political-economic and spatial workings of the city. The suggestion is thus that Pakistanis communities are (still) 'closed' and 'unchanging'. Popular imageries have, on the other hand, become solidified around violence and social unrest; certainly as far as later-generation Pakistanis are concerned. This has further contributed to the stereotyping of Pakistani communities as a distinctive 'other'. These lacunae are attended to within this study of Pakistani suburbanisation in Glasgow; in what is an attempt to show that *alternative* (and more successful) British-Pakistani narratives exist.

CHAPTER TWO

'RACE' AND ETHNICITY IN THE CITY

2.1 Introduction

Chapter One introduced the changing nature of Glasgow's Pakistani community, noting how the youthfulness of the Pakistani population - the majority of whom are British-born - has effected change within established (and 'taken-for-granted') socio-economic and geographical patterns. The chapter argued the need for a study into Glasgow-Pakistani suburbanisation in particular, stating that this would mark a progression within existing work on British-Pakistani communities that are characterised by static, 'closed' interpretations of both (Pakistani) space and culture. This chapter now maps the disciplinary position of this study with a critical literature review of past geographical engagements with 'race' and ethnicity in the city. The first part of the chapter introduces the quantitative literature, consisting mainly of numerical insights into patterns of residential segregation. As we shall see, these studies are open to criticism for the way in which they have 'fixed' non-white spaces as both inner-city spaces and deeply fraught pathological spaces, which apparently pose risks to urban order and unity. The second part of the chapter reviews more recent qualitative engagements with 'race' and ethnicity in the city. The focus falls here upon the work of a group of British critical social theorists who have together sought more progressive perspectives on these themes, and in which direct attempts are made to illuminate the societal systems perpetuating pathological representations of the inner-city. While serious inroads have been made in this regard, the empirical focus of this literature nevertheless remains squarely on the inner-city, and so it may be seen to inadvertently cement already taken-for-granted connections between these areas and Britain's non-white population. These ideas are merged into the third section which introduces the work of academics who have managed to successfully pick apart this 'race'/inner-city symbiosis and, through switching their empirical focus to non-white groups in more rural and suburban locations - enforce a reprieve from the discipline's ongoing 'spatialisation of race'. Building on these ideas, the fourth and final section notes the intellectual worth of a small but growing body of work on 'hybrid' ethnic

identities in the U.K. It is argued that these ideas of cultural ‘inbetweenness’ provide an impetus for forthcoming studies of young and later-generation minority-ethnic individuals, that are not bound by simplistic (and problematic) cultural and spatial dualisms concerning black/white and inner-city/suburbia. It is argued that for this to be properly achieved, notions of cultural hybridity must nevertheless be extended from their rather specialised position within the field of cultural studies and applied – or ‘grounded’ – within material (political-economic) processes (Mitchell, 1997b) as opposed to the ornamental, symbolic and abstract cultural performances of non-white minority persons.

2.2 The Black Inner-city

Phil Cohen (1993: 7) laments a societal ‘spatialisation of ‘race’’ in which the term ‘inner-city’ is effectively synonymous with Britain’s non-white population. Since geographical studies of non-white communities are overwhelmingly based within (often deprived) urban centres, and since they are also informed by a disciplinary mandate that only non-whites have ‘racial’ identity (see Jackson, 1998), British human geography has in fact perpetuated the same logic. The inner-city has become ‘racialised’ (Solomos, 1993) in the geographical imagination; imbued with - and solidified by – the experiences of its non-white inhabitants.

This section focuses on ‘spatial sociology’ (borrowing from Jackson, 1987), a genre of work identifiable through its concern with the statistical measurement and spatial mapping of minority-ethnic communities. The first-established paradigm within contemporary British geographical approaches to ‘race’ and ethnicity⁷, spatial sociology remains the most productive canon within the subfield, spurred on by the inclusion of the ‘ethnic identity’ question within recent British censuses⁸ (see Peach, 1999 and 2002). This section proposes that adherents to this approach are the chief protagonists of human geography’s ‘spatialization of race’, and that they have also contributed to ongoing moral panics concerning areas of high non-white representation. This latter point concerns the ongoing attempts to establish whether or not ghettos exist in the U.K. (e.g. Peach, 1996a). This project has bequeathed the ghetto ontological primacy, contrasting with subsequently

⁷ Referred to at times as ‘the subfield’.

⁸ The 1991 Office of National Statistics Census was the first to include a question asking respondents to specify their ethnicity. This was opposed to previous censuses in which respondent’s countries of birth were used to infer ethnicity.

introduced post-positivist readings of the city which view the ghetto instead as an ideological, symbolic terrain imbued with exclusionary discourse and racist practice (Keith, 1993); not as something which *may actually exist*, as Peach clearly believes (see subsequent criticisms of Peach's approach to the 'ghetto' on page 19). In their attempts to 'make sense of' ethnic spaces, spatial sociologists have thus succeeded in 'fixing' racialised spaces as bounded spaces; as spaces of fear, spaces of uncertainty and spaces of 'the other'.

2.2.1 Spatial sociology

'The dark ghetto's invisible walls have been erected by the white society, by those who have power, both to confine those who have no power and to perpetuate their powerlessness.' (Clark, 1965: 11)

'There is a recurrent fear expressed by politicians, journalists and scholars that Britain has ghettos or is developing towards the African American ghetto model.' (Peach, 1996a: 216)

British geography's concern with 'race' can be traced back to the environmental determinist paradigm that permeated the discipline during the early part of the 20th century. Indeed, 'racial' geography' as it was referred to then, was 'not merely a well-established sub-discipline, but at the core of the subject; its theoretical assumptions and global perspective permeating both its physical and human branches' (Bonnet, 1996a: 865). Underpinning the political and intellectual dominance of 'racial' geography was the significance given to the physical environment in shaping the social and intellectual characteristics of different 'races'. Such thinking dovetailed neatly with Britain's imperial ambitions of the time (see Livingston, 1992). It was, after all, mainly the 'indolent sun-loving people of the Southern latitudes [who] have everywhere proved easier to dominate than those...nurtured in a colder atmosphere' that were being pasted-up within the colonial album (Holdich, 1916:13). The words of Sir Thomas Holdich, one time Vice President of the Royal Geographical Society (RGS), were merely reinforcing the sentiments of an opening paper in *The Geographical Journal* some nine years earlier entitled '*The present problems of geography*', a paper which laid out the 'ultimate' problem in geography. Geography, according to this commentary, was all to do with 'the determination of the influence of the surface forms of the earth

on the mental processes of its inhabitants' (Mill, 1905:13). The environment, according to the human geographers of the time, determined the nature and movement of different 'races', and the migratory and mental potentials of 'racialised' individuals were plotted and quantified (see, for example, Huntington 1924). The environment, in other words, produced objective 'racial' data.

The above paragraph provides an entry point into the evolution of the contemporary sub-field. 'Racial' geography fell from prominence as Britain's imperial ambitions waned, and it was not until the mid-twentieth century that 'race' inspired major research output. Provoked by the influx of New Commonwealth migrants, and influenced by the Chicago School's earlier use of mathematic methods in the mapping of human social behaviour⁹, rigorous quantitative approaches were used to measure levels of ethnic residential segregation. Geography's 'rediscovery' of race thus represented a continuation of earlier 'racial' geographies in that 'race' was reified and cast as a set of objective facts amenable to quantification and correlation. Rather than foreign continents, however, these modern studies had as their backdrop the inner reaches of Britain's towns and cities.

Spatial sociology was an undoubted sign of the times. Latent to it was a heightening public suspicion of non-white immigrants, evident in the 'Powelist' ethos of the time¹⁰. Spatial sociology's popularity also reflected broader changes within the business of human geography. Human geography was moving away from the regionalism associated with Hartshorne and Vidal de la Blanche. 'Cutting edge' geographers now sought the explanatory power of the nomothetic. As Ron Johnston explained:

⁹ This should not detract from the Chicago School's interest in - and commitment to - urban *ethnographic* research (see Hannerz, 1980). The Chicago legacy includes a series of detailed studies of Chicago life, many of which concern the disadvantaged, insecure, and transient. The most famous of these included: *The Gang* (Thrasher, 1927) – a detailed study of Chicago gang life; *The Hobo* (Anderson, 1923) – a study of migrants and tramps; *The Taxi-Hall Dancers* (Cressey, 1923) – a study of women who danced with men in return for payment; and *The Gold Coast and the Slum* (Zorbaugh, 1929) – a study of contrasting social fortunes in Chicago.

¹⁰ Delivered as a member of the Conservative shadow cabinet, Enoch Powell's 'Rivers of Blood' speech warned of the 'crisis' facing British society if immigration remained unchecked. The speech and his overall stance against New Commonwealth migration gained support particularly amongst British 'working classes' (London Dockworkers marched to express their agreement with Powell). Another effect of Powell's mandate was the heightening of fear, distrust and resentment amongst the British minority-ethnic population (http://www.sterlingtimes.org/memorable_images49.htm; accessed 10/12/03).

‘In line with recent trends, geography is viewed [here] not as a vehicle for elucidating the particular features of unique places but as a search for regularities and order in man’s [sic] spatial organisation of the earth’s surface’ (Johnston, 1971: 17)

Meeting popular hunger for knowledges of Britain’s (growing) minority-ethnic communities, and riding on the back of the spatial scientific paradigm in human geography, spatial sociology rose to eminence within the subfield.

Working with the hypothesis that physical distances between racialized minorities and the host society were reflective of ‘social distance’, spatial sociologists were guilty of reducing the totality of non-white experience to discussions of ‘segregation’ and ‘assimilation’. Any step towards assimilation was a ‘good thing’; as some commentators felt that parts of British cities were teetering on the brink - sliding towards replication of the much-maligned ‘black’ American ghetto (see below). Other than monitoring the potential social catastrophe facing British cities, some felt spatial sociology’s fascination with assimilation manifested a broader British geopolitical project in which Britain was eager to place itself at the head of a powerful unified Commonwealth (Smith, 1989). The marker of success in this task would be to have Commonwealth citizens not only living within Britain, but to be regarded as intrinsically ‘British’.

Spatial sociology therefore heralded assimilation as a utopian condition in which immigrants were, in a sense, both absorbed and transformed into components of the host society. Scant attention was given to the agency of migrant individuals themselves, let alone the meaning, significance, politics, and causes of residential segregation. Threads of ethnographic analysis, for example, were at this time unable to navigate a common existence alongside what were almost solely quantitative statements. Assimilation was thus framed from the perspective of ‘host’ society alone.¹¹ This was epitomized in a series of exchanges between prominent spatial sociologists (Jones and McEvoy, 1978, 1979a, 1979b; Lee, 1978; Peach 1979a, 1979b) and culminated in Ceri Peach’s (1996a) recent analysis of 1991 British Census data: *Does Britain have ghettos?* Forming the basis of these exchanges were disagreements over the extent to which minority-ethnic ‘clusters’

¹¹ Boal (1976) was one of the first human geographers to make a theoretical statement in relation to the merits, from a migrant’s point-of-view, of remaining spatially segregated. Citing extremely vague explanatory categories such as ‘avoidance’, ‘defence’ and ‘preservation’, this work nonetheless represented an important step forward in research on ‘race’ and ethnicity in the city.

within British cities were similar in quantitative terms to those of North American cities [see also the recent paper by Johnston et al (2002) entitled *Are There ethnic enclaves/ghettos in English cities?*].

North American minority-ethnic urban residential segregation was at this time presented solely in terms of the 'black ghetto'; an ideological construction stylised as the antithesis of social development. Indeed, the British protagonists fed off earlier empirical work from across the Atlantic, which meticulously presented 'the ghetto' in all its 'glory' (Duncan and Duncan, 1955; Taeuber and Taeuber, 1964; Rainwater, 1970; Adams, 1972). In this way, the title of Morrill's (1965) publication *The Negro Ghetto: problems and alternatives* offers an accurate taste of the discourses constructed by this work. Ghettos were, fundamentally, a problem. Importantly, and illustrating the dominance of host-society-orientated perspectives of residential segregation, ghettos were not seen as problematic to those who actually lived in them. No analyses of the ghetto, for example, sought to uncover discriminatory systems granting unequal access to housing and employment and perpetuating economic and social marginality. Ghettos were perceived solely as a *threat* to the white urban status quo.

Using the same narrow, theoretically weak interpretations of minority-ethnic residential segregation as their North American counterparts, British human geographers fed what I term a 'ghetto panic'. The ghetto panic took the guise of an internal war of methods regarding the choice of geographical scale to use when calculating segregation indices (what Peach, 1996a: 218 terms 'index wars'), but these practical issues covered a much more suspicious and uneasy reality in which the academics involved were trying to establish whether or not Britain was treading along the same path of ghetto formation seen previously in North America. Whilst spatial sociological perspectives of residential segregation offered and continue to offer valued quantitative insights into minority-ethnic settlement patterns, they remain unable to capture either the thoughts, desires and fears of those actually living through such experiences, or the broader systems of 'choice' and 'constraint' these individuals are caught up within.

2.2.2 *Choice and constraint*

'Race' continued to establish itself as an important and influential mode of inquiry within human geography, forming a cornerstone of social geography during

the 1970s and early/mid-1980s. Throughout this period, a new generation of social geographers nevertheless emerged who began to expand these earlier geographical perspectives (which were more or less dominated by rigid positivism) along more incisive theoretical lines. Although still concerned with the spatial distribution and segregation of minority ethnic groups, they sought to explain residential patterns through a balance of 'pull' (for example people's desire to live with others from their own ethnic background) and 'push' (typically discrimination) factors (e.g. Simmons, 1981).

Reflecting a new willingness to relate geography to social theory and sociological theories of 'race' relations, geographers thus began to move beyond simply describing residential patterns to analysing how they were perpetuated by the politics of individual minority-ethnic cultures, discrimination and housing markets [see edited collections by Jackson and Smith (1981) and Peach et al (1981)]. Such accounts still missed detailed ethnographic data and remained predicated upon statistical analysis, yet they attempted to place minority-ethnic *groups* (not yet individuals) within their broader urban context by bringing early recognition to the societal frameworks structuring minority-ethnic decision-making. John Cater (1981), for example, used the choice/constraint duality to explain the development of Bradford's 'Asian' residential pattern (note the persistence of 'umbrella' categorisation). Cater suggested that in the early days of Asian settlement residential patterns were mainly an expression of 'choice'. In these days Asian's ties with their homelands were purportedly at their strongest since households mainly only consisted of lone males who either sent remittances home to awaiting wives, children, and other family members, or who invested their monetary income into substantial savings funds, aimed for use when the men were re-united in Bradford with remaining family members. As a result Asian settlers in Bradford were seen to *willingly* locate in cheap, low-quality inner-city accommodation, since these low-maintenance lifestyles effectively meant that more money could be sent back home to their country of origin.

As the Asian population consolidated itself within Bradford, with families reunited and those intending to return home not doing so, Cater nevertheless noted that many residents now desired to participate more freely in the city's wider housing market. This was set apart from the more informal market they had so far experienced which was based around co-ethnic and familial ties, private renting and

lodging houses. With this transition, Cater proposed that mechanisms of 'constraint' became increasingly salient determinants of Asian housing experience. For example, he identified a system of 'red lining' whereby white mortgage lenders resisted granting home loans to Asians intending to locate within an area demarcated by Bradford's ring road; an area that already contained the majority of Bradford's resident Asian population. Cater used data regarding the origin of home loans as evidence. While fifty-percent of all transactions made by Asian mortgage lenders in the city went to residents of this area, only two-percent of white agents' transactions involved properties or residents here. Moreover, it was not only the practices of local mortgage lenders that effected constraints on current and would-be Asian homeowners. In what represents (albeit thin) acknowledgement of Bradford's broader urban context, the marginal economic status of Bradford's Asian community - exacerbated by the loss of 60,000 jobs within the city's Asian-centred textile industry - was rightly cited as another reason for the lack of parity between Asians and Whites within the city wide housing market.

Eliciting the tensions between factors of choice and constraint thus marked a progression from traditional spatial sociological work. Furthermore, by explaining residential segregation with reference to *both* mechanisms of 'choice' and 'constraint' work in this genre even marked a divergence from earlier, narrower explanatory models of 'choice' and 'constraint', in which authors framed residential segregation in terms of *either* 'choice' or 'constraint'. In Rex and Moore's (1967) seminal neo-Weberian study of Pakistanis in Sparkbrook, Birmingham, for example, a hierarchy of housing classes was identified in which the majority population of the area (Pakistanis) were invariably located within the lowest housing class (lodging houses). Importantly, Pakistani concentration within this often informal, insecure housing tenure was explained solely in terms of their exclusion from the higher public rental and home-owning housing classes. Rex and Moore's assessment was nevertheless later challenged by Dahya (1974) who, working partly within the same area, contended that Pakistani concentration within lodging houses was a rational *choice*. According to him, it reflected a desire to minimise living expenses through sharing with kinfolk; part of a broader desire to earn and save money before returning 'home' to Pakistan. In all likelihood, both theories of 'choice' and 'constraint' have explanatory substance so it would be inappropriate to reduce explanations of residential segregation and marginality to

either one or the other. This is why latter-day proponents of the ‘choice’ and ‘constraint’ school such as Cater (1981) marked a significant progression within geographies of ‘race’ and ethnicity. They began untangling the political dimensions of both ‘choice’ *and* ‘constraint’. As Jackson and Smith (1981:3) proudly proclaim in their influential edited collection *Social Interaction and Ethnic Segregation*, there was, after all, ‘a growing sense that major issues are being confronted’. In other words, the abstraction of minority-ethnic groups from their social, economic and cultural context was beginning to be addressed.

2.2.3 *The ‘place’ of spatial sociology within the contemporary subfield*

The spatial mapping of minority-ethnic populations – or spatial sociology – remains a productive area of study, undoubtedly forming the most easily identifiable canon of work within the modern-day subfield. The persistence of this approach, I feel, speaks volumes for the salience and relevance of what is, after all, such an overtly ‘material’ (geographical) concern – the mapping of communities. Despite human geography’s ‘cultural-turn’ and (associated) developments within the subfield (e.g. criticism of the extended use of essentialist, ‘racialized’ categories; the acceptance of ‘race’ as a social construction; the favouring of cultural theorisations based upon multiply-inhabited and hybrid identities - see below), this remnant of old-school social geography has stood the test of time. Indeed, and against the bracing criticism and claims of demise levelled at spatial sociology from perpetrators of the ‘new’ cultural geography (Gregson, 1995), it undoubtedly remains a cornerstone of contemporary social geography as we know it (Peach, 1999).

The longevity of spatial sociology is not too difficult to explain. As mentioned above, there is something reassuring about spatial sociology’s so-obviously-material focus – especially given human geography’s fragmentation and specialisation over the years. Statistical data, drawing from rigorous scientific theories of mathematical modelling, commands a certain degree of authority after all. To research funding bodies, policy makers, students, academics, and others, this is perhaps as close one gets to objective, value free ‘fact’¹². Drawing upon

¹² This is in recognition of the fact that research can never be value free. Mathematical models are still underpinned by choices regarding their application., thus embodying the particular subjectivities and nuances of the researcher.

discourses of factuality and authority, the spatial mapping of minority-ethnic groups represented for many a sure-fire route towards 'knowing' the subject. As the 'ghetto panic' demonstrates, spatial sociology can also (potentially) confirm or debunk moral panics. For example Ludi Simpson (2004) has used the 2001 English 'mill-town' disturbances as a justifying backdrop for his study of 'self-segregation' amongst Asians in Bradford – one of the towns that experienced unrest. Using statistical data Simpson reveals major flaws within the contents of an official report which blamed the disturbances on increased self-segregation amongst South Asians, of which 'Muslim isolationism' played a significant contributory part (Denham, 2001; see earlier discussion on page 12). Whilst there has been an increase in the number of majority South Asian areas within the Bradford District, it was found that this is a result of immigration and from natural increase, *not* from a movement of South Asian residents to areas of South Asian concentration *from other areas within the Bradford District*. Venting his distrust at this official documentary report, which had subsequently been passed from one news report to another thus heightening existing moral panics and further pathologizing Asian communities, Simpson instead used his own findings to propose that "the legend of self-segregation [in Bradford] can now be seen to be a myth" (Simpson, 2004: 30).

As acknowledged previously there has been a lively outpouring of works concerned with the mapping of minority-ethnic settlement patterns. As noted in Chapter One the 1991 census for the first time asked informants to select – from a prescribed list - which category best represented their ethnic identity. Having access to data on specific minority-ethnic groupings - be it 'Chinese', 'Indian', 'Pakistani' and so on, geographers are now able to move beyond the use of broad umbrella categories that consistently plagued the subfield, and which left it particularly vulnerable to critiques based upon the philosophical underpinnings of 'new' cultural geography (see, with the exception of certain chapters, the edited collections by Coleman and Salt, 1996; Peach, 1996b; and Ratcliffe, 1996). Another progression involves spatial sociological attempts to tease out differences *within* the geographies of individual ethnic groups such as Robinson's (1996) early attempts at picking apart inter-generational differences in minority-ethnic settlement patterns in Britain.

The discussion so far has traced spatial sociology's establishment as the dominant mode of analysis within (British) geographical work on 'race' and ethnicity. Geographical work on British minority-ethnic communities is mainly in the form of quantitative analyses of residential patterns, and although such studies map out some of the basic characteristics of British minority-ethnic life, they are necessarily limited in their ability to gain in-depth contextual understandings. Having abstracted them from the realities that shape and structure their lives, minority-ethnic groups are effectively 'mapped' onto city spaces. Furthermore, despite some philosophical, theoretical and empirical advancement (noted above), spatial sociological literatures remain rooted within the inner-city. The geographical imagination has therefore 'captured' minority-ethnic communities within a particular space and, as we have seen, these locations are frequently bound by explicit and implicit reference to 'ghettoization', serving only to 'other' urban non-white populations even more.

2.4 Beyond the Ghetto...

'Spatial sociology...raised few questions about the *meaning or significance* of segregation but concentrated instead on describing the spatial pattern of minority-group concentration.' (Jackson, 1987: 4; with added emphasis)

'This volume seeks to mark a further step in the transition from a social geography that is exclusively concerned with patterns of immigration [by] challenging the racism that is endemic in British society.' (Jackson, 1987: 5-6)

As shown, Peter Jackson was a key figure in the reconfiguration of the subfield in 1981, co-editing with Susan Smith the seminal 'choice and constraint' thesis¹³ *Social Interaction and Ethnic segregation*. Jackson's (1987) second edited collection *Race and Racism: Essays in Social Geography* was again intended to serve as a radical departure from traditional geographical studies of 'race' and ethnicity. The volume was heavily critical of both spatial sociology and the choice and constraint model, citing in relation to the latter an earlier denigration by

¹³ Jackson and Smith nonetheless argued their collection was not a 'typical' application of the choice/constraint schema, rather an 'alternative formation [which] recognises the crucial role of the state in the city's social geography' (Ibid: vii).

Bridges (1982:83), who described it as at best “narrow empiricism” and at worst “socio-cultural apologism for racial segregation”.

Spatial sociology on the other hand was subject to a more sustained critique, hinging upon the way in which ‘race’ was seen as a viable analytical vessel; an uncomplicated category simply ‘there to be mapped’. Jackson insisted that ‘race’ represents not a natural division of humanity, but rather a social construction; a (loose) set of *ideas* given meaning by social, economic and cultural practices variant from place to place, thus giving rise to distinctive spatialized forms of ‘racial’ identities and racism. Through this approach, ‘races’, or indeed any other social groupings, were no longer to be analysed as fixed, monolithic and neatly bounded. While spatial patterns do undoubtedly express (at least some) social differences, Jackson was more interested in the recursive relationship between these two elements. Individuals, for example, may choose to be constrained into patterns of spatial segregation, but such exclusions also *reinforce* difference. The separation of people into crime-ridden areas may enhance popular imaginations of difference, for example, and these will only exacerbate existing systems of residential segregation.

The theoretical and critical core of *Race and Racism* thus centred upon an excavation of the societal mechanisms, such as capitalism, racism and patriarchy, which translated social differences into spatial patterns. Hence, studies such as Smith’s (1987) examination of discriminatory practices within housing markets and Sibley’s (1987) critique of state policy containing ‘gypsy’ movement tied in neatly with the volume’s broader philosophical and academic project. They were, after all, concerned with revealing how racism, via regulatory mediums (e.g. housing markets or governmental policies) created geographies of racism and enforced static, bounded constructions of ‘race’ and space (e.g. the ‘black’ inner-city/the gypsy encampments as a defiled space)¹⁴.

The discussion so far acts only as a general introduction to the epistemological claims associated with the social constructionist thinking. I have

¹⁴ It should be noted that human geographers began not only to deconstruct notions of black ‘racial’ identities, but also white identities. Jackson and Penrose (1993) similarly presented ‘whiteness’ as a political and social construction whilst Bonnet (1996a, 1996b, 1997) took this further by explaining how social research on ethnic groups has reified whiteness as an unproblematic, ‘taken for granted’ descriptive vessel. As we see later, a consequential effect of these arguments has been a questioning of ‘white spaces’ – a developing tradition in which this thesis follows.

outlined the social constructionist critique of spatial sociology and later attempts to weave ‘choice and constraint’ through spatial sociology. Crucial to these is recognition of the socially produced and contingent qualities of both space and identity. The next section now looks specifically at how the same ideas have been used to destabilise taken-for-granted, bounded conceptualisations of inner-city ‘black’ spaces such as ‘the ghetto’.

2.4.1 Critiquing the ‘ghetto panic’

‘Racial segregation...has become the touchstone for concern about a wider threat to Britain’s urban future...the ‘black’ inner cities have been successfully depicted as a threat to the fragile cohesion of the nation.’ (Smith, 1993: 140)

Michael Keith’s sustained deconstruction of ‘the black ghetto’ is a seminal social constructionist literature (see Keith 1987, 1993; and also Keith and Pile, 1993). Picking up on just one of the many claims presented, Keith argues that *ideas* of the black ghetto are given substance by state/police practices which equate areas of significant non-white population with criminality, lawlessness and social unrest:

‘The case I am arguing is that representations of “Blackness” as innately criminal...have played an instrumental role in the naturalization of the systematic racist criminalization of Black communities in Britain.’ (Keith, 1993: 3)

Such dominant (negative) representations, Keith argues, become spatialised; entrenched within British inner cities. He demonstrates this with reference to police popularisation of the term ‘no-go area’; no-go areas habitually being inner-city locations with historical linkages to violent confrontation, particularly between black youths and the police. Keith contends that in popularising the term, the police are appealing for those of us who are not black, and who are not interested in inciting or taking part in criminal activity, to ‘write off’ such spaces. The implication is that dominant assumptions (of criminality) remain unchallenged: violence, social unrest and anarchic behaviour are pre-given and endemic to these locations.

Keith views these subversive tactics as part of a larger project geared towards the enforcement of a (supposedly) naturalized form of racialised social control.

Popular acceptance of the 'no-go' label distracts attention from the systems of exclusion and racism actually perpetuating wholesale 'racial' segregation, not to mention the marginal conditions which prompt activities like rioting, whilst at the same time totalizing black experience into a controllable and convenient form:

'[t]o understand the context in which the Metropolitan Police could themselves use a term they had once feared is to see how police/Black conflict has come to be rationalized as a *manageable* social problem.' (Keith, 1993: 214, with added emphasis)

The proposed relationship here between the 'no go area' and the police is thus similar to that between the 'ghetto' and earlier spatial sociologists. It is a socially reproduced space used to order and manage the unknown, the undesirable and the anarchic. It is, borrowing from Sibley (1995: 231), a space that has been conjured by the powerful in order to 'expose difference and facilitate the policing of boundaries'. Keith's work is therefore extremely relevant within this chapter, since he is also critical of attempts at 'making sense of' non-white communities through 'fixing' them both spatially (in inner-city) and ideologically (as problematic).

The popular negative imageries associated with 'racial' segregation and the 'black ghetto', as well as their role in effecting social control, is likewise discussed by Susan Smith (1987). Whereas Keith was concerned primarily with the pathologisation of black communities through police practice and press reports into 'ethnic' rioting, Smith is directly interested in the political imagery associated with 'racial' segregation. It is her view that:

'[t]he process of residential differentiation and, crucially, the imagery of 'racial segregation' have played key roles in the social reproduction of race categories and in sustaining material inequalities between 'black' and 'white' Britain.' (Smith, 1987: 128)

Smith is therefore of the opinion that popular interest in black communities, through being centred upon imageries of 'racial' (residential) segregation alone, have (i) given substance to the notion of 'race' as a way of thinking about people and society and (ii) distracted critical attention away from the 'the bigger picture' (the material inequalities between 'black' and 'white' Britain).

Uniting the work of Michael Keith and Susan Smith is a shared critical interest in the symbolic geographies of the inner-city. They have shown how bounded, fixed and altogether negative imageries of the inner-city are used to further the needs of dominant groups, whose interests often conflict with those of urban black communities. Much of this relates to social control, with 'race' perceived as a natural social order. The inner-city is presented as home to all kinds of racialized activities – rioting, violent crime, and 'racial' segregation – all of which re-enforce 'race' as an analytical vessel. Of course, 'making sense' of the activities and social habits of black communities (the process of 'racialization') represents only one 'half' of the task of social control. These racialized identities still have to be contained and (quite literally) 'put in their place'. As should be obvious by now, non-white communities *have* been prescribed a certain place – the 'inner-city'.

Post-positivist geographers such as Michael Keith, Peter Jackson and Susan Smith have thus exposed 'the spurious basis for the legitimacy of race and racial segregation by deconstructing its naturalized links to place' (Johnston et al, 2000: 584). Critical of attempts to map cultural 'norms' onto space, they reveal how (inner-city) spaces are organized (i.e. fixed; rendered static) in the interests of maintaining established social hierarchies. As I discuss below, similar excavations of the 'politics of place' have begun to disrupt taken-for-granted imageries of 'white' suburbia.

2.5 White Suburbia?

When reviewing geography's various interactions with issues of 'race' and ethnic identity, Bonnet (1997) identifies what he feels has been an under-riding assumption that 'race' and ethnicity is only 'something to do' with non-whites. 'Whiteness', he contends, has never been part of geographical 'racial' inquiry:

'[t]he racialized subjects of geographical inquiry have remained, broadly speaking, the same, namely the activities and inclinations of marginalized ethnic groups, most especially non-White.' (Ibid: 193)

Bonnet subsequently urged geographers (as well as social scientists more generally) to reposition 'whiteness' and white identities - not as normal and unexceptional 'things' but rather as 'problematic', critical objects of inquiry.

Encouraged by Bonnet, Paul Watt (1998) argues that, in the same way geographers have begun to question white *identities*, they must also begin the disruption of unproblematic assumptions of white *spaces*. Watt sets out how his own study of minority-ethnic youths in England's 'Home Counties' achieves this:

'If whiteness needs to be problematised, as Bonnet (1997) argues, so do those suburban and rural areas of the country which are noted for their whiteness, and perhaps none more so than the Home Counties of the South East, the beating heart of 'Middle England.' (Watt, 1998: 688)

Crucial to Watt's argument are two dominant and mutually reinforcing popular imageries of the Home Counties area, each formed around a melding of notions of Englishness, whiteness and the middle-class. The first relates to the Home Counties as a '*white space*', and Watt relies not only on Cohen (1993: 34) who remarked, "as everyone knows, [it] is where the real English live" but so too Urry (1995: 205) who sees the Home Counties as "a racial landscape, one which is presumed to be white". The second set of images construct the South East as a '*placeless space*' - a middle-class 'non-place' where high levels of social and physical mobility mute individual attachment to particular places, limiting senses of 'community' and 'neighbourliness'. According to this line of thought the South East is:

'[a] spatially extended zone of formless urban development, the product of a service economy, of high levels of home and car ownership and of much prosperity, personal mobility and privatism.' (Watt, 1998: 689)

Placeless space or white place, argues Watt, both unchallenged and taken-for-granted images "marginalise and render invisible the presence of minority-ethnic groups living in the region" (ibid: 689).

Unhappy with the invisibility of non-whites within imageries of the Home Counties landscape, Watt investigated the leisure pursuits of multi-ethnic youths and, in so doing, salvaged 'racial' complexity in a landscape that is otherwise racially sterile (white). This led on to the main aim of the paper which was to

provide a call for fuller recognition of the *variety* of ways in which space is racialized, both by majority *as well as* minority groups (see also Agyeman, 1989).

Following Watt's lead, the British suburb is another place that needs to be 'opened up' in terms of the recognition given to minority-ethnic experience. David Sibley, for example, talks of the 'purified' (affluent) British suburb in which there is a 'concern with order, conformity and social homogeneity' (Sibley, 1995: 38-39). Despite the general indifference shown towards others (fuelled by a desire to lead private lives), '[suburbanites] do occasionally turn against outsiders, particularly when antagonism is fuelled by moral panics' (ibid: 39). Boundaries – both social and material – are thus important for the way they exclude the 'impure', transgressive, deviant and 'out of place'. Mike Davis (1990) makes similar observations within a North American context. Davis portrays the Los Angeles suburb as a fortress-like site of gated communities, combating the apparent threat of the urban poor who - so often - are non-white.

The task, in this instance, is therefore to disrupt the white/suburban duality. Geographers have already uncovered some of the practical and ideological systems perpetuating 'white' suburbia (above). Nonetheless, such critical insight must now turn inwards to recognise *how the practice of geography itself* re-enforces suburbia's imagery as a 'white' place. This brings us back to the spatialization of 'race' within the geographical imagination: research on 'black' communities is synonymous with the inner-city, the latter becoming the epicentre of 'racial' segregation. Suburbia, on the other hand, is rarely the location for work on 'race' and ethnicity, inscribing suburbia as 'racially' neutral – 'white' in other words. To disrupt this duality, geographers must locate the 'other' in the 'same': non-whites in suburbia.

Of the few geographical engagements with 'race' and ethnicity in a British suburban setting, Naylor and Ryan's (2002) historical account of the building (and later extension) of the London Fasl mosque¹⁵ is particularly insightful given its rejection of attempts to enforce dominant readings of suburban space, especially those based on (perceived) socio-cultural homogeneity and ethno-religious neutrality. Reflecting on the amalgam of (contested) meanings inflicted upon the mosque, Naylor and Ryan identify how the 'exotic' mosque was deemed 'out of

¹⁵ Planned, built and opened in the 1920s, the London Fasl Mosque was London's first mosque and is located in the suburban borough of Wandsworth.

place' by many of the white, middle-class, quasi-Christian and majority (suburban) social order. Underpinning this rejection, the authors contend, was the anti-mosque campaign's commitment to an ideological vision of suburbia as a 'cradle of Englishness':

'[c]oncern lay with a more general sense that a permanent mosque – no matter how authentic – was essentially a spatial oddity in suburban London, out of place with its residential, English surroundings.' (Naylor and Ryan, 2002: 49)

Naylor and Ryan are nevertheless highly critical of such to bound suburbia as a site of 'pure' English identity. This would, after all, signal ignorance towards the multicultural historical geography of suburbia:

'The history and geography of suburbia in Britain is inexorably bound up with the historical and geographical processes of colonialism, migration and settlement, by which different faith groups and ethnic-minority groups have come to reside there.' (Naylor and Ryan, 2002: 56)

They are essentially arguing here that, since the history of British suburban development is inescapably multi-ethnic, claims on suburbia vis-à-vis ethno-religious homogeneity are ultimately ill founded.

Criticism can nonetheless be directed at Naylor and Ryan's approach. By forwarding such a unitary history of British suburbia – one that is based upon the (apparent) ubiquity of multi-ethnic 'input' – they are guilty of homogenising the historical development of British suburbia. Certainly not all British suburbs have the same historic multi-ethnic richness as Wandsworth. This should not, however, detract from the radical agenda Naylor and Ryan pursue. They argue that sites of religious worship provide 'starting points' from which to 'place' minority-ethnic experiences – up until now invisible - into suburban narratives:

'[t]he writing of the historical geography of multicultural and multi-religious sites in suburbia challenges prejudice that casts suburbs as the face of homogenous, conservative cultural values. It also dispels any claims, notably from suburban residents, that suburbs should be reserved for the lives and values of the country's 'traditional' or 'authentic' inhabitants.' (Naylor and Ryan, 2002: 56)

Responding directly to the weaknesses of earlier approaches to 'race', ethnicity and the city, this would provide:

'[a] valuable way of countering the common representation of Muslims, Sikhs and Hindus (and other minority-ethnic groups) as somehow 'belonging' only in 'inner-cities' and not in suburban or rural Britain.' (Naylor and Ryan, 2002: 56)

However, and for all the strengths of their agenda, this last quotation raises some more questions of Naylor and Ryan's approach, this time in relation to their empirical focus. Looking at sites of religious worship, they are perhaps guilty of (further) exoticising minority-ethnic suburban communities. We are already well versed in regard to the role of religious discourse within construction and articulation of (negative) imagined geographies (Said, 1978). As the authors found, minority-ethnic attempts to leave indelible religious footprints on suburban space are vigorously contested¹⁶. How this particular geography of religion demonstrates Muslim '*belonging*' (to suburbia) therefore remains unclear; clearly there is a need to shift from observations of the 'exotic' (religion; mosques) to those concerned more with the 'everyday' and 'mundane' elements of the minority-ethnic/suburban nexus. Nonetheless, the call that Naylor and Ryan made – for a questioning of the 'racial' neutrality of British suburbia – marked an important progression within approaches to issues of 'race' and ethnicity in the city.

2.6 Hybrid Identities

Another development within contemporary perspectives on 'race' and ethnicity in the city is the growing literature on hybrid identities. In Britain much of this is centred on the identities of young (predominantly female) minority-ethnics, with Pakistani/Muslim in particular receiving a lot of attention (Knott and Khokher 1993; Dwyer 1998, 1999a, 1999b; Saeed *et al* 1999). Outlining how young people - either willingly or unwillingly - embody 'new' ethnic and religious identities, these studies rupture stale notions of 'otherness' and difference locating, instead, dynamic, contextual and 'inbetween' identities.

¹⁶There is a history of similar suburban conflict in Glasgow. One on-going example involves the development of a 'new build' religious and cultural education centre by Pakistani Muslims in Bearsden - a prosperous suburb to the northwest of Glasgow.

Dwyer (1999c), for example, demonstrated how young Muslim women reworked traditional dress codes at a secondary-school fashion show, creating alternative, hybrid-Muslim femininities. *'East meets West'* was a choreographed show in which participants wore a blend of 'English' and 'Asian' clothes. The resultant geographies of the body undermined essentialised cultural signifiers (Pakistani, British, Muslim, etc), allowing the participants to perform identities not always available to them in everyday life. This constituted a (self-conscious) challenging of dominant representations of Muslim students at the school (as 'stuck in *their way*') as well as the 'Asian'/'English' dichotomy more generally (as '*either one or the other*'). In this way, Dwyer saw the stage itself as a hybrid space, or, following Bhabha (1990), a 'third space'. It was the setting for 'a new negotiation of meaning and representation' beyond conventional cultural binaries (Bhabha, 1990: 211; cited in Dwyer, 1999c: 15).

Claire Dwyer's work borrows from developments within the field of postcolonial studies, where ideas of hybridity, syncretism, interculturalism and in-betweenness are central (Loomba, 1998). Such thinking recognises that subjects are often positioned in-between (or across) traditional cultural signifiers like race, class and gender, in the "interstices" where these domains intersect (Pile and Thrift, 1995: 18). This helps us come to terms with the complexities of contemporary (migrant) identities. It lets us explain the experiences of the: "Korean Buddhist chemical engineer, recently arrived from three years in Argentina, who becomes a Christian greengrocer in Harlem", or of the "Guyanese Indian New Yorker who served on the Howard Beach trial jury" (Watts, 1997: 494).

Dwyer's work is to be especially lauded for how ideas of (cultural) 'in-betweenness' are grounded in empirical discussion. Theorisations of hybridity, hybrid spaces and third space are traditionally dislocated from the situated practices of everyday life and, as such, can be criticised for their vagueness, detachment and immateriality. In this way, the terms themselves are often 'emptied of any potential political efficacy' (Mitchell, 1997a: 110). Not wanting to follow suit, Dwyer heeds Katharyne Mitchell's (1997b) call to 'bring geography back in' to discussions of

hybridity¹⁷, looking, in this instance, at the embodied geographies of British-Pakistani female secondary school students.

Given her empirical concerns (Muslim dress), Dwyer nevertheless avoids some of the more pressing and material issues facing British-Pakistani communities. I am not arguing that Dwyer's work lacks *useful* insights into the lives of contemporary Pakistani communities (indeed, she should be credited for looking at the second-generation, thus far neglected within the subfield). Rather, in light of such narrow applications we are missing much of the 'bigger picture'. When grounded in the material¹⁸ realm, post-positivist theorisations of identity and 'cultural inbetweenness' offer compelling insights into modern day urbanism. My arguments here follow those of Mitchell (1997b) who ordered more recognition of the economic (*as well as* cultural) context(s) from which in-between spaces arise, and in which hybrid identities are expressed.

Ways of 'grounding' hybridity in the material fabric of cities are discussed in the next chapter. In particular, I look at recent discussions of 'transnational space' (Crang et al, 2003; Jackson, 2002) and the longer established notion of 'diasporic space' (Brah, 1996). In terms of space: it is understood as 'multi-dimensional...multiply inhabited and characterized by complex networks, circuits and flows'. (Crang et al, 2003: 441). In terms of identity: 'cultural forms and articulations of cultural identity [are located] in more solid grounds (for some this ground is political economy, for others it is ethnographically represented local experience)'. (ibid: 443). Collectively, the intention is thus to:

'[a]void the more rarefied, abstract and ultimately fetishistic vocabularies of transnationalism [and, in this instance, hybridity (see above)]... [by locating] cultural forms and articulations of cultural identity in more solid grounds (for some this ground is political economy, for others it is ethnographically represented local experience).' (Crang et al, 2003: 443)

¹⁷ Nonetheless, Mitchell faced criticism from Crang et al (2003) who accuse her of 'hijacking' hybridity as a geographical agenda. This, they argue, would reduce the term to set meanings and conditions that "all future research...should follow" (ibid: 444)

¹⁸ The distinction between 'material' and 'immaterial' geographies remains both unclear and a site for much debate (see Lees, 2002). To indicate my own position, 'material' geographies are understood here as those involving the policies and political economy of spaces and how these are expressed spatially. Arguably a more accessible definition is offered by Philo (2000:33), who cites material geographies as those studies that, in some way, engage with the "thingy", bump-into-able, stubbornly there-in-the-world kinds of 'matter'.

Such discussions, I argue, locate a way of 'seeing' the city that is conducive to understanding Glasgow-Pakistani suburbanisation. Moreover, by marrying 'culture' with 'political economy', this thesis respects calls to pursue a 'new' urban geographical agenda (Lees, 2002) that is sensitive to the 'rematerialization' of human geography (Philo, 2000) whilst, at the same time, providing a deeper understanding of the city and urban space (Fincher and Jacobs, 1998).

2.7 Conclusions

The first section in this chapter reviewed (British) social research on 'race', ethnicity and the city, noting how the majority of these studies have been quantitative, geographical analyses of patterns of residential segregation. Such studies map out settlement patterns in (often) great detail, but are inevitably limited in their ability to gain in-depth and contextual understandings of minority ethnic communities. In addition, spatial sociologists have not only 'fixed' inner cities as non-white spaces, but also as epicentres for urban malaise and social unrest. The second and third sections of this chapter then charted progressions within this literature on 'race', ethnicity and the city. Firstly, I outlined the social constructionist critique of spatial sociology, noting how the former charged the latter with 'packaging' the British non-white experience into inner cities in order to alleviate the concerns of the (white) urban majority. Secondly, I illustrated subsequent attempts to disrupt this spatialisation of 'race' by excavating non-white experience of/within British suburbia, which, like the inner-city, is fixed along racial lines (only this time as a 'white' space). Moreover, since existing studies of non-whites in suburbia tend to celebrate the 'exotic', there is a need for narratives of more 'everyday' experiences of suburbia. The chapter concluded with a discussion of the developing literature on hybrid identities, illustrating how these theorisations go beyond, or more accurately between, taken-for-granted cultural signifiers (black, white, etc.). Such approaches, I argued, offer much to contemporary perspectives on 'race', ethnicity and the city providing that they are grounded in both a more relevant and material urban context. These ideas lead into the following chapter in which I introduce the theoretical foundations upon which my understandings of Glasgow-Pakistani suburbanisation are based.

CHAPTER THREE

DIASPORIC SPACE AND THE CITY

3.1 Introduction

Boundaries – both real and imagined - have always been central to the work of social scientists. Whether it is the drawing of lines on a map, the construction of a ‘safe’ border between Israel and the West Bank (Falah and Newman, 1995), or the distinctions ‘in the mind’ separating ‘us from them’ (Sibley, 1981; 1995) and nation from nation (Anderson, 1991), it is clear that boundaries matter. Yet for all their importance, understandings of boundaries have changed greatly over recent years with the intervention of post-positivist thought within the academy. Put simply, boundaries – along with the spaces and identities they define – are no longer conceived as fixed and stable, but rather as fluid, fragmented, constructed and porous. Simplistic binaries separating nation from nation, ‘us’ from ‘them’, ‘black’ inner-city from ‘white’ suburbia and, indeed, long-established immigrant groups from indigenous populations, are thus no longer tenable in an increasingly globalized and interconnected world (Featherstone, 1995).

The aim of this chapter is to introduce the theoretical framework – or ‘tools’ – used to make sense of the processes underpinning Pakistani suburbanisation in Glasgow. These philosophies differ from traditional approaches to issues of ‘race’ and ethnicity in the city, which as Chapter Two outlined, persist with outmoded and inappropriate conceptualisations of both minority-ethnic identity and space, rendering them fixed, static, and unable to come to terms with the complex and dynamic processes of cultural and economic change underpinning Glasgow-Pakistani suburbanisation. In particular, post-positivist understandings of space and identity are introduced, which build on the critiques of the older geographical understandings of minority-ethnic groups and segregation outlined in Chapters One and Two.

3.2 Post-Positivist Conceptions of Identity and Space

‘When I was taught urban social geography in the 1970s, I learned about the city as a mosaic of social worlds, an exciting array of enclaves in the inner-city (ethnic villages, gay ghettos, artists enclaves, elite neighbourhoods ringed by homogenous

middle-class family orientated suburbs). Worlds apart in social terms, they stand as neighbourhoods in space.’ (Pratt, 1998: 26)

The ‘type’ of city suggested to Geraldine Pratt (1998) still fascinates her. Above all, she is drawn by the professed ease at which urban dwellers can experience a multitude of radically different and (apparently) disconnected social worlds. Pratt cites Tom Wolfe’s (1987) portrayal of New York City in the novel *The Bonfire of the Vanities* – in which the space between two freeway ramps divides The Bronx from wealthy Park Avenue – as a classic example of this. By simply missing one turn-off, ‘you can emerge into a social world that operates with different codes, where other sets of identities are performed and where your identity is out of place’ (ibid: 26).

Yet for all their charm, Pratt is quick to acknowledge the flawed nature of these urban visions. From the Chicago School to the work of neo-Marxists, and to the more recent arguments of the L.A School and beyond, urbanists have contemplated the various and powerful processes of social differentiation at work in the city together with their spatial outcomes. However, the reality – as Pratt and many of her contemporaries within human geography now realise - is never this perfectly bounded medley of microworlds. This ‘cultural mosaic’ model of urban social order, which assumes a territorialized and binding union of people and place, has been undone by authors such Gupta and Ferguson (1992) and Appadurai (1991), who instead intimate social spaces as dynamic and inter-linked sites of cultural exchange, peopled by a diverse mixture of social groupings. At the crux of these developments is a post-positivist re-fashioning of space and identity, the main reference points of which are picked out in the following two sections below.

3.2.1 Identity

Black, brown, white; gay, straight, bisexual; Muslim, Christian; male, female: identity is an unavoidable – if not unchangeable – sculpting force on our lives. Providing ‘people’s source of meaning and experience’ (Castells, 1997: 6), it shapes behaviour by informing us what we can, cannot, should, and should not, do. And so too does it affect the opinions and behaviour of others towards us, generating division, friendship, war, camaraderie, and so on. Yet while we are aware of how it shapes our lives, identity is nonetheless a messy and complex subject. It is neither a stable substance nor a natural instruction with which once can say for certain ‘who

one is'. This is made clear in Ceri Peach's now-classic appraisal of his own, supposedly white, male, middle-class (academic) and Welsh identity:

'I can be Welsh in England, British in Germany, European in Thailand, [and] white in Africa. The identities of us and those around us are thus forever in (re)negotiation' (Peach, 1999: 284)

These ideas have been captured by a now-extensive academic literature in which we are encouraged to see identity as a process, a point of connection: 'points of temporary attachment to the subject positions which discursive practices construct for us' (Hall, 1996: 5). Kathy Ferguson, for example, talks of mobile subjectivities in her discussion of the post-modern subject:

'I have chosen the term *mobile* rather than *multiple* to avoid the implication of movement from one to another stable resting place' (Ferguson, 1993: 158; authors stress).

Thus, even though identities *do* crystallize, they do so only for brief, sometimes fleeting, moments.

This emphasis on cultural pluralism explains why hybridity became a key tool within the armoury of contemporary cultural theorists intent on new and more productive ways of articulating non-essentialist views of culture and identity (as opposed to previously normative understandings of nation and culture, in which purity and stasis are pre-given). Hybridity fitted the bill nicely; its premise being that identities are repeatedly produced in relation to one another. The epistemological consequences of this is that they cannot be considered in isolation from one another, and that attention must instead be given to the complex processes of cultural synthesis which give rise to the very, if fleeting, nature of modern-day identity. Contemporary cultural theorists have developed a sustained interest in the 'identification of peoples [with] multiple loyalties, [who] move between regions, [who] do not occupy a singular cultural space, and who often operate in some sense exterior state boundaries and cultural effects' (Young, 1995: 27).

Such developments have given rise to what may be synthesised as a 'new' or 'post-modern' politics of identity. The conceptual framework for this, and the implicit contrasts with 'modernist' conceptions of identity, are adequately summarised by Smith (1999) below:

Figure 3.1: The Politics of Identity

Modern Identities

Given, not made

Dichotomized

Essential

Taken-for-granted

Grouped, ranked, ordered

(Smith, 1999: 139)

Post-Modern Identities

Constructed, resisted, remodelled

Polyvocal

Hybrid

Contested

Individualized

The next section introduces how similar ideas of openness, fluidity and connection are informing recent attempts to understand the spatial settings of human action and experience.

3.2.2 Space

‘Not so many years ago, the word ‘space’ had a strictly geometric meaning: the idea it evoked was simply that of an empty arena...and the general feeling was that the concept space was ultimately a mathematical one. To speak of ‘social space’, therefore, would have sounded strange.’ (Lefebvre, 1991:1)

Contemporary human geography has experienced a growing alertness to the spatial dimension of social relations. Inspired by French theorists Lefebvre and Foucault¹⁹ in particular, geographers have gone to some intellectual lengths inserting the spatial into social theory (for example, Smith, 1984; Driver, 1985; Philo, 1992). Following on from Soja’s (1980, 1989) call to recognise the importance of the socio-spatial dialectic, human geographers have realised that, not only is space socially constructed, but so too is society spatially constructed (see also Dear and Wolch, 1989; and Peet, 1998).

That space matters to social theory is thus no longer a controversial statement (Massey and Allen, 1984). Nonetheless, deciding *how* the spatial interacts with the social remains difficult. For David Harvey (1989), the (global) spread of capitalism

¹⁹ Foucault’s understanding of space was based on *power*: ‘the spatialising description of discursive realities gives on to the analysis of related effects of power’ (Foucault and Gordon, 1980: 70-71). Gillian Rose (1999: 248-249) suggested that Foucault saw ‘the spatiality of performance relations...[as] a symptom of the power that saturates every self-other encounter’ so that space was ‘a strategy of power’ (ibid; see also Sharp et al, 2000).

and concomitant surge in related processes of globalization creates a 'time-space compression'; instances where capital 'conquers' space and time through improved communications. Faced with a barrage of outside agents, places and place-based identities are threatened with dislocation and fragmentation and it is here, Harvey contends, a certain human geography emerges that is iconic of our globalizing, capitalist, and for many deeply unsettling, times. This is a human geography apparently characterised by a rise in xenophobic and reactionary place-based politics as people search for old certainties and struggle to maintain a sense of who they (and others) are in the face of this onslaught from external forces (see also May, 1996). Therefore, a feature of contemporary global spatialities, Harvey contends, are attempts to fix, enclose and defend the meanings of particular places.

Adding another level to these arguments, Doreen Massey is conscious that we must not forget the *multiple* geographies of the time-space compression. While it is possible for some to mediate the time-space compression, however partially shaping its direction and intensity, she reminds us of the simultaneous existence of a whole host of marginal 'others' who for a variety of reasons are less able to do so:

'Imagine for a moment that you are on a satellite, further out and beyond all actual satellites; you can see 'planet Earth' from a distance... You can see all the movement and tune in to all the communication that is going on. Furthest out are the satellites, then aeroplanes, the long haul between London and Tokyo and hop from San Salvador to Guatemala City. Some of this is people moving, some of it is distribution networks, financial flows and transactions. Look in closer still and there are ships and trains, steam trains slogging laboriously up hills somewhere in Asia. Look in closer still and there are lorries and cars and buses, and on down further, somewhere in sub-Saharan Africa, there's a woman on foot who still spends hours a day collecting water.' (Massey, 1997: 317)

Massey (1994) argues that negotiation of these multiple geographies requires an understanding of the 'power geometry' implicit within them, whereby networks of social relations (including all manner of economic, political, social, cultural, and religious relations) are unevenly spread. For instance, she recognises that while business folk can fly across the globe in search of capital accumulation, refugees and migrants may fly halfway around the world only to be held up in a Heathrow interrogation room. Similarly, while the *favelas* of Rio de Janeiro produce global

football icons and the Latin beats heard in nightclubs in London and Paris, the majority of people in these slums remain imprisoned by poverty.

Recognising the limitations associated with ideas of fixed and unbreakable boundaries, Massey instead pursued a more progressive sense of place where the geographical search for boundaries gives way to an interest in the meeting and weaving of networks of social relations occurring at particular loci. In this 'global sense of place' (Massey, 1997) places are seen as the meeting point in to which flows channel in and branch out, meaning that the global flows through the local and that the local is always dynamic. In one illustrative vignette, she describes a walking tour through her hometown of Kilburn, North London. She notes interconnections with a variety of other places, whether it is the Muslim man selling newspapers ('silently chaffing at having to sell *The Sun*': Massey, 1997: 320), or the walls docked in pro-IRA graffiti. These (global) links purportedly constitute 'place', offering what Massey terms a more progressive vision of 'the local' than one based on fixed boundaries delineating 'them' from 'us'.

We have now etched out the philosophical basis informing Pratt's critique of the 'cultural mosaic' and her suspicion of any attempts at solidifying city spaces around selected social traits. Crucial to this has been an intertwining recognition of identity as temporary and performed, and of place as unbounded and dynamic. 'Mapping' identities onto social spaces thus means discrediting their specificity and temporariness as well as the complex grids of difference (surrounding 'race', class, ethnicity, age, gender, (dis)ability, etc) which govern identity construction (Anderson, 1998). Pratt is instead siding with a more *relational* vision of space and identity, in which contextuality, fluidity and interaction are of paramount importance.

3.3 Thinking Relationally: A New Politics of Place and Understandings of the 'Local'

'[T]he act of choosing is itself a form of theoretical closure. We may be pressed to choose, for example, between either a local identity or a global identity, or between a natural process or a cultural process, or between a black self or a white self, depending upon the focus of inquiry, with little room given to think across such distinctions or to disturb them as conceptual benchmarks. When closure comes in this way, the breaking apart of such dualisms, the ability to think across and beyond them, represents a form of openness.' (Allen, 1999: 327)

Relationality and the need to think *relationally* is a key theme to emerge of late in human geography (see Massey et al, 1999). They are central to recent statements concerning the nature, extent and politics of contemporary 'place' in globalizing society (whether 'place' be defined here as locality, city or region). Doreen Massey is again one of the chief protagonists of this latest re-imagining of space, which was designed to recognise multiplicity and difference and guard against essentialist modes of conceptualisation. In one of her first statements on this theme, she manages to package the bare essence of this new spatiality into three strands, the exact translations of which are given below:

1. I want to imagine that space is a product of interrelations. That is – probably uncontroversially – space is constituted through a process of interaction.

2. I want to imagine space as the sphere of the possibility of the existence of multiplicity; space as the sphere in which distinct narratives co-exist; space as the sphere of the possibility of the existence of more than one voice. Without space, multiplicity would be impossible. Moreover, the converse is also the case: without multiplicity there can be no space. If space is the product of interrelations (my first point) then it must be predicated upon the existence of plurality. The very fact of interrelation entails the notion of multiplicity. Multiplicity and space are co-constitutive.

3. I want to imagine space as disrupted and as a source of disruption. That is, even though it is constituted out of relations, spatiality/space is not a totally coherent and interrelated system of interconnections.

(Massey, 1999: 279-280)

Massey is quick to acknowledge that on first sight these may seem relatively obvious points, marking no real departure from other post-positivist spatial interventions (such as those outlined above). But with explanation the value and originality of her ideas become clear. She is basically critical of how human geography's concern with spatial difference in its truest sense – that is, the acknowledgement of *different* voices and *different* spaces - so often takes second stage to what is merely a concern for the *temporal* nature of spatial difference, in which everyone and everything in the world is seen to occupy the same space, albeit situated at different (temporal) stages within it. Massey uses modern day discourses of the global South to illustrate this point. As an extended region with low levels of per capita income, the global South is often presented in Western popular imageries

as 'backward' and thus behind, in a development sense, the global North. These same ideas are also true to phrases such as 'underdeveloped', 'developing' or 'newly industrialising', which are especially popular among academic appraisals of these areas. The upshot of this from a representational point of view, Massey points out, is that rather than being seen as rightly *different* from their counterparts in the global North, nations of the South are merely bundled together and placed on the *same* Anglo-centric, capitalist and supposedly 'utopian' development trajectory, albeit at varying stages *behind* these richer nations. This reordering of coexisting spatial differences into a unitary and temporal sequence means that both multiplicity and the possibility of 'other' voices are suffocated. 'They', in other words, are seen as no different to 'us' other than the fact that 'they' are backward versions of 'us'. In light of this, Massey proposes a reconstitution of the spatial so that it is afforded a degree of mutual autonomy ['while there is more than one story going on in the world...these stories [would] have, at least, a relative autonomy'²⁰ (ibid: 281)]. This would entertain the fact that 'the South' may not *necessarily* be following 'us', but that they may indeed have their own story to tell. The emergent spatiality is thus a plurality, a multitude of different narratives and trajectories *that are not necessarily alignable into one linear story*.

'Thinking' space in this relational way would therefore open up narratives of Pakistani suburbanisation in Glasgow. As we have seen, these (suburban) Pakistani narratives are currently lost within accounts of the British Pakistani experience, where internal difference is pasted over with problematic accounts of rioting, marginality and residential segregation. But what else does this type of spatiality offer to this study of Pakistani suburbanisation and, indeed, the study of minority-ethnic communities within Britain today? Before answering these questions it is necessary to first outline the consequences of relational thinking on modern theorizations of 'place', or 'locality', and then chart what the emergent politics of place means in terms of the way that contemporary cities are conceptualised in globalizing society.

'The local', 'place', 'locality': as geographical entities these terms traditionally become infused with the deep and meaningful. They are held as sites of the lived and grounded, of everyday experiences, intimate relationships and close affiliations, both

²⁰ It is important to note that Massey goes on to elaborate her use of the term 'relative' here. She stresses that 'relative' autonomy should not be taken as a suggestion that 'different' worlds, places and trajectories are ever totally unconnected from each other (echoing some of the arguments put forward earlier in the chapter). Instead, her intention is simply to rule out the existence of 'only one story'.

with fellow inhabitants and the territories themselves. Casey (1996: 18), for example, acknowledges that 'to live is to live locally, and to know is first of all to know the place one is in'. The sensuousness of places and the inevitability of the psycho-attachments they generate is noted by Dirlik (1998: 8) who concedes that 'place consciousness...is integral to human existence'. In this way, place is often held as the antonym of space, which instead connotes the abstract and the characterless; a people-less plain inhabited only by flows of faceless goods and power ['place is space to which meaning has been ascribed' (Carter et al, 1993: xii)].

'Place', then, is purportedly the location where identity and identities become rooted, nurtured and developed. One of the most vivid (and emotive) illustrations of this concerns how places and localized contexts so often become the setting for resistance movements where people fight to retain a collective sense of 'who they are', and whose struggles are centred around the maintenance (defence) of those very place(s) which are axiomatic to this project (Routledge, 1993; Escobar, 2001). As such, place may be equated with territory; they are contained, bounded areas embroiled with meaning. They possess their own distinct brand of economic, cultural and/or political regulations. The effect of this, as Ash Amin notes, is so give rise to a worldview of 'nested or jostling territorial configurations, of territorial attack and defence, of scalar differences, of container spaces' (Amin, 2004: 33).

Massey (2004), however, reminds us that places are not always meaningful for everyone, everywhere. Fittingly, she eschews the primacy of place in the production of personal and cultural identity, and, of theoretical concern to this thesis; a politics of place centred upon impenetrable boundaries and perfectly intact, coherent communities. Her judgements are again vested on the relational nature of both space and identity; that, in terms of identity, we are not 'solid' beings who simply go out 'there' and interact in the world, all whilst maintaining this rigid form. Rather, she argues that our identities - our very beings - are constituted in, and through, these very processes of interaction. Space, too, is conceived in an identical manner: it is *made through* these interrelations and connections with other nodal points, practices and trajectories. Therefore, if we think through place in this relational way we can see that, rather than being bound by meaning, it is instead a perforated entity of perpetually changing nature and composition, with connections stretching into other spaces that are themselves under permanent renegotiation. Thus, Massey is pointing towards a 'new' politics of place that is neither aspatial (space is not merely a

'backdrop' to social life) nor territorial (the local is the container of 'all'). Instead, the local/place is conceived as a forum in which different scales of social practice and action are brought together (Agnew, 1994).

How, then, do these so-far abstract discussions of relational thinking translate into a re-theorizing of cities and city spaces in today's globalizing world? Amin (2004) forwards our understandings of globalizing city spaces by identifying two constituents within, and stipulations of, this 'new' – and relationally sympathetic – urban politics of place. Each of these facets is crucial to the attempts at re-fashioning conceptions of (minority-ethnic) urban space contained in this thesis, so it is worth dwelling on each of them. They are: a *politics of propinquity* and a *politics of connectivity*.

3.3.1 *Politics of propinquity*

This first relational-led stipulation posits that we *turn inward* to recognise (or 'get to grips with') the intense diversity across, and amongst those within, city spaces. If city spaces are the location of the intersection of various and disparate trajectories (in accordance with 'thinking relationally'), then, first and foremost, they are places of ongoing negotiation and inevitable hybridities. In this way Amin (2004) claims that one unavoidable feature of any city 'turf' is the plethora of pre-existing, yet eternally changing/rearranging microworlds which come to pass within them. It is through their very juxtaposition - their propinquity – that they develop and take their nature from each other:

'The politics of propinquity, then, may be read as a politics of negotiating the immanent effects of geographical juxtaposition between physical spaces, overlapping communities, [and] contrasting cultural practices. As such, [it] is neither automatically benign nor malign, it has no pre-given remit, institutional composition and conduct, and it comes with no territorial restriction of its spatial architecture and alignments. Instead, all one may be sure of is to take spatial juxtaposition seriously as a *field of agonistic engagement*. This means seeing the local political arena as an arena of claims and counter-claims, agreements and coalitions that are always temporary and fragile, [and] always the product of negotiation and changing intersectional dynamics' (Amin, 2004: 39)

Massey's (1997) influential views on London and all its post-colonial multiplicity, which were introduced earlier in this chapter, thus represent a contemporary example of the politics of propinquity 'at work'. The modern day identity of both London and Londoners is, she contends, derived more from its mixity rather any sense of common 'roots'. But where does this mixity come from? This question leads onto the second stipulation within this new, relational politics of place.

3.3.2 *Politics of connectivity*

Section 3.2.2 outlined how the internal multiplicity and plurality of 'place' so often has its origins in 'other' places, calling forth academic sensitivity to diffuse spatialities and geographical mobility. With this in mind, the inward perspective engendered by a politics of propinquity must be complimented by an *outwardly orientated* notion of a politics of connectivity in which individual (and internally diverse) city spaces are correctly envisaged as part of a much broader network of relationships whose internal linkages deserve recognition. Replicating Doreen Massey's global sense of place, these ideas refute visions of the city as a bounded territory, acknowledging instead the very external flows which breathe life into the city. Using London again as an example, such a relational map would bring to the fore the 'network of sites that pump fresh food into a distribution centre called Covent Garden', or make us more inclined to see sites like Heathrow Airport or Kings Cross Station 'as radiations of trails shooting out across the land and far beyond...revealing London as a site of transport and connectivity' (Amin, 2004: 34).

If both these stipulations are fostered within a (new) politics of place, the outcome is a vision of the city not only freed from the 'constraints of territorial jurisdiction' (Amin, 2004: 42), but in which internal difference is recognised so that our insights are not cornered (or 'closed') by rigid dualities. This represents a form of 'openness' such as that espoused by Allen (1999) at the beginning of this section. Moving the discussion on now, Section 3.4 below charts the considerable headway made by such progressive ideas on space and identity within a diverse literature relating to the experiences of (predominantly non-white) minority-ethnic groups within the Western world. This literature – in particular Avtar Brah's (1996) visions of 'diasporic space' (later grounded in empirical studies by Peter Jackson, Phil Crang and Claire Dwyer as part of their ESRC funded *Transnational Communities* programme – see the discussion of their work that follows below) – offer much in the

way of understanding, and explaining, the outward movement of Glasgow-Pakistanis towards the affluent suburbs. This is clarified at the end of section 3.4 below, which first provides a general outline of these post-positivist ideas and their application within theorisations of, and empirically grounded research upon, migrant communities in the developed world and urban Britain in particular.

3.4 Diasporas, Hybridities, Networks and Communities

Diaspora – literally meaning ‘to disperse’ – has come into vogue over the last decade within discussions of migrant peoples and communities. Like hybridity and the recognition of hybrid cultural forms (see Chapter Two) the term implies cultural mobility, contradiction, ambiguity and multiple belonging(s). It is therefore a suitable commentary on the nature of much contemporary (post-colonial) migrancy, alluding to how, for instance, a British-Pakistani female executive can feel ‘at home’ both rambling through a bustling, downtown Karachi food market, and in her luxurious, Spitalfields penthouse. Diaspora, or more accurately this notion of *variegated diasporas*, has thus proven attractive to various post-structuralist critiques of hegemonic, essentialist narratives of ‘race’ and nation²¹, allowing instead for alternative narratives containing instances of movement between borders and regions; individuals with mixed national loyalties; the avoidance of cultural ‘normalisation’ linked to (one) national identity; and of the habituation of more than one cultural space (Hall, 1990).

Diasporas thus became the ‘locus’ for (potentially) emancipatory and empowering cultural understandings, centring on how certain groups and individuals were apparently free from hegemonic and binding discourses of ‘race’, culture and nation through eliding both (physical and metaphorical) boundaries and borders²². Paul Gilroy’s (1993, 1997) influential theses on the ‘black’ diaspora and its impact on - and hybridisations with - British culture is one of the classic statements in this regard. His concern was with a celebration of the *routes* (as opposed to *roots*) of

²¹ Mitchell (1997a: 535), for example, talks of how diaspora, alongside hybridity, became ‘the perfect conduit for post-structuralist understandings of the advantages of pluralism, ambivalence and nonfixity’.

²² Such ideas, which for some may conjure images of a seemingly ‘unchecked’ flow of migrant peoples ‘jetting around’ the globe, have nonetheless to be treated with some caution. Fabricant (1998: 26), for example, argues that theorisations of diaspora ‘must address the yawning gulf separating those privileged groups apparently able to flit around the world at will from the much larger group of migrants threatened with incarceration.’ Kaplan (1995) is also critical of this suggestion of a world without boundaries.

black diasporic identities, in so much that, out of the negative forces of oppression stemming from previous regimes of slavery and forced migration, 'new', original and vibrant forms of cultural production were able to come to the fore. One of the most obvious illustrations of this relates to the 'black' musical genres of blues, reggae, soul and rap, whose very emergence stemmed from a fusion of various, disparate cultural traditions from across 'the black Atlantic' (Gilroy, 1993).

These emancipatory and empowering post-structuralist discussions of diaspora and diasporic form – of inbetweenness and multiple residence - have since and somewhat inadequately (see below) become fused with 'space' and discussions of spatiality through references to 'marginality' and the benefits of 'being in' the margins. Here, the liminal, unfixed spaces 'between' subject positions and nations are heralded as sites of possibility, potential and resistance against dominant and oppressive narratives and powers. bell hooks (1990), for example, recalls growing up in a small, racially divided town in Kentucky state (U.S). As a black woman, she noted how the physical features and layout of her hometown reiterated both her geographical and social marginality:

'[T]he railroad tracks were a constant reminder of our marginality. Across those tracks was a world of paved streets, stores we could not enter, restaurants we could not eat in, and people we could not look directly in the face. Across those tracks was a world we could work in as maids, as janitors, as prostitutes, as long as it was in a service capacity. We could enter that world but we could not live there. We had always to return to the margin, to cross the tracks, to shacks and abandoned houses on the edge of town' (hooks, 1990: 341)

But rather than condemning them as sites of deprivation and oppression, hooks sees both the margins and marginality as sites of resistance against colonizing forces. Indeed, since marginality implies separation from the 'centre' which seeks to dominate it, just the very act of 'being in' the margin is to hooks an act of resistance in itself. Fighting against essentialist forms of cultural representation Bhabha (1990) makes similar claims relating to the empowering qualities of 'between' spaces. His particular assertion is of a *Third Space*, that is, the space in which cultures intersect and in which new possibilities are born:

‘All forms of culture are continually in a process of hybridity. But for me the importance of hybridity is not to be able to trace two original moments from which the third emerges, rather hybridity to me is the ‘third space’ which enables other positions to emerge. This third space displaces the histories that constitute it, and sets up new structures of authority, new political initiatives...The processes of cultural hybridity gives rise to something different, something new and unrecognisable, a new area of negotiation of meaning and representation’ (Bhabha, 1990: 211)

Yet for all their worth to a progressive agenda on cultural politics, nesting discussions of diaspora and hybridity within such vague and abstract spatial terms only succeeds in wresting them further away from the very people, lives and situations they are supposed to represent (Mitchell, 1997a; 1997b). One antidote to this, Mitchell (1997b) suggests, is the bringing of geography ‘back in’ so that we (as geographers) are more inclined to ask ourselves, in a seemingly mantra-like way: ‘what are the actual physical spaces in which these boundaries are crossed and erased?’ (Mitchell, 1997a: 537).

Nonetheless, ‘grounding’ diaspora within the more ‘solid’ bedrock of ethnographic geographies and geographies of political economy, as Mitchell suggests, can create a new set of problems which Crang et al (2003; 2004) are quick to identify. They are worried that the very principle of ‘fixing’ discussions of diaspora into a pre-defined line of inquiry (i.e. geography, political-economy, ethnography) will mean that many other, not necessarily geographical, political economic or ethnographic features of the diasporic process and experience will be overlooked. In particular danger, they argue, are the symbolic and cultural qualities of diasporic connections and spaces (see below). Of more immediate concern to Crang and his co-authors, though, is the way that discussions of diaspora and - of transnationalism more generally – remain based upon the sole experiences of migrants/immigrants alone, thus missing out on social, cultural and economic agents whose origins lie ‘outside’ this ethnically defined community, but which still impact on them. Their concerns thus represent a refashioning of Avtar Brah’s (1996) earlier ideas in relation to diasporic space, which is of a space inhabited not only by transnationals – or immigrants – themselves, *but so too by members of the ‘indigenous’ population:*

‘My argument is that diasporic space as a conceptual category is ‘inhabited’, not only by those who have migrated and their descendents, but equally by those who are constructed and represented as indigenous. In other words, the concept of diasporic space...includes the entanglement, the intertwining of the genealogies of dispersion with those of ‘staying put’. The diasporic space is the site where *the native is as much a diasporian as the diasporian is the native.*’ (Brah, 1996: 209; author’s stress)

Crang et al (2003) demonstrated the utility of this perspective within their study of several British-Asian business enterprises (among them, *Daminis*, *East*, *Anokhi* and *Ghulam Sakinaa*, each of which are clothing companies; and *Pataks* and *Sharwoods*, both of which are food manufacturers). Using a detailed, ethnographic methodology hinging upon in-depth interviews with key entrepreneurial figures in each enterprise, they gradually uncovered the commodity and cultural circuits upon which these businesses were formed, and upon which their continued success is based. Characterised by varying scales of interaction with a host of intermediaries such as buyers, manufacturers, marketing strategists, chefs and clothes designers, these circuits were found to extend far out-with the limits of co-ethnic cooperation traditionally associated with British-Asian businesses (usually based around the family, e.g. Song, 1999). From these empirical observations they proceeded to forward a notion of transnational space as a *multiply inhabited* space; the scope of which necessitates consideration of *both* minority and majority groups, as well as minority and majority-led processes²³. Crang and his co-authors also point towards one other recognisable element of transnational space besides its multiply inhabited form, and that is its *multidimensionality*. Using biographical accounts to reconstruct the circumstances behind the establishment of each business, they reveal their rooting – or grounding – within a variety of different historical, political and familial situations and contexts. While *Sharwoods* emerged from systems of British and European colonial trade with the Indian subcontinent, a more ‘typical’ story of

²³ There is thus a considerable amount of theoretical common ground between these ideas of diasporic space and those of ‘mixed embeddedness’ introduced in Chapter One. To clarify again, advocates of the mixed embeddedness approach have argued for the placement of minority-ethnic communities in both their cultural *and* political economic contexts, the latter thus encompassing ‘externally sourced’ agents such as state policy change and implantation, as well as the dramatic systems of urban economic restructuring that have been effected in the cities of advanced capitalist nations. As we see in Chapters Six and Seven, this last batch of conditions have exerted themselves considerably upon processes of Pakistani suburbanisation in Glasgow, meriting themselves recognition *alongside* the cultural dispositions and resources vested in the community’s dispersal.

family-based entrepreneurialism accounts for *Pataks*. Likewise, while *Anokhi* was also born from the fortunes of an elite Indian family whose wealth was founded again on the legacy of colonial trading, *Ghulam Sakina* – while also based upon family productivity – was nonetheless bolstered by transnational linkages forged through professional contacts and experiences within education (Dwyer and Crang, 2002; Dwyer and Jackson, 2003). The point here, then, is to acknowledge the worth of the twin conceptualisations of diasporic space and transnational space within understandings of contemporary minority-ethnic communities and the city. ‘Openness’ would be the watchword of a ‘new’, theoretically informed spatiality in which non-migrant groups and ‘external’ city forces and institutions require as much consideration as the minority-ethnic communities themselves.

Yet one post-positivist mandate on the (re-considered) nature of minority-ethnic city space is still missing, and that is the inevitable connections and networks that constitute the ‘local’ – or the ‘politics of connectivity’, borrowing from Ash Amin (2004). Like the mixed embeddedness approach outlined in Chapter One, trailblazing applications of this and similar philosophies to research on ‘race’ and ethnicity in the city again comes from writers on minority-ethnic business, rather than from academics with more orthodox human geographical interests in the spatiality of people and communities (as opposed to the spatialities of business operations).

Acknowledging the work of Henri Lefebvre (see above) as a key theoretical precedent, Werbner (2001) uncovers some of the vast and various networks underpinning U.K. Asian business success to launch a bracing critique of earlier, mainly trans-Atlantic research into the spatial characteristics of minority-ethnic business, where their operational scope was interpreted as being limited to their ‘own’ space, and in accordance with their ‘own’ rules, stipulations and individual assortment of other social, cultural, political and economic inputs. In these ‘ethnic enclave’ – or ‘ethnic niche’ (Waldinger, 1993) hypotheses – minority-ethnic businesses were thus seen as ‘cut-off’, or at the very least isolated, from the rest of the city (Wilson and Portes, 1980; Wilson and Martin, 1982). One of the most important factors maintaining these images of autonomous, business ‘clusters’, Werbner argues, is the fact that people’s understandings of (and thus opinions on) minority-ethnic business are contrived only from the obvious, *visible* sides of these enterprises. That is, the corner shops and restaurants whose owners are visibly Asian, or indeed the ‘little Indias’ or ‘little Pakistans’ with dense commercial centres containing jewellery

stores which ‘exhibit the finely intricate gold work typical of sub-continental tastes, while North Indian restaurants and takeaways display their signs of another place: Darbar, Shere Khan, Sanam Sweethouse’ (Werbner, 2001: 671). Werbner counters the dominance of these imageries by insisting that the majority of Asian-owned businesses are, in fact, relatively invisible, operating from inconspicuous sites such as the home, warehouse or backstreet. Furthermore, these operations are often directed at customers beyond the co-ethnic group (landlords or taxi drivers, for instance). So, given that these businesses and their trade-based links are not only ‘invisible’, but operate within – and are geared towards – ‘external’ markets, this begins to throw out ideas of a ‘bounded’ ethnic enclave economy. But it is when we contemplate the (invisible) flows and networks of goods and social connections underpinning these businesses rather than simply for whom the products are geared towards, insists Werbner, that the frailties of this simplistic spatial appraisal are magnified. Revisiting some of her earlier work on Manchester’s textiles and fashion industry (Werbner, 1984, 1987, 1990), she notes just some of these subterranean flows, particularly those centred on the activities of market stall holders who source their goods here:

‘[This] complex edifice of manufacturing and wholesaling relies on the custom of an army of self-employed Asian peripatetic market traders who operate from their homes where they store their goods. The markets they work at are widely dispersed throughout Greater Manchester and beyond, in the Lake District, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland.’ (Werbner, 2001: 680)

Werbner’s is thus a classically post-positivist statement in that she forthrightly rejects the ‘ethnic enclave’ hypothesis and any further attempts at binding or ‘sealing off’ minority-ethnic spaces (insisting instead that these represent only one node in a far more extensive matrix of spatial and interpersonal relationships). But it is her unique excavation of the invisible flows constituted within the everyday spaces of British-Asian life that is most deserving of praise. These flows deconstruct fallacies associated with stereotypical visions of these spaces, which are generated through surface description and attention to only what is observable, and what so often tends to be over-blown and exotic references to the far-flung homelands of the their cultural protagonists. We see in Chapter Six how a range of subterranean flows are also implicated within the suburbanisation of Glasgow’s Pakistani community. These

flows, ranging from the relaying of messages and support to family members elsewhere in the U.K., to the 'imagined' connections predicated upon shared notions of ethnicity, culture and nationhood (Anderson, 1991), simultaneously lure Pakistanis to the suburbs while at the same time maintaining the majority status of the core. Referencing this and similar instances of openness, fluidity, and interaction, the empirical chapters demonstrate the theoretical and analytical worth of relationality and similar post-positivist conceptions of identity and space within understandings and explanations of Glasgow-Pakistani suburbanisation.

3.5 Conclusions

This chapter has provided a theoretical foundation for conceptualising Glasgow-Pakistani suburbanisation, in which matters of space and identity are central. I began by sketching out some of the common features of post-positivist understandings of identity and space, in which movement, interaction and hybridity are unavoidable consequences of an increasingly globalized and interconnected world. Some of the most recent attempts at synthesising these ideas within human geography were then introduced, in which we are urged to recognise *both* the deviations within and connections across, space. These ideas, centring on the assumption that we must think both space and identity relationally, have led to the rupturing of 'fixed', place based identities. The local is seen instead as a site of dynamism and interaction, involving an amalgam of different agents. The chapter finished by noting how these ideas have already filtered through work on minority-ethnic groups, leading to a more theoretically informed conceptualisation of the spaces in which these groups live and interact (e.g. Crang et al, 2003; Werbner, 2001). In short, there has been a new willingness to locate these communities *within the broader urban context* of the cities in which they are inserted.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCHING 'RACE' AND ETHNICITY IN THE CITY

4.1 Introduction

Chapter Two established that until recently academic insights into issues of 'race' and ethnicity in Britain's cities remain dominated by quantitative approaches to scientific enquiry in which primacy is given to the statistical measurement and spatial analysis of non-white populations (referred to in this thesis as 'spatial sociology'). The most excessive examples of this work have ignited a 'ghetto panic' in which non-white inner-city communities are tarred with sceptical and at times misplaced (see Simpson, 2004) descriptions of self-segregation and increasing cultural insularisation. Having revealed the negative social consequences of this work the intentions of this current chapter are now to, firstly, expose the epistemological and ontological foundations upon which these problematic social commentaries were made before, secondly, going on to introduce the alternative philosophical and methodological projects contained in this current study, these having been melded out of the inability of this earlier work to come to terms with the 'new' geographies of settlement emerging throughout British-Pakistani community, let alone the dynamic processes of cultural realignment and urban political and economic restructuring which underpin them. With this in place the second half of the chapter then outlines the specific qualitative research methods used in this study along with the important ethical and positional implications connected to their use in the field, the latter concerns corresponding to the recent calls of Loretta Lees (2003) and others (e.g. Baxter and Eyles, 1997) for a more transparent discussion of the methods applied by qualitative human geographers, and a more rigorous evaluation of the extent to which they were 'successful'.

4.2 The 'Empirical-analytical' Tradition

Spatial sociology is predicated upon the existence of a world freely accessible to empirical observation in which methods of communication (indexes of segregation, graphs and maps) represent unmediated reflections of what actually exists 'out there' in the 'real world'. With so much resting on the power of 'simple observation' spatial sociology is therefore underwritten by a clear philosophical

commitment to *empiricism* (see below). But, and as we saw in Chapter Two, spatial sociologists have at times extended their spatial descriptions into a more coherent quest for laws and definitive statements on observable social phenomena (e.g. does Britain have ghettos?), and this adds another, albeit intermittent, dimension to prevailing philosophical approaches to issues of 'race' and ethnicity in the city - *positivism*.

Empiricism and positivism are closely associated philosophies. Habermas (1978) and more recently Unwin (1992) see both as co-constituents of the 'empirical-analytical' tradition of scientific analysis, united and distinguishable from other philosophies by their co-rejection of normative insights of people as logical decision makers, favouring instead *descriptive* accounts of human action and organisation. The distinction between empiricism and positivism is nevertheless a frequent source of confusion. Both propose a brand of knowledge based exclusively on what can only *be seen* (their primary concern being, therefore, with 'objects') and this distinction is muddied further by the fact that empiricist philosophies are a *fundamental presumption* of positivism (but *not vice versa*). Both nevertheless remain wholly separate terms. Empiricism, first of all, is a *general* philosophical approach to scientific method precluding theoretical analysis from the production of knowledge. 'Facts' - or observations - are in other words able to 'speak for themselves'. Positivist approaches to human geography on the other hand involve the further decoding of these observations of human activity into generaliseable laws and models [explaining comparisons between positivist human geography and the natural sciences (Graham, 1997)]. In this respect positivism represents a certain, more refined *type* of empiricism.

Commentaries on the development of contemporary geographical thought associate positivism with the workings of Schaefer and those other human geographers who, throughout the 1950s, injected scientific measurement into a discipline up till then predisposed with the far-less-rigorous 'surface' description of Richard Hartshorne's quaint regionalism (Cloke et al, 1992). Furthermore, such calls corroborated with more general debates in social science at the time concerning the relative merits of the 'ideographic' versus those of the 'nomothetic'. The specificity of Hartshorne's regionalism came under attack from (mainly) positivist spatial scientists who used quantitative methodologies and methods (now in vogue due to the ongoing quantitative revolution within the social sciences) to eke out those 'laws'

governing social behaviour and organisation. Conceptually, positivists thus championed nomothetic forms of *explanation* in human geography as opposed to the ideographic trend of simple *description* based on ‘one off’ scenarios and case situations (Harvey, 1969).

Empiricist and positivist approaches to human geography (and, therefore, much contemporary research into ‘race’ and ethnicity in the city) nevertheless came under intense criticism from subsequent philosophical approaches. Perhaps the most sustained and intense of these attacks came from feminist scholars who together exposed the fallacy in such claims to objective, value-free knowledge. Advocates of the feminist research agenda rejected positivist assumptions of an unmediated research context and detached ‘neutral’ observer (e.g. Women and Geography Study Group, 1997), insisting that all knowledge is instead ‘situated’ (Haraway, 1988); produced in accordance with – and mediated by – the immutable cultural ‘baggage’ of both the researcher and research subject(s) (relating to their alignment with issues of gender, ethnicity, class, sexuality and (dis)ability). The legacy of these debates has been massive and all research (in whatever guise) is now recognised as possessing its own unique set of (micro)political conditions which in turn sway every aspect of the research process from the project’s inception, to the findings obtained, and the way in which these findings are authored. Objective value-free knowledge is, in other words, considered implausible.

In short, then, there were strong calls for more nuanced and reflexive forms of research capable of exploring the world through personal experiences. As such, and given the overall aims of this thesis, an alternative philosophical and methodological framework was required here in this study of Pakistani suburbanisation in Glasgow.

4.3 The Development of a Philosophical and Methodological Position

One of the primary concerns of this thesis was to shed light on the diverse geographies of British-Pakistani communities emerging within U.K cities. This interest was in turn inspired by dissatisfaction with the narrowness of existing academic, media and popular portrayals of these communities, which are mainly limited to portrayals of Pakistani marginalisation, insularisation and conflict. It seemed that few outside the communities themselves were familiar with ‘alternative’ Pakistani narratives of success, prosperity and development, for instance. But the main root of my dissatisfaction stemmed from their failure to recognise the

significance of recent years as a pivotal point in the development of the British-Pakistani population more generally, and the shifting cultural, economic, social and geographical contexts of the communities into which this population is organised. Being a partial insider within Glasgow's Pakistani community (see below) I was well placed to see these changes at work, seemingly being 'in the middle' of them. As a young half-Pakistani/half-Scot I was also a living embodiment of these changes, my own experiences within the Scottish education system and the hopes of professional employment I harboured certainly not lost amongst my peers in Glasgow. These circumstances gave me a good position from which to identify arguably the most important coordinating force within these changes: the 'coming' of later-generation Pakistanis into the housing and labour market nearly fifty years after the apex of Pakistani migration to Britain. So, and in the face of all this dynamism and change on the one hand, and the rigidity of existing public and academic insights on the other, I felt motivated to undertake this study of Glasgow-Pakistani suburbanisation. My study would, I thought, help on both fronts; documenting change *and* resisting hegemonic representations of British-Pakistanis.

Glasgow represented a suitable field-location in which to 'place' these concerns since its Pakistani community was clearly experiencing deep transitions, not only on the back of generation realignment but so too in response to the city's evolving political-economic context (see Chapter Seven). This selection was also swayed by the fact I had till then lived all my life in the Glasgow area and so I was sure that the study would benefit not only from the personal knowledge of the city I had, but so too the pre-existing networks and social ties already established with Glasgow-Pakistanis, these connections made accessible through the very fact of living in the city and not *just* forged on the back of the ethnicity of both myself and my family.

A study into the growing prevalence of Pakistani suburbanisation was eventually identified as the most relevant and appropriate means with which to register and document the growing diversity within, and transitional nature of, Glasgow's Pakistani community. My interest in this specific theme was fired by an earlier quantitative study reviewing trends in the spatial distribution and socio-economic profile of Scotland's Pakistani population, with most attention (as expected) given to the communities contained within Scotland's principal urban centres, Glasgow and Edinburgh (Bailey et al, 1995). The theme of Pakistani suburbanisation was raised very briefly by this study, in which it tentatively

attributed incremental patterns of dispersal to the professionalisation of the Scottish-born generations. These ideas immediately resonated with me, as my family had itself lived through one particular instance of suburbanisation, moving around various locations in Glasgow's West End before finally settling in the suburb of Bearsden. Furthermore, I personally knew of at least three households in my home area for whom this explanation 'fitted', with at least one co-head of each household matching the 'professional young Pakistani' signature espoused by the authors. There was, quite evidently then, a positive reaction between the paper's substantive concerns and the unique set of experiences, presuppositions and biases I carried with me into the research fold.

As well as acting as an outlet for the deep-seated *personal* interest I had in Pakistani suburbanisation, this specific paper also proved influential from a scholarly perspective, in many ways acting as a departure point to my current study of Pakistani suburbanisation. Limited only to the mapping of Glasgow-Pakistani settlement on the back of recently published 1991 census data, the paper's investigative scope rendered it able to comment only on the 'what' and 'when' of suburbanisation. Given the grounded (personal) interest I had in the overall subject area, the failure of the study to reflect upon the 'how' and 'why' of the suburbanisation process became a source of some frustration and, naturally, a lacunae I felt inclined to rectify. In many ways, then, this study provided me early assurances that Glasgow-Pakistani suburbanisation was both a justifiable and relevant research topic. I was settled in the knowledge that my proposed work represented a natural (qualitative) progression to existing work on Glasgow's Pakistani community, taking up those questions towards which Bailey et al (1995) could only speculate.

4.3.1 Critical realism

Having established the initial direction and aims of this research, I was then left to decide upon the methods most capable of answering the questions posed by my thesis (and, therefore, my overall methodology). At this stage it was clear that 'explanation' was already a watchword for my research and so the methods selected had to be capable of tapping into the grass-roots level of Glasgow-Pakistani decision making upon which choices in both occupation and housing were made (which, ultimately, would lead to a further disentangling of class, culture, identity and gender issues and their relationship to the suburbanisation process). Moreover, though, these

methods had to be part of an overall philosophical and theoretical framework that – where relevant – connected these human concerns up to the broader political, economic and spatial structures historically in place in Glasgow and which, over the passed forty years, have run in tandem with the community’s own development. My explanations of Pakistani suburbanisation therefore had to be set against two levels, first, the political-economic and spatial settings against which the community has evolved over this time and, second, the local/community level in terms of what Pakistanis actually do ‘on the ground’.

In human geography this *critical realist* philosophical framework is perhaps most commonly associated with industrial and economic geography and those interested in questions of industrial location and (ensuing) levels of inter-regional disparity. In one work that ultimately proved influential to my own study, Massey (1984) contended that the ongoing spatial differentiation of Britain’s labour market was a ‘trickle-down’ effect of the growing *international division* of labour whereby companies - seeking cheap labour – began establishing themselves in ‘new’ industrial regions in the developing world. In response to these macro-processes Britain’s space economy underwent a dramatic transformation as old industrial areas such as the West of Scotland fell into steep decline having become detached from the major global hubs of capitalist production.

These ideas immediately altered the theoretical positioning I bore in this study. It was clear that they allowed for a grasp on the overarching causal mechanisms behind Pakistani suburbanisation which, up till then, had been reduced by myself to culturalist discussions of generational alignment, the changing identities of the younger generations and how these alone explained the community’s suburban drift (with Pakistanis being less reliant on the traditional support mechanisms of established, ‘core’ areas of settlement). It became clear from the interviews that this emphasis on culture alone – which had been a constraining feature of existing ethnographic studies of British-Pakistani communities – required fusing with an additional view of Glasgow-Pakistanis as agents embedded in wider spatial, social, economic and political structures. Retrospectively this allowed the contextualisation of eminent labour processes such as the solidifying class-consciousness inherent to many (young) Pakistanis, as well as their emplacement within Glasgow’s burgeoning managerial and professional employment sectors and the ‘types’ of jobs now available in Glasgow today. These ideas proved to be just as central to the

explanatory project as those cultural discussions upon which I was previously fixed. Having established the philosophical and conceptual stance to be taken by this study it was then necessary to synthesise these ideas within an appropriate methodological position.

4.3.2 *Ethnography*

An ethnographic research methodology was deemed most appropriate for this study bearing in mind these critical realist philosophical leanings. To generate understandings of the relationship between Glasgow's changing political-economic context and the suburbanisation process it was first necessary to piece together what Kitchen and Tate term 'the building blocks of reality' (2000: 15), that is, the observable experiences, thoughts and desires of Glasgow-Pakistanis whose lives have been indeterminably played out against this context, and whose inclinations for both inner-city and suburban life, not to mention the extent to which these remain viable financial options, are determined. Common themes emerged during the ethnographic process, these relating to the nature of work in the city today and the varying inroads Pakistanis were making in business, white-collar professional and managerial work, as well as other less well-paid forms of employment still representative of Glasgow's 'new' urban service and retail economy. These themes were consulted with the broader literature concerning the changing work and employment experiences of non-white groups within urban centres in the developed world (e.g. Sassen, 1994) to produce unique theoretical insights into the economic and cultural systems fuelling the suburbanisation of Glasgow's Pakistani community, past and present. These provide the backbone for the discussions in Chapters Six and Seven.

In my study semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions²⁴ were selected as the two principle methods of ethnographic enquiry.

Semi-structured interviews: As Fontana and Frey (1994) discuss, interviews range from highly structured (constructed similar to questionnaires) to the

²⁴ One of the early methodological decisions I had to make was to reject the use of questionnaire surveys. This method offered potentially interesting insights on Pakistani suburbanisation, providing a quantitative backdrop to the 'thicker', ethnographic description obtained through interviews and focus groups. I nonetheless rejected this method, preferring instead to concentrate on obtaining more personal, in-depth accounts during my time in the field [what were in effect 'the realities of everyday lives as they are explained by the people who live them' (Pile, 1991: 458)]. I was also put off by the low response rates that I anticipated. My expectation was that only a small proportion of the sample would return their questionnaires given my tenuous status as somebody with clear links (and therefore alternative loyalties) to an 'outside' academic institution.

unstructured in which the conversation has no set focus, therefore being free to 'roam' in almost any direction. In-between these polarized examples is the semi-structured interview where the researcher places a moderate set of parameters on the discussion by bringing with him/her a pre-determined set of topics and broad questions they wish to cover [what Eyles (1988) refers to as 'a conversation with a purpose']. Gill Valentine (1997) contrasts this approach with one instead based around a rigid set of questions, in which the respondent is somehow 'forced' to respond in a very constrained, partial way. Instead, her own preference is with Eyle's suggestion of a much more conversational and fluid interview form, in which the researcher is free to raise new material just as much as they are able to go back over old ground, and where the respondents themselves are more-or-less given free reign to both describe and explain the complexities and contradictions of their daily lives. Valentine therefore stresses that interviews should not be mistaken as a method capable of eking definitive statements on overall populations, arguing that they should instead be used to *aid* understandings of how people make sense of, and experience, their lives:

'[Interviews] are a dialogue rather than an interrogation... [they are] sensitive and people orientated, allowing interviewees to construct their own accounts or their experiences by describing and explaining their lives in their own words.' (Valentine, 1997: 111)

Focus groups discussions: There are many commonalities between focus group discussions (especially those that are relatively loosely structured) and semi-structured interviews, not least since both involve direct and relatively 'open' dialogue between the respondents and the researcher. The main point of departure between these methods, however, relates to the interviewer/interviewee dynamic since having more than one participant means that the interviewer is likely to remain silent for longer periods as the respondents perpetuate their own discussion. Notwithstanding the increased likelihood for respondents to go 'off topic', multiple subject voices often impact positively on the process of data collection since respondents typically provide each other with a range of significant prompts and stimuli *beyond those* coded within the formal interview schedule itself (Krueger, 1994). The views of one respondent are likely to trigger response(s) from another, for

instance, while shy group members may simultaneously be cajoled out of their shell having watched and gained confidence from other, more forthcoming participants (although there is also the risk of individuals ‘clamming up’ in front of their peers). Arguably the focus group’s main strength, however, is its utility within mixed-method methodologies (see Phillip, 1998), where it can be used as a triangulation point for individual interview findings. This was carried out with some success in my own research where focus groups were partly used as a forum in which to cast the findings of individual interview onto the community more generally, gauging their broader resonance²⁵.

For all that ethnographic methodologies offer researchers intent on exposing the ‘blueprints’ for on-the-ground social action, the ethnographer must nonetheless negotiate his/her way around a variety of important methodological issues and considerations which together have the potential to severely undermine or even curtail (e.g. England, 1994) one’s research if given insufficient consideration.

4.4 Some Words of Caution: Ethical and Positional Critiques of Ethnography

‘Ethnography is the work of describing a culture. The central aim of ethnography is to understand another way of life from the native point of view. The goal of ethnography, as Malinowski put it, is “to grasp from the native’s point of view, his [sic] relation to life, to realize his vision of his world”. Fieldwork, then, involves the disciplined study of what the world is like to people who have learned to see, hear, speak, think, and act in ways that are different. Rather than studying people, ethnography means learning from people.’ (Spradley, 1980: 3)

Spradley’s vision of the ethnographic ‘goal’ offers, in principle at least, the opportunity to get to the core of the human decision making process and establish how others practice and understand their own lives. This process of ‘making sense of how people make sense of their lives’ therefore constitutes a fresh break from positivist and other empiricist methodologies in which subject and object are apparently separated by a mythical veil of objectivity [what Rosaldo (1989) refers to as the ‘the myth of detachment’]. This illusion has nonetheless been widely criticised

²⁵ Focus groups have also been celebrated for the positive impacts they may accrue on those taking part rather than the researcher him/herself. Goss and Leinbach (1996), for instance, note how the focus group can be a very transformative and cathartic experience for those involved in that they are given a platform from which to narrate their own lives and reflect upon collective experiences as a ‘community’. Countering claims of exploitation and voyeurism within ethnographic fieldwork (see below), focus groups may therefore be seen as a somewhat *empowering* research method.

by feminists and other socio-cultural geographers who, through reflexive ethnographic methodologies, have countered the self-presumed authority of this neutral, positivist, academic all-seeing eye. In this capacity Kim England (1994: 82) has, for instance, spoken of the feminist role in dismantling mislaid preconceptions of the academic observer as an 'impersonal machine'.

But while ethnography is a valuable response to the misplaced philosophical and methodological assumptions of positivism and empiricism, it is by no means a trouble-free methodology in its own right. The same feminist, post-modern and post-structuralist quest for transparent research practice has now been turned inwards in what amounts to a bracing re-appraisal of ethnographic practice within contemporary human geography. The result is a now-extensive methodological literature referencing the fraught nature of ethnographic work. Particular concerns have been voiced over the researcher's seemingly unproblematic role in speaking 'on behalf' of – and thus representing – 'other' people. These anxieties crystallised in the form of a special theme issue of *The Professional Geographer*, which proved very effective²⁶ in laying out the parameters of this concern, and the subsequent methods and practices geographers should duly adopt to combat them (which are detailed below). England (1994) was particularly concise in this regard. Speaking of the inroads made in incorporating once marginalised voices into the research fold, she is nonetheless quick to identify the new dangers faced by ethnographers in attempting to write these 'others' into their own work.

'In our rush to be more inclusive and conceptualize difference and diversity, might we be guilty of appropriating the voices of "others"? How do we deal with this when planning and conducting our research? And can we incorporate the voices of "others" without colonizing them in a manner that reinforces patterns of domination?' (England, 1994: 81)

Bearing in mind Kim England's fears over the potentially exploitative nature of ethnographic work and the dangers of 'colonization-through-representation', let us now re-visit and reappraise the purported 'goal' of ethnography as originally laid out by Spradley (1980) above. As Valins (1999) has already stated, this should result in a thought-provoking engagement not only with the mechanisms upon which

²⁶ The 'success' of this volume is obvious by how often it is cited within other human geographical works.

representations of the 'other' are made, but so too the incessant power relations involved in the setting of an 'object' (researcher) against a 'subject' (researched). Writing from the same post-positivist methodological 'camp' as many of the authors previously mentioned, Valins (1999: 121) is unsettled by Spradley's earlier vision of ethnography which 'conjure[s] up...images of white, male, middle- (or upper-) class researchers going into 'deepest darkest Africa' to look at the 'strange' black people and their 'primitive' ways' (ibid: 121). Valins' concerns are here the result of Spradley's previously unchallenged experiences of participating in research projects designed solely by Western academics; where it is they who settle upon the nature of the project, the type of information they require, and when the project ends. The needs and wishes of the 'native' and whether or not they want this stranger amidst their community is seen as largely irrelevant to Spradley.

Fears such as this concerning the potentially *exploitative* nature of ethnographic research are by no means isolated. In an indictment of Western ethnographic research on communities in the Global South, Sidaway (1992) contends that academics have selfishly only been concerned with the forthcoming impact of their activities on their own personal development. Much of this work, he claims, is of benefit only to the ethnographer in that the findings will be written-up in publications and used to enhance their career prospects with little or no benefit actually filtering down to the people and communities studied. In much the same way Katz (1994: 68-70) denotes the 'arrogance' of social research whereby the intricate *needs* of a group are overlooked in favour of 'shiny', exotic and unproblematic narratives ready for consumption in published journals and conference and lecture halls. These critiques of ethnography are by no means limited to either older ethnographic work or that conducted in the global periphery where the subject/object power relations and ensuing 'us' and 'them' mentality is particularly difficult to guard against. As Chris Philo outlines, these concerns are/should still be ingrained within the ethnographic work of modern-day – even mainstream – socio-cultural geographers:

'The colonial mentality which seemingly allowed regional geographers to go region-collecting, never questioning their right to travel the globe, accessing all of its regions and (as it were) appropriating them to be represented in written treatises, is not wholly absent from the activities of socio-cultural geographers looking around for new 'others' to paste up in the academic album. There is arguably a not dissimilar arrogance: a failure to

consider whether the researcher really has (or should have) the right to identify, isolate and depict all of these ‘other others’. What real intellectual benefits accrue, beyond satisfying a Western academic taste for the ‘exotic’? (Philo, 1998: 20)

4.4.1 *In defence of ethnography*

Having elaborated these ethical and positional critiques of ethnography and the claims of exploitation and voyeurism levelled within, the question remains then: what *right* do researchers with undeniable personal agendas vested in their projects have to study other people? Below is an examination of two possible responses to this question. When combined, these justifications – based on an amalgamation of academic, political and community ‘need’ – go some way to providing a reasoned defence of ethnography and ethnographic practice.

Firstly, Philo (1998) has spoken of the need to maintain a commitment to the documentation of marginal and ‘outsider’ groups and communities - even if this means risking criticism on the ethical and positional grounds outlined above. Such work, he argues, is justifiable on the grounds that it constitutes a ‘*consultable record of otherness*’; a valuable academic inventory of minority people whose actions and experiences may have otherwise remained hidden if one had succumbed to the anxieties and dilemmas connected to the modern ethnographic project and abandoned their work. While he uses this argument to justify his own study of ‘gricers’ – a group of radical and non-violent protesters who broke into (then) British Rail property to photograph themselves naked, upsetting what they perceived as unjust mechanisms of state privatisation – Philo’s arguments hold wider resonance in that he is appealing not only for our rights and responsibilities (as researchers) to collect information on the world in which we live and the societies, nations, and communities we are structured into, but also for our natural academic curiosity to remain intact despite the wealth of (nevertheless necessary) ethical and positional questions to be pondered at the beginning of any research project. The risks, it seems, are worthwhile given the positive academic, political and social worth attached to the retrieval of these marginal (and potentially hidden) voices.

The second justification for undertaking ethnographic research is stipulated upon the researcher somehow being *representative* of those being researched and that they, subsequently, have the right to speak both for, and about, ‘us’. For Audrey Kobayashi (1994) these arguments legitimized her role as academic/activist in the

campaign for a contemporary governmental redress of human rights violations carried out against Japanese Canadians in the 1940s. As a Japanese Canadian herself Kobayashi clearly felt entitled to speak on behalf of 'her' group: 'Working within my own cultural community, I have gained legitimacy, access, an insider's view of cultural practice, and the potential to achieve political ends more effectively' (ibid: 74). Far from being a potentially disruptive and unsettling presence in the field then, Kobayashi instead saw the academic 'tools' she possessed as beneficial to the community's quest for equality. Moreover, her own ethnic background dissipated anxieties over the crisis of ethnographic representation, making her feel comfortable in her joint position as academic, activist and community member, a comfort few social researchers can otherwise achieve:

'Feeling secure in the knowledge that as a Japanese-Canadian woman I was representing the interests of Japanese-Canadian women, I defined the issue not as "Who speaks for whom?" but as "Who speaks?" (Kobayashi, 1994, 74)

While the 'consultable record of otherness' and 'insider' theses may be used to inform one's overall ethical defence of their work, fulfilment of one or both of these justifications certainly does not give the researcher free-rein to then go on and give no further consideration to ethics. More important than the specific justification(s) given is the general admission that ethics and ethical considerations are of eternal importance to the researcher, *irrespective* of his/her positioning to the field of study. Making the researcher-researched relationship less exploitative should not therefore involve the academic equivalent of a judicial cross-examination. In my mind this can be achieved in a less time consuming and more transparent manner if researchers remain explicit about the dangers of voyeurism and misrepresentation within their work; this being one component of an overall ethical defence of their work. Building upon these discussions the following section now introduces how researchers guard against these ethical and positional critiques through the deployment of practices and techniques 'in the field'.

4.5 Positionality and Reflexivity in Practice

When it is time for social scientists to establish an overall ethical framework for their research, Tim May (1993) identifies two possible approaches that may

eventually be settled upon: deontology and consequentialism. Deontology permits a universal approach to ethics whereby there is a hard-and-fast set of principles to be followed *irrespective of* circumstance. This approach is perhaps most detectable in the wide variety of general social research textbooks around today, which tend to propose ‘models’ for good ethical practice (e.g. Lincoln and Denzin, 2000). The doctrines proposed in these texts are ultimately built around a set of cornerstone tactics in the field such as ‘informed consent’, which, as Hornsby-Smith (1993: 63) has already stated, ‘implies a responsibility...to explain as fully as possible, and in terms meaningful to participants, what the research is about, who is undertaking it and financing it, why it is being undertaken, and how it is to be disseminated.’ But while deontology may at first sight seem ethically sound, this approach may nonetheless be untenable *in practice*:

‘My position is that a professional code of ethics is beneficial as a *guideline* that alerts researchers to the ethical dimensions of their work, particularly *prior* to entry. With formal organizations and certain communities, where entry has to be negotiated through hierarchical channels, a statement of purpose is normally essential to satisfy gatekeepers. Thereafter it may be *situationally* inappropriate to repeat continually that purpose and to identify oneself...[t]o negotiate access and consent with everyone would be almost futile, while matters would become absurdly complex if some said “yes” and some said “no”. In natural settings involving public behaviour, such as watching crowd behaviour at a football match or studying avoidance rituals on a crowded pavement, then consent seems superfluous and physically unattainable.’ (Punch, 1986: 37; italics included in original quote)

As someone whose own research is more-often-than-not based upon participant observation, Punch (1986, 1994) is well aware of how difficult it is to maintain a universal code of ethical conduct in the context of a dynamic, densely populated and complex field setting. Punch instead follows a consequentialist system where the researcher has the freedom to re-align and adapt his/her ethical approach to the particular situations they encounter. For human geographers this continual process of critical self-reflection *vis-à-vis* one’s research has been subsumed under feminist discussions of *reflexivity* where it is now widely accepted research practice to have the researcher comment at length on the role of the (multiple) ‘self’, showing how one’s positionality (in terms of race, nationality, age, gender, social and economic

status, sexuality) influences the data collected and thus the information that finally becomes coded as knowledge (Rose, 1997). These at-times intensely personal accounts are designed to counter the 'god-trick' (Haraway, 1991) of earlier positivist and empiricist approaches (see above), whereby knowledge is falsely hidden behind claims of detachment, neutrality and the academic all-seeing eye.

But while reflexivity is central to the ethical stances taken by academics, some words of caution, or, more accurately, some words of limitation are nevertheless required concerning the parameters of reflexivity 'in practice'. Grasping one's positionality is by no means an easy task since it is never possible to know the intricacies of one's relation to another in their entirety. While Gilbert (1994: 90), Nast (1994: 61) and others have urged the relationship between researcher and researched to 'be made visible and open to debate', and the 'real constraints under which all forms of communication occur...made clear', Gillian Rose (1997) nevertheless notes the fallacious assumptions implicit in these claims that a clear, lucid and transparent 'mapping out' of one's subject position against another is somehow plausible (even using traditional identity markers such as 'race', ethnicity, gender, age, and so on). Quick to deny that this landscape of power can ever be perfectly known, Rose warns that existing (albeit implicit) claims of knowing this landscape in its entirety merely constitutes a repetition of the earlier positivist and empiricist 'god trick' in which claims of knowing both oneself and others fully were wrongly made:

'[I]dentity...does not exist in isolation but only through mutually constitutive social relations, and it is the implications of this relational understanding of position that makes the vision of a transparently knowable self and world impossible.' (Rose, 1997: 314)

Yet, if critical self-reflection is unable to reveal the precise location of both 'self' and 'other', this should not, contends Rose, be interpreted as the failure of reflexive practices to adequately situate the knowledges we propose. Rather than concerning ourselves with the fruitless task of 'pinpointing' ourselves on a landscape of power we are instead encouraged to set about the more achievable task of undermining the authority of academic knowledge through writing all the gaps, uncertainties, tensions, conflicts and contradictions intrinsic to our research into our

final reports. By flagging and confronting these rather than hiding from them we can, in the process, convey the honesty of our work by admitting that social research is never a flawless story:

‘We cannot know everything, nor can we survey power as if we can fully understand or redistribute it. What we may be able to do is something rather more modest but, perhaps, rather more radical: to inscribe into our research practices some absences and fallibilities while recognizing that the significance of this does not rest entirely in our own hands.’ (Rose, 1997: 319)

Effectively, then, Rose (1997) is weakening conventional and simplistic constructions of positionality – such as ‘I am white, middle-class and male’ – scrambling them against post-positivist theses of identity as instead complex, messy and contextual (see Chapter Three). While Rose is undoubtedly correct in muddying previously static identity positions it is nevertheless also necessary to place ensuing discussions of positionality and situated knowledges within a context where either the researcher, the researched, or both, *do* sometimes actively try to assert, slow down and bind their own subject position (see, for example, how I tried to achieve this in my own work through the use of Urdu, below). Reflexivity and ‘being’ reflexive nevertheless remains a crucial part of any ethical research strategy.

Before introducing the specific methods applied in this study of Glasgow-Pakistani suburbanisation it is necessary to offer some final comments on the relationship of ethics to research practice. These serve to frame the particular ethical approaches adopted in my own study.

4.5.1 The place of ethics within this thesis

As someone who is quick to acknowledge the influence of the cultural turn and its associated methodologies on this thesis, I nevertheless feel that there is a danger of over-inflating the place of ethics within geographical research. My concern here is not so much that ‘too much’ ethics runs the danger of reducing social research to a holier-than-thought game of ethical one-up-personship, where ‘timid’ research and methodologies is all we can manage/are allowed (Marcus, 1992; Pile and Thrift, 1995). I instead feel that by continually injecting ethical discourse into (often relatively unthreatening) research we are running the risk of tokenising the whole concept of ethical methodologies, thereby contributing to a lessening of its

importance. I am not saying that ethics shouldn't be integral to geographical research. Indeed, the discipline of geography and nature of geographical research has been shaped by a series of influential ethically-centred debates exposing, for instance, geography's links to imperialism, militarism and colonial oppression (Hudson, 1977; Driver, 1991, Livingston, 1992); the maintenance of a 'masculinist' research agenda through, for instance, the objectifying tendencies of spatial science and positivism (Rose, 1993); and, more recently, the link between technological geographical applications (such as G.I.S) and military warfare (Smith, 1992). I am instead arguing that the over-ubiquity of ethics will lessen its perceived importance amongst the research community. Maintaining ethical rigour should not, for that reason, require adherence to a universal and binding code of ethical conduct. Rather than 'ticking-off' those criteria for ethical conduct met by one's research project it is instead paramount that researchers are at least able to put together a reasoned, ethical defence of their work.

In terms of this thesis, then, its aims and objectives quite conveniently into the ethical and representational arguments made by both Philo (1998) and Kobayashi (1994). The thesis can firstly be thought of as a 'consultable record of otherness' in that it fills in 'gaps' within existing research on British-Pakistani communities (where little attention has been given to either Scottish-Pakistani communities or, and opening things out to a U.K level, the 'new' geographies of later-generation Pakistanis; see Chapters One and Two). On top of this there is the also the argument that, as someone who is 'half' Pakistani, I have some authority to write about - and represent the interests of - Glasgow's Pakistani community. As we see below, though, my status as 'insider' is intrinsically messy, contingent and thus by no means assured. Nevertheless these partial claims *do* leave me well positioned to defend my work against claims of voyeurism and exploitation.

4.6 The application of research methods in this study

Loretta Lees (2003) has recently accused qualitative urban geographers of failing to provide adequate insight into the methods used during their fieldwork. Method and methodology, she contends, are little more than 'inconveniences' (ibid: 107) to urban geographers who remain transfixed by the theoretical substance contained in their field observations rather than their potential susceptibility at the hands of weakly applied or misplaced methods (what she terms the 'have theory will

travel' syndrome; a shot at those whose neglect of method and methodology leaves them searching for unproblematic case-situations where pre-existing theoretical assertions will 'hold')²⁷. Qualitative urban geographers thus stand accused of failing to follow the initiative set by other sub-disciplines where academics have been involved for some time now in critical exchanges concerning the nature of ethnographic fieldwork, this only achievable after the 'opening up' and thorough inspection of the ethnographic process itself (see, for instance, the inroads made by feminist geographers, above). As practitioners of qualitative research in the city, we are thus urged to fill this 'ethnographic void' and be more explicit about the techniques and methods we apply in the field:

'If we are to educate a new era of urban geographers in qualitative approaches, our research and writings need to be much less opaque about the complexities and practicalities of method and methodology. The credibility of our research is at stake. The reason we ought to have formal discussion of methods is that it allows others potentially to check our work by repeating the research we have done. Even if they never do, this exercise in transparency is important for assuring the quality of our research.' (Lees, 2003: 108)

Following on from this declaration of *critical urban ethnography* as a lever for ensuring 'quality assurance' in urban geography, this half of the chapter will now build upon the overall philosophical, conceptual and methodological approaches to geographical fieldwork outlined in the first half by examining the grounded research methods used in this study of Glasgow-Pakistani suburbanisation. These methods were based upon a pilot study (of ten interviews and one focus group) carried out in Glasgow during the winter of 2002/3, from which I was able to both gauge the appropriateness of my selected question schedules and familiarise myself with the more general nuances and challenges posed by the actual 'performance' of these methods in the field (which I discuss below). The pilot study proved extremely beneficial, prompting me to reformulate existing questions, discard others and include new questions altogether. From this I was able to settle upon the final

²⁷ These failings are very much specific to qualitative research in the city. Lees indeed praises quantitative urban geography (spatial sociology, in other words, see Chapter Two) for the up-front, lucid and at times detailed manner in which research techniques are discussed.

interview and focus group schedule that I would eventually bring with me into the formal research programme²⁸ (see Appendix 2).

4.6.1 Actual methods used

Data was obtained through semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions with Pakistanis whose home addresses fell within the Glasgow postcode area (denoted by postcodes starting with the letter 'G'). Residents were contacted through pre-existing personal networks and connections with Glasgow-Pakistanis and the relaying of information concerning the project to various intermediary parties such as mosques and community groups (see below). The productivity of these contact points was maximised by my requests for each respondent to pass on my own contact details to other eligible Pakistanis upon participating in the project. This method of contacting informants was selected in light of the moderate number of respondents identified as necessary for the project. The purchasing of Pakistani names and addresses from market research companies such as *Experian* is costly, and, while this would have been more useful in contacting a much larger sample of Pakistani residents, the more informal community access points I used were deemed sufficient for the number of interviews necessary to this project.

While useful in generating a very general baseline picture of Glasgow's Pakistani community, a questionnaire survey of Pakistani respondents was avoided to allow for more research time to be dedicated to the central themes of this project, namely Pakistani suburbanisation, the push and pull factors relevant to both suburbia and traditional areas of inner-city settlement, and the (changing) nature of Pakistani employment and entrepreneurialism in Glasgow today, and their implications for the provision of wealth and social mobility.

Qualitative data is presented in the form of interview extracts. The extracts used were selected after the coding of interview transcripts. Extracts were chosen according to the suitability to this thesis. This was judged in relation to 1) how typical they were of the values expressed by other interviewees on the same theme/topic, and/or 2), how succinctly they conveyed the point at hand.

²⁸ Although, and taking heed of the need to be reflexive in social research, this 'final' set of questions would itself be subjected to further informed changes as I spent more time in the field and gained more experience in their application. Likewise, there were also instances where the interviews were 'cut short' which meant that certain questions were omitted from the schedule in order to respect the time constraints imposed by the interviewee.

Qualitative data sources were supplemented with the use of secondary data collected from 1981, 1991 and 2001 censuses published by the General Registers Office for Scotland. This data was used to produce maps charting the Pakistani community's evolving residential distribution over the past three decades (see Chapter Six). Critically, this data was also used as a means of substantiating the main empirical findings and conclusions proposed by this study. This involved the interpretation of data relating to age structure, economic activity and social class (NS-SeC) (see Chapter Seven).

4.6.2 The interview programme

The interview programme consisted of interviews with a total of sixty-eight Glasgow-Pakistani respondents from a variety of geographical, socio-economic and cultural backgrounds (see Appendix 1 for summary characteristics of each interviewee). To grasp the perceived attractiveness of suburbia to Pakistanis as well as the cultural, economic and social 'driving forces' behind the suburbanisation process itself, I could not dedicate all my attention solely to those Pakistanis already living within suburban areas since a very partial and heavily skewed insight would have resulted. The voices of those either happy to stay put or unable to suburbanise – still the overwhelming majority of the Glasgow-Pakistani population – were therefore accommodated to permit a more balanced picture of the push/pull mechanisms operating between core and suburbia, how these are played out against a political-economic and spatial backdrop and how certain Pakistanis are excluded from the suburbanisation process as a result. My own personal commitment to the production of a *comprehensive* study of Glasgow-Pakistani suburbanisation also explains the diversity in respondent's ages which, ranging from eighteen to seventy-three years old, spans three generations of Glasgow-Pakistani settlement. Pakistanis below this age were omitted since eighteen seemed a valid age threshold with which to expect young Pakistanis to have contemplated the housing, employment and further educational opportunities in Glasgow that would then influence their own life-strategies and decisions in these areas, if they had not already begun to do so. On a more practical note my research would have had to satisfy further ethical demands if it involved interviews with juvenile age groups and these added tensions were deemed unnecessary given the already broad and diverse range of Glasgow-Pakistanis voices consulted. Pakistanis below the age of eighteen, I decided, would

therefore be best represented in a separate study of future employment, career and educational intentions rather than a direct study of Pakistani suburbanisation (although the two, as this thesis shows, are closely intertwined).

As far as the interview setting was concerned I made an early decision to conduct interviews in informant's homes whenever possible. First and foremost I made this choice in order to minimise the inconvenience accrued upon the respondents who were already sacrificing their time in order to contribute to my research. So accommodating were the general responses shown towards my requests for interviewees, I soon became concerned that the eagerness my potential respondents had to aid my study was blinding them to the more pressing duties of work, leisure, spending time with one's family, etc, and this is partly why the home was my preferred choice. It would, after all, reduce or negate travelling times to the interview setting. Undertaking interviews within the homes of the interviewees (their 'own territory': Valentine, 1997) also had the added benefit of affording the respondents familiarity in what was often an uncommon and unsure situation for them. While it is difficult to pinpoint the specific effects this 'less threatening' setting had on the interviews and data obtained, my overall thoughts on home interviews are extremely positive in that, my formal research goals aside, I was able to develop close associations and friendships with some of the respondents having had the pleasure of their hospitality for up to two hours at a time. It would be fair to say that many respondents seemed genuinely happy to share with me their insights on the questions I posed. Particularly humbling were some of the older suburban Pakistanis I spoke to who clearly felt as much pride telling me of their success in this country as they did showing me around the concrete symbol of this success; their home:

'Today's interview was a pretty surreal experience; Mr Malik [interviewee] gave me a pre-interview complete tour of home and garden. This was obviously something he wanted me to see. This was strange since I felt more like an old friend or acquaintance rather than a PhD student hoping to write a thesis...From the family portraits on his wall and the length, detail and zest of his responses, this was clearly someone proud of both his and his family's achievements.' (Field Diary: 24/3/03)

The task of establishing the home as interview setting proved troublesome at times since I did not want to appear bullish in my advances and stand accused of

trying to invite myself into the respondent's own personal space. As a result I sometimes found myself 'coming clean' and being direct about my preference for home interviews, explaining to them how this, after all, was an attempt to minimise inconvenience on their behalf. When these attempts were unsuccessful the workplace proved the second-most common interview venue, especially so for the large self-employed contingent who as a result of their senior positioning within their respective enterprises were more able to set time aside during their working day. As with my experiences inside the Glasgow-Pakistani household, it became clear to me that business owners enjoyed having me in their places of work since I was again treated to the customary tours and offers of food, confectionary, and the like. For successful businessfolk it seemed like this was the perfect backdrop to the conversations we had; these businesses were the 'engines' driving their experiences in the housing market to date²⁹.

Such is the nature of the semi-structured interviews I entered each accompanied with a set of (usually) between eight and ten pre-identified and ordered questions to raise throughout its duration (these are outlined in Appendix 2). The first question was always deliberately open-ended so as to 'ease' the respondents into the interview format, hopefully taking their attention away from the intrusive presence of the tape recorder³⁰. For younger Pakistanis this deliberately open-ended beginning usually involved me asking them to outline their aspirations as far as future employment and housing choices were concerned, while for older migrant-generation Pakistanis the interviews would typically begin with me asking them to reflect on their employment and housing experiences in Britain to date; something of a mini oral history in that responses were notably free-roaming reflections on the moments and occasions that informants themselves identified as important³¹. Having gained a useful general insight into the life and experiences of the respondent, and having hopefully made

²⁹ Interviews in respondents' places of work were nevertheless more prone to interruption given the responsibility they still had in maintaining the effective operation of their businesses. Two interviews were curtailed prematurely as a result, the first so that the interviewee (a self-employed grocery shop owner) could fill-in for a member of the counter-staff who had to leave work early feeling unwell, and the second because the respondent's work phone rang continuously. This interview was subsequently rescheduled and completed at a later date.

³⁰ A small Dictaphone was used to record the interviews. In order to reduce the 'interrogational' feel of the interview this was preferred to the larger and more obtrusive presence of a tabletop microphone. The Dictaphone was also strategically positioned as close to me as the ensuing sound levels would allow in order, thus nullifying these feelings of encroachment even further.

³¹ Although life histories are themselves no more or less situated than any other qualitative method, their findings are still inevitably shaped by the researcher's 'contamination' of the field (Miles and Crush, 1993).

him/her more at ease, I would then proceed with the following questions which dealt more explicitly with the cultural and broader structural factors influencing or likely to influence their housing and employment experiences, as well as their attitudes on suburbanisation. For those who were already living within suburban areas the questions were set as to reveal insights on the reasons behind their suburbanisation and the cultural, social and economic forces that made it possible, while for those remaining within core areas of settlement the questions were geared towards elucidating why this was still the case.

4.6.3 *Establishing contact and gaining/maintaining access*

The final list of informants in no way constituted the results of a perfectly 'random' sampling procedure. From the outset informants were primarily contacted as a result of my manipulation of the pre-existing network of contacts I had with the community, these connections having crystallised over a number of years on the basis of my 'insider' footing within the community. As my time in the field progressed this network extended itself further as informants kindly put me in touch with other potential interviewees, and so on³². Since all but two of the pilot study interviewees were in some way 'known' to myself³³ I was given a useful early grounding in the scenarios and situations typically contained in an interview of this nature where common bonds and affiliations are shared between the researcher and subject. This stood me in good stead for the formal interview period itself since this type of situation was not uncommon (I discuss the particularities of these interviews below).

The 'snowballing' techniques outlined above were complemented by a number of much needed additional community access points, which added richness and diversity to my sample. Most fruitful were the religious and community institutions and organisations I contacted such as the *Central, Masjid Noor* (Pollokshields) and *Madrasah Al-Arabia Al-Islamia* (Paisley Road West) mosques, the Scottish Asian

³² This main benefit of this 'snowballing' strategy was that it helped dissolve some of the apprehensions interviewees would otherwise have had of me prior to my interviews with them. Since many had friends, relatives and work colleagues who had already spoken to me, they already had some awareness of who I was, what my intentions were, and, subsequently, whether I posed any 'risk' or not. Of course, and something to be wary of when exploiting such 'unitary' access routes into the community, a large proportion of the consequential interviewees are likely to come from a specific social, familial and/or demographical context. Young, professional Pakistanis are likely to cite either family members or work colleagues as possible respondents, for example. This of course exacerbates problems of representation.

³³ The pilot sample included an uncle, two cousins and two friends from school, for instance.

Action Committee in Glasgow's West End, and even the local Islamic radio station, *Awaaz FM*, which generously relayed the nature of my work and contact details direct to the community.

The final sample thus correlated to the particular methods of gaining access I applied, and while the sample had to satisfy certain basic criteria (principally by reflecting the diversity contained within the community itself) the final list of informants was much more a function of the generosity and willingness of those individuals who actually gave up their time to be interviewed/sit in focus groups rather than a strategic outcome of a meticulously planned sample. The list's final form was in effect 'taken out of my hands' further by the role of 'gatekeepers' in determining the conditions under which I could speak to certain individuals. While Jacqueline Burgess has identified gatekeepers as 'those *individuals* in an organization that have the power to grant or withhold access to people or situations for the purposes of research' (1996: 132, emphasis added), my own experiences in the field reflect the rather spurious nature of this assertion in that it was not always *individuals* who granted or denied access but rather the codes of 'proper' and 'improper' conduct emanating from deeply entrenched *cultural* and *gender* distinctions.

From the very beginning I was aware that there would be a range of discursive barriers preventing access to Pakistani women on a one-to-one basis and as this came to light I gave much thought to how these barriers could be overcome. It was a topic that demanded subtle navigation around since I could not simply go out and determine the precise topography of these barriers 'first hand' without causing distress and insult to those women I brazenly approached. I eventually discovered that the potential for one-on-one interviews with Pakistani women was much more ambiguous than I first thought (I had previously accepted that they just would not be possible in my research). These grounds for optimism were uncovered unwittingly after I sent a letter to a small community organisation in Bearsden in an attempt to contact further informants. Shortly after the letter was posted I received a phone-call from a woman (Rozanna Baig) informing me that the founder of the organisation (her father) had been deceased for around ten years and that the organisation was now defunct³⁴. Having given a brief personal introduction earlier on in the conversation

³⁴ This organisation was identified from a (in retrospect dated) list of minority ethnic organisations obtained from an Internet site. Despite its age the list nonetheless proved a useful way of putting me in touch with community organisations, several of which were based in suburban areas.

Rozanna eventually realised that as a teenager she was a good friend of my elder sister and that, to my mild embarrassment it has to be said, she remembered me from my early years as a somewhat mischievous child! After this point (with familiarity established) the nature of the conversation changed dramatically, descending into a very informal 'chat'. This proved to be very beneficial in terms of my research since I felt comfortable enough to speak about some of the more intricate and potentially troublesome details of my work and, before long, we were on the topic of one-on-one interviews with Pakistani women. Rozanna then explained that she foresaw problems of access only with some Pakistani women. Contacting Pakistani housewives and other women employed in what she described as 'closed', insular Pakistani domestic settings would more-often-than-not be problematic she concurred, and I would be running the risk of making people feel awkward and perhaps slightly insulted if my approaches were indeed misjudged. However, she predicted that career-orientated women and those more rooted within the public sphere would, on the other hand, often have no qualms about being interviewed. Rozanna, herself a thirty-something accountant from Bearsden, seemed typical of this latter and albeit very vague social category, something which was later confirmed when she volunteered herself as an informant. While I initially took some solace in the fact that the door on one-on-one interviews with Pakistani women still remained open, my optimism soon gave way to even more uncertainty as I pondered the practicalities involved in making this seemingly simple yet nonetheless fraught distinction between 'accessible' and 'inaccessible' Pakistani women. In the end only twelve such interviews were undertaken; this a reflection of how I could not justify these moral and ethical risks in a project ultimately designed for my own self-fulfilment. While there were moments earlier on when I seemed to go around the task of finding respondents in a very imperious manner, frantically making phone calls and sending e-mails solely with 'bagging' another informant in mind, this negotiation of the gender dynamic intrinsic to my fieldwork slowed me down, making me a more reflexive researcher in the sense that I was more wary of the potential consequences of my presence in the field.

4.6.4 Focus Groups

Focus groups proved invaluable since their multi-participant format allowed me to overcome the cultural and gendered gatekeepers preventing access to Pakistani women on a one-to-one basis. A total of twenty-three female respondents were

represented across a series of five focus groups, four of which were held in a community hall in the Govanhill area of Glasgow while another, benefiting from the generosity of one family, was held in the home of a Bearsden-based participant. Putting the logistics of each meeting in place proved extremely difficult since a convenient time and location had to be settled upon by a number of participants, many of whom led busy lives as housewives and career women while a significant proportion relied on public transport as a means for getting around the city. With this in mind Govanhill was identified as a suitable venue since this area and the adjacent Pollokshields district constitute the undoubted 'hub' of Glasgow-Pakistani settlement, minimising the inconvenience faced by respondents - many of whom came from these areas.

Like my interviews, the focus group dialogue was directed by a range of pre-identified questions placed at strategic points throughout (usually when the discussion raised from previous questions seemed exhausted), and the questions I raised were more or less identical to the ones contained in the individual interviews, focussing around issues of housing, employment and suburbanisation. Often, though, the conversational nature of the discussions allowed me to pose supplementary questions so as to follow through and probe further on certain points. These proved welcome opportunities to press further on important points in relation to the changing cultural identity of young Pakistani women, their drift away from conventional gender-defined roles as domestic 'keepers', and the inroads they are now making in both education and employment, all of which merit acknowledgement as keys drivers of the their broader community's incremental drift towards the suburbs.

The all-female composition of the focus groups posed specific questions as far as language was concerned since many of the older respondents possessed only a basic grasp of English³⁵. I knew beforehand that this would be an issue since English usage is far less commonplace amongst this insular sub-group whose daily-lives are often played out against a strictly mono-ethnic social context. Somewhat

³⁵ By 'older' I am typically referring to migrant, first-generation Pakistani women. Saying this, though, all the women I spoke to were able to effectively communicate at least some of their ideas in English. Since I explained to would-be respondents from the outset of my research that interviews would be conducted in English, this will have effectively 'filtered' out those unable to do so. While this raises some serious concerns of under-representation, I explain in the text why measures were not put in place to overcome language barriers (such as through the use of an interpreter). Following on from earlier discussions in which I outlined possible ethical frameworks for social research, my rationale for this decision should not be too prematurely discarded owing to the fact that I have at least offered a reasoned defence of this decision.

understandably then, the ability of suburban women to communicate in English was more pronounced than it was for respondents from core areas of settlement, although this disparity was less than I anticipated. Even having foreseen these language barriers I nevertheless made the informed choice not to employ any measures to overcome them. This 'choice' was more a product of the financial constraints preventing me from obtaining an interpreter, as useful as one would have been in retrieving voices otherwise lost from my fieldwork.

4.7 Interview Strategies and Negotiating (Deceiving?) the Insider/Outsider Distinction

'We all skinwalk – change shapes, identities, from time to time during the course of a day, during the course of our lives. I think about how we create these identities, how they are created for us, how they change, and how we reconcile these changes as we go along' (Scales-Trent, 1995: 127)

These concerns over representation and the variety of other stresses and fears I faced in the field are not uncommon within interpretative work of this nature. We have seen already how post-positivist and feminist methodological agendas push ethics and urge reflexivity, and it is to ethnography that these issues have transferred most abruptly given the intimacy shared between researcher/subject and the direct way in which the consequences of the researcher's actions are transferred to the field (Clifford and Marcus, 1986). The biggest challenge I faced within my own fieldwork was undoubtedly coping with the uncertainty I had over the nature of my relationship to those I studied. While it is commonplace to reduce the 'insider'/ 'outsider' distinction to an either/or scenario, where one is clearly one or the other (for instance, the ethical defence of one's research on the basis of 'insider' status), the reality for me was much more complex and this relationship far more dynamic:

'Am I a phoney? How suited am I to this research? Would it not be better for someone who can actually speak Urdu to carry out this work? These are questions I am increasingly asking myself of late. I am now getting used to the look of surprise on peoples faces for the first time; the awkwardness of my appearance no doubt obliterating any pre-conceptions they had of me...as someone said to me 'You don't look like a Sadiq Mir!'...am I getting found out for not being a 'real' Pakistani?' (Field Diary, 11/5/03)

'[Interview with Saleem Sadiq today] Another one who likes to say 'you'll know yourself' - a term of reference that I have found myself welcoming since it signifies some affinity between myself and those [I am] speaking to. But is this not maybe too much affinity? There were times when I felt like I was the one being interviewed...' (Field Diary, 18/4/03)

The above extracts capture the polarity of my experiences as both insider and outsider and the tensions associated with both. My flitting between both extremes fits with the arguments proposed by Valentine (1997) discussed above, where she too recognises the contested nature of the insider/dichotomy and how, as a result, we are never able to accurately plot our relationship to the subjects of our ethnographic studies. This inability to ever possess any degree of clarity on the circumstances of the researcher/researched relationship and the uncertainties which ensued in my own attempts led to some fraught experiences in that I was never quite sure how I was perceived by my respondents. While the self-centred and 'careerist' intentions of my study were clear from the outset, I was also aware that the combination of my name and research topic would automatically suggest that there were more than just professional affiliations between myself and the community I was studying. Respondents will have undoubtedly assumed that theirs' was a community I was considering myself part of, and in this respect I felt inclined to live up to their expectations as a 'Pakistani'. This section introduces how attempts were consequently made to 'play' on particular aspects of my Pakistani identity so as to meet these expectations. I was sure that my fulfilment of the expectations would lead to more confident interview responses in the field, with respondents relaxed in the knowledge they were taking to one of 'their own'.

Before entering the field I was sceptical about my chances of ever obtaining 'insider' status. I did not think that my position as an academic would act as a significant barrier since my Pakistani name would, I suspected, over-ride my links to an academic institution. From my name alone, I was sure that I would automatically qualify as 'one of their own'. But I knew, too, that my name would only go so far. Everything else it seemed – my fairly thick Glaswegian accent, my clothes³⁶, and

³⁶The clothes I wore in the field were really no different to the clothes I would wear at any other time – usually consisting of denims and a t-shirt or sweater. I felt that dressing more formally would run the risk of setting me off as more aloof, possibly fitting the academic stereotype that many of the

most of all my light skin colour – would eventually set me apart and dismiss my claims as ‘insider’. These things would all unravel as soon as I arrived at the interview and focus group venue, I thought, obliterating the pre-conceived image respondents had of me and jeopardising my acceptance into a community I nonetheless had valid claims to be part of. Language was another expected weakness and one I saw as potentially very harmful. All those personal attributes I just identified as going against me ‘being accepted’ would have been greatly discounted if I was fluent in Urdu, yet I was not. Not having this grasp of the language may have confirmed my ‘phoney’ Pakistani status; I had never, after all, made the effort to learn my father’s language and this may have cast the greatest cloud over my ‘insider’ credentials. To some, I may be seen as having turned my back on my roots and if this much were true, this would surely run the risk of devaluing my research. What right did I have to write about Glasgow’s Pakistani community? Who am I writing for? Why show so much interest now in a community I had previously shunned? And, from this, was this study simply a vehicle to further my own career prospects and another classic case of voyeuristic and exploitative ethnographic research? These concerns over what I saw as the troublesome side of my positionality were not just present before my entry to the field, there were ubiquitous throughout the fieldwork period and also continue to provoke thought and reflection.

Such fundamental concerns, rightly or wrongly, fed directly through to the tactics employed and performance undertaken in the field. I saw ‘insider’ status as a conduit for more honest and revealing accounts and so I ‘played’ on those features already (partially) marking me out as a ‘Pakistani’ – the few Urdu terms and phrases I knew; the reasonable knowledge I had of the community in Glasgow, including some of its more prominent people and businesses; and my familiarity with Islamic customs and traditions – these were all platforms from which I could make valid claims to being an ‘insider’. Even though I pressed on with my plan, putting these tactics to work, I knew that I was running the risk of being (further) separated from the community since there was always the danger that respondents may see through this veneer and mark me out as someone assuming a ‘false’ subject position. Ultimately, and for reasons I go into below, I remained undeterred, continuing on

respondents expected. A more casual approach, I predicted, would help overcome some of these assumptions, making the respondents more relaxed and at ease in the interview and focus group situations. Staying ‘true to form’ so to speak also benefited me in this regard, since I felt more comfortable keeping the everyday image I was used to.

with this process of ‘skinwalking’ (see the above quotation from Scales-Trent, 1995), which involved momentarily leaving my ‘white’ identity behind in the pursuit of a more authentic Pakistani identity.

In the end, however, it was only my use of Urdu that can be seen as having been informed by any deliberate research strategy on my behalf. The few terms and phrases I know were only very rarely aired in the past, but during the fieldwork I found myself employing these wherever possible, even if this meant only delivering the formal *Assalaamu alaikum*³⁷ greeting (meaning ‘hello’) upon meeting informants. My other tactics were much less clear-cut, and with hindsight it is now difficult to say whether they were governed by the same covert agenda, or whether, as now seems increasingly likely, they would have been no different if I had *not* decided to manipulate the insider/outsider dichotomy. Illustrating this, there were times when the standard direction of the interview dynamic was interrupted, and the interviewer/interviewee roles temporarily suspended (or reversed?) by respondents asking *me* seemingly innocent questions in order for them to become clearer on who I was, but which I nevertheless translated as ‘tests of familiarity’; questions which were designed to measure my knowledge of the community and ‘things Pakistani’ so that respondents could confirm or deny any suspicions they had of me (I do, after all, have a very ‘unconventional’ Pakistani appearance). Typically this involved respondents asking me if I knew the people, businesses, etc they had just mentioned in their responses, and when I was familiar with or knew of these agents, after saying ‘yes’, I automatically felt inclined to begin a spoken account of the individuals, situations and stories concerned; almost as if I felt obliged to prove myself as a fellow member of the community and thus, in political terms, someone with the right to represent ‘his’ community. Looking back on my initial judgement of these responses, I feel this is now open to contestation since, far from being governed by any deliberate strategy, my over-elaborate responses were arguably just me ‘being myself’. If these were ‘everyday’ conversations freed from the auspices of my own personal (career) agenda and linkages to my academic institution, I am sure that my responses would still have been similarly over-elaborated. My ‘eager to impress’ attitude probably long precedes this study in that I have always, one way or another, sought acceptance from the community. I outlined in Chapter One some of my life-

³⁷ Other terms commonly used included *Aapka Kya hal hey?* (how are you?) as well as *haan* (yes), *nahi* (no) and *meherbani* (please).

long identity dilemmas with regards to the uncertainty of my relationship to this portion of my ancestry and culture, so perhaps my behaviour in the field simply mimicked my behaviour at large, with me seeking affinity with, and acceptance from, a culture and community so far relegated to the borders of my cultural identity (I do, after all, associate much more with ‘Scottishness’ and ‘being Scottish’).

4.7.1 The ethics of deception in ethnographic research, and a justification of my own performance in the field

Pondering the ethical implications of my performance in the field, I was reminded of a paper I had (recently) read concerning the ethics of deception within ethnographic research, and the assorted issues of power, susceptibility, collaboration and deception confronted when a researcher decides to go down this route and pursue a ‘false’ subject position. Recalling the time he spent co-joining academic and activist work in Goa, India, Paul Routledge (2002) explains how he went ‘undercover’ to pose as a representative of a Western tour operator in order to gather otherwise unobtainable information on mass-market hotel developments and their flouting of Goan environmental laws. To carry this off, Routledge assumed the role of Walter Kurtz – a fictitious character who was planned and performed in such a manner as to mislead the power brokers in charge of the Goan hotel developments. Routledge’s performance in the field was thus tuned so as to ensure the (misplaced) trust of those who he spoke to:

‘During my performance as Walter Kurtz I engaged in a discourse of deception with tourism operators and hotel developers, weaving an imaginary story concerning my occupation, my company, that company’s tourist policy and business goals, and the kind of business the company intended to conduct in Goa. Such markers as the Panama hat – and their colonial, Western association – were deliberately deployed as part of a broader performance of deception’ (Routledge, 2002: 483)

Aware of the ethical concerns implicit in these actions, Routledge offers justification of them on the basis of his activist role in collaborating with the marginalized local people and ‘grassroots’ community movements resisting these developments. This reverberated with his own personal interest in, and commitment to, the (‘redistribution of wealth, power, and justice between nations, between races,

between ethnic and cultural groups, between classes, and between men and women' (Katz, 1992: 503, cited in Routledge, 2002: 491). In this respect not only was Routledge helping disenfranchised local tourist operators and service providers, local activists and environmental lobbyists (the information he gained as 'Kurtz' was passed on to organisations opposing the hotel developments), but his highly politicised and (for some) ethically dubious research activities were also justified on the basis that they represented a *genuine* performance of who he, as an academic/activist, was (see also Routledge, 1997).

Routledge's experiences of deception and the justifications he gave for carrying this through made me think about possible ethical defences of my own actions in the field, especially concerning my deliberate manipulation of the insider/outsider distinction. While much of my initial period in the field was deeply angst-ridden, where I spent much time procrastinating over my apparent 'deceit' of those whom I was studying, over time I started to become increasingly mistrustful of this term in that it was longer considered a suitable description for my in-the-field experiences. Moreover, I was frustrated and angry at the way in which, subconsciously at least, it loomed over my fieldwork, making me question my 'right' to be conducting this research in this 'troublesome' and suspicious way. Was I indeed being deceitful? How may I be accused of this when I have valid claims to be 'part' of the community I was studying? Who/what has the right to deny me the use of Urdu within the research context? The gnawing of these questions made me highly critical of, and eventually abandon, the premature and meddlesome ideas I had as far as my positioning as an 'outsider' was concerned. I knew that as long as I had valid claims to be part, and thus a representative of, this community, I could always defend myself against claims of deceit and associated illicit behaviour in the field.

4.7.2 The analysis of interview and focus group data and the quest for rigour

The analysis of data began with the complete transcription of each interview and focus group – a monotonous process but nonetheless essential given that the following coding programme necessitated a written log of all the data collated. The coding programme – where respondent's words are translated into meaningful groups and categories – was carried out manually. This 'hands on' approach based on highlighter pens, scissors, and a multitude of paper piles placed around the room - these bundled in accordance with common codes and themes, was preferred to a

qualitative data analysis computer software package since the ‘touchiness’ (Valins, 1999: 156) of manually sifting through transcripts arguably engenders deeper connections to one’s data than is achievable through the application of more impersonal (but nonetheless useful) software programmes³⁸.

The mechanics of my coding system was based on the advice of Cook and Crang (1994) and Crang (1997) who both advise the use of *emic* and *etic* coding. This, firstly, involved reading through each transcript in its entirety before going back over each with a highlighter and ballpoint pen, signifying chunks of the text and categorising (in the margins) the processes, ideas, meanings and systems of events which the *interviewees themselves* communicated as important (such as the respective merits of core and suburban areas; the importance of family members and familial networks in determining where one stays; and the role of one’s professional/business success in facilitating suburbanisation). After writing down all of these emic codes I then began the second stage of analysis where I determined their theoretical importance, grouping them into what I identified as the key features of Glasgow-Pakistani suburbanisation (imaginings of space; networks of familial and business activity; the decline of heavy industry/emergence of Glasgow as a post-industrial city, governmental intervention in the grocery and convenience good retail sector, and their combined effects on suburbanisation – what this thesis defines as the political-economy perspective on Glasgow-Pakistani suburbanisation, and so on). Thirdly, the relevant interview passages were then cut-up and placed in their etic categories to see which seemed relevant, and which could/should be broken down further.

One final note refers to the act of ensuring ‘accuracy’ in qualitative research. Despite acknowledging that this is a difficult task (given how qualitative findings are socially produced and context-dependent and, thus, cannot be ‘checked’ - see above), Baxter and Eyles (1997) nevertheless insist that it is necessary to inject qualitative methodologies with some kind of framework designed to ensure validity and rigour, not least since the absence of such a system implies an analytical *carte blanche* where researchers are allowed to adopt a free-roaming, ‘anything goes’ attitude to qualitative method and analysis (which would be to the detriment of human

³⁸ Computer software programmes are nevertheless useful in their own right, allowing large volumes of data to be ordered, stored and retrieved mechanically. The codes and systems of meaning used in each are nevertheless still inputted by the researcher and so the programmes must not be misunderstood as totally independent, ‘magical producers’ of results (Crang, 1997).

geography's attempts to gain cross-disciplinary acceptance and recognition). On the back of these concerns they provide the following framework for 'trustworthy' qualitative research in human geography (Figure 4.1):

Figure 4.1 Checklist for evaluating qualitative research

Question	Elaboration/examples
1. What was the natural history of the research?	Original purposes of the research. Rationale for methodology. How research developed over time. Fieldwork relations.
2. What data were collected and by what methods?	Method of note-keeping. Method of tape-recording.
3. How was the sampling done?	Explicit delineation of sample frame.
4. How was the data analysis done?	Procedures for summarizing and presenting data.
5. What results are presented?	Description of researcher's objectives for results presentation (e.g. theory building or description).
6. How credible and dependable are data-construct links?	Details of the relationship(s) between the data and constructs/concepts derived from data (e.g. member checking).
7. How credible is the theory/hypothesis?	Specification of the relationship between constructs/concepts and theory/hypothesis.
8. How transferable are the findings?	Recognition of the limits imposed by the sampling strategy.

Adapted from Baxter and Eyles (1997: 518)

I agree with Baxter and Eyles' contention that while qualitative researchers are quick to point out the frailties inherent in other conceptual approaches in the social sciences (such as positivism and empiricism), they are much less forthcoming when it comes to explicating the standards and criteria used to judge method and analysis in

their own studies. By flicking through the pages of any human geography journal – the so-called annals of ‘cutting edge’ research in human geography – we can see the extent of this, especially the black-hole surrounding the way in which constructs and concepts (theory) are actually derived from in-field observations. While I did not read the Baxter and Eyles paper till after my fieldwork was finished, naturally I felt inclined to test my own study against the criteria they mention, and since I side with the author’s arguments, it makes sense to comment on my findings.

While the purpose of this research is to ‘explain Pakistani suburbanisation’, I have noted at length in Chapters One and Two how there are also personal, political, representational and academic aims vested in this study. In terms of data and methods of collection, sampling procedures, data-analysis, and how data is ‘transformed’ into theory, these are discussed at length in this chapter. Empirical findings are presented in the form of direct respondent quotation, with necessary supplementary comment and elaboration from the author. The credibility of the theories I am proposing are much harder to prove, though. All I can really say in this regard is that I have been up-front in this chapter about the limitations of my research and the unavoidable problems associated with interpretative ethnographic work of this nature (especially concerning the ‘crisis of representation’). Such honest discussion of the conceptual, methodological and empirical ‘gaps’ in one’s work is one avenue towards credible theory, although, as we have seen, ‘perfect’ theories and assumptions are never possible. As far as the last criteria is concerned, discussions of ‘transferability’ are ultimately tainted by the fact that this research represents a case study of a community in a *specific* economic, social, cultural and demographic context. As such, the findings I generate must not be understood as faithful representations of what is going in other British towns and cities. I do, however, maintain that the generational realignment of the Pakistani community in Glasgow is *not* place specific. Since British-Pakistanis share the same New Commonwealth migratory history, communities across Britain are placed at the same developmental point, with later-generations now becoming the chief protagonists of community life and experience (see Chapter Eight).

4.8 Conclusions

This chapter has outlined the overall methodology and methods used within this study of Glasgow-Pakistani suburbanisation. In the first half of the chapter I

discussed the overall philosophical and methodological positioning of this study (critical realism, ethnography) and their suitability to this work. The second half of this chapter then detailed the practicalities involved in this research, outlining my application of semi-structured interviews and focus groups, the need to remain ethical, and the concerted period of critical self-reflection underwent to (arguably) achieve this. Much of this involved (partially) ‘mapping out’ my position to those I studied and recognising how my positioning in turn sculpted the overall research experience and data collected, all of this part of an overall strategy for producing less exploitative – and more rigorous – social research. Following on from this discussion of research methodology Chapters Six and Seven shall now go on to introduce the empirical findings of this study. Before this, Chapter Five provides a short historical review of Glasgow’s Pakistani community as well as a series of decennial maps charting the community’s incremental dispersal from the ‘core’ to suburbia. These maps (including original maps compiled by the author using neighbourhood level data from the 2001 census) provide a suitable quantitative backdrop to the qualitative empirical findings introduced in Chapters Six and Seven.

CHAPTER FIVE

PLACING PAKISTANI SUBURBANISATION IN THE CONTEXT OF GLASGOW'S CHANGING URBAN LANDSCAPE

5.1 The Historical Perspective

It would be inaccurate to trace the origins of Scottish-Pakistani settlement solely to post-war labour shortages within an expanding industrial economy. The boom years of mid-twentieth century 'New Commonwealth' migration are only the pinnacle of a migratory history six centuries long. Scotland's earliest documented gypsy community, for instance, dates back to the fourteenth century and is said to have contained travellers from parts of the Indian sub-continent now recognised as Pakistan (Maan, 1992). Much more recently - yet still pre-war - Indians³⁹ began arriving at Scottish universities towards the end of the 19th century, with medicine being the most popular subject of study. At this time Scotland attracted proportionately more Indian students than England, especially between the years 1890 and 1910. According to Bashir Maan (1992), himself a Pakistani migrant and, at varying points in his life, entrepreneur; community activist; politician; and author of perhaps the only comprehensive historical narrative of the Indian/Pakistani experience in Scotland, this probably reflected the prominence of Scottish academics, medics and industrialists in the Indian knowledge economy.

Relatively few scholarly migrants and gypsies settled permanently, and so they made only subsidiary contributions to the Pakistani communities we see in Scotland today. Permanent settlement is instead linked to Britain's colonial past, particularly in relation to the activities of the East India Company: a massive framework of sea-faring trading connections moving cloth, tobacco, spices and luxury goods from the Indian subcontinent to industrialising, urbanising Britain. The Indian staff on board the trading vessels were often mistreated by their superiors⁴⁰ and so some 'jumped-ship' at Scottish ports, becoming temporary and sometimes permanent residents in the nation's major cities of Glasgow, Edinburgh, Dundee and Aberdeen (Visram,

³⁹ India was annexed in 1947 to separate the country into two (predominantly) Hindu/Sikh and Muslim areas. The former remained India whilst the latter became Pakistan. Thus, while many of these early scholars were from what was then known as India their specific geographical origins lie in parts now recognised as constituting 'Pakistan'.

⁴⁰ Stating the popularity of the recruitment of Indian seamen by European trading fleets, McFarland (1991) explains that they would often accept a quarter of the wages expected by European sailors.

1986; McFarland, 1991). Documentary evidence from the annual reports of Glasgow's Sailors' Home reveal references to 'lascar' residents – a historical Indian term denoting an individual engaged in sea-going activities - and in 1918 a separate home for lascars was opened at Queen's Dock on the banks of the River Clyde, central Glasgow (Audrey, 2000). Citing a 1930 edition of *The Glasgow Herald*, Dunlop and Miles (1990) note an empathetic Glaswegian response towards lascars. Not only had the Glasgow Corporation⁴¹ funded the construction of this new home in 1918, but on its opening day the paper also reported that the building had been thoughtfully designed 'to meet the special requirements and customs of the Eastern native' (Ibid: 151) – a choice of words that hints towards the city's overall sensitivity to the rights and needs of these foreign migrants.

Following the post-First World War slump in British shipping, the vastness of Scotland's heavy industrial base provided employment for more and more Indian settlers, especially its collieries and iron and steel works. But as they transferred to these new forms of labour, existing workforces became scornful, resenting the increased competition they brought with them into a traditionally stable and secure labour market. In light of this, and perhaps marking a seminal point in the development of the entrepreneurial spirit which for many is a distinct feature of the South Asian diaspora, many migrants became pedlars - in large part to avoid such direct competition with indigenous labour. In what proved to be a highly significant move, they entered door-to-door sales at a time of chronic poverty back in their homeland, especially in rural areas where the continued and customary ritual of land division between sons meant that livelihoods were maintained on ever-decreasing amounts of land. This prompted many rural inhabitants to migrate to Britain or one of its colonies, including the West Indies, Uganda, Kenya, South Africa, Malaya, Canada, Australia and New Zealand (Audrey, 2000). While immigration controls were progressively implemented in these countries Britain (for the time being at least) remained open to its 'subjects', and so it encountered a continued growth in the number of Indians arriving, many of whom went into peddling.

What made the 'seafarer-to-pedlar' transition so pivotal were the roles of successful pedlars in instigating further migration from their land of birth. Indeed, using oral history interviews and archival research, Maan (1992) claims that the

⁴¹ Now Glasgow City Council (GCC).

establishment of a permanent Pakistani community in Glasgow can be traced to the fortunes of *one* man, Nathoo Mohammed, who left his father's smallholding in India to become a seaman before arriving in Glasgow in 1919, upon which a native Glaswegian introduced him to peddling. After accumulating sufficient wealth Mohammed eventually returned to India where his achievements prompted others to move to Glasgow. These opportunists then sent letters and monetary remittances back to their villages in India, encouraging further migration and, importantly, promising support (loans, lodgings, guidance, etc) for those who made the move. Valuation rolls for Glasgow in the 1930s and 1940s thus show a continuing presence of Indian pedlars (Dunlop and Miles, 1990), and Asian-owned wholesale warehouses were eventually opened to supply this occupational group with their merchandise. Their own economic base now beginning to crystallise, by 1940 there were around 400 Indians living in Glasgow, virtually all of them living within the fifty or so Indian-owned or tenanted dwellings contained within the Gorbals district; an area more or less immediately South of what is now Glasgow's Central Business District (CBD) (Maan, 1992).

The 1948 British Nationality Act - a legal framework allowing Commonwealth citizens to acquire United Kingdom citizenship through a relatively simple process of registration - marked the next stage within the Glasgow-Pakistani migratory history. The Act was followed by accelerating levels of settlement: in 1950 there were around 600 South Asians in Scotland, rising to 1,300 in 1955, and approximately 4,000 in 1960 (Maan, 1992: 162). It is necessary to distinguish this particular phase of Commonwealth migration from the subsequent period of 'mass' migration, the latter usually associated with the 'economic migrant' who arrived in response to labour shortages within British transport and industry (coal, steel and textiles) in particular. There was, at the time of The Act, little demand for foreign labour. Indeed, Scotland experienced net *emigration* between 1950 and 1960 mainly as a result of urban poverty. The main employment opportunities for Pakistan lay in peddling, shop keeping and wholesaling, menial factory work and public transport (Audrey, 2000). These trends were confirmed by Elahi's (1967) early labour survey of Pakistani *men* in Glasgow: around one third of the 700 sample were employed as either bus conductors or drivers, with the remainder distributed among rubber factories; brick factories; the chemicals industry; grocery retail, and the retailing of other goods and services. The over-representation of South Asian labour in the public transport sector

was also a phenomenon noted by Beharrell (1965), who found a total of 102 Indians and 405 Pakistanis employed in the Glasgow Transport Department⁴², most either as drivers or conductors. In contrast to the West Indian recruitment 'drives'⁴³ run by English metropolitan areas, there is no evidence to suggest that the transport department attempted similar strategies of direct recruitment from India and Pakistan (Dunlop and Miles, 1990). Rather, as Audrey (2000) suggests, it is more likely that copies of job adverts in Scottish newspapers were sent to relatives and friends in Pakistan by those (mainly) men already settled in Scotland. Thus, chain migration remained a significant feature of the migratory process, encouraging further migration to Scotland from both the Indian subcontinent as well as from other parts of the British Isles, England in particular.

From 1950 Scotland began to develop its own identity as a particularly favourable location for migrant entrepreneurial activities, and nascent Pakistani, Indian, Chinese and Italian enterprises began establishing themselves across the city. From a Pakistani perspective, Glasgow's reputation was undoubtedly bolstered by several high-profile 'rags to riches' stories of penniless yet enterprising migrants building thriving business empires. One of the most illustrious is that of Yacub Ali, who, in 1952, arrived in Glasgow at the age of 19 to begin peddling, but who eventually went on to establish what was at one point Europe's largest wholesale business [he was later awarded the Order of the British Empire (OBE) in 1984 for his services to trade and industry]. While his was a tale of radical success, there did appear to be enough profitable business ventures amongst the small Scottish-Pakistani population to suggest that they were faring better at business in Scotland than they were anywhere else in the U.K.

The lure of Scotland's fruitful entrepreneurial climate seems to explain why considerable numbers of Pakistanis settled in Scotland *via* England. For example, Watson (1984) notes that while the majority of 1950-1969 settlers came to Scotland *directly from* the Indian subcontinent, a far greater portion of later (1970-1989) migrations involved groups or individuals arriving *in-directly*, many from communities across the 'spine' of English-Pakistani settlement (London-Midlands-

⁴² Glasgow Transport Department was the municipal body governing public transport in Glasgow.

⁴³ Several (large) British employers recruited directly from the Caribbean. London Transport, for example, began a recruitment programme in Barbados in 1956. This was later extended to Trinidad and Jamaica in 1966.

<http://www.irespect.net/Untold%20Stories/Caribbean/Community%20History.htm>; accessed 26/2/04.

Yorkshire-North-West). This latter judgement was based on his study of South Asians in Crosshill, in the south side of Glasgow, where forty of his sixty-five sample households previously resided in England. These findings were later repeated in a study by Dunlop (1988). From an interview sample of thirty-five, just under half (sixteen) previously lived south of the border. Since Glasgow was at the time of her study in the midst of rapid deindustrialisation, and gripped by high levels of unemployment, Dunlop was rightly curious as why so many Pakistanis evidently wanted to move to Glasgow. Here, she noted the importance of familial networks and chain migrations; after settling initially in geographically disparate regions, extended Pakistani families often consolidated in one town or city. This of course does little to explain the *particular* popularity of England-to-Scotland migrations; the movement could just as easily have been in the opposite direction, and it is here she posits Glasgow as a uniquely fertile site of entrepreneurial activity and growth (in a British context, at least).

Despite many Pakistanis opting for (Werbner, 1990; Jones et al, 1994) - or being restricted to (Barrett et al, 1996; Metcalf et al, 1996) - self-employment, and despite labour shortages in key areas of the indigenous economy (Kay and Miles, 1992), the visible and growing presence of non-white migrants spurred a growing lack of public and political faith in the then-liberal state immigration policy framework. Intense lobbying eventually translated into policy change when, in the spring of 1961, the sitting Conservative government instructed that by June 1st 1962 only certified work-permit holders and dependents of migrants already within the U.K. were allowed to settle there. The impending ban on what was essentially free entry for Commonwealth citizens engendered a feeling of 'now or never' amongst would-be migrants. As they flocked to 'beat the ban', the year prior to the 1962 Commonwealth Immigration Act marked the pinnacle of Pakistani migration to Britain. Glasgow's Pakistani population grew to twenty times its original size between 1951 and 1966; this when the overall city population fell by 10% (see Figure 5.1).

Yet a dramatic increase in population was not this policy's only effect on the community. Given the prevalence of chain migration, 'beat the ban' immigrants were predominantly from particular regions in Pakistan (i.e. areas in which migratory links

were already established)⁴⁴. In this way, and following the colonial system denoting towns in the southern Punjab with numbers rather than names, Maan (1992) used documentary evidence to claim that ‘almost everyone from villages 477 and 482 is in Glasgow’. The Act therefore proved pivotal in solidifying much of the Glasgow community’s socio-cultural characteristic (as traditionally lower caste, peasant rural-dwellers from the Punjab).

Figure 5.1: Population of Glasgow, 1951-1971

Year	Population of Glasgow	Decline of total Population	Estimated Asian Population	Growth %
1951	1,089,767		500	
1961	1,055,017	-3.1%	3,000	+500%
1966	978,250	-7.2%	10,000	+233%
1971	897,848	-8.0%	12,000	+20%

(Srivastava, 1975: 99)

It was, however, neither the specificity of sending regions nor, for that matter, the sheer volume of immigrants arriving that made the year or so immediately preceding 1962 so critical in terms of the future development of Glasgow’s Pakistani community (indeed, relatively few Pakistanis settled in Scotland compared to the more labour-hungry regions of Northwest and Midlands England). It was instead the social and demographic context of these immigrants - increasingly wives, children, and parents reforming families whilst the chance still existed – that bore significance. This was, after all, when settlement became permanent; when family units were established, and when the criteria for a second-generation were met. Indeed, family reunion persisted long after the 1962 Act since many saw it only as a precursor to more-stringent restrictions⁴⁵. A sense of urgency still prevailing, family reunions accounted for the majority of migrations during the 1960s and early 1970s. This period is therefore distinguishable from what Audrey (2000: 65) terms the ‘lodging

⁴⁴ Historically, it was migrants from certain (rural) villages in the Punjab – a region of eastern Pakistan that also extends into India – who mostly settled in Glasgow. Re-emphasising both the particularity and significance of processes of ‘chain migration’, Pakistani populations of other British towns and cities have their origins elsewhere, some in other villages in the Punjab, and some in different regions altogether.

⁴⁵ Indeed, further Acts were implemented in both 1968 and 1971.

house era': the pre-1960 period in which single males were the prevailing demographic group, and in which housing needs were vested upon cheap rented accommodation so that maximum remittances could be sent 'home' to family members remaining in Pakistan.

With the establishment of the Pakistani nuclear family came the crystallisation of patterns of settlement. A study of pre-1971 Asian⁴⁶ settlement in Glasgow noted the movement of a small, concentrated settlement from the Gorbals area, south to Govanhill and Pollokshields, and northwest to Garnethill, Woodside and the West End (Kearsley and Srivastava, 1974) (see Figure 5.2). Dalton and Daghlian (1989) later teased out faith-based variations within this pattern. They found, for example, that the majority of Glasgow's Sikh population (73.7%) had settled in those areas north of the River Clyde (Garnethill; Woodside; the West End), while the majority of Muslims (67.4%) had concentrated in Pollokshields and Govanhill, to the south of the river. This observation supports an earlier claim by Dahya (1974) who proposed that, as the size of an immigrant population increases, pre-existing religious and ethnic divisions eventually resurface after what is a period of initial dormancy.

One way of tracing the historical dispersal of Glasgow-Pakistani settlement is to look at the locations of mosques across the city. As with earlier Catholic and Jewish populations, the responsibility for establishing religious institutions fell with the immigrants themselves, meaning that mosque location is sympathetically tied to areas of growing Pakistani settlement. Glasgow's first Muslim Mission opened in 1940 when hired premises in Gorbals Street were converted into a temporary mosque. This was eventually transferred to larger premises following the purchase of a billiard hall and six adjoining flats in nearby Oxford Street. These premises served the community until the mid-1970s when they, along with the homes of many Pakistanis, were demolished as part of the so-called 'Glasgow Clearances': an extensive programme of regeneration carried out locally under the auspices of the Hutchesontown-Gorbals Comprehensive Development Area (CDA) plan. Around 100,000 dwellings demolished in total, leading to sixty percent of the Gorbals' population being relocated⁴⁷. In terms of the existing Pakistani population, it

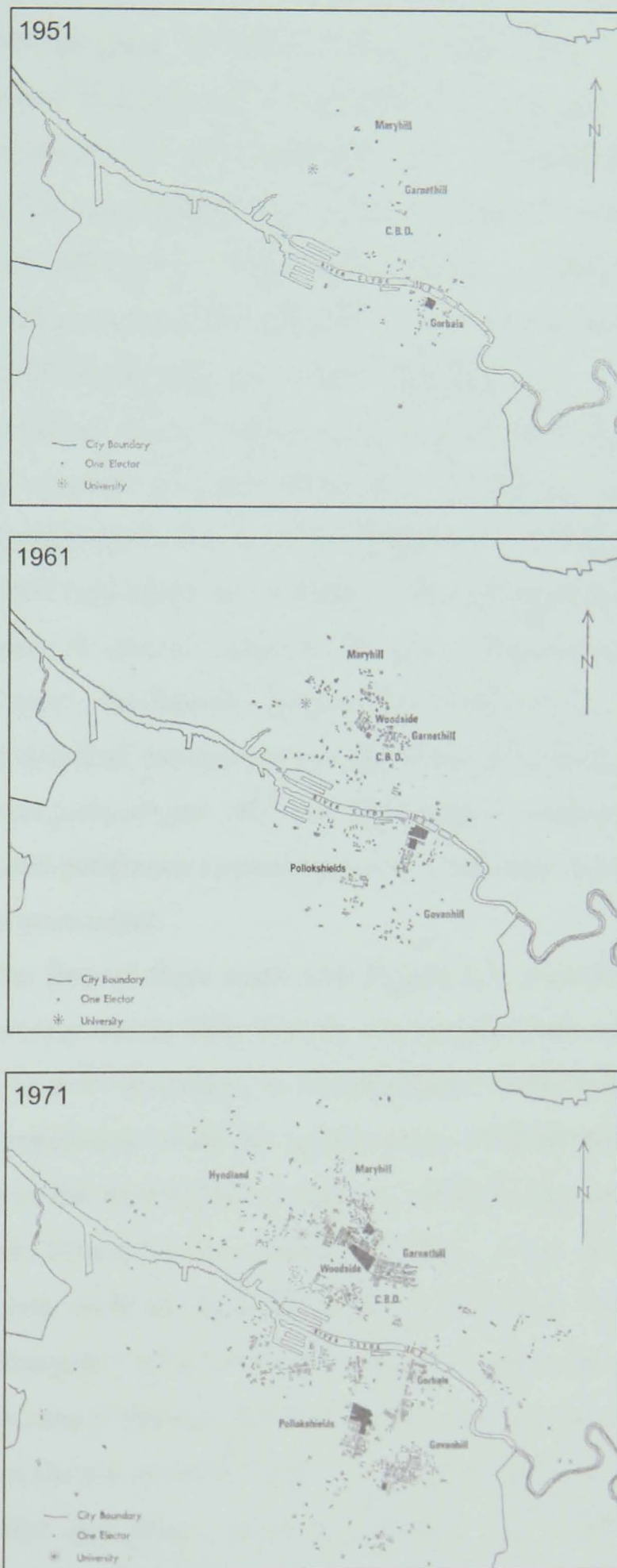
⁴⁶ While the authors define their research subjects as 'Asians', they never actually state what ethnic groups constitute this 'umbrella' category. It does seem, however, that they were interested in the 'Indian and Pakistani population', owing at least to the fact that Indians and Pakistanis were the only 'Asian' ethnic groups mentioned within the paper.

⁴⁷ <http://www.theglasgowstory.com/story.php?id=TGSFG>

subsequently became consolidated within remaining primary areas of settlement (Govanhill, Pollokshields, and Woodlands) and new, community-based mosques were established in these areas thereafter. To complement these, work began on Glasgow's Central Mosque⁴⁸ in 1979; its development emblematic of how the community was now regarded as a permanent rather than transitory feature of the city.

⁴⁸ On its completion the mosque became one of the largest in Europe, and was officially opened in 1984 by the *Imam* (prayer leader) of the Kabah in Mecca, Islam's holiest shrine (Maan, 1992: 174).

Figure 5.2
Distribution of Asian Settlement



(Kearsley and Srivastava, 1974: 112-114)

5.2 The Geography of Glasgow-Pakistani Settlement: 1981-2001

For many years Kearsley and Srivistava's (1974) seminal paper offered the only published insight into the spatial distribution of Pakistanis within Scotland's largest city. The maps from this paper (included on the previous page) were compiled using data from the Electoral Register, and since much of the community was transient at this time, living in convenience accommodation such as boarding houses or relative's homes, it is likely that a significant number of individuals would have been absent from the roll and so omitted from the mapping process. Likewise, the accuracy of these maps from a Glasgow-Pakistani perspective is reduced further by their adoption of the 'Asian' umbrella category as the focus of their analysis.

Taking advantage of the new level of detail opened up by the 1991 inclusion of the 'Ethnic identity' question this section succeeds these bygone maps and completes the decennial mapping process for the city's Pakistani community through the years 1981 to 2001 (the first map in the series obtained from 'Country of birth' responses). As well as offering a general snapshot of the community's evolving spatial distribution, these maps conveniently portrait how it was not really until 1991 that suburban Pakistani dispersal became pronounced within Census findings. In terms of 'before and after' comparisons, the 1991 and 1981 maps provide the starkest contrast, with the suburban and peripheral extensions to the Southwest noted in the 1991 map as indelible as they were novel.

Starting on the first of these maps (see Figure 5.3; located at the end of this chapter), the community was in 1981 heavily concentrated into selected areas inside the Glasgow City District boundary. In Pollokshields North Pakistanis constituted 10% of the local population while for neighbouring Pollokshields East this figure stood at 7%. North of the River Clyde significant numbers also resided in the central areas of Woodlands, Finnieston and Anderston. These areas, few in number, thus established themselves early on as nodal points of Pakistani settlement (and, to a lesser extent, for Glasgow's other non-white minority groups: Indians, Bangladeshis and Chinese in particular). The specific popularity of these areas amongst Pakistanis is firstly traceable to the nature of housing in these areas, large tenemental properties vaunted for their size and related ability to house sizeable nuclear and extended families. Moreover, these areas lay close by to the Gorbals, the original reception area for Glasgow's Pakistani population and whose clearance, regeneration and subsequent ethno-social re-orientation forced many Pakistanis to move elsewhere in

the city. The popularity of those areas north of the river on the other hand lay in their close proximity to Glasgow's university and college district, which as we saw earlier on in this chapter attracted a considerable number of students from the South-Asian subcontinent.

With the Glasgow-Pakistani family unit established, natural increase explains the community's vast growth through the period 1981-1991. In this time the population grew 210% from 3,532 to 10,956. The related effects of this expansion on then-nascent settlement patterns are quite obvious. There was, firstly, an *intensification* of existing patterns of settlement within the core areas of the Pollokshields/Govanhill nexus. This was primarily made achievable by either the extension of existing (tenemental) properties to house additional family members, or the outright purchase of other properties within the same neighbourhood through pooled family (frequently *extended* family) resources. Through these processes the adjoining areas of Pollokshields East (with a little under 29% of the total population being of Pakistani origin), Pollokshields North (17.1%), Pollokshields South (12.2%), Govan East (12.2%), Pollokshields (10.9%) and Govanhill (8.4%) became jointly affirmed as the undoubted 'heart' of the community. Similar processes of intensification albeit at a lesser scale took place north of the River Clyde in Woodlands and the surrounding areas.

The second identifiable distributional trend emerging between 1981 and 1991 was the community's outward *dispersal* along two palpable axes: Central to Southwest, and the more punctuated Central to Northwest axis. In the latter of these the Pakistani population spread from Woodlands into the contiguous West End settlements of Woodside, Hillhead and Anderston-Finnieston. The 'stretching-out' of the community was more extensive in the city's Southside where the community spread out along a continuous trajectory from the Pollokshields nexus to Langside, Kings Park, and to the suburbs of Giffnock and Newton Mearns.

While pictorially the Southern expansion takes the guise of a continuous 'arm' stretching out from core to suburbia, the same cannot be said about the community's more punctuated dispersal to the North of the city. Although suburban concentrations were found in the Northwest (Bearsden, Milngavie) and Northeast (Stepps), these settlements do not represent the end of a traceable lineage of outward dispersal like their Southern counterparts. The community has instead 'jumped' across neighbourhoods separating the core from these outlying areas of settlement. These

patterns are easily explained. The Northwest lineage was, and to an extent still is, interrupted by high property prices in Dowanhill, Kelvindale, Kelvinside and Cleveden; areas immediately Northwest of existing West End Pakistani concentrations in Hillhead, Woodside and Woodlands. To the East, the spatial barriers separating core from periphery (Stepps) were of a much different form in the shape of some of some of Glasgow's most deprived communities, where anticipations of hostility and no real history of previous Pakistani settlement inhibited the community's spread across connecting areas. Indeed, the East End as a whole remains under-settled by Pakistanis given its long-standing associations with poverty, crime, sectarianism and 'racial' homogeneity (i.e. 'whiteness').

With the number of Pakistanis within the city boundary growing 40% between 1991 and 2001 (to reach 15,314⁴⁹), the last Census confirmed a continuation of existing trends of intensification and dispersal. The axis south of the River Clyde has now spread into Croftfoot and Nitshill, and intensification continues unabated in core areas: one-in-five residents of both Pollokshields North and Pollokshields South are now Pakistani, while in Pollokshields East this figure has risen to over one-in-three. Concentration will nevertheless be much higher than this at finer scales, such as street level. North of the River Clyde, Pakistanis look as though they are finally penetrating the aforementioned 'West End barrier' of high property values, with a notable population having formed within prestigious Kelvindale. On the same Northwest trajectory there are now also small Pakistani communities in Scotstoun as well as neighbouring Anniesland, Jordanhill and Knightswood, although neither of these make their way on to the maps below.

The 2001 Census also reveals that Pakistani suburbanisation continues strongly. The Southerly suburban areas of Newlands and Newton Mearns have been bolstered and now contain around one-third and one-half more Pakistanis than they respectively held a decade ago. In the contiguous areas of Bearsden and Milngavie to the North, Pakistanis have almost doubled in numbers as they continue to establish themselves in some of Glasgow's most desired suburban locations. It is worth noting, though, that despite being much less numerous in Glasgow as a whole, there are far more Indians living within Bearsden and Milngavie than there are Pakistanis. Indeed, this pattern is repeated across virtually every suburban zone to the North of the city:

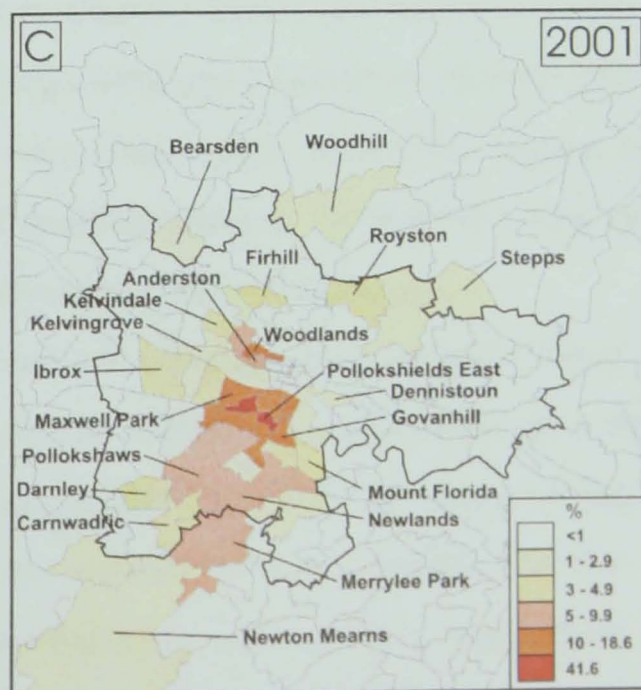
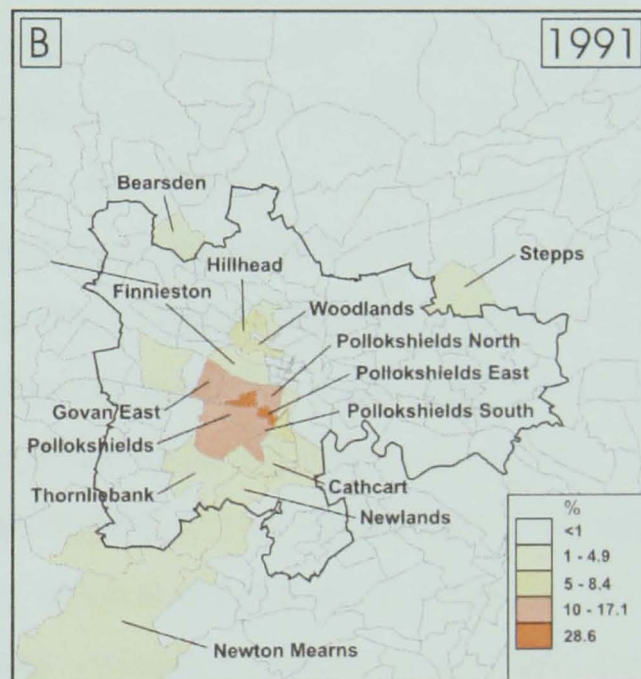
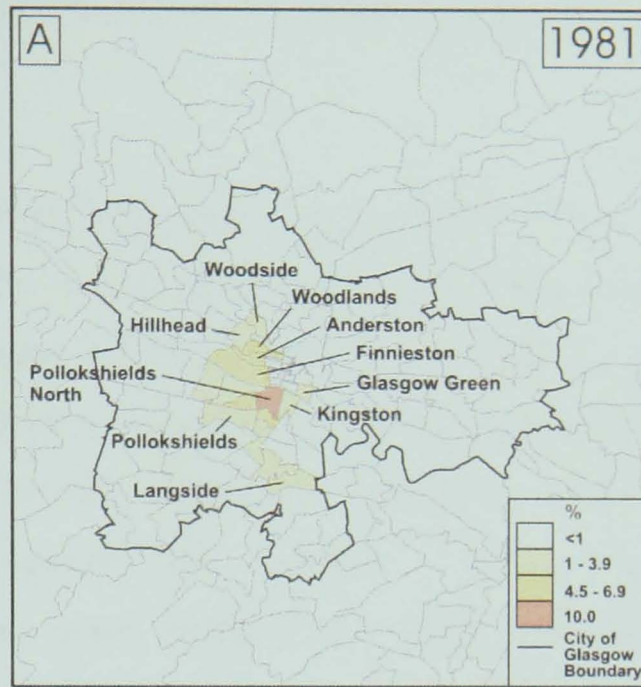
⁴⁹ Although the number of Pakistanis living within what we may call 'Greater Glasgow' (the City district plus six adjacent council districts) stands at approximately 19,000.

there are over *twice as many* Indians in East Dunbartonshire (the Northern suburban) district than there are Pakistanis (1,533 compared to 734)⁵⁰. This situation is nevertheless reversed in the Southside where Pakistanis are much more predominant in suburban areas on the Southern fringes of the city. This reflects the greater propinquity of these locations to the 'heart' of the Pakistani community, a contention that becomes more evident below with reference to the continued attraction of Glasgow's wider Pakistani population to the core and amenities therein. Northern suburbs are on the other hand more (spatially) distant and thus isolated from these valued and long-standing 'hotspots' of intra-ethnic support, collaboration and amenity.

⁵⁰ Remarkably, more Glasgow-Indians live *outside* the Glasgow City boundary than live within it (the Glasgow region defined as the City district plus six contiguous local authority districts of West and East Dunbartonshire, North and South Lanarkshire, East Renfrewshire and Renfrewshire), a pattern not even close to being repeated by other non-white populations in the area. The magnitude of this observation stems from the fact that here, in the form of Glasgow's Indian community, we have an 'urban' non-white population more prevalent in the urban hinterland than it is within the core.

Figure 5.3

Distribution of Pakistani Settlement



Additional Map Information

1. % Equal to percentage of area identified as of Pakistani origin
2. 2001 and 1991 data on Pakistani identity obtained from head of household's (HoH) prescription of household members' 'ethnic identity'. 1981 data obtained from 'Country of birth' of household reference person.

CHAPTER SIX

UNPACKING GLASGOW-PAKISTANI SUBURBANISATION

6.1 Introduction

While the final section of the previous chapter provided a necessary quantitative snapshot of the suburbanisation process, illustrating the dispersal of Pakistanis from initial 'reception' areas into bordering neighbourhoods and how, more recently, suburban concentrations have become established in areas outwith the city's formal political boundary, this chapter starts 'unpacking' Glasgow-Pakistani suburbanisation with mention of some of the key socio-cultural underpinnings upon which community's outward dispersal is based. The first section proposes that familial and co-ethnic networks of contact, familiarity and exchange are principle instigators within, and, to a lesser extent, enablers of, Pakistani suburbanisation. Moving momentarily away from familial and co-ethnic networks (both 'real' and 'imagined') and their role in enticing additional Pakistanis to suburban areas, the second section continues the analysis of interview data relating specifically to those Pakistanis already in suburbia by detailing key *alternative* (socio-cultural) principles behind their decisions to move to suburbia. Illustrating how the desire these Pakistanis showed for suburbia was founded on *both* 'minority-ethnic/Pakistani' and 'mainstream' representations of suburbia (the latter containing no obvious references to ethnicity and 'being' Pakistani) this section proposes that existing academic conceptualisations of 'hybridity' and 'hybrid' identities (see Chapter Three) provide an adequate theoretical commentary of the nature of Glasgow-Pakistani suburban identity, although the supplementary argument is made later these ideas must also remain open to those conscious attempts suburban Pakistanis make to 'slow-down', bind and protect their identities in the face of these dynamic cultural exchanges.

The impetus of this chapter then switches away from the 'pull' factors enticing Pakistanis to the suburbs to concentrate on a fleshing out of the socio-cultural factors behind people's decisions to *remain* within core areas of settlement. This discussion is as relevant as it is strategic for the way that contemporary patterns of Glasgow-Pakistani are put into perspective. As progressive as the overall concept of Glasgow-Pakistani suburbanisation may be to the academic and

political projects contained in this thesis, I have nevertheless remained committed to avoiding the ‘over-inflation’ of suburbanisation in real terms, or alternatively by implying that it deserves primacy over any other issue pertinent to the community today. At no stages during my fieldwork did I detect a widespread ‘clamour’ for suburbia. The desire for suburban life is certainly more pronounced amongst the later generations, especially among the emerging young band of professionals and ‘white collar’ workers, but plenty more – both young and old – are resisting the suburban idyll. Capturing these narratives and including the stories of these people within this thesis is thus as effective a window on the suburbanisation process as the oral testimonies of the small minority who *have* ‘made it’, hence the nature of this final section. First, though, to the various inter-personal networks underpinning Glasgow-Pakistani suburbanisation.

6.2 The Role of Family and Community Networks within the Suburbanisation Process

An assortment of family-, kin- and intra-ethnic networks, these both real (between those who are directly known to one another) and imagined (where relationships between one another are solely ‘in the mind’), have been and continue to be central to the suburbanisation of Glasgow’s Pakistani community. This contention is worked through in this section with reference to two key features of these networks and their operation ‘on the ground’. Specifically, networks are proposed as both ‘facilitating’ and ‘pinpointing’ suburbanisation; the former describing how they provide a medium through which money, advice, encouragement and other forms of economic and social capital relating to suburban house purchase are relayed, and the latter describing how the operation of these networks has led to very specific patterns of suburbanisation in which Pakistanis have been channelled into specific receiving points or micro-locations within the suburbs. These explanations of the suburbanisation process thus serve to clarify how the evolving geography of Glasgow-Pakistani settlement just described must be situated as the partial outcome of historical social ties between family members, friends and other co-ethnics, and of the exchanges and relaying of information and capital between them. Moreover, and linking these findings in to the overall philosophical, theoretical and conceptual position of this thesis, these findings tie in with earlier arguments proposing the relationality and interconnectedness of city

space (Chapter Three) and the limitations of much existing work on 'race' and ethnicity in the city, together with their implication for non-white populations as bounded by the (inner) city. As we see, these networks extend not only from the inner-city to the suburbs and vice versa but in some instances breach the limits of both city and nation, re-iterating the central claim of this thesis: that explanations of Glasgow-Pakistani suburbanisation necessitate a consideration of Glasgow's wider (political economic *as well as* spatial) context.

6.2.1 Chain migration and 'the colony in the suburbs'

A discernable feature of the mechanics of Pakistani suburbanisation is the way that the logistical processes beneath the community's outward dispersal mimics those that brought Pakistanis to the U.K in the first instance. In Glasgow there are obvious examples of solitary suburban pioneers having instigated further flows of (primarily) co-ethnics to suburbia, and, what is more, these connected individuals show a strong tendency to locate in close proximity to one another. Thus, in much the same fashion as Bashir Maan who earlier claimed that the origins of permanent Pakistani settlement in Glasgow may be traced to the decision of one man to migrate to the city of Pakistan, micro-level concentrations of Pakistanis in particular streets and neighbourhoods in suburban Glasgow may be traced back to the suburbanisation of one family a matter of decades ago. However these are not the only commonalities between 'old' (international) and 'new' (suburban) forms of chain migration. The actors typically involved in both (determined by their relationship to one another) as well as the nature of prompting mechanisms and specific methods of persuasion are also analogous, these inevitably centred upon the flow of information, words of encouragement and monetary assistance between family members and the wider co-ethnic community. Yet, and alluding to another commonality between these macro- and micro-level chain migrations, it is not only individuals and families who are 'known' to one another that are knitted together within these networks. Networks also operate in the form of 'imagined' linkages between Pakistanis, these drawing upon shared visions of nationhood, origin and experience (Anderson, 1991). With these Pakistanis are lured to particular suburban streets and neighbourhoods on the basis that other Pakistanis live there. Under these circumstances, explanations of Glasgow-Pakistani suburbanisation must therefore take into account common affiliations 'in the mind' separating Pakistanis from

other social groups: ethnicity in other words. Because of this distinction, between those networks primarily based upon 'material' connections and those based upon 'imagined' connections, both sets are separated in this into two admittedly overlapping but nonetheless distinguishable threads: networks of 'familiarity' and networks of 'common interest'.

Networks of 'familiarity' refer to systems of linked referral whereby suburban pioneers make *explicit* propositions to (primarily) family members that they too join them in the urban fringe. This was the case for Nasreen whose older sister Saba had earlier moved away from the parental home in Kinning Park (in the inner-city) to settle with her new husband in Newton Mearns. Nasreen explained that when faced with the same ritual of post-nuptial house hunting it was not long before Saba got in touch to offer her own opinions on which area her younger sister should ideally be looking to settle in:

I: 'Why did you choose Newton Means in particular?'

Nasreen: 'My sister stays here and she kind of wanted me to be close to her. It wasn't really a case of 'do this' since we had spoke about it for a while after she moved there...when we (Nasreen and her husband) started looking for a house together she did come out though and say that she would like us to be somewhere close though. We were both happy about it though (laughs)' (Female, 38)

Similar circumstances explained Shoaib's arrival in Milngavie; he wanted to be close to his brother (both had previously owned homes in Pollokshields). Shoaib was also forthcoming on why these situations should be so common among Pakistani families.

Shoaib: 'You see we come from a big family. Our dad always used to say to us 'always get on with each other and help each other out because you are stronger as a unit than you would be if you were not'. You will find this with a lot of Pakistani families.' (Male, 29)

Shoaib was correct in his prediction. Pakistani families place great value on family unity and this goes some way to explaining the clustering of Pakistani families evident in suburban areas, on which more is said below. Sticking for now

with these ideas on family ‘togetherness’ and their entrenchment within the Glasgow-Pakistani familial structure, my interview with Rafiq, whose own methods of persuasion were as hard-line as they were emotive, revealed much about how intensely these ideas can be conveyed and how abruptly they interfere with locational decisions during suburbanisation. A Giffnock resident for eighteen years, Rafiq spoke about earlier attempts at trying to persuade his two brothers to join him in “the suburbs”. Each of his brothers lived with their wives and children only a matter of two or three miles away in Pollokshields, yet he convinced them that it was their “duty” as a family to maintain a strong and united collective identity and that, despite them not being in a financial position to go through with this at the time, suburbanisation was something his siblings should “work hard” towards achieving.

Rafiq’s honesty and forthrightness in this context also came through in the interview ‘performance’ where he proved to be equally upfront and to-the-point. Prompted by this I felt inclined to press him further on the experiences he had just recounted in order to get a clearer picture of the suburbanisation process and the significant role of the family within this. In particular, I had been struck by his lack of specificity with regard to his view on where in suburbia his brothers should be looking to locate (put simply as “the suburbs”), this no doubt a result of me being more accustomed to instances of ‘pin-point’ referral in which would-be suburbanites were directed towards the particular neighbourhoods and streets of family members already there in periphery (which are discussed in more length below). What is more, I was sure that I had uncovered another angle on how issues of success and status were vested in the suburbanisation process, only this time in relation to the *family* rather than the articulations of individual or community attainment I was already familiar with (which I introduce below). I drew these conclusions from how Rafiq was not so much bothered about where in the suburbs his brothers should locate, more the fact that they *do eventually* suburbanise. It was clear that he drew immediate parallels between one’s ability to “work hard” and one’s ability to suburbanise and so it seemed logical to conclude that having several siblings from the same migrant family in suburbia would be construed as the ultimate in migrant success story; I was aware, after all, of how some suburban Pakistanis saw their own successes as counter-narratives against negative popular judgements against ‘their’ community and people (see below).

In the end my ideas proved premature but nevertheless evident. I raised this point with Rafiq towards the end of the interview and he said that, although this was not clear in the interview first time around, he *did* specifically instruct his brothers to move to Giffnock. He said that family members were an important source of help to each other and so it was important that they remained close together. Furthermore, having family members in close proximity was seen to have positive repercussions as far as the safeguarding of that family's identity was concerned. He said that it is important for his own children and those of his siblings to be able to interact and socialise with each other, as he deemed this an important step towards ensuring the future solidarity of, and ethic of cooperation within, his family. It figures, then, that cousins should be raised close to one another. Despite these sentiments, Rafiq also said that my earlier ideas did hold credence and that multiple instances of suburbanisation within a family inferred familial success and represented "something to be proud of".

Networks of common interest, on the other hand, apply to situations in which suburban pioneers unwittingly reinforce existing trends of co-ethnic suburbanisation through simply 'being there' (not involving, then, what may be termed *direct* prompting or persuasion). In Glasgow this exclusively took the form of Pakistanis being drawn to specific suburban locations on the basis that other Pakistanis were already living there. Faiz (Male, 41), for instance, cited Newton Mearns's sizable local Pakistani community as one of the main reasons he chose this location over any of the other suburban areas on offer in Glasgow (both to the North and South of the city). He moved to Newton Mearns from Hillhead in the West End of Glasgow on the principle that he and his family would be able to live a decidedly 'suburban' existence (based on discretionary 'seclusion') in tandem with a relaxed and unobtrusive co-ethnic network of support there 'if needed':

Faiz: 'I suppose we [suburban Pakistanis] have the best of both worlds because we can keep ourselves to ourselves but we also know that if we need help we wouldn't have too far to look.'

Several more respondents also voiced these feelings and while having other Pakistanis close by was certainly an attraction, none seemed to have worked on nurturing and developing contacts with their co-ethnic neighbours with any urgency. Despite not imposing themselves on their neighbours, and despite the

sporadic rhythm of interaction between suburban Pakistanis as a whole, respondents were nevertheless overwhelmingly unanimous that the dormancy of material ties and connections between them would not impinge upon the ease at which friendship, collaboration and cooperation is transmitted through these networks in the future.

Strong emotional, sentimental and sympathetic bonds are thus present between suburban Pakistanis irrespective of whether they are known to one another or not (as is the case with the core, see below). Moreover, the nature of these connections is such that they possess a 'timeless' quality. They are forever present, even through unfamiliarity. They are variable in extent yet permanent in their presence. Taking these characteristics into account it is quite clear then that 'ethnicity' is fundamental to networks of common interest. 'Being Pakistani' holds resonance to all implicated within these extended and 'imagined' networks of emotive connection.

These ideas inevitably lead on to discussions of (Pakistani) community. It seems that despite their low numbers and the relative infancy of their time in the suburbs, suburban Pakistanis have nevertheless begun to consciously organise and define themselves as a 'community within a community'. Rafiq articulated this within the context of Giffnock:

I: 'Would you say that living in Giffnock and being a suburban Pakistani says anything about your overall relationship to [Pakistani] community?'

Rafiq: '(Pauses) Well...at first it maybe did. At the start I felt that I wanted out [of Pollokshields] because...well...it's hard to say but I wanted to bring my kids up somewhere different because while these places may be home to lots of our kind they are...well, at the end of the day they are still busy *city places* (stress placed here). The suburbs are definitely better for raising your children. I did feel bad, though - that I was taking them away from a big part of their culture because suburbia obviously doesn't have as many Pakistanis as Pollokshields.'

I: 'Have these feelings changed at all?'

Rafiq: 'Yeah definitely - that was twenty years ago so there are now lots of Pakistanis out here. Even when we first came here - I remember my wife saying she thought it would be strange not knowing anyone but the [Pakistani] community [already here]

helped us fit in. We [Pakistanis] are really just the same here as we are anywhere else – we all get on and would help each other if we can...it is the same for any new Pakistani families coming to the area. It was kind of strange I suppose, you come here thinking things will be all quiet but I suppose you are always seen as part of the community. I think that is why more and more Pakistanis are coming to places like this. They know they can make friends with the other Pakistanis easily but if you don't want to, well you can do that too...' (Male, 53)

That Rafiq's neighbours were in effect total strangers to him did not alter his judgement of him having entered an identifiable (Pakistani) community. Despite my claim below that 'being Pakistani' is becoming less of a cultural signifier for some Pakistanis (who associate more with being 'Asian'), ethnicity was articulated here as still important, it operating here as a social 'glue' capable of bringing disparate individuals and families together. In a more practical sense, though, we see here how a communal ethnic identity lends itself to a unique and desirable social milieu for Pakistanis wishing to escape the 'bustle' of the core whilst holding on to shreds of (Pakistani) community.

The efficacy of both networks of 'familiarity' and 'common interest' to the suburbanisation process (whether they be based upon 'real' family or 'imagined' connections) is most evident at the micro-scale geographical level where, through funnelling Pakistanis into particular neighbourhoods and, at an even finer resolution, certain streets, they have led to the establishment of colony-like settlements whose origins may be traced back to the actions of one particular family or individual.

I: 'Can you tell me [why] your father moved to Bearsden?'

Akhtar: 'One of his friends - who was a banker at the time - he mentioned to my dad: 'listen, this is the best place you could possibly move into'. And that's how my dad ended up here. And then my dad told my uncle, and he eventually moved to Bearsden.'

I: 'Certainly where you live in Boclair [a Bearsden neighbourhood] – that strikes me as a being an area where many Asians live.'

Akhtar: 'There weren't many when we arrived – we were the first people in there. And, where we are just now – we own seven houses there'.

I: 'Your extended family?'

Akhtar: 'Uh-huh, so when you say there's quite a few...'

I: 'Your family perhaps led the colonisation of Boclair?'

Akhtar: 'Probably, probably. Because then my cousins who used to be in Preston (Northwest England) - they obviously worked in factories there - we encouraged them to come to Glasgow. They originally settled in Ibrox also, and as soon as we went to Bearsden they soon followed.'

I: '[Your family] recommended it to them?'

Akhtar: 'Yes.'

I: 'Are you aware of what you told them?'

Akhtar: 'I think...um...when we are actually working in this kind of environment (Akhtar is a shop-owner) its great to actually be able to go home and be totally at peace with yourself and I think that was a big, big factor in most of our decisions. They found that you can walk the streets and there is never a bad word said – obviously when they are in the shops people can come in and spout out whatever they want to spout out.'

One of the most self-evident suburban colonies encountered during my time in the field was a cluster of around 25 *Asian* (Pakistani *and* Indian) owned homes in the Boclair/Kessington neighbourhoods of Bearsden. On passing through this concentration - centred upon the quiet residential street of Kinnaird Crescent - it would be easy to overlook the area's micro-level ethnic diversity given the absence of overtly 'Asian' physical markers such as ethnic-specific shops and places of worship. Indeed, given this area's leafy appearance, secluded feel, and the inhabitant's quite obvious commitment to a typically 'suburban' way of life (invariably based around the motor car), it is rare to see any of the area's inhabitants 'out and about', engaging in their daily activities in the street, on foot. As such, the decidedly mixed ethnic composition of this is somewhat hidden, being unnoticed to most except local residents themselves.

The reference to Akhtar's father in the above conversation reveals the familial ties, networks and connections around which this otherwise inconspicuous micro-locality became established as a site of (relatively) high minority-ethnic concentration. Soon after his own initial arrival in Boclair district, Akhtar's father began instigating furthering-migrations of family members through the relaying of word-of-mouth recommendations. It is, however, through the contemporary words of his son ("we now own seven houses...") that the collective solidarity motoring chain migration becomes clear alongside the shared sense of achievement bequeathed upon these families when additional family members do eventually arrive in the suburbs.

The co-existing concentration of Indian residents in this area raises interesting contentions about the nature of these networks since it seems to scramble any ideas of suburban chain migration and its associated networks being strictly intra/co-ethnic in nature. On the contrary it seems as though the establishment of one non-white group can lead to the agglomeration of other minority-ethnic groups in the area (in this instance Indians) since there are, after all, common bonds between the two which straddle the particularity of ethnicity (shared geographical origin within pre-partitioned India, shared sense of being a 'coloured' outsider). While I did not speak to any Indian residents during the course of my fieldwork this was a point I nonetheless raised with a small number of suburban respondents, and their responses seemed to validate these judgements with regard to the nature and specificity of existing networks of chain migration. As Nasreen explained, it is not coincidental that concentrations of Pakistanis and Indians are found together.

Nasreen: 'It's not a coincidence, no. You will find that immigrants generally like to be close to one another – it's a kind of safety in numbers thing I suppose...'

I: 'And these networks which bring Pakistani friends and relatives to the suburbs – do these extend into the Indian community...what I mean is, would you find Pakistanis and Indians encouraging each other to move close to them?'

Nasreen: 'I suppose so if they were friends – and many Pakistanis will have Indian friends. I'm sure this will have happened.'

While Nasreen saw multi-ethnic (Indian and Pakistani) concentrations in suburbia as deliberate rather than coincidental, it has to be stressed that I came across no examples of this in practice. Others did back up Nasreen's (albeit tentative) judgements, though, and she was not the only one who indicated the prevalence of a "safety in numbers" mindset amongst non-white minority groups, irrespective of nationality. While there is quite obviously no immediate threat to these groups this somewhat extreme choice of words merely re-iterates my earlier claims in relation to networks of common interest – that Pakistanis (and other non-white minority groups) value being close together 'just in case'. That is to say that while there may not be any co-operation between these groups they nonetheless find it reassuring to have other 'outsiders' around them.

6.2.2 Parental influence on house-buying children

The centrality of family connections to the suburbanisation process is arguably being reinforced of late. 'Typical' chain migrations, and by this I mean those involving siblings and cousins, continue, but the role of the family within Glasgow-Pakistani has been fortified recently by a new dynamic within these intra-familial negotiations, namely the prevailing desire of house-buying second and later generations to remain close to their parents. While there is of course a substantial slippage between those harbouring suburban aspirations and those who actually realise these ambitions, evidence suggests that for Glasgow-Pakistanis this gap is being shortened by the generosity of parents and other 'well-off' relatives providing financial assistance (further evidence of the exceptional value Pakistanis put on family 'closeness'). This was the case for Yousuf, a 27-year-old married man from Newton Mearns, whose parents donated money for the deposit on his home, also in Newton Mearns ("they liked the thought of us [Yousuf, his wife and infant-aged child] staying close by"). Yousuf said that similar instances of parental support to home-buying children were commonplace amongst affluent Pakistani families, and that this was endorsed by the preponderant cultural inclination of bridal parents within arranged marriages to contribute towards the newlywed's post-nuptial 'establishment' in the form of monetary gifts and assistance, these donations likely to increase in value if, as sometimes happens, both sets of parents take it upon themselves to contribute.

The distribution of parental support is not, however, necessarily limited to either the time of the wedding itself or that period immediately succeeding it. As Yousuf found out, monetary assistance may instead be deferred until that time when the couple decide to purchase their first home together. This method has become especially popular of late and upon closer inspection this is not too difficult to explain. Long-ensconced views on the value of home ownership (as opposed to private or public renting) are still embedded within Glasgow's Pakistani community today (Bailey et al, 1995) but now these tendencies have been given increased freedom of expression by a prevailing (British) climate of speculative property investment and strategic house purchase. Furthermore, 'entrepreneurial homeownership' is boosted in the Glasgow context by local conditions of dynamic property values and a growing inventory of reputable property 'hot-spots', suburban areas being particularly sought after in this regard. In light of these conditions parental investment in properties for their children arguably makes more sense now than it ever has.

Young Pakistanis' desire to situate close to parental homes possibly represents a modern-day re-working of 'old' ethno-religious habits deemed too outdated and inappropriate for contemporary times. Studies such as that carried out by Berthoud and Beishon (1997) noted how young Pakistani couples sometimes begin their matrimonial life living with one set of parents, usually those of the male partner. Yet evidence from my own study suggests that later-generation Pakistanis are spurning this compositional structure for the way in which they contravene 'acceptable' advanced capitalist conventions of independent, careerist children. The following young Pakistanis gave these responses when asked about this situation, and whether or not this was something they would consider themselves.

Usman: [laughs] 'No way man, I need my own space...' (Male, 22)

Azma: 'If the situation was ok, yeah – I suppose – but you will find that this doesn't happen much these days because people prefer to do other things' (Female, 20)

I: 'Why would you say this is the case – why do you think young people nowadays wouldn't like this kind of arrangement?'

Azma: 'I think that now a big part of growing up is being able to fend for yourself and look after yourself...I know some people who would laugh at me too...'

Several young respondents thus articulated the 'uncoolness' of multi-generational households. As such, where there may be a temptation to apply sweeping statements on Pakistani family unity and togetherness to narratives of Glasgow-Pakistani choice in the local housing market, the eagerness of some young Pakistanis to shed the stigma attached to outdated visions of Pakistani household structure calls for the mild complication of such theses. While there is still a widespread subscription to codes of family unity, evident in how Pakistanis and parents alike wish to remain in close geographical proximity to one another, living under the same roof as one's parents is increasingly deemed 'too close for comfort'. Irrespective of this, though, suburban parents remain important agents within the suburbanisation process by making suburban owner-occupation more accessible to young Pakistanis than it otherwise would be.

The ethic of parental 'giving' and its role within the suburbanisation process is not, however, simply limited to the direct financial assistance of home-buying children. This lineage can be traced further back into different charitable contexts such as family/parental sponsored university degrees and college qualifications and offspring 'succession' within family businesses. The proportion of Glasgow-Pakistani youths with 'student' status is high - 55% of those aged 16-24 are listed as either in full or part-time education – and the difference between this and the smaller figure of 43% for their 'white' counterparts is largely a measure of not only how staunchly Pakistani parents value their children's education but also their willingness to meet the substantial expenses accrued by their children during education (General Registers Office for Scotland, 2003). On this first point, Rafiq had well-developed opinions on why it is that Pakistani parents are so keen to see their children stay in education for as long as possible.

I: 'What were your own aspirations [in a career sense] and, say, did your father or mother, or indeed your peers expect you to do a certain thing?'

Rafiq: 'Ah (perked up)...obviously my father's concern was obviously the schooling because when he was younger, obviously...at the times when the British were in India and

Pakistan one of the ways in which they subjugated the people was to make sure that the people didn't get educated because the ones who got educated would be the ones who stand up against them, so it was kind of policy whereby they don't educate the locals...'

For Rafiq, then, historical systems of colonial oppression explain why so many of the older generation are keen to have their children stay in education. Nonetheless this does not explain entirely why Pakistani parents in particular are so forthcoming in assisting their children financially during their studies. Of course they value their children's educations but so do most parents. In this regard there is much to draw from my interview with Akram (Male, 21), a bioscience student at the University of Glasgow. In short Akram claimed that Pakistani students were distinguishable from their 'white' counterparts in one primary regard: they had much less debt. It is therefore possible that able parents fund their children's education in an attempt to avoid debt accumulation within the family.

Tuning these ideas more in to the specific concerns of this thesis, additional and more refined ideas on prevailing attitudes towards borrowing and debt accumulation are generated when examined within the specific context of house purchase. Namely, we see the problem is not so much borrowing but rather borrowing from 'mainstream' agents within the indigenous financial structure. This is demonstrated in Alison Shaw's (1988) much-referenced study of Oxford's Pakistani community, in which she noted the loosening of financial constraints within the home-buying process by a series of communal deposit and lending programmes (known locally as *kametis*) whereby those involved were free to borrow money from the pooled resources as and when needed, with repayment plans and size of incurred payments equally sympathetic given the unique conditions under which loans were made; a rare situation in which both debtor and creditor were emotively knitted together by ethnicity and, quite often, familial ties. *Kameti* loans thus offered Oxford-Pakistanis a welcome routeway between indigenous banking agencies and systems of mortgage referral which were shunned on both cultural and religious grounds. Corresponding observations were also made in a later study by Herbert and Kempson (1996) who observed similar structures in operation despite the overall religious condemnation of borrowing in general. Later studies by both Lakey (1997) and Bowes et al (1997) nevertheless remind us that

Pakistanis are nowadays increasingly likely to turn to the 'high street' when funding house purchase, a sign that existing sensibilities restricting borrowing are waning.

My own observations in Glasgow certainly back this last assertion. Glasgow-Pakistanis remain largely committed *in theory* to the shunning of *all* lending facilities and debt accumulation (irrespective of whether they are co-ethnic or mainstream). While some admittedly cited religion as the main source of disagreement the majority cited their feelings as a 'natural' response to the stresses and problems associated with being a debtor; quirks in other words divorced from religion or nationality – at least on first sight. Despite this trepidation, the reality for many is that mainstream lending agencies are an unavoidable part of life. Only one respondent ever mentioned using a *kameti* despite persistent trends of co-ethnic collaboration and financial assistance during house purchase more generally (see above). Given the evidently low-key profile of the *kameti* structure in Glasgow today loans from mainstream agents are really only offset then by the popularity of intra-familial and intra-ethnic lending and financial support (although both will also be combined) and, more latterly, by the burgeoning Pakistani-run financial services and property agency industry in the city (see Chapter Seven), to which a growing number of Pakistanis are turning.

Turning now to Pakistani business succession and its emplacement within the suburbanisation process, children inherit enterprises established by their parents and so take advantage of a ready-made economic niche and accompanying social status. The extent of a young Pakistani's 'wage', while of course dependent on the profitability of operations, is also nevertheless an expression of prevailing family attitudes towards 'who takes what' from the enterprise. While specific proportions and amounts are set for legal reasons (such as for the calculation of Inland Revenue payments) such amounts are nevertheless quite often 'empty' in that money is instead distributed on a more *ad-hoc* basis posited upon daily, weekly and monthly 'need' and, thus, are a function of the lifestyle nuances of those individuals concerned and as well as the 'standard' of life they hope to sustain. While varied and flexible, these sliding incomes must nevertheless corroborate with the parameters set by family elders, usually the parents themselves. These are intended to keep young Pakistanis 'grounded' and guard them against lavishness, all whilst

inscribing to them how money and future stability is founded upon their ability to continually work hard and contribute to the success of the family enterprise.

Irrespective of such intricacies and variations regarding ‘who takes what’ from the family business, there can be no denying the pertinence of business succession and success to the suburbanisation process through equipping second and later Glasgow-Pakistanis with the financial means through which the costs of suburban homes may be met. I spoke to ten Pakistani suburbanites who either worked in or managed ‘family’ businesses set up by other family members, most often parents and grandparents. Out of the forty-two suburban households incorporated into my research (through the interview of at least one family member from these households) succession thus contributed to around a quarter of these dispersals, a figure that may even be higher given that the origins of one’s place of work was not ascertained from all in the sample. Suburbanisations monied by parent-to-child business successions are thus fairly typical, adding more credence to understandings of Pakistani business success as an important historical and contemporary ‘engine’ of the suburbanisation process.

6.3 Hybrid Suburban Identities and a Developing Class-Consciousness

Having looked at how familial and other intra-ethnic networks facilitate the suburbanisation process, this section now looks at some of the alternative socio-cultural motives vested in Pakistani suburbanisation. While the majority of these motives appear based upon mainstream (white?) articulations of suburbia in that they contain no direct references to either the ethnicity or minority status of their purveyors, it is nevertheless the case that some young Pakistanis are attaching political significance to their move to suburbia. Some herald their dispersal as indicative of the modern-day determination of young Pakistanis to live more integrated lives and prosper from the labour opportunities currently on offer in the city of Glasgow today. By attaching this political significance to suburbanisation I argue that the identity of Glasgow’s suburban Pakistani community is one that is both complex and fractured, in which elements of Pakistani and Islamic tradition are fused together with more common and arguably ‘white-British’ articulations of suburbia and the benefits of suburban life. These discussions highlight the theoretical relevance of hybridity (Chapter Three) to modern day empirical discussions of Glasgow-Pakistani identity.

The embedding of such 'new' and hybrid suburban identities (Chapter Two) within the suburbanisation process is arguably most evident in relation to the unconventional career strategies and class aspirations of many of today's younger Pakistanis, who are combining 'white collar' employment with the purchase of desirable suburban properties to stake a claim as (late) entrants to Glasgow's middle-class population. The prominence of a hybrid Scottish-Pakistani cultural identity within these class transitions demonstrates the intellectual worth of extending current scholarly insights into the hybrid nature of contemporary British-Muslim identity (Dwyer 1998, 1999a, 1999b, 1999c) away from their current disposition with the vagaries of cultural performance and embodied geographies, and into the more 'material' contexts of urban political economy and labour change.

Arif: 'We came here (Bearsden) for our kids really. Like any parents we wanted to provide the best for the children and our youngest was about to start school...we heard that this (suburbia) was the best platform for them.' (Male, aged 62)

Qasim: 'I remember coming up here before we bought the house...we were just looking at the time. It was so different, even then...there was so much space which was something we weren't used to, but that was good – it was something we liked...the children could play without getting into trouble and you weren't always worried about where they were or who they were with.' (Male, aged 49)

Uzma: 'We liked the privacy you get with these types of houses and gardens...you can just get on with your lives and bring up the kids, while if you want to mix with other people you can do that too. It's basically the best of both worlds when before it was just buildings and people...I think that you can only take that for so much.' (Female, 58)

Arif, Qasim, Uzma, Umar and Mohammed each moved (along with their respective spouses and children) to Bearsden from established areas of Pakistani settlement. Arif's justification centred upon improved education facilities for his children: local state run primary and secondary schools are among the best in Glasgow and the private schools located in the West End of the city are in easy reach. With its greenbelts, parklands and proximity to the countryside, Qasim and Uzma on the other hand saw Bearsden as possessing aesthetic qualities conducive

to family life and the upbringing of their young children. Then, on top of these relatively straightforward issues of practical appeal came issues of class, status and exclusivity. Ownership of a Bearsden home implies success and engenders respect. It reflects determination, ambition and, as Umar (Male, aged 60) touched upon, a lifetime's hard work. When cataloguing his previous forms of employment and the arduous tasks and long work hours that went with them (most recently as a Post Office operator) Umar remarked with some pride that he had "worked hard" for his home in Bearsden. He then elaborated on how his current home was a testament to both his commitment to work *and* his dedication to providing what he saw as a pleasant, safe environment for his family. Looking more closely at these comments Umar seems to be articulating suburban homeownership as inferring 'success' on two fronts. Firstly there is the implication of him being a successful family member (as a father and husband) in that his driven attitudes towards work are understood to have provided his wife and children with a home in a 'desirable' suburban location. Then there is the second but related implication of financial and career success in that his own interactions with the labour market are seen to have ultimately financed his family's suburbanisation. Mohammed (Male, aged 45) was even more forthcoming on the relationship between suburbia and personal/family status. He said that he would "be lying" if he didn't acknowledge the exclusivity of Bearsden as one of its key attractions; this before proceeding to claim that this would also be true of the majority of other Bearsden residents, *irrespective* of ethnic background.

But it was among the professionalizing later generations that the inter-relationship between class, identity and suburbanisation is especially valorised. Partly due to the first generation's 'hothouse' approach towards their children's education⁵¹ young Pakistanis are showing a remarkable orientation towards university and college education: as we have seen, nearly one-in-five Pakistanis aged 16 or over are currently in full time education compared to a figure of one-in-ten for Glasgow's white population (General Registers Office for Scotland, 2003). These tertiary educated Pakistanis are consequently pursuing careers in the professions and specialist service industries. It is not uncommon to find young

⁵¹Pakistani parents are learning here from their own experiences in the labour market where they typically had to negotiate insecure forms of employment with low skill requirements, or be at the mercy of the Glaswegian public in small retail, take-away and other food businesses. The migrant generation therefore press educational attainment onto their children in the belief that this will lead them into what they perceive as more rewarding forms of employment.

Pakistani doctors, solicitors, dentists, social workers and accountants. New- found skills in fields such as business management and marketing are also being applied within non-traditional areas of entrepreneurialism. There are examples of trailblazing business success in the I.T, and financial and property services industry, and also in high value retailing where computer and mobile phone businesses are especially popular. These careers bring with them a new dimension to Pakistani identity. There is now a self-aware and elite band of young Pakistani professionals looking for opportunities to confirm their newly found bourgeois status. One respondent reflected on how this group are motivated by their perceived role as the 'new ambassadors' of Britain's Asian population. They are happy to be lauded as success stories since they feel that this disproves indigenous fears of Asian self-segregation and cultural insularisation. This was something Nadeem was particularly succinct on:

Nadeem: 'Yeah, it [suburbanisation] is something to be proud of. Most people think that all Pakistanis don't like mixing and have a short social focus, what they don't understand is that this is only true for certain people...they don't see the other side of things

I: What do you mean by 'the other side of things?'

Nadeem: Well...eh...people's ideas only really apply to older Pakistanis, they don't pay any attention to what the younger ones are doing...what they are achieving (Male, 34)

For young Pakistanis with views similar to Nadeem suburban house purchase is thus a means to an end. It is a concrete manifestation of not only one's affluence, but so too one's desire – and ability - to lead integrated, 'mainstreams' lives.

Nadeem: Most people think the same way [here in Bearsden]...they have the same mentality because they work hard, often doing the same type of jobs. We get on better here as a result...They say that [suburbanites] like to be anonymous, keeping themselves to themselves, but I wouldn't say this was true here...we are more of a community

For Nadeem, class-consciousness penetrates Bearsden residents, creating common bonds and affiliations (beyond those that come from simply 'sharing the same place'). Projections of class thus in this instance straddle ethnicity, providing

a conduit for cultural hybridisation. Since Nadeem's relocation from the core he has become involved in a suburban network of social and leisure connections made up entirely of white people. Nadeem and Saima (his wife) often host neighbours during evening meals at their house, for example, and this is reciprocated at other times. They also regularly take part in a variety of (mainly) social events organised through their local health and fitness club, which they are members of. It was through one of these (a pre-natal class) that Saima met one of her closest friends.

Nonetheless, discussing these 'everyday' suburban networks leads towards an important cleavage point within this otherwise middle-class Scottish-Pakistani identity. Differences in occupational status (as either a 'professional' or a business owner/entrepreneur) are reflected in the varying depths to which suburban Pakistanis become immersed in such networks. The professional class are definitely outwardly orientated compared to their more insular counterparts amongst the business community. As a doctor, Nadeem's involvement in these networks was typical of the professional class, whose social ties mimicked those from the workplace in that they stipulated relatively scant interaction with co-ethnics. This was in stark contrast to the more introverted business class who largely remained loyal to the 'tried and trusted' co-ethnic networks of interaction based on familiarity through shared ethnic origin. Again, though, this mirrored work-related connections where it is not uncommon to find Pakistani businesses based almost entirely on co-ethnic input; from property source (leaseholder, vendor) through suppliers, employees and, finally, to the clients themselves (although, as we saw earlier, the enterprises of young Pakistanis are increasingly geared towards multi-ethnic as well as non ethnic-specific markets). This overlapping between the intra- and extra-workplace relationships of the business class is explained by the fact that many Pakistani business contacts and relationships *evolve from* pre-existing co-ethnic ties and connections, and vice versa. This class distinction – or deviation – was particularly tangible to Tahir, a retired physicist who, along with his wife and children, hold the notable distinction of being the first Pakistanis to settle in Bearsden.

Tahir: 'I have not experienced any racism at all [in Bearsden]. I came here as a professional – I was treated as a professional, not as a coloured person...I did not have any great deal of communication with the rest of [the] Pakistanis in the city when I

came here to Bearsden. But [this is] because I am not in the business community, you see...I was an outsider with them, so I didn't have very much communication or contact with [the] Pakistani community in Glasgow...Most of my friends were local people either from my office or my neighbours.' (Male, aged 58)

Tahir's professional status in his eyes distinguished him from the 'beating heart' of the Glasgow-Pakistani community, equated here with the business class. Additionally, it constituted a source of similarity with fellow (white) suburbanites, having the final say on how he was perceived by this group (as a professional instead of a 'coloured' person). Ethnicity is therefore playing blind to issues of class and status here as Tahir and his family continue to embed themselves further within the suburban social fabric. The largely imagined boundaries between Tahir and the 'rest' of the population are nevertheless exacerbated by real, material boundaries. The physical separation between the core and hinterland means that geography drives a further wedge between the two. Indeed, such were the infrequency of Tahir's trips to the core and such was his lack of connections with the community there, he has begun to question the existence of any remaining continuity between himself and the undiluted, bastions of 'true' Pakistani identity, the business class (he makes reference to himself as an 'outsider').

The above hybridisations and instances of cultural 'inbetweenness' (Bhabba, 1990) mainly refer to Pakistanis for whom the appeal of suburbia was communicated with no reference to ethnicity. At the beginning we saw examples of Pakistanis buying into the archetypal 'suburban dream' of open space, good schools, privacy, and a range of social and leisure networks peopled by a reliable amalgam of well-meaning fellow suburbanites. Class and the desire to cement one's social status of perceived standing in society also proved important for Pakistanis – as is likely to be the case for many of suburbia's white inhabitants. Nevertheless, it is also true that these class articulation do sometimes become infused with ethnicity and the subject of 'being Pakistani', as was the case with Nadeem and a select number of others who viewed suburbanisation as a (positive) critical reaction to unfair popular portrayals of fellow British-Pakistanis.

6.3.1 'Stubborn' identities

For all this talk of dynamic, flowing and hybrid identities, some commentators have also reminded us of the need to recognise how groups and individuals consciously try to slow-down or resist processes of interculturalisation and cultural syncretism. These ideas were central to Valins' (1999) study of ultra-orthodox Jews in Manchester (England), where he attempts to stabilise, institutionalise and bound 'their' identities (and demarcate 'their' space) in the face of threats and challenges to their distinctive, ultra-orthodox way of life (in the form of inter-marriage, decreasing overall populations and racism). Such 'stubborn' identities (borrowing from a later paper by Valins, 2003) were also observed by Geraldine Pratt (1999) in relation to the behaviour of Filipino domestic workers in the homes of their rich employers in the U.S. Through a range of covert anti-subversive tactics (such as cooking and decorating to their own tastes) Pratt elucidates how some of these transnational migrants were able to salvage elements of their 'own' authentic identity while at work within otherwise repressive settings.

Besides their worth illustrating how groups and communities deliberately impose boundaries around 'their' identities, the above examples also make it clear that rather than negative and reactionary such attempts at cultural 'purity' may also be as emancipatory as the very processes of hybridisation they are resisting:

'Marking boundaries, insisting on the materiality and persistence of differences, may be as politically productive as blurring them in the notions of mobility, hybridity and thirdspace' (Pratt, 1999: 164)

These sentiments also apply to Scottish-Pakistani identity in suburbia. Bearsden is far from a seamless melting pot of homogenous, middle-class *Scottish* identities. There are instead many 'sticking points' as efforts are made to retain traditional elements of religion and culture, and while such retentions are by no means specific to suburbia their intensity on the other hand is. Respondents stated that *extra* effort was required maintaining ethno-religious distinctiveness and autonomy since high levels of concentration and close geographical proximity did not naturally solidify this as happens in core areas of settlement. Ultimately, the most tenacious of these attempts centred upon religion and on a commitment to both the beliefs and practices of Islam. Being a Muslim is an important point of

structuration within the lives of suburban Pakistanis, providing them with a way of remaining 'true to one's roots' when their identities are so obviously juxtaposed with, and polarized by, the 'whiteness' of suburbia. But so too are an array of distinctive ethno-cultural practices used by Pakistanis in order maintain a clear sense of whom they - as 'Pakistanis' - are. Either way, these attempts at bounding Pakistani identity are both most well defined and most intense in situations of adult (usually parental) guidance to children. The *inter-generationality* of Pakistani identity is therefore of utmost concern to suburban Pakistanis. To get a better handle on these ideas we first need to consider the following interview extracts in which Kalda and Fahad reveal some of the emotions they typically experience when returning (for whatever reason) to core areas of Pakistani settlement:

Kalda: 'Yeah I do feel different; it's a nice change in a way...being among all these Pakistanis kind of reminds me where I came from.' (Female, aged 28)

Fahad: 'Living in suburbia doesn't mean I have turned my back on the [Pakistani] community, but sometimes I feel this way when I'm in places like Allison Street [in Govanhill]...I sometimes feel bad that the children don't really experience this type of place, this would give them a better sense of who they are.' (Male, aged 41)

Kalda and Fahad shed some light here on the identity dilemmas faced by suburban Pakistanis. They feel disenfranchised from the inner-city repositories of Pakistani cultural identity, leading them into modest expressions of sadness and even guilt. But it is here – in these dilemmas - that religion becomes particularly important. Islam posits an imagined community in which geographical differences are overwritten by an adherence to the universal codes and strictures of Islam. One's separation from the 'heart' of the community is therefore less of an issue if one is fully committed to Islam. Religion is also an important mode of self-assertion, letting Pakistanis 'carve out' identities in the face of hegemonic (suburban) cultural narratives. While older Pakistanis are safe in the knowledge that their own identities are secured, they are not as confident as far as their children are concerned, whose suburban upbringings may stifle the very cultural identities their parents are looking to secure. The continued inter-generational vitality of Islam is therefore importance to suburban Pakistanis:

Kalda: 'I would say that in terms of religion, parents here [in suburbia] try that wee bit harder. I mean we really encourage the religious education of our children – more so than in any other area in Glasgow I think. You have to remember that the same influences do not exist here as they do in other areas...Islam is not all around you like in other places.'

Fahad: 'I am proud of my roots, but I wonder where my children's priorities will lie tomorrow...I just have this thing that a lot of the Pakistani community has; that I am Muslim before I am Scottish...'

I: 'And you plan on conveying this to your children?'

Fahad: 'Well, when you say 'convey' – I am not conveying anything. What I am doing is...I am merely making sure my children are brought up as Muslims.'

Stressing the importance of Islam to children is a method of 'coping' in socially uncertain times, bringing coherence and stability to a cultural identity in danger of fragmentation. Such observations are by no means new. Jessica Jacobson (1997) found religion to be *the* source of identity in the lives of young British-Pakistanis, much more important than ethnicity, seen in comparison as 'loose' attachments to one's country of origin and 'things Pakistani' or, as she puts it in her own words, 'not much more than loyalty to disparate customs from a distant place' (ibid: 240). Jacobson instead states that young Pakistanis turn to religion since 'Islam's teachings are a source of precise and coherent guidance which enables them to rise above the uncertainties of existence in a world which they perceive as comprising two cultures' (ibid: 254). These observations allow us to get a better handle on the importance of religion to suburban Pakistanis, who have to contend with more extreme instances of cultural juxtaposition (their minority status magnified by the whiteness of suburbia).

It would, however, be wholly inaccurate to say that ethnicity plays no role in suburban identity construction. A plethora of disparate references to Pakistani and 'Asian' heritage are used *alongside* religion to further solidify identity, perhaps the most obvious example being the widespread use of *Urdu* as 'mother' tongue. Parents led by example in this respect, using it as much as they could in the home so that children followed suit. It was also not that uncommon to find strictly

monolingual households in which Urdu was mandatory at all times. Bearsden-Pakistanis have stated the importance of the continued significance of Urdu for some time now, and this has been met with the establishment of weekly language classes for Pakistani children. There are also expectations of these classes eventually attaining Scottish Qualifications Board (SQB) status so that these children will gain formal qualifications upon their conclusion. While these classes are currently run from the classroom of a local secondary school there are plans to develop a purpose built cultural education centre in Bearsden for this and other purposes. Since the beginning, though, these plans have been vigorously contested with approximately six-hundred and fifty individual objections raised over the first proposal, some coming from outlying areas as far as twenty miles away. One respondent, a co-chairperson of the *Bearsden Asian Association*, the principle lobbyists in the development, voiced ill feeling towards the nature of some objections, which he claimed were based upon misplaced judgements and stereotypes. One source of anxiety he found particularly disbelieving related to the claims of some local residents that suburban tranquility would be interrupted by 'blaring' prayer calls at inappropriate times in the morning, this even though the facility was not intended as a site of religion worship.

Several respondents said that ethnicity was both most relevant and most strongly retained by Pakistanis whose family origins lay in rural, as opposed to urban regions of Pakistan. Adeel (Male, 36) spoke about this distinction at some length, detailing how his parent's 'stuck in their way' attitude led to major conflict and disagreement between them. Upon hearing their son's decision to marry a Scottish woman, Adeel's parents, originally from a small farming community in the Jalandhar district of the Punjab, accused their son of turning his back on his "true culture" by rejecting their proposals of an arranged marriage, and also of a 'makeweight' arrangement in the shape of his marrying a co-ethnic bride of his choice. This, Adeel insisted, boiled down to their staunchly traditional, rural values.

Yet the binding qualities of ethnicity, its elements, and their overall usefulness to attempts at slowing down or resisting processes of cultural hybridisation are not always so clear-cut. Above all, there seems to be a lessening of those (imagined) affiliations with Pakistan (the place) and, indeed, Pakistanis (the people; one's self-distinction 'as' Pakistani. Saima, for example, preferred 'Asian' as a signifier of one's ethnic origins as opposed to 'Pakistani'.

Saima: I use the term 'Asian' as I am of Pakistani origin but I don't feel the same divisions that the first generation do between Indian, Bangladeshi and Pakistani. To me, I am Asian. I would call myself Scottish-Asian because I was born in Scotland, but very much my identity is an Asian identity because there is a lot of similarity between the culture in Indian Punjab and Pakistani Punjab where my parents come from (Female, 35)

Any announcement of the demise of ethnicity as a source of identity would, of course, be widely inaccurate since Asian still constitutes a (albeit less specific) term of ethnic reference. Yet Saima's views on ethnicity were by no means atypical of the younger generation, with several saying that they were 'Asian' (or Scottish-Asian) before they were 'Pakistani' (although Islam remained the most significant signifier of identity). Saima's sense of 'being Asian' was propelled by her recognition of the shared origins and histories of many Pakistanis and Indians; something, she felt, the first generation showed less sensitivity to given their memory of armed conflict between the two states, events outwith the lifetime of many of today's younger Pakistanis.

6.4 The Continued Relevance of 'The Core'

Sections 6.2 and 6.3 earlier exposed some of the socio-cultural conditions implicit within the suburbanisation of Glasgow's Pakistani community. It explored the role of the family within this pattern, showing how individuals lure fellow members into close-by neighbourhoods/streets, and how they also sometimes play an important facilitating role within these moves. Facilitation may either be direct in form, as in the giving or lending of money, or indirect in form, such as allowing children to enter into family businesses, many of whom are likely to find these businesses in their hands one day anyway. Suburbanisation, however, is not the *only* geographical outcome of the various emotional/economic/business linkages vested within Glasgow-Pakistani family structure. These linkages are just as relevant to families living within the core as they are to suburban families so for every instance of suburban business succession numerous more will take place within an inner-urban family context. Likewise, for the various forms of chain migration bringing new Pakistanis to suburbs (networks of 'common interest' and 'familiarity') the same processes will occur much more frequently in the intensely

populated core. And it is most certainly not only suburban parents and children reciprocally wishing to remain (geographically) close to one another. These are *generic* dispositions traversing all cleavage points within the community whether defined by location (suburbia or core), generation (age), class or particularities of one's family origin and heritage (from urban or rural Pakistan). Taking all of this into account, it is therefore necessary to put the above socio-cultural explanations of Glasgow-Pakistani suburbanisation firmly within their context, making it clear that they are as relevant to the core as they are to suburbia and that as a result, they serve to underscore existing trends of Glasgow-Pakistani concentration *as well as* dispersal. However rather than simply re-tracing and recounting the same socio-cultural explanations of suburban patterns of settlement, only this time from inner-urban respondent's perspectives, this section poses alternative explanations of the core's popularity, picking out how this is maintained by intimate and personal discourses of practicality, familiarity and loyalty.

I: 'When you look to buy your first house would you look to buy in Govanhill?'

Abida: 'I would look to buy a house...one...as close as I can to family...' (Female, aged 20)

I: So even Govanhill itself?

Sara (interrupting): 'Or even next to it. You could move to Mount Florida or something – it's still close by to relatives.' (Female, aged 24)

I: Do you feel obliged to keep your family network around you?

Abida: Family is an important thing because at the end of the day family is family – it doesn't matter where you are from. But family is the most important thing I would say.

I: But would you feel obliged to stay within the community notwithstanding your family?

Abida: Some people might but I wouldn't think that would be my priority. The main thing is family. Uh, anywhere you can be yourself is good enough.

I: If finances allowed would you move to suburbia?'

Abida: Mmm...I don't have a problem with it. But for me – I just love a noisy environment – an environment that is buzzing. Suburbia for me personally is too quiet – my mum might like it.

I: So is it maybe an age thing?

Abida: Yeah, some people like noise some don't.

I: What's your view on Pakistanis that have moved to suburbia?

Abida: Good for them

Sara: (laughs) Some people look upon it as a mark of success which is very silly because some people think that 'oh, I live in Bearsden or Newton Mearns so I am more popular than someone living in Govanhill or Pollokshields which is not really the case because if you look at the big Cash and Carry owners they live in Pollokshields. I mean, Pollokshields is not like everybody thinks – it's got massive houses.

While family connections are important in keeping young Pakistanis within the core (above), the value first generation Pakistanis place upon these areas may be deemed more 'place specific' in that they remain centred upon the practical worth of these locations and their ability to meet the specific ethnic-based needs and wants of themselves and the wider community. The above extracts are taken from a focus group discussion with all-female respondents from either Pollokshields or the co-joining area of Govanhill; areas which as we saw established themselves early on as the hub of Pakistani settlement in Glasgow. After decades of settlement both areas are now home to thriving ethnic-specific commercial centres, undoubtedly the most expansive in the city. These areas – in Govanhill centred upon Alison Street, in Pollokshields centring upon the Albert Drive and Maxwell Road nexus – are frequented not only by the large number of Pakistanis living locally but so too those from other parts of the city and further a-field. Besides their obvious significance to the city's Pakistani community (as a place to live; as a place to shop and obtain 'all the essentials') these places have, through their clear visual references to 'things Pakistani', embedded themselves also within Glaswegian popular culture as the undoubted 'home' of the city's Pakistani community (flashing neon take-away and restaurant lights; storekeepers offloading supplies from their vans; *sari* or *shalwar kameez* clad women congregated on pavements, either chatting with friends or making their way along

passed the seemingly never-ending chain of minority-ethnic owned businesses, laden with polythene bags containing fresh fruit and *Halal* butcher meat). For the Pakistani locals, however, far from being exotic sites of fascination and difference these are on the contrary sites of the 'everyday'; of normality and of the mundane.

The high amenity value of these commercial centres, and thus their role in keeping/attracting Pakistanis within/to the area, stems from a variety of factors. Firstly, and perhaps most predictably, these areas are valued for the way in which they offer a range of *ethnic-specific* goods and services ["(it has) things we need..."].

Nevertheless, the commodities purchased within these can also be seen to take on additional value besides their mere practical worth as cooking staples, items of dress and so on. Glasgow-Pakistanis are also engaged with these products in such a way that the products themselves feed into processes of consumer identity formation. Thus, in the same way that mainstream white consumers actively pursue 'identity through consumption' from certain brands and stores (Lunt and Livingstone, 1992; Crewe and Lowe, 1995) ethnic-specific products bought within the core collude with individual's perceptions of who they are, who they ought or who they wish to be. This was especially pertinent for parents who used 'Asian' commodities to stave off the threat of their Scottish-born children 'going native' and associating more with 'being' Scottish rather than Pakistani or Asian. Goods with obvious (real or imagined) linkages to Pakistan and South Asia were interpreted as instruments of acculturation capable of reiterating to young Pakistanis where their (ancestral, if not immediate) origins lie.

That the commercial enterprises operating in these areas are primarily run / owned by co-ethnics also keeps Pakistanis in close proximity to them. Besides the promise of easy communication in both *Urdu* and *Punjabi* (although younger Pakistani businesspersons are sometimes lacking in this regard) co-ethnics are deemed more sympathetic to, and understanding of, the particular needs of their countryfolk.

Moving beyond the practical worth of these areas as commercial centres – relating to the ease of access to 'native' (Pakistani and South Asian) products and people – some respondents voiced a deeper, symbolic attachment to these areas. In particular, they felt that as Pakistanis they were obliged to show loyalty to these

businesses and ‘keep money within the community’ rather than spend or invest it in the city’s broader commercial apparatus.

6.4.1 Constructions of community and the core as an ‘urban village’

Emotional ties to core areas are not simply generated from the businesses and services offered there, as practical and welcoming (from a co-ethnic point of view) as they may be. More pertinent are the communally generated and shared constructions of ‘community’ fostered in core neighbourhoods, these emergent from, and bounded by, three identifiable pillars: shared identity (through ethnicity and religion); locality (or ‘territory’); and, finally, familiarity:

Core areas as spaces of communal identity Both Pollokshields and Govanhill were recognised by some of their inhabitants as undoubtedly ‘Pakistani’ areas. As it did in suburbia, ethnicity overcomes unfamiliarity as people feel connections to individuals around them who are otherwise ‘unknown’ to them (purely as a result of them ‘looking’ Pakistani).

Core areas as definable territories Pakistanis living within core areas have both clear and committed visions of what actually constitutes and demarcates ‘their’ space. Accordingly, Pakistani neighbourhoods are perceived as discrete social entities spatially, economically and culturally ‘separate’ from adjoining neighbourhoods and the remainder of the urban matrix more generally. While it is certainly not the case in reality (as this thesis points out), the stark social contrast (in terms of the numbers of Pakistanis who live there) between these and surrounding areas gives the impression that they are distinct. These social boundaries also operate alongside a variety of physical, visual boundaries: trunk roads; Pakistani-run businesses, and the prevalence of tenemental properties.

Core areas as sites of the ‘intimate’ and familiar Besides the imagined associations stemming from ethnicity (‘being’ Pakistanis) and the subscription to Islam, community is also re-inscribed by prevalence of ‘chance’ meetings with people to whom one is known. These meetings – in the street, in stores and other workplaces, in curry houses during lunchtime – are both frequent and welcome. Both Govanhill and Pollokshields are geographical relatively small compared to English areas of high Pakistani concentration and this adds to their intimacy.

These three ‘pillars’ of definable Glasgow-Pakistani sub-communities – of territory, shared/communal identities and familiarity – all therefore lend themselves

to a replication of micro-societies in line with Ferdinand Tonnies' seminal visions of *gemeinschaft*⁵²; of definable terrains saturated with close ties, these both direct (in which others are *known*) and indirect (the discourses 'in the mind' which link one to another). Locals see these areas as organic, self-sufficient and easily identifiable from the urban areas that surround them. These findings thus show deviation from contemporary understandings of minority-ethnic communities which, rather than these more traditional visions of modernised communities as sets of solidaristic bonds occupying shared social and geographical and spaces (Crow and Allen, 1994), instead propose minority-ethnic communities as distanced, spread-out and unfixed in location (Ray and Reed, 2005). As *transnational* communities (Portes, 1997) they are thus de-territorialized; neither here nor there. The above findings from Glasgow nevertheless suggests that there are clear neighbourhood spaces within inner-Glasgow that Pakistanis see themselves as not only living within, but so too belonging to. These forms of territorialism do not, however, seem born out of defensive or evasive strategies as they are with other minority-ethnic groups in other areas of Britain (Pilkington, 2003). Instead, it seems that constructions of community and territory emanate more from 'everyday' readings and interpretations of the urban landscape (where one can buy certain goods or produce, for example, or where one is likely to bump into somebody he or she knows).

6.5 Conclusions

Among its contentions, this chapter illustrated how suburban populations are primary the result of historical and networked linkages between family members, some of these – as in those instances of chain migration - stretching far in space and back in time. Because of this an 'unravelling' of the suburbanisation process must not be restricted solely to Glasgow itself but should take into account, where necessary, 'other' spatial contexts besides the city in which these end processes are merely being observed. Furthermore, these networks cross Glasgow, extending from core to suburbia and back again and so the inner-city must also not be interpreted as discrete or shut off from surrounding areas. There is, then, some need to consider the wider spatial context of Glasgow within and explanations of

⁵² See, for instance, his discussions in the 1954 edition *Community and Society* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press).

Glasgow-Pakistani suburbanisation and the community's overall pattern of settlement within the city more generally. With these ideas now in place, the next chapter goes on to illustrate how a similar level of sensitivity must also be given to the broader *political-economic* context of the city, this in order to achieve a more complete and relevant picture of the suburbanisation process.

CHAPTER SEVEN

‘DEAD-ENDS’ AND ‘NEW OPPORTUNITIES’: THE COMMUNITY IN ITS URBAN CONTEXT

7.1 Introduction

Glasgow today bears little resemblance to the one that faced Pakistanis upon their arrival in the city. The heavy industrial base which earned Glasgow’s ‘second city’ of the empire label has receded and been replaced with a multitude of service and retail functions. These new functions brought with them their own labour stipulations, making the task of finding and keeping work in the city today much different to what it was back then in the industrial heyday. While there is a flourishing literature charting the effects of Glasgow’s ‘new’ urban economy on the native working population (e.g. Pacione, 1993, 2004; Helms and Cumbers, 2004) nothing has yet been written on the contours of industrial change for Glasgow’s largest non-white community who, despite their much perceived marginality in terms of the city’s formal economic machinations, have in no way been immune to these changes. They have instead been confronted with a wealth of new challenges *and* opportunities. Traditional avenues in occupation and business have been in decline while new opportunities have simultaneously emerged, ready for exploitation by a new-generation of Pakistanis intent not only surviving, but profiting from, the readjusted city.

This chapter looks at how Glasgow Pakistanis currently negotiate employment and business opportunities in the city today. Illustrating the simultaneous emergence of ‘dead ends’ and ‘new opportunities’ in Pakistani employment and entrepreneurial pathways, it argues that Glasgow’s ‘new’ urban economy has brought mixed blessings to the Pakistani community with the working age population showing the same crosshatching of ‘winners’ and ‘losers’ as the city’s restructured workforce more generally (MacLeod, 2002). The migrant first generation has undoubtedly been placed at the sharp end of Glasgow’s changing industrial landscape. Lacking the skills to diverge and weighted down by past investments many remain concentrated in what are now over-subscribed and overly-competitive business activities in the takeaway and restaurant trade, and

especially in confectionary, tobacco and newspaper sales⁵³ which have been badly affected by state policy on market deregulation (The 1994 Shops Act; see section 7.6 below). Young Pakistanis have on the other hand proven more flexible and able to re-adjust to the city's changed labour priorities. Much of their success and many of their endeavours in new 'trailblazing' areas must nevertheless be partly attributed to their elders, who have taken stock of their own struggles and actively diverted their children into these new fields of employment and business. Quite often, these new activities are funded by proceeds from, or the outright sale of, businesses set up by members of the migrant first generation.

These ideas on Pakistani 'winners' and 'losers' in the contemporary labour market, along with the broader issues of prosperity and wealth allocation they encompass, hold much significance as far as suburbanisation is concerned. With wealth comes an increased likelihood of suburbanisation so by fully contemplating the overarching systems giving life (and death) to Pakistani opportunities in self-employment and the labour market more generally one is effectively contemplating the structural mechanisms giving life and death to individual instances of suburbanisation. While somewhat deterministic, this relationship nonetheless deserves attention and provides considerable complexity – and contextuality – to the socio-cultural foundations of the suburbanisation process introduced in the previous chapter. While Chapter Six applied the same *culturalist* perspective as the majority of existing ethnographical studies of British-Pakistani communities, this chapter adds another layer to these primarily socio-cultural discussions by placing Pakistani suburbanisation within its relevant global-economic and institutional context. Following the critical realist theoretical agenda set out in Chapter Four, suburbanisation is in this way viewed (partly) as an 'on the ground' expression of socio-economic transformations tied themselves within changing global patterns of industrial relations, labour and production. This combination of socio-cultural (Chapter Six) and political-economic (Chapter Seven) perspectives is in keeping with one of the primary theoretical contentions running through this thesis, that is, that both are mutually tied to the task of understanding the Glasgow-Pakistani

⁵³ For reasons of convenience this type of business is referred to in this chapter under the general description of 'cornershop' retailing. While between them the products and services on offer within these businesses tends to be fairly regular and uniform, this term must not be taken to suggest the downplaying of those existing and inevitable differences (in business origin, organisation, direction, fortune, etc) that exist across these otherwise similar operations.

suburbanisation process and the complex and at times contradictory social, cultural and economic aspects of community life and development that are contributing to this dispersal.

7.2 The Impact of Global Economic Restructuring on Migrant Urban Communities in the Western World

The cities of so-called advanced capitalist nations have over consecutive decades experienced radical and at times deeply concerning shifts in their economic base, cultural and social composition, distribution of wealth and physical appearance. These changes are the result of new forms of urban governance and economy initiated by heightened local interactions with an increasingly distanced and networked 'global' economy. In offering a summary of this fraught relationship and the social and economic repercussions from it, the 'internationalisation' of industrial capital can be interpreted as having placed Western cities within deeply competitive and place-centred rounds of competition as locations are played-off against each other as sites of investment and job creation. The upshot of this from a Western perspective was a dramatic hollowing out of Europe and North America's 'old' industrial regions as industrial activities were switched to newly industrialising nations, especially in Southeast Asian and the Asia-Pacific region, which were capable of carrying out the same functions at lesser cost (Dicken, 2003). Outmoded, outperformed and experiencing massive job losses and rising levels of poverty, cities of the West subsequently had to restructure and reprioritise along new and more competitive lines.

These re-drawn urban strategies have had dramatic implications for the inhabitants of these cities, especially the urban poor. Large sections of the urban population are portrayed as having been 'left behind' by local responses to economic restructuring, which typically stipulate increased consumer activity; growing levels of intra-urban competition, a rapid rise in 'place marketing' and the tighter regulation of public space and behaviour within the city (Paddison, 1993; Belina and Helms, 2003). The built environment and prevailing urban social order is increasingly understood as one more and more dictated by a harmful amalgam of

state, big-business and co-joined private/public interest to which many of the city's marginal⁵⁴ inhabitants are excluded (Harvey, 1989).

The role of the 'new' urban service and retail economy in antagonising existing social divisions in the city is perhaps best spelled out with reference to labour market dynamics and the divisive labour regimes imposed within these refashioned urban areas. Koffman (1998), for example, sees growing levels of economic disparity between the richest and poorest urban inhabitants as a leitmotif of the post-industrial, post-Fordist and 'post-justice' (cf. Mitchell, 2001) city (see also Sassen, 1991). She argues that the city's inhabitants have been divided between well-paid, relatively stable managerial and white collar work on the one hand, and increasingly unstable, low-wage non-unionised employment with little or no chance for career progression on the other. The urban population is now, she notes, thus seemingly devoid of a relatively well-paid and 'comfortably living' middle class. This argument - sustained by a wealth of urban research carried out in a variety of North American, Australian and Western European settings (e.g. Warf, 1990; Baum, 1997; Lever, 1991) - is generally upheld by the academic community⁵⁵, thus leading to the consensus that changing industrial relations are most intensely played out, and their social consequences particularly hazardous, in urban centres within the advanced capitalist world. This was acknowledged by a recent special edition of the *Urban Studies* journal dedicated to the collation of relevant ideas and the fleshing-out of the post-industrial (Western) urban 'problem' (see Macleod et al, 2003).

Since these urban areas are home to the majority of the West's non-white immigrant population, the post-industrial fortunes of these already marginal groups deserves particular attention. While notable inroads have been made deciphering these experiences from those of wider urban population, the discussion has mainly been restricted to major cities whose strategic importance to global circuits of

⁵⁴ Marginal through one or a combination of the following: 'colour', class, sexuality, and physical ability.

⁵⁵ Chris Hamnett (1994a, 1994b; 1996) has nevertheless reworked these 'polarised urban population' debates somewhat. Using London as his example, he has convincingly shown that if the economic fortunes of those actually *in work* are taken into account and compared to their historical counterparts, a contemporary picture of spreading affluence and 'professionalisation' among the economically active emerges. He also contends that these findings do not necessarily disprove earlier claims of social polarization, and that both sets of ideas may actually sit comfortably alongside one another within analyses of prosperity and well-being in the capitalist city. A picture of increasing social schisms, he argues, would emerge if one widened their analytical scope to include the *general* urban population and not simply those in employment.

capital is never in doubt (e.g. Cross, 1992; Sassen, 1994b; 1996). Some balance has nevertheless been restored by an embryonic literature the fortunes of migrant groups within more peripheral cities whose relationships to economic globalisation are much more fraught and temporary. As we see below this last strand has brought much needed diversity and complexity to otherwise hegemonic visions of global economic restructuring as a 'good thing' for such communities. In short they have instead demonstrated that the same social cross-hatching and divisive patterns of 'winners' and 'losers' are as evident amongst these groups as they are with the wider metropolitan populations, and that the social consequences of economic restructuring on migrant communities are consequently much less clear-cut than is suggested by the prevailing academic literature.

7.2.1 Contours of global economic change

Global economic restructuring may firstly be separated out and defined by three key spatial and economic expressions. First of all there has been a restructuring of global economic activity along 'new' spatial lines. While industrial functions were in the past heavily concentrated in the major cities of Western Europe and North America these have since been fragmented and spread out across the globe. The nature of dispersal in this 'new geo-economy' (Dicken, 2003) is, however, far from even; while the powerful and prestigious 'brains' of industrial organisations such as management and marketing functions remain concentrated in the core, marginal and frequently exploited industrial activities such as intensive 'production line' manufacturing are continually farmed-out to economically less-developed nations so as to capitalise on unequal (global) labour relations and low-waged, flexible workforces.

There has, secondly, been an overall reduction in manufacturing activity within the developed world. This has understandably had severe economic and social impacts on those regions which formerly relied upon manufacturing for their prosperity, a case in point being the turbulent decline of former industrial heartlands such as the Ruhr in Germany, England's Midlands and Northeast regions and, of relevance to this thesis, the Clydeside conurbation in the West of Scotland (see section 7.3). Throughout the latter half of the twentieth century, these areas became blighted by job loss, increased labour market segmentation and disparity, crime, homelessness, and drug abuse, these unfortunate repercussions sustaining

academic interest in the ensuing cultures of 'worklessness' evident amongst the most despairing inhabitants of these areas (Nickell, 2004). While commentators are likely to fold these industrial losses under the general rubric of 'deindustrialisation', Saskia Sassen (1996) nevertheless contends that this is too vague a term for, rather than the obliteration of *all forms* of industry (which this term suggests), she argues that the reality is instead a more nuanced shifting *within* manufacturing activities, from one class or 'type' of activity to another. Specifically she is positing a movement away from the cut-throat world of 'heavy' industry to the production of low-order goods aimed at, and embedded themselves within, more informal, unstable, transient and increasingly immigrant markets. Sassen accordingly puts forward the alternative conception of a 'downgraded' (ibid: 580) manufacturing sector to summarise the effects of global economic restructuring on these once industrial 'powerhouse' city-regions.

Thirdly, and relating to this last point, it is acknowledged that there has been an increase in the number of 'informal' business and employment transactions taking place within the city today. Working this contention through, the deployment of labour and labour relations onto an increasingly global scale has given rise to a series of ultra-competitive markets in which small-time and more locally embedded entrepreneurial agents are unable to compete with the powerful, high-profit multinational firms who have essentially monopolised the advanced-capitalist and 'new' urban economy. In response to these restrictions, marginal firms are reputedly now more likely than ever to 'opt-out' of these formal markets to pursue success in an array of more local, specialised or 'subterranean' markets not yet plundered by mainstream, national or international business operations (Castells and Portes, 1989). We nevertheless see later in this chapter how Glasgow-Pakistanis are also seeking out niche markets within the formal economy. Instead of shying away from these larger rivals Pakistanis businesses many are tackling them head-on in the 'high-tech' retail sector. There is, however, something quite novel in their approach. While corporate capital is drawn to flagship premises in sprawling out-of-town shopping parks, and to Glasgow's revamped and increasingly grandiose CBD, Pakistani businesses remain unique in that they arguably still provide for a locally-sourced residential clientele. This is quite often in (inner-urban) neighbourhoods that are otherwise unattractive to high-street centred big-business operations. They are also a common sight Glasgow's old central

warehouse district, operating in at times pretty ramshackle surroundings (such as an old railway arch; see below) in order to limit their operating costs.

7.2.2 The post-industrial city as a mixed blessing for non-white migrant communities

Despite the devastating effects of urban restructuring on the urban working population more generally (see above), it is nevertheless accepted in some quarters that the post-industrial urban landscape is one of new hope and renewed opportunity for impoverished migrant communities. For proponents of this view, the city is portrayed as fertile with opportunity, set alight with a variety of migrant business opportunities opened-up by structural changes in the wider economy rather than the opportunistic skill of the migrant groups alone (e.g. Ward, 1987). The benefit of the 'new' urban economy from a minority-ethnic perspective lies in the altered social composition of the city, namely the increase in both high-income *and* low-income inhabitants (a reflection of the changing employment regimes in these areas and the gradual dissolution of the city's middle-class population⁵⁶). These polarized social groupings, or more particular their role and preferences as consumers, are proposed as having particular benefits for minority-ethnic business prosperity and, through the filtering of job opportunities and other positive spin-offs through to co-ethnics who are likely to be employed in these operations, the general wealth and economic well-being of these communities as a whole. High earners generate increased demand for specialist and locally produced goods rather than mass produced items, meaning those benefiting from this expanding social group are operators of systems of 'customised production, small runs, speciality items and fine food dishes [...] produced through labour-intensive methods and sold through small, full-service outlets' (Sassen, 1996: 589). Moving now to the other end of the social spectrum, the expanding low-income population instead generates greater demand for low-order inexpensive products, meaning the benefactors are this time owners of small retail and manufacturing establishments, frequently staffed by family members and whose activities are often carried out close to the threshold of existing health and safety regulation (all of this to ensure the 'bargain' status of the products they manufacture or sell to the consumer).

⁵⁶ Although Chris Hammnet would of course point out that the employed populations of major post-industrial service-based cities are actually *more* middle-class than ever.

Migrants groups are of course considered 'experts' in both fields of business activity ('specialist' and low-order retailing and manufacturing), hence these overall feelings of optimism (see also Sassen, 1991; 1994).

That the post-industrial city is *always* a landscape of advantage for migrant communities is nevertheless a contention being increasingly questioned of late by pioneering work in the field of entrepreneurial and business activity amongst England's South Asian communities. In their study of a concentration of (mainly) Pakistani and Indian-owned restaurants and take-away businesses in Birmingham's Sparkbrook and Sparkhill areas⁵⁷, Ram et al (2002) portray an over-saturated market engulfed in intense rivalries, competition and unsustainable pricing strategies. This is essentially down to the over-supply of entrepreneurs within these areas, a by-product of migrant job losses in traditional forms of industry and the ensuing 'labour market mismatch' between the skills possessed by South Asians and the skills they otherwise require to enter the higher echelons of the new urban service economy (Kalra, 2000). This precarious labour position is construed by the authors as having 'forced' many into self-employment for a living and brought despair to existing Birmingham restaurateurs who are in competition with a glut of rival small firms.

'Traditional' forms of business activity such as food and convenience retailing are arguably most at threat from labour market mismatch since would-be entrepreneurs, probably anticipating that help, advice and cooperation will never be far away, frequently turn to those fields of business in which there are already a considerable number of co-ethnics operating. Prerequisite levels of start-up capital and pre-gained expertise are also relatively low in these ventures when compared to more modern enterprises, so this makes them even more attractive to budding entrepreneurs who are likely to possess only a limited knowledge of tasks involved in the daily running of these businesses, but who nevertheless see themselves as able to improvise and pick-up the necessary and relevant operational skills as they go along.

The negative operating environment confronting many traditional areas of Pakistani business also contains a uniquely 'British' dimension (that is, separate from global processes of economic restructuring). Governmental intervention

⁵⁷ Known locally as Birmingham's *Balti Quarter*.

within the convenience retailing market (The 1994 Shops Act; see below) removed iconic cornershop activities from their protected niche, opening them up to sources of external, often multi-national competition. Pakistani enterprises also likely to operate in degraded physical surroundings in inner-urban high-streets so far bypassed by state-driven processes of urban regeneration (Barrett et al, 2001).

7.3 Economic Restructuring and Labour Market Change in Glasgow

In common with many of Britain's other former industrial heartlands the Glasgow conurbation of Clydeside suffered painful social and economic consequences as a result of de-industrialisation. This turbulent social past is easily appreciable if one considers the debilitating scale of manufacturing job losses encountered during the second half of the twentieth century. In 1961 Clydeside provided home to a manufacturing workforce of 387,000, with 227,000 of this total, almost half of the city's working age population, living within the city of Glasgow itself. Two decades on, and with many local activities having lost out to foreign competition, manufacturing employment in Clydeside had fallen to 187,000 while over 60% of Glaswegian manufacturing positions were lost, leaving only 87,651 people within ailing sectors such as steel working, vehicle components, and shipbuilding (Lever and Mather, 1986). These job losses affected the city and its inhabitants badly, giving rise to particular geographies of disadvantage within the city, with economic marginality and levels of poverty particularly concentrated in areas of industrial housing in Central and Eastern areas of the city (Pacione, 1989, 1993). Such was the dramatic change in the fortunes of the city, Glasgow went from being industrial powerhouse and Britain's 'second city' of the Empire to 'the most deprived locality in Britain' by the 1970s, as recognised by British policy makers at the time (Danson et al, 1997: 13).

If job losses in manufacturing represented one social consequence of the restructuring process, a growth in service sector employment stands as another dominant labour trend emerging throughout this period. But rather than cancelling out or 'solving' the disastrous socio-economic consequences of manufacturing cuts, these emerging forms of employment are understood to have further antagonised existing Glaswegian social problems. The inadequacy of these new jobs may firstly be elaborated in numerical terms: the 66% reduction in manufacturing employment between 1981 and 2001 has only been met with a 35% expansion in service and

retail employment. The nature of this work is causing concern too. While manufacturing activities provided relatively well-paid and stable employment with adequate chances for career progression, these have been replaced by the two extremities of low-paid, often casual employment, or, more rarely, highly-paid prestigious and/or management positions within the advanced service economy (Helms and Cumbers, 2004). Since there is considerable mismatch between the skills possessed by former manufacturing workers and the skills required for 'better' jobs within the service economy, a sizeable section of the workforce have been rendered ill-equipped for the city's restructured labour market, and so they filter down in to more residual forms of employment, contributing further to existing patterns of disadvantage in the city (Pacione, 2004). The squeezing of the urban workforce between two working extremes, and also the implementation of subversive spatial practices linked to re-fashioned and re-branded forms of British urbanism⁵⁸, has thus thrown existing schisms between poverty and affluence into sharp relief. In keeping with the polarising effects of post-industrial urbanism elsewhere in Britain (see, for example, Gordon and Sassen, 1992), there is good cause to believe that the Glaswegian social landscape is one of increasing disparity.

Labour market restructuring has had pronounced effects on the social composition of the Glaswegian workforce. There has been a re-drawing of the workforce along gender lines as growing numbers of women now find both full and part-time work in the city (female labour participation is now 20% higher than it was a quarter-of-a-century ago). This is explained not only by the changing *nature* of work in the city, with shop and office work replacing factory and yard-based manual work), but also by the changing *terms* of employment, with service and retail growth bringing about parallel increases in the availability of part-time and flexible full-time work in the city. Women are as a result more likely to be able to perform parental roles alongside employment. The ongoing feminisation of the workforce is also magnified by declines in (traditionally) male forms of industrial activity and the erosion of established connections between masculinity and the workplace. Traditional forms of male industrial cultural expression such as

⁵⁸ Critical urban geography has recently drawn attention to the various mechanisms of discipline and social control protecting the post-industrial, British urban 'growth machine' (Macleod, 2002). This includes the proliferation of closed-circuit television (CCTV) (Fyfe and Bannister, 1998) and implementation of Zero Tolerance policing initiatives (Belina and Helms, 2003).

working-class ‘banter’ and camaraderie, performed both in the workplace and the most romantic of all workplace extensions – the ‘working men’s clubs’ – have disappeared with the removal of symbolically male working spaces such as the steel plant or shipyard. The ensuing cultural dilemma for the working class male is what Nayak (2003) would refer to as a ‘crisis of masculinity’, in which men actively seek to reaffirm their masculinity through other conduits such as football and ‘going out on the town’.

7.4 Negotiating Labour Market Change: The Emergence of Education as a Pakistani ‘Survival Strategy’

Glasgow’s restructured labour market has brought significant changes to the way in which Pakistanis negotiate the task of finding work in the city. One of the most significant trends to emerge here concerns the renewed importance attached to education and the way in which young Pakistanis in particular perceive university degrees as the only sure-footed route towards mainstream labour market ‘success’. Reiterating earlier discussions of education, Chapter Six revealed widespread parental support of tertiary education and argued that this is historically rooted, a function of past colonial subjugation and, much more recently, hardships such as abusive or aggressive behaviour in traditional spaces of work like the shop or takeaway-counter. But beyond these historical – and indeed emancipatory - connections, in which education acts as a messenger to the rest of the wider society, signalling the ability of this resolute community to adapt to, or integrate with, their wider institutional context, or as a means of directing children away from the hardships of self-employment, education has also proven a modern day survival strategy; a reaction to the ‘type’ of job now predominant in the city as a result of Glasgow’s recent and tumultuous history of economic and social reordering.

Purvaiz: ‘You can’t get a job without education these days – can you? I have friends who left school before me with only Standard Grades and they can’t even get a proper job. They are working with friends or relatives, but where would they be if they didn’t have these jobs to fall into?...I didn’t really want to go to university but I knew that I couldn’t walk into a job otherwise...not that you can walk into jobs but if you want to stand a chance of getting a decent job and making decent amounts of money you need to have a degree’ (Male, aged 20)

Purvaiz's sentiments are symptomatic of how young Pakistanis have well and truly 'woken up' to education as a means of negotiating Glasgow's restructured and increasingly precarious labour market. While views of education did contain some polarity, with one individual (who had incidentally left school to take up a position in the family business) stating that it was "a waste of time and money", university degrees were almost unanimously considered a mandatory requisite for mainstream labour market success (i.e. important to everyone *except* business owners or employees of co-ethnic owned enterprises⁵⁹). Even those who had for whatever reason not attended university spoke positively about university degrees and their importance within the modern day labour climate. Unsurprisingly the majority of this group had chosen the business 'alternative' (either as owner, family member or employee), yet some individuals nevertheless seemed to rue the fact that they had apparently missed education opportunities otherwise being seized upon by a growing number of their peers. This can be explained by what they perceived as the menial nature of their current duties and the limited career opportunities to them by these apparently 'dead end' jobs. This was true for Safdar, who had worked for the past seven years as a warehouseman in his uncle's wholesaling business:

I: What do you think made you come into this line of work?

Safdar: Well at the beginning this was only supposed to be something I would do for maybe a year at the most – it gave me something to do when I left school. I definitely didn't expect to do it for this long but nothing better has ever come up...you know, you think where your future lies but you can never be sure (Male, aged 27).

I: You mean...?

Safdar: Well I mean that I don't want to be doing this all my life, moving boxes and that. And it's my uncle's company – he owns it, there isn't any management structure or anything to work your way up. You just work, and that's it sort of.

I: Do you think you should have considered something else then when you were younger – a different kind of approach ['life strategy']?

⁵⁹ We nevertheless see later on how young Pakistanis are integrating university and college-earned skills into their own business activities.

Safdar: Well yeah, you see what people are doing with education and degrees these days. I have friends my own age who are probably earning double what I get – they are professionals, have mortgages, cars and that. I suppose that could have been a better option.

Safdar's comments are particularly illuminating since they demonstrate that Pakistani educational 'flight' is not only explainable in terms of the 'push' factors forcing young Pakistani away from traditional business activities (such as having to "move boxes"). His comments also draw attention to the bright lights of Glasgow's expanding service economy, and the perceived trappings of urban white-collar work (a "doubling" of earnings, "cars"). These increasingly ubiquitous 'trophies' of advanced-capitalist professional success are evidently highly desirable to young Pakistanis.

Going by past evidence it may nevertheless be considered somewhat surprising that the clear majority of young Pakistanis viewed university education as a 'worthwhile' career strategy. Brah (1993) has for instance noted highly polarized educational aspirations amongst working-class British-Asian youths, who were split between those who vehemently rejected the British education system and those who were intent on excellence. Modood and Shiner (1994) have since shown that these polarized aspirations are already imprinted on the British-Pakistani social landscape, with English-Pakistani youths dramatically 'halved' between those who possess very few qualifications and those who possess significant qualifications such as university degrees. This report found polarized levels of attainment especially pronounced among young Pakistani men (aged 16-24), who were twice as likely as their white counterparts to possess no GSCE qualifications, yet twice as likely to attend university.

These ideas on polarized levels of aspiration and attainment merit more attention since the question remains as to whether broader Glaswegian trends of social and economic disparity are being replicated within the Pakistani community. It is clear that the professionalisation of the second generation is now well underway (see section 7.5 below for Census analysis of Glasgow-Pakistani social mobility), and admittedly this can only have cumulative repercussions as far as the increased incidence of suburbanisation is concerned, but we naturally have to ask ourselves whether this is merely the gloss on a much more complex and potentially

concerning reality of success for a minority of young Pakistanis, yet disadvantage and exclusion for an unfortunate remainder who are without family businesses to fall into, or parents financially capable of supporting them through university or college. While it is difficult to answer this question given the limited scope of this study I would suggest that this does not appear the case. Glasgow's Pakistani community has not been bedevilled by industrial job losses like some of its counterparts in similar English cities, especially when compared to Pakistani fortunes in former 'textile towns' such as Oldham in which Pakistani prosperity was intrinsically and delicately tied to the broader fortunes of the town's milling industry. While around 50% of Oldham-Asians aged 16-24 are currently unemployed (Kudnani, 2001) unemployment amongst Glasgow-Pakistanis of the same age stands much lower at 6% (with male as opposed to female unemployment in the same age bracket standing at a 'respectable' 8%) (General Registers Office for Scotland, 2003).

Evidence thus suggests that Glasgow-Pakistanis have come through industrial job loss relatively unscathed, certainly when compared to the Glasgow's white population and the experiences of Pakistani communities elsewhere in Britain. While we may explain this by stating that, at most, only moderate numbers of Pakistanis were employed in the city's heavy industries⁶⁰, it is also important to acknowledge that perhaps Glasgow Pakistanis have been *particularly* well placed to deal with the erosion of the city's middle-class waged sector. Glasgow's rich Pakistani business and enterprise base will have of course provided a 'safety net' from job losses and narrowed opportunities within the labour market, but we must also consider education as another successful 'survival' strategy. As we saw in Chapter Six Pakistanis have been well placed to seize educational opportunities since university was naturally given precedence by Pakistani parents over other life strategies, evident, for instance, in how some parents saw education as an effective

⁶⁰The paucity of recorded statistical data on the community pre-1991 (census or otherwise) means that it is difficult to gauge previous scales of Pakistani involvement in manufacturing activities within Glasgow, let alone their absorption within these activities at the height of Glasgow's industrial regime. There is nevertheless a wide consensus that this was relatively insignificant. Indeed, Maan's (1992) written history of the community fails to even mention Glasgow-Pakistani involvement within the 'formal' urban manufacturing sector. This scenario is nevertheless in sharp contrast with the Scottish city of Dundee, whose jute manufacturing plants provided work for a large proportion of the local Pakistani workforce. During the 1960s around a quarter of the Pakistani population living in Dundee (around 2,000 people) were estimated to working in the city's jute mills (ibid: 167).

way of guiding their children away from the stresses associated with family businesses.

Nevertheless, and despite the relatively low number of Pakistanis ever employed in the local manufacturing base, evidence suggests that we cannot totally ignore local processes of economic restructuring and their specific impact on educational trends:

I: Why did university prove attractive to you?

Kalda: Well, I always remember how my dad lost his job and how he told me to make sure this didn't happen to me...he worked in the old Celtic Street bus depot⁶¹ but when it closed he lost his job. They did offer him another job but it was too far away. Well, he told me that this was why university was important, because it meant job security and good prospects. I suppose this was why university was something I looked out for (Female, aged 28)

Kalda's thoughts potentially shed some light on the *local* (Glaswegian) significance of education. She and several others were clear that traditional Glasgow-Pakistani occupational avenues simply do not exist at the level they once did, demonstrable here in the public services context with specific reference to the leaning-down of the city's public transport body (which as we saw in Chapter Five contained many Glasgow-Pakistanis among its workforce). And despite the marginal number of Pakistanis who found work in Glasgow's 'heavy' industries overall, five of the interview sample came from families affected by redundancies in these areas⁶². This was certainly higher than I anticipated.

In this way Glasgow's hollowed out manufacturing (and public service) labour markets – themselves emblematic of broader changes in political economy concerning deindustrialisation and the privatisation of former public services – may account for the seemingly unique value Glasgow-Pakistanis youths have placed upon university education. However, we must also take into account here the strong historical connections between young Pakistanis and tertiary education in the city.

⁶¹ Formerly run by what was then Strathclyde Regional Council.

⁶² While interviewees did not always acknowledge the specific context of these job losses the following breakdown was deducible from what information I did gather: two were shipbuilding related, one was an employee at the old Goodyear tyre factory at Drumchapel, with another a former employee of the old Hillman Imp factory plant at Linwood, Renfrewshire.

and also the availability of tertiary education in Glasgow with four universities and a multitude of colleges in close proximity to the centre of town. Nevertheless, young Pakistanis, like Kalda, certainly also view education as an urgent, necessary response to contemporary forms of labour market reform in Glasgow. If not a survival strategy (this may perhaps be perceived as too extreme a term), education must at least be understood as a strategy through which Pakistanis are re-igniting employment possibilities in the city's restructured labour market⁶³.

⁶³ The reality of course is that university or college qualifications do not 'guarantee' success or prosperity. Indeed, over-education has been proposed as a significant problem facing British minority-ethnic groups. Battu and Sloane (2004) for instance found individuals of a minority-ethnic background to earn comparatively less than their similarly educated white counterparts, occupy fewer 'supervisory' (senior) positions, and be bypassed by job-training programmes and other strategies amenable to their career advancement.

7.5 The Socio-economic Profile of Glasgow's Pakistani Community

Pakistanis may be distinguished in terms of social class from Glasgow's white population by their relatively low numbers in NS-SeC groups 1-3, and their strong concentrations in the 'self-employment and own account work' and 'never worked and long-term unemployed' categories (NS-SeCs 4 and 8) (Figures 7.1 and 7.2). This adds strength to earlier claims that as an urban area Glasgow has proven to be a particularly receptive to the entrepreneurial tendencies of British-Pakistanis. Furthermore, the concentration of self-employment amongst prosperous suburban Pakistanis *in particular* supports the argument that entrepreneurial endeavours have proven to be the key 'engine' – or driver - of the community's expansion into the pick of Glasgow's suburban areas [defined as Bearsden and Milngavie, Strathkelvin (both to the North of Glasgow) and Eastwood (to the South) in 1991; and, owing to political boundary changes, defined as East Dunbartonshire (North) and East Renfrewshire (South Glasgow) in 2001].

Figure 7.1



Key to Ns-SeC groups:

1: Higher managerial and professional occupations

2: Lower managerial and professional occupations

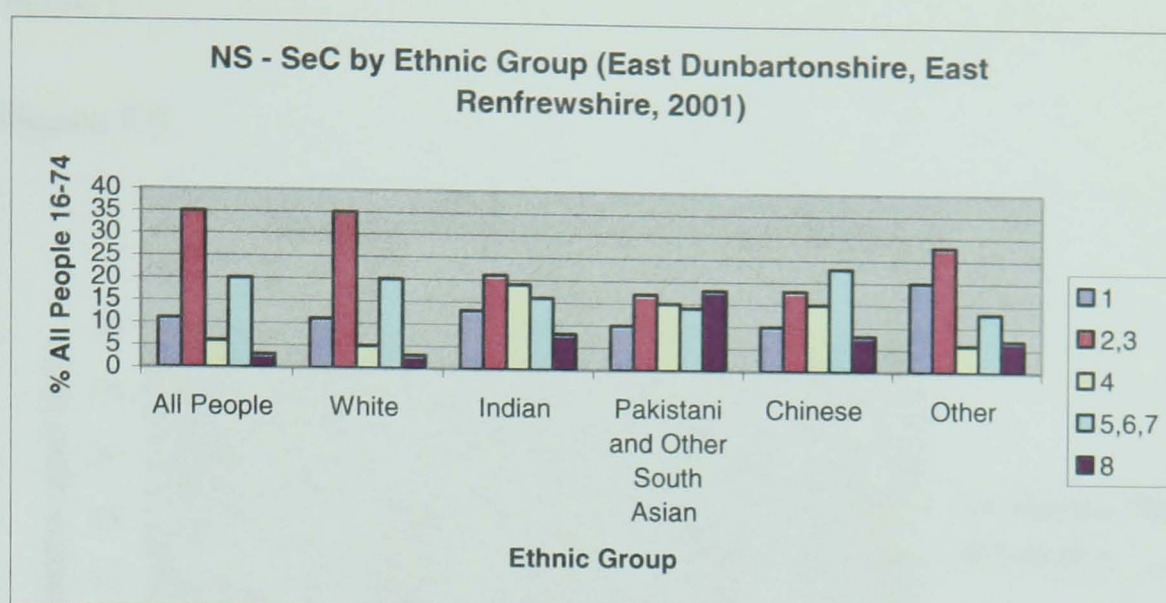
3: Intermediate occupations

4: Self-employers and own account workers

5: Lower supervisory and own account workers

6: Semi-routine

Figure 7.2

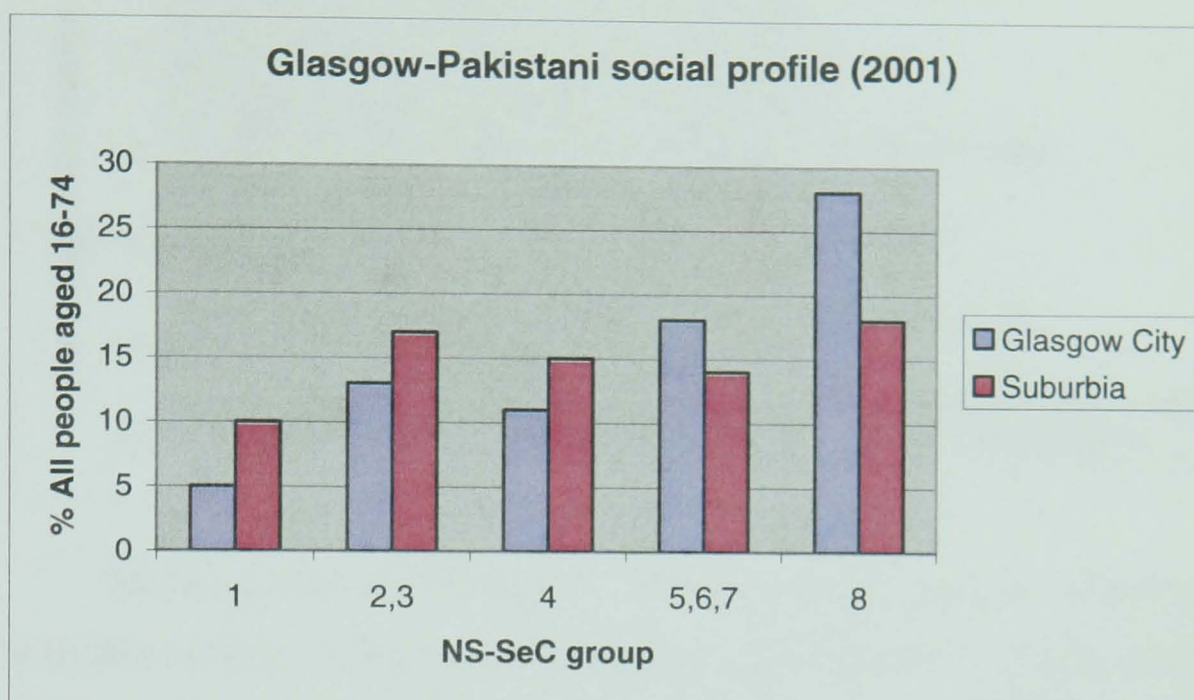


Unsurprisingly Pakistanis belonging to the top NS-SeC groups are concentrated in the prosperous suburban locations selected for this study. The proportion of self-employed and own account workers in 2001 in both the Glasgow City and suburban areas nevertheless incorporates identical falls in these categories over the period 1991-2001 (of 5% - see figure 7.7). Self-employment and own account work still remains more common amongst suburban Pakistanis than across the much larger group who still remain in 'core' areas of Pakistani settlement within the Glasgow city boundary. Employment in non-middle class forms of employment (equated here with NS-SeC groups 5,6 and 7) as well as those at 'looking after the home and family' is on the other hand more strongly associated within this urban Pakistani population (figure 7.3), reflecting the more marginal and peripheral employment status of these Pakistanis, many of whom find work in co-ethnic owned enterprises.

The greater concentration of Pakistanis 'looking after the home and family' in the city as opposed to suburbia reflects the more traditional views of family structure upheld by Pakistanis in these areas, and the clearly defined gender distinction between those who are responsible for wage-earning (husbands/male head of households) and those who are responsible for taking care of domestic duties (wives/female head of households). The more liberal application of these values in suburbia undoubtedly takes into account the large amount of economic capital required to become owner-occupiers in these prestigious suburban areas. Besides self-employment, the cost of Pakistani suburbanisation is in other words also being met by the movement of Pakistani women away from the domestic

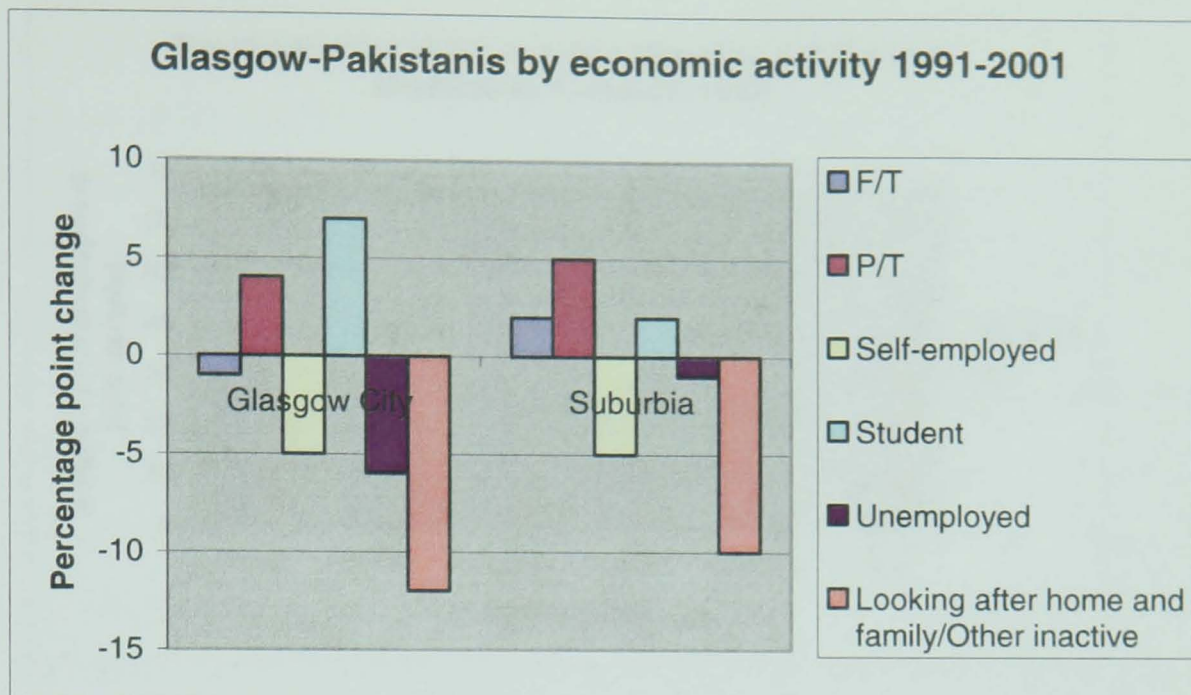
sphere, and towards ancillary forms of, increasingly, part-time employment (see below).

Figure 7.3



The emergence of the 'new' female Pakistani 'breadwinner' most likely explains the pronounced numbers of suburban Pakistanis recently entering part-time employment. This is suggested by figure 7.4, which charts percentage point changes (PPC) in economic activity between 1991 and 2001. With strong growth in part-time employment experienced across both city and suburban Pakistani population, the suggestion is that overall trends relating to the growth of part-time work across the city's general population are also being replicated within the Pakistani community. There is in place a process of female (Pakistani) 'flight' towards employment, and away from domestic duties. Combined with interview findings, it follows that increasing numbers of Glasgow-Pakistani women (in both the city *and* suburbia) are finding work in Glasgow's 'new', and increasingly flexible, urban economy.

Figure 7.4



The suggestion that Glasgow’s Pakistani community is a ‘unique’ case within a British context, in that its socio-economic performance is on a par with any other ethnic group in the city (barring, perhaps, the Indians), is most strongly indicated by 1991 census data. Here, the top four SEGs correspond with what we may call the middle-class, and, as we see from figures 7.5 and 7.6, 40% of ‘city’ Pakistanis were in 1991 fell into this category, while over 60% for the suburban Pakistani working population belonged to the middle-class. This situation - where Pakistanis are clearly located around the top of the Glasgow socio-economic profile ‘league table’ – contrasts greatly with similar findings from other U.K urban areas, where Pakistanis are invariably located (along with Bangladeshis) in the bottommost rungs of the socio-economic hierarchy (Platt, 2005).

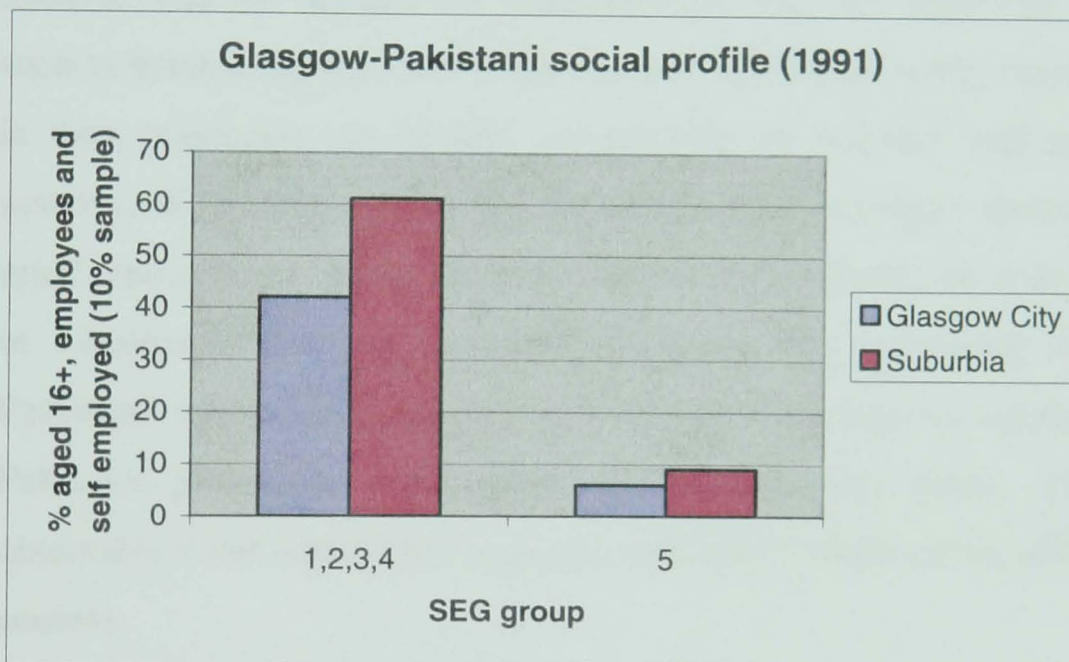
Figure 7.5



Figure 7.6



Figure 7.7



7.6 The Changing Face of Pakistani Enterprise in Glasgow

Educational attainment and specialist knowledge obtained through university and college qualifications is nevertheless not only used to gain a foothold within professional forms of employment. Pakistanis have also used the knowledge gained from these educational pursuits to, firstly, invigorate established or ailing businesses and, secondly, to diversify into new 'trailblazing' areas of business. This last contention accounts for new levels of energy within Pakistani retailing and service provision, with a band of young Pakistanis using their own unique forms of human capital to successfully expand into areas such as information technology (IT); estate agency; financial services, and high-end (mobile phone and other

electronics) retail. These new areas of business also reflect more acute cultural changes evident in younger British-born Pakistanis in that their business ventures appear less governed by conventional standards of religious and cultural ‘acceptability’. They are more tolerant of interest accruing bank loans, for example. And there is also evidence that these are being put to use in enterprises previously considered ‘out of bounds’ for religious reasons.

The changing face of Pakistani enterprise is nevertheless a function of more than just ‘cultural’ change and divergences between first and later-generation attitudes towards would-be entrepreneurial fields and, once they are up and running, the day-to-day operation of these businesses. The opening of these specific opportunities is also linked to wider changes in consumer and retailing activities, including increasing levels of disposable income, the vibrancy of local property markets, and the demand for internationally sourced ‘high-tech’ consumer items such as home computers and mobile phones. This trailblazing business environment is thus contingent on broader geographies of industry and capital allocation, systems of product supply, and the nuances of consumer demand. With this in mind, and echoing one of the main claims of this thesis, the following discussions of Glasgow’s changing business landscape, the successful inroads made by Pakistanis within new consumer-driven fields of enterprise, and the wider issues of Pakistani prosperity and capital accumulation they mask, are only properly obtainable if the community is placed within its broader urban, and indeed ‘global’, context.

7.6.1 Human capital and activity within ‘traditional’ areas of enterprise

Despite observations – both in this study and others (Bachkaniwala et al, 2001; Jones and Ram, 2003) – of young Asians turning their back on family-run enterprises, evidence from Glasgow also points towards a group of young entrepreneurs who see these organisations as having much to gain from the skills they have obtained through college and university courses, and also, they feel, from the ‘fresh’ outlooks they possess as young Pakistanis:

Hamid: ‘Things were so dated [in the shop]. [My dad] was always late getting things like the new till and the electronic point-of-sale stuff’ (Male, aged 28)

Hamid cited the antiquated operational system behind his family's three convenience stores as the primary factor convincing him to succeed his father and take over the running of the business (consisting of three convenience stores, one North of the Clyde in the Sighthill estate, and two in both Pollokshields and Dumbreck in the Southside). This was not something he initially planned to do for he had aspirations of moving away from Glasgow to work, and he enrolled in a marketing course at Paisley University, preferring this to a full-time position in the family firm. Hamid nevertheless stated that as his university course progressed he found himself taking more and more of an active interest in the businesses and how it was run ('Obviously [the course] taught me how to think critically, especially about maximising from little input). He said that he soon found himself frustrated at the old-fashioned approach to the running of the business still practiced by his father:

'I would say to my dad 'I can't believe you have made a successful business running things in this way.'

Hamid's feelings culminated when, at the end of his time at university, he decided against his initial intentions and chose to instead put his skills to the test in the family business. This, however, was a decision he said he would have not made if he were not convinced he had the necessary insights and skills to actually benefit the business:

'The last thing I wanted was to be called a freeloader, but I looked at the way the business was and knew I could play a role in improving it...this wasn't about making money, it was about making it *easier* to run'

Looking back on his time spent inside the operation Hamid reflected upon some of the changes he brought to bear on the businesses. He said that he brought automatic cash dispensers in, knowing that this would lead to an increase in shop revenue. He also told of co-operating with rivals to stave off the effects of potentially crippling levels of competition in the Southside market, where his shops were in close proximity to several other convenience stores offering similar products. This cooperation subdued any possibility of a cut-throat 'price war' breaking out by ensuring that inter-store prices were kept at a relatively uniform level.

While it is difficult to gauge just how intrinsic Hamid's university-gained skills were to the strategies he brought into the business, his more open and adventurous methods are undoubtedly emblematic of a renewed vitality amongst later-generation business approaches. The catalytic role of later-generations within traditional fields of enterprise is perhaps no more evident than in what is now a growing trend across the Glasgow-Pakistani business landscape, in which (most often) struggling businesses are sold off with the proceeds re-directed into other forms of enterprise. While these situations must be placed within the deeply problematic operating contexts faced by many traditional forms of business activity (see above), which may themselves be interpreted as a consequence of political economic change and labour market change in the city of Glasgow, another common denominator nevertheless became apparent in the clear majority of these examples, and that was, again, input from young, often educated Pakistanis. As well as being on hand to offer any relevant ideas and expertise they possess (university/college gained, or otherwise), diversification was often also geared specifically towards the future livelihoods of these children. In the interview sample there were five clear instances of parent-owners moving from what they deemed unsustainable sectors into what they saw as potentially more lucrative and secure markets, this reflective of their desire to bequeath their children what one respondent described as a "safe future".

Muneer: 'It was only a matter of time before we got rid of the shop. Things changed so much you see, everybody was starting to do the same thing and the business just went away...this [new business] was for my son to take on...I wanted to be here to oversee change and help out in what way I could, but things were done through his own ideas...it is his project now' (Male, aged 62)

Muneer was reflecting here upon the sale of his two newsagents and grocery outlets, which in 2000 were sold to a larger Pakistani-owned chain. One of Muneer's main reasons for selling was that he identified his children (a son and a daughter now in their thirties) as possessing skills which, he felt, marked them out as good candidates for business:

‘They have always had good ideas, they are clever...they had the things we never had like education...that’s why we have children, so when we are old they can look after you [laughs].’

While only his daughter’s education extended to university level (a degree in pharmacology) Muneer nevertheless felt that their skills merited performance in a more modern and dynamic business environment, and so he reinvested some of the money earned from the sale of his previous stores into a computer sales and repair outlet. From an outside perspective it would seem that some level of success has been achieved in this new enterprise, with it expanding into a new store in the Finnieston area to add to the original premises, a re-fitted railway archway in the Tradeston area.

The above discussions reflect upon how ‘new’ forms of human capital, specifically concerning young, educated Pakistanis, are integrated into traditional fields of Pakistani activities such as convenience retailing. These fresh attitudes and perspectives towards business may be understood in conceptual terms as hybrid since they involve the infliction of ‘new’ forms of (educated) young Pakistani identity upon otherwise traditional areas of business, inevitably set up by members of the migrant generation. The above examples illustrate that this may lead to the reconfiguration of existing business activities and also in more extreme cases to their cessation altogether, this in order to engage in new markets anticipated as making better use of skills possessed by the younger generation. These findings certainly seem to back Pnina Werbner’s assertion that ‘a university degree, no matter how relevant it may be, has a radical impact on the expansion of businesses’ (1990: 21). Linking these ideas to the more general concerns of this chapter, that is, the broader (urban, regional, national, state) ‘structural’ contexts shaping community life and prosperity, the prominent role of education within these hybrid identities must also be placed within relevant state attempts at getting more school leavers into university, and also to the wider societal attitudes cultivating university life as a ‘rite of passage’ for many of today’s young adults, irrespective of ethnic origin. It is, of course, not only in relation to traditional forms of business that hybrid identities become immersed. Section 7.7 argues that they are also underpinning the emergence of new trailblazing forms of business; arguably the most spectacular feature of the contemporary Glasgow-Pakistani business landscape.

7.7 Death of the Cornershop? Labour Market Restructuring, Policy Change and Their Threat to ‘Traditional’ Areas of Pakistani Enterprise

A considerable amount of attention has been given of late to the decline of Asian and Pakistani owned ‘cornershops’ in Britain today. It is estimated that around a quarter of all such enterprises have disappeared over the past ten years (Brown, 2002). Demographic changes provide the first step towards explaining this context of decline since many young Asians appear unwilling to take on the long hours and often mundane working conditions that are characteristic of family-run operations (Song, 1999). Increased levels of educational attainment may also explain why some Asians are shying away from cornershop retailing. The discussions above highlighted, for instance, how young Pakistanis feel that their university and college acquired skills are better served in more modern areas of business activity, not to mention the formal labour market, where a growing number of Asians are achieving success as professionals. While these trends are not independent of broader structural changes concerning the widening of access to tertiary education, and also to the emergent and increasingly polarized labour regimes in British cities (in which university degrees are imperative to ‘success’), the most potent of threats has arguably come from another aspect of the wider political economy and institutional context of these enterprises; that is, state policy and the effective deregulation of this formerly ‘niche’ market. This relates specifically to the legislation passed in 1994 (The Shops Act), which now basically permits grocery and convenience retail outlets to sell what they like, when they like (although restrictions are still placed on the sale of alcohol). Many Asian-owned enterprises did not adhere to past regulations, and so they effectively built their own out-of-hours retail market with competition coming really only from other minority-ethnic owned enterprises. The repeal of this law, and also a slackening of the planning apparatus granting proposals for urban retail developments (Barrett et al, 2001), opened these previously protected markets up to the powers of national-run supermarkets and petrol stations, which, with the advent of twenty-four hour opening, has undermined Asian-owned enterprises who are unable to compete with the buying power and pricing strategies of these much larger operations.

While these changes are specific to England and Wales, cornershop retailing in Scotland has not been without its problems. ‘Corner shop’ retailing in Glasgow (and indeed the rest of the U.K) has been negatively affected by (1), state interventions in

these markets geared towards the promotion of competition; and (2) the widening of newspaper distribution networks by newspaper wholesalers. Combined these have led to three areas of concern for CTN retailers. Firstly, state-led changes in land use planning regulations have led to a proliferation of 'big box' out-of-town retailing sites (Thomas et al, 2004). The concentration of major retailing names and ample parking facilities offered at these sites mean that they are fast becoming the preferred spaces of consumption for a significant proportion of today's increasingly car-owning metropolitan clientele. As far as grocery shopping is concerned, these locations are arguably now better situated and accessible than so-called 'convenience' stores in more central parts of Britain's towns and cities, growing numbers of which are becoming generally inaccessible for car users. Secondly, central government's decision to rationalise the post-office industry led to the closure of approximately 3,000 urban post offices between 2002 and 2005 (Postcomm, 2004). This led to the axe falling on a considerable number of post-office facilities offered *within* Asian-owned CTNs, a problematic situation given the close symbiosis between post-office and traditional CTN transactions. Thirdly, and independent from state input, newspaper wholesalers have embarked upon a programme of distribution expansion since the early 1990s, leading to a substantial increase in the number of outlets stocking national newspapers. Mintel (2001) estimates that between 1992 and 2000 the number of such outlets has increased by 20 percent, leading to newspaper stands becoming increasingly common sights in non-conventional locations such as high street corners, bus and train stations and garage forecourts. This has created an increasingly difficult operating environment for the 'specialist' newsagents sector, in which Asians are strongly represented.

Previously mentioned limitations in census data mean that the decline in Glasgow cornershop retailing is extremely difficult to translate into quantitative terms given the generality of the 'retailing' census category. A qualitative perspective nevertheless reveals a more lucid picture of this context of decline, with shop owners unanimous in their verdicts that things were now much more difficult than they had ever been. Understandably the most potent threat facing these enterprises comes in the form of 24-hour opening supermarkets and petrol stations, this being especially true in the more spacious periphery of the city where these large developments are most commonplace. In comparison, ongoing processes of gentrification and spiralling property prices seems to account for the decline in operations within more central urban areas. Several business owners articulating

that their local catchment populations had become noticeably more 'fickle' in recent years, with some reticence shown towards the limited and cheaper range of 'budget' items traditionally stocked within Pakistani owned shops (these goods frequently purchased from the wide range of Pakistani owned grocery wholesalers in the city⁶⁴).

The amended tastes and consumer preferences of a growing proportion of inner-Glasgow inhabitants can be traced to the ongoing social transformation implicit within many inner-urban neighbourhoods. This is itself a reflection of their increased inhabitation by members of Glasgow's growing professional and managerial class, many of whom are recent newcomers to Glasgow. Drawing upon ideas developed elsewhere, these upwardly mobile inhabitants effectively chose to define their new neighbourhoods in their 'own', more sophisticated terms, often with no appreciation of how this leads to the painful removal of these areas' 'working class' identities. These interpretations subsequently become transferred to the urban landscape, in both the nature and appearance of the housing on offer in these neighbourhoods, and, of more relevance here, the businesses and services on offer within them, with low-order 'general' retailing establishments such as corner-shops replaced with more specialised establishments catering for the more unique and defining tastes and aspirations of the 'new urban gentry' (Butler and Robinson, 2003; Hamnett, 2003). Neighbourhood change is, in this way, a reflection of the 'new' urban service and retail economy which, through the professionalisation of the urban workforce (Hamnett, 1996), cannot be divorced from broader ideas on the socio-economic reorganisation of post-industrial Western metropolises discussed above. Even without the benefit of interview data, permanently steel-shuttered former cornershops are a fairly common sight in Glasgow, and while they are certainly a stark reminder of the problems faced by the trade, they are effectively only the 'tip of the iceberg' since many former cornershop premises will have since been vacated to make way for new retail and other service functions, some of which are now out-with the hands of Pakistanis.

Since cornershop retailing activities are a traditional driver of the Glasgow-Pakistani suburbanisation process, this context of decline must be taken into account within contemporary understandings of the community's outward

⁶⁴ These are known locally as 'Cash and Carrys'.

dispersal. Connecting the fortunes of ailing cornershops to the suburbanisation process was nevertheless a difficult task since this inevitably involved collating intimate information regarding the viability of current enterprises and the overall financial 'well-being' of respondents. The difficult circumstances confronting cornershop retailers and their (potential) implications for the suburbanisation were evident in the following conversation with Inzamam, a homeowner in the Southern suburb of Giffnock:

Inzamam: 'I'm lucky because my house is now paid off, but I couldn't afford to pay a mortgage and raise the family on what the shop is making now' (Male, aged 57)

Inzamam proved to be a very open character who spoke forthrightly on not only his own difficulties but also those of other shopkeepers. He recalled with some fondness the 'good old days' when retailing was not subject to the same number of laws and regulations, and how it provided an employment foothold to many Pakistanis relatively new into the country. He said that this was a time when hard-work and long hours invariably paid off, and that this was in sharp contrast to the situation today whereby individualism and lone entrepreneurialism is suffocated by big-business. He used the growth of franchisee schemes and the folding of formerly independent enterprises under the banner of *Spar*, *Alldays* and other national chains as indicative of the problems currently faced by small retailers. Unable to cope alone they have had little option but to join sides with their national rivals, and although they benefit from comprehensive shop-refits and the introduction of relatively high-tech operating systems they have nevertheless had to compromise a proportion of their profits for the sake of these arrangements, not to mention the even more painful sacrifices of individual identity and autonomy.

Of most relevance to this study is the possibility that this now stuttering but former 'engine' of the suburbanisation process is actually now taking Pakistanis away from the suburbs and forcing them to downsize or find more affordable accommodation elsewhere in the city. Inzamam stated that this would have happened to him if it was not for the fact that his mortgage repayments had been paid off. Furthermore, the decline of cornershop retailing will also be handicapping shop-owners currently residing outwith the suburbs but who nevertheless harbour aspirations of one day moving to the urban periphery. We must of course remember

that this negative picture represents only one strand of the suburbanisation process, and that these 'losers' are being offset and the suburban equilibrium restored by individual success stories within other areas of business, especially in those trailblazing business sectors.

7.8 Trailblazing Pakistani Business Success

Alongside the decline and problematic operational contexts experienced by traditional sectors of Glasgow-Pakistani business, the flip side of contemporary business trends has been the striking emergence and success of trailblazing areas of Pakistani enterprise in the modern consumer and retail industries such as information technology (IT), estate agency and financial services. These trends are also not restricted to Glasgow, having being observed elsewhere in British by Metcalfe et al, (1996). The emergence of these new areas of enterprise is shown below to reflect a variety of developments and changes in terms of the overall cultural disposition of the community itself, and indeed the broader urban context in terms of patterns of consumer spending, the vibrancy of the city's property market, and the squeezing of traditional activities such as cornershop retailing by amended policy regulations (see section 7.6 above). While it is difficult to measure the success of these new enterprises, their rapid growth nonetheless suggests that progressive inroads have been made into these new markets, although this is not to say that the future will be trouble free for these businesses, not least since they have entered highly lucrative mainstream consumer markets where the existing powerbrokers invariably tend to be powerful and market-defining multi-national firms. Many trailblazing Pakistani firms nevertheless demonstrate modernisation from earlier Pakistani excursions into business, especially within the realm of marketing and advertising. Several Pakistani owned enterprises target Glasgow's wider population by advertising in local newspapers such as *Local News for Southsiders* (Glasgow Financial Services Ltd.) and, in the case of Priceless Computing, *Scottish Supermart* – a widely read and distinctive (printed on yellow and blue paper) small-ad and business advertising paper. Such defined levels of business and management acumen echo wider findings concerning the increasingly speculative and ambitions nature of modern-day Pakistani entrepreneurs. Ram et al, 2001 have for instance revealed how many are using previously 'out-of-bounds' bank loans to fund business expansion.

The growth and success of trailblazing Asian businesses seems intricately tied to their ability to break out of traditionally co-ethnic markets and attract a much more ethnically diverse client base. In a recent study of the accountancy sector Ram and Carter (2003) noted that minority-ethnic owned accountancy firms were an important resource providing non-white accountants with a 'foothold' in the profession, although they were slightly wary over the sustainability of these operations given their observed dependence on limited co-ethnic client bases. This reliance on co-ethnic custom, and thus the limited or handicapped growth potential of these operations, was attributed to the decidedly introspective mindsets of their owners. Many, for example, chose not to benefit from the various state-sponsored and other external systems of advice and enterprise support mechanisms available to them. These were construed as threatening the autonomy of the firms.

While there are certainly examples of trailblazing business operations with a predominantly co-ethnic clientele, several later-generation Pakistani business owners did follow Ram and Carter's (2003) logic by admitting that the success of their operations *was* dependent on their ability to attract customers from a variety of ethnic backgrounds including, importantly, the white Glaswegian and wider Scottish population.

Khalil: '[We] cater for everyone. It wouldn't make sense to say 'ok, we're only really going to do business with so and so, or this person or that person'... You can't take anything for granted, and you can't control who comes in [the shop]' (Male, aged 25)

Fahad: 'In business, I think it is the products you sell that determines the customers you get...for us, well, most people use a [mobile] phone, not just Pakistanis...We get all sorts of backgrounds in here really' (Male, aged 41)

As the above extracts demonstrate this is governed more than anything else by the type of products they had on offer (in these examples 'high street' fashion items and mobile phones), which are typically consumed by the wider urban population irrespective of ethnicity. The preferences of Glasgow's white consumer base are thus in these instances as important to Pakistani businesses success as co-ethnic preference.

The suggestion here is thus that the modernisation of the Glasgow-Pakistani business environment has stipulated heightened engagement with Glasgow's wider

consumer base, and that opportunities in these areas are the partial outcomes of broader cultural patterns relating to increased levels of disposable income and demand for 'lifestyle' products such as mobile phones and 'designer' clothing. This is not to say that Pakistanis are only now just beginning to break out their dependence on co-ethnic consumers for success and individual prosperity, since traditional activities such as restaurants and convenience stores attracted, and continue to attract, their fair share of white custom. But with the shift towards higher-order services and products more-and-more Pakistanis are transcending their traditional roles as convenience and low-order services providers to tune in instead to the more sophisticated and demanding preferences of the *majority* as well as minority consumer bracket. In relation to both computer and mobile phones sales especially, the fortunes of entrepreneurs are thus more than ever dislocated from their 'local' settings, and increasingly enmeshed in broader economic and spatial networks of product supply and consumer fashion.

The increasing embeddedness of Pakistani business activities within the city's broader urban context – a pivotal contention of this study (see Chapter's Two and Three) – is also demonstrable with reference to other facets of the modern business environment. Levels of disposable income across the Glasgow population are important determinants of activity and success in the service and retail economy so these growth areas have, quite conveniently for those concerned, benefited from increasing levels of wealth in the city (although this is, of course, distributed increasingly unevenly). The reorganisation of Glasgow's working population in response to global trends of industrial and economic reform (see above) has thus been an important contributory to growth in these trailblazing areas. The move towards managerial, professional, and less prestigious modes of 'white collar' employment and concomitant shifts in lifestyle choices and routines is producing a higher demand for the type of products and services typically offered by trailblazing Pakistani firms.

Developing these ideas, the emergence and growth of trailblazing Glasgow-Pakistani businesses continues to scramble any conceptions of the Glasgow-Pakistani community operating within a discrete, isolated 'ethnic enclave' economy similar to those envisaged by earlier (North American) studies of minority-ethnic business activity (Wilson and Portes, 1980; Wilson and Martin, 1982; see Chapter Three). The argument has so far has been that new directions in Glasgow-Pakistani

business are reflective of broader processes of economic (and social) restructuring. As Jan Rath has argued minority-ethnic firms are embedded in their respective Western urban economies so that the 'fate of advanced cities and migrants have become closely intertwined' (Rath, 2000: 3), and that the success of these business ventures apparently rests on their ability to 'break out' of co-ethnic markets and tap into a much wider client base. Linking this point into conceptual debates concerning ethnicity and space, and, in particular, this thesis's criticism of the mono-dimensional and simplistic spatial contexts presumed by earlier interventions in 'race' and ethnicity in the city (outlined in Chapter Two), these examples are a pointed reminder of how, following Brah's (1996) visions of a multi-dimensional and multiply-inhabited 'diasporic space', the social, economic and geographical context of Glasgow's Pakistani is one that is not enclosed by rigid boundaries to which those who are not 'Pakistani' are excluded. It is instead one in which the white population itself (through their role as consumers and, indeed, suppliers, lease-holders, etc) is an important component.

Moving towards the socio-cultural context of these trailblazing business ventures, and reiterating earlier discussions concerning the implication of hybrid (later-generation) cultural identities within the Pakistani business landscape, the origins of business change are traceable to the application of university and college-gained professional and vocational qualifications within the city's expanding professional service economy. This is exemplified with reference to the large number of Pakistani-owned computer sales and repair outlets across Glasgow and the surrounding area. Two of this study's informants worked in such businesses, one as a proprietor and one as a sales consultant (in separate firms). Each of these individuals was university educated in cognate disciplines, one with a degree in computer programming, and the other in marketing. The property and financial services industry is another such avenue. There are a number of Pakistani owned estate-agencies and mortgage lenders cashing in on Glasgow's property boom and lending money to the growing number of Glaswegians who wish to purchase their home, and also by supplying rental property to the mobile professional and managerial classes for whom Glasgow is increasingly becoming a temporary home.

The hybrid nature of the young Pakistani identities nested in these new business enterprises is most evidently demonstrated by the more 'open-minded' nature of some of today's young businessfolk who are now moving into areas of

business previously shunned by their elders for their contravention of cultural and religious codes governing acceptability. This was an assertion raised by one respondent who at the time of his interview had recently entered Glasgow's growing 'night time' economy by buying into a vibrant city-centre bar-restaurant (the other co-owners being of Indian descent):

Azhar: 'You wouldn't find older Pakistanis doing this sort of thing...this is very much a young Pakistani's type of business. Not that there are loads of Pakistanis doing this sort of thing – there are some – but what I mean is that alcohol, for the older generation this would be a 'no-no' straight away, we [younger, British-born Pakistanis] are more open minded in this way...It's the same with restaurants: the ones that are owned or run by the younger ones will always sell alcohol while many of the older [Pakistanis] will still not sell alcohol, even with all the profit in it.' (Male, 29)

Finally, and leaving these political economy and cultural/identity explanations of the changing business landscape to one side, the successful divergence of young Pakistanis into new lines of business must nevertheless also be acknowledged as having been facilitated by the community's rich history of business success and the skills, knowledge and business thrift accrued over the years. The importance of past business successes to new business avenues has already been illustrated above with reference to how old businesses have been sold off to fund ventures into other lines of business, but it also seems apparent that the ethos of self-employment, in particular exciting and emancipating feelings of self-determination and 'standing firm in the face of adversity', have spread from migrant entrepreneurs to their children and young members of the community more generally. As Azhar himself quipped, seemingly blind to the inroads made by his peers within the formal labour market: "what else is there for us to do?"

7.9 Gender, Employment and the 'New Breadwinners'

The evaluation of 1991 and 2001 Census data reveals significant trends concerning female engagement with the labour market and tertiary education opportunities in the city of Glasgow. In 1991, 60% of the Glasgow female population (aged 16-74) were categorised under the 'Other economically inactive' category. Since this figure does *not* include those who are listed as students,

permanently sick, or retired, it is a fair assumption that the near majority of this total was 'employed' within domestic settings, performing roles as housewives, looking after children and supporting male breadwinners. Such high levels of economic inactivity amongst the female population are reflective of traditional ethno-religious visions of domestic labour and child rearing, with the responsibility for social reproduction falling firmly with female members of the family. The clarity of this role and cultural obligations for women to fulfil it is also linked to its cultural regard as a valid and effective form of employment (Dale et al. 2002), regardless of the fact this is a role performed mainly within a private, domestic setting. Yet, and even taking into account the considerable disjuncture between successive census categorisations, this figure had fallen significantly by 2001. With the 2001 advent of the 'Looking after home/family' categorisation 34% of Glasgow-Pakistani women aged 16-74 were ultimately placed within this grouping, although we must also add to this the 15% who were listed in the 'Other inactive' category which, again, discounting the retired, permanently sick/disabled and the female student population (which may then have consisted of a substantial number who are also employed within a domestic setting, but who for classification purposes felt their roles were best defined as something other than 'Looking after home/family') (General Registers Office for Scotland, 2003). Taking these precautions into account a logical, yet if anything generous, estimation of the proportion of Glasgow-Pakistani women employed in the domestic sphere would be 49%, which, even taking into account the surrounding uncertainties of calculation, represents a substantial fall from the 1991 figure (60%).

These women are obviously being absorbed into other areas of economic activity, and the signs are that Scottish-born Pakistani women are following their white counterparts into both full and part-time employment. Many of these women are following established general cultural trends of delaying marriage and parenthood to pursue career goals. And where Pakistani women do choose to start a family, they are again following similar patterns of combining these responsibilities with flexible forms of employment such as part-time work, or indeed maintaining full-time jobs mainly in the well-paid professions. From this evidence it seems as though Glasgow-Pakistani women are taking advantage of the (changing) nature of employment in Glasgow today and the more flexible arrangements that are possible.

The discussions so far have only exposed the structural, political-economic context of increased female Pakistani labour market participation. While it is certainly true that the nature of work and employment in Glasgow today is ripe for increased female participation, this does not explain *why* increasing numbers of young Pakistani women are choosing to capitalise on these opportunities and deviate from the cultural norm of domestic 'employment'. Evidence from this study suggests that these motivations may be split into two conceptual categories: the 'push' factors driving young women away from individual economic inactivity (i.e. their role as domestic 'keepers'), and the 'pull' factors enticing them into formal employment and, where attainable, stable salaried employment.

These ideas concerning the positive headway made by career-orientated young Pakistani women must nevertheless be set against the comparative labour opportunities faced by their first-generation elders⁶⁵. For this group, the task of finding work was much more onerous given the inflexibility of the labour regime they encountered (little opportunity for part-time work, for example), and the predominance of male-dominated work within this. What is more, their limited grasp of the English language means that they remain disadvantaged in a 'new' urban economy constituted by a multitude of service and retail-based functions, and peopled by those able to meet the seemingly nominal minimum entry requirement of 'good communication skills'. As we see below, it is also the case that migrant women are simply more *willing* to conform to their ethnically defined role and deploy their own forms of human capital in, and only in, the home. These women evidently still welcome, and take great pride in, the responsibilities attached to this domestic role. These contentions, concerning language ability and individual motivations to stay at home, are worked through in this section below, after which the attention switches to an elaboration of the 'push' and 'pull' mechanisms that have contributed to the upsurge in the number of young Pakistani women who are seeking – and attaining – formal employment.

⁶⁵ Echoing Brah (1993), who argues that explanations of high levels of first-generation female Pakistani inactivity require more than a simple understanding of the endemic cultural dispositions of this group (such as their limited use of English and their increased likelihood to fulfil ethno-religious expectations). She instead urges more consideration of, among other aspects, the *types* of job historically available in the city and a negotiation of how amenable these were to migrant-generation women (she also, for instance, calls for the ongoing assumptions, expectations and prejudices of would-be employers to be brought into question).

7.9.1 The migrant labour experience

The restricted labour experiences of first-generation Pakistani women are perhaps most directly attributable to their limited grasp of the English language. That this point came through in my focus group discussions is itself an indication of the tight language requirements set by British employers and the widespread failure of migrant women to meet these⁶⁶. While their capacity for the native language has obviously improved over the years, several respondents were nevertheless clear that their past language abilities, especially in the important period of life when any employment aspirations are likely to have crystallised, were simply not up to scratch:

‘Working for me, it was never possible at the beginning...Because I could not speak the language, people would say you must speak the English language...I could not.’ (First-generation female; aged 57)

‘How do you expect to be able to work if you cannot speak [English]? You will find that this is the same with most of the first-generation...they will say the same. It is to be expected, it is the same with any new community anywhere’ (First-generation Pakistani female; aged 63)

The last respondent was offering her explanation of the limited inroads made by her peers into the formal employment structure. These experiences are seen as not only typical amongst her own group, but so too ‘other’ communities in ‘other’ (national) contexts. There is thus a degree of inevitability about these language restrictions, with some women dismissing off-hand their chances of finding work.

Low levels of migrant-generation labour market participation are also explained by individual desires to stay at home. Understandably there were strong feelings that this was seen to be in fulfilment of one’s own ethnic and religious obligations:

‘In our religion it is customary to look after the home.’ (First-generation female, aged 63)

⁶⁶ Remembering that, and for reasons stated in Chapter Four, all participants had at least a reasonable grasp of the English language.

The pronunciation of such ethnically and religiously prescribed values amongst first-generation Pakistani women in Glasgow arguably reasserts earlier claims made in Chapter Six, where connections were established between ethnic sub-origin⁶⁷ and one's likelihood to demonstrate either a more closed and 'traditional' ethno-religious performance, or one that is more open, progressive and hybrid. Attention was drawn here to the experiences of Adeel; a young Pakistani male who blamed his parent's rejection of his intended marriage to a Scottish woman on their decidedly rural, and introverted, farming backgrounds. Bearing in mind the predominantly rural origins of the Glasgow community (see Chapter Five) the widespread female commitment to 'tradition' noted above might not be that much of a surprise. This is not to say, however, that the attempts made by these women to retain their identity are any more strong or tenacious than the efforts of first-generation Pakistani women elsewhere in Britain. On the contrary, it is sufficient to recognise the tenacity of these attempts, and the willingness of these women to have their lives structured by religion, culture, and, on a more everyday basis, the chief material protrusion of both: the family. It is necessary to also acknowledge that these attitudes shed light on the historically high female rates of economic inactivity in the city; many women having of course have withdrawn themselves from the city's formal labour machinations.

It would nevertheless be inaccurate to say that religious and cultural obligations were behind *all* decisions to forfeit employment in favour of staying at home. For those with children in particular, family commitments were often critical:

'For me work was never an option. Family and looking after them is too important...We (respondent and her husband) know what is best for the family, and this means that [the respondent's husband] goes out to work, and I look after things in the house' (First-generation female; aged 45)

While such unselfish attitudes towards work and family commitments are a possible expression of religious and ethno-cultural beliefs, the above respondent categorically stated that the two were in this instance wholly separate. Her primary obligation in life, she went to say, was 'to her family and not to her religion'. What

⁶⁷ The origins of one's family being in either 'rural' or 'urban' Pakistan.

is more, in the extract included above, she explained her desire to stay at home in terms of the perceived benefits on family wellbeing. The family, it seems, would be 'worse off' if both parents were out working. First-generation women are thus aware of their 'vital' position within a successful family structure. For some this was evidently something to be proud of:

'My kids have all done well for themselves and I think that we [the respondent and her husband] should take some credit for this...I made personal sacrifices of my own to ensure that they were raised in the best possible way. I don't think women like us get the credit we deserve for this, for staying at home...' (First-generation female; aged 57)

'It is something I was always happy with. To be honest not many women have the option not to work – they are dictated to by other things like mortgages and the needs of their children. I am fortunate in that I at least *have* the opportunity to be able to do this.' (Second-generation woman; aged 40)

'There is no better place to be...I did not work because that is what *I* wanted to do' (First-generation woman; aged 67)

These women clearly saw their assumed domestic roles as solely reflective of their *own* preferences; not, in other words, anything to do with external pressures relating to prevailing religious or cultural expectations, or even to being the mothers of children. Indeed, the first respondent above went on to stress that Islamic 'law' does not, according to her own interpretation at least, preclude the possibility of employment outside the home:

'The assumption is that Pakistani women are at home through the word of Islam. While many are of this opinion, and see it as their religious duty to look after their hubby and kids, I don't think this is true... Islam does not say that women cannot work.'

7.9.2 *The later-generation experience*

The question nevertheless remains as to whether this valuing of home life is being lost on the later-generation. Certainly it would appear that young Pakistani women are less likely to unreservedly 'rule out' the possibility of employment, yet it also seems true that a growing number of young Pakistani women are actively

trying to combine occupational endeavours *with* the benefits of parenthood and the fulfilment of other ‘home-making’ duties:

Farheen: ‘I have the best of both worlds – independence, more money than we would otherwise have, but, best of all, a child to come home to’ (Female, aged 31)

While Farheen’s own experiences must be placed within their relative middle-class context, where both her and her husband’s combined incomes are able to provide for costly out-of-school private childcare facilities, it seems that less-well-off families are also more likely than ever to contain at least one wage-earning female. As one respondent stated:

‘My parents actually urged me not to get married or anything so I could go out and find work and contribute to the family income. This is what’s different nowadays – in the past women would not work, end of. Now it is quite often important [for] women to go out and find jobs.’ (Female, aged 21)

These sentiments also indicate that, while one’s parents may have conformed to traditional gender distinctions themselves (with the father out working and the mother at home), these may be abandoned amongst subsequent generations if financial needs prevail over tradition.

Continuing with the ‘push’ mechanisms refracting young Pakistani women (at least temporarily) away from the home, one respondent indicated that her strong desire for educational and occupational attainment was a direct result of – and response to – the constraints typically placed upon female members of her household:

‘I didn’t want to follow the same path as my older sisters. They were married-off early and now have kids and things...without work I suppose you could say they don’t really have much of a life – or at least any time to themselves. Unlike them I went to university...I suppose I wanted to do well and show [my parents] that I was capable of other things in my life.’ (Female, aged 30)

This woman's words lead on nicely to one of the most significant 'pull' factors enticing young Pakistani women in to employment. Employment provides young Glasgow-Pakistani women with an importance source of identity and independence:

'I think that being able to go out and work is quite important for Pakistani women because not everyone wants to stay at home...Quite a few people were saying to me oh, you shouldn't be working but I told them thanks for your opinion, but I am a free thinker!' (Female, aged 39)

Other economically active young Pakistani women also saw their employment as a means to a certain end. Keeping with earlier ideas regarding the crystallization of a Pakistani (middle/upper-middle) class identity, respondents frequently cited a desire to purchase expensive status symbols such as cars, private education for children, or, in one instance, to take a couple and their three children with them to Pakistani for the first time. Needless to say, suburban home purchase also figured prominently, with several women stating how joint incomes were essential for realising the suburban 'dream':

'We both had to work hard to move where we are. It'll be worth it in the long-run though...for our children' (Female, aged 30)

'Well to be honest I don't know if we would be living here if only [my husband] worked, it just wouldn't be possible' (Female, aged 31)

Both sets of comments are indicative of the high cost of suburban living in Glasgow, and how Pakistani families are meeting these costs through the combination of male and female incomes. Such 'new' female breadwinners are increasingly common within the Glasgow-Pakistani family structure, and this only bodes well for future levels of Pakistani suburbanisation.

7.10 Conclusions

Post-industrial Glasgow and wider changes in political economy have brought mixed blessings to Glasgow's Pakistani community. Aware that many of the jobs previously occupied by their elders simply do not exist anymore, young Pakistanis

have turned to education with a view to establishing successful careers in the professions. These skills are also being applied within the business context, giving rise to distinctive forms of trailblazing Pakistani enterprise. Glasgow-Pakistani prosperity is also bolstered by the modern-day independence of young Pakistani women, who, following wider trends of increased female labour participation and flexible forms of employment, are actively pursuing success in both education and employment. Yet against this extremely positive backdrop we must also consider how state policy concerning the deregulation of the convenience retail market has put many formerly profitable Pakistani-owned businesses at risk by opening them up to the competitive powers of big business.

Such obvious connections between Pakistani prosperity and the community's broader urban context reiterate that the spatialities of Britain's minority-ethnic communities are open and unbounded. Glasgow has been radically re-altered at the hands of global geo-economic forces and retail market reforms often encouraged through the neo-liberal policies of successive U.K governments since 1979. These externally sourced forces have been refracted in Glasgow, affecting the city's wider citizenry and bringing 'dead ends' and 'new opportunities' to Glasgow's largest non-white community. A more open reading of space, such as Brah's (1996) visions of diasporic space, also takes into account the multiply inhabited nature of these spaces and the fact that migrant groups do not operate in isolation within them. The spaces of Glasgow's Pakistani community are also inhabited by the city's white and majority population who have, through their roles as consumers, contributed to Pakistani prosperity.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSIONS: 'RACE' AND ETHNICITY IN THE CITY REVISITED

This thesis rests on two primary conceptual arguments. The first is that *both* the spatiality and identity of Glasgow's Pakistani community is inherently open and fluid. The second contention is that explanations of Pakistani suburbanisation require deep understandings of both the socio-cultural *and* political-economic context of the community. These approaches – concerning the dynamism of space and identity on the one hand, and the intertwining of culture and political-economy on the other, nevertheless go solidly against the conceptual grain as far as existing academic and popular interventions on issues of 'race' and ethnicity in the city are concerned. These intellectual disjunctures – between the ideas proposed in this study and those proposed by prevailing outputs in the field – provide the main focus for discussion in this concluding chapter. Before dealing with these conceptual debates and their intended implications for future perspectives on issues of 'race' and ethnicity in the city, and also studies of British non-white/Pakistani groups in particular, it is worth reiterating the claims of earlier chapters, especially since the theoretical, methodological and empirical discussions contained in these chapters provide the evidential basis from which these concluding conceptual claims are made.

Chapter One mapped out the changing social, economic, cultural and geographical characteristics of what is a dynamic and youthful Pakistani community in Glasgow. It pointed out the limitations of existing academic and popular insights on British-Pakistani communities, including their fascination with the dramatic, conflictual and 'exotic' aspects of Pakistani life. Connoting prosperity, success and 'normality', Glasgow-Pakistani suburbanisation was subsequently introduced as a welcome (and relevant) reprieve from these hostile narratives. The primary aim of this thesis was also introduced in Chapter One as an *explanation* of Glasgow-Pakistani suburbanisation. This followed on from a quantitative study by Bailey et al (1995), which tentatively attributed this dispersal to professional tendencies of many of today's young Pakistanis. Chapter Two provided a broad literary review of past geographical engagements with issues of 'race' and ethnicity in the city, noting how these are fixed squarely around the inner

reaches of Britain's towns and cities. Furthermore, and through the work of spatial sociologists in particular, these areas are being unhelpfully demonised as areas whose threats to the urban status quo require mathematical monitoring and assessment. British towns and cities, adherents to these approaches note, are in danger of 'ghettoization' (Peach, 1996a). Contra this 'spatialisation of race' (Cohen, 1993), the chapter then noted nascent claims for the recovery of non-white experiences in/of other areas *besides* the inner-city. Chapter Three then introduced the conceptual 'tools' with which to make sense of the dynamic and at times contradictory processes underpinning Pakistani suburbanisation. Post-positivist arguments relating to the open, fluid and relational nature of both space and identity were introduced as crucial to this task, this following on from their successful intervention in the field of U.K minority-ethnic business studies. In Chapter Four I introduced the methods utilised in the field and elaborated upon their placement as part of an overall ethical research strategy (methodology). Issues of positionality concerning my relationship to the Pakistani interviewees received particular attention, this taking heed of recent calls to maintain a reflexive awareness of the ethical, intellectual and representational 'limitations' of all social research.

8.1 The Empirical Discussion

Chapter Six began 'unpacking' Glasgow-Pakistani suburbanisation by laying out the socio-cultural foundations of the dispersal. It noted that an assortment of familial and other intra-ethnic networks played a crucial facilitating role. These interpersonal networks were seen as falling into two categories. Networks of common interest referred to instances in which suburban Pakistanis relayed words of recommendation and encouragement, and in some instances monetary assistance, to other *known* co-ethnics (most frequently family members) in the hope that they too would join them in their respective areas. Networks of familiarity, on the other hand, referred to instances where Pakistanis moved to suburbia on the premise that 'there was other Pakistanis close-by'; not involving, then, the relaying of material prompts such as words or money between those who are known to one another. These connections may thus be understood as 'imagined' (following Anderson, 1991) for the way in which they are dependent on common affiliations 'in the mind' separating Pakistanis from others in the city: ethnicity in other words.

The spatiality of these networks – referring in this case to their ‘reach’ and (spatial) consequences at the local level – proved striking. Locally these networks have given rise to a series of ‘colonies’ in the suburbs – clusters of Pakistani and Asian homes in close proximity to one another. The origins of these local clusters are often traceable to the actions of one pioneer family a matter of decades ago, and so, following Crang et al (2003), they may be termed multidimensional spaces; spaces constituted through individual movement and interaction over time. Equally, the scope of these networks often extends *outwith* Glasgow⁶⁸. As such, the local must be understood as just one node in a much broader expanse of connections (Massey, 2004). These findings side with the non-territorial reading of the advanced-capitalist city proposed by Amin (2004), and his calls for a politics of propinquity and connectivity (see Chapter Three).

Outlining how suburban Pakistanis articulated the appeal of their respective areas, Chapter Six then argued that suburban Pakistani identity might be considered hybrid in that perceptions of suburbia followed decidedly ‘mainstream’ reference points⁶⁹. Privacy, space and good schools were all tantamount to the Pakistani suburban ‘dream’. Nevertheless, alongside these typically middle-class ‘white’ identities were at times tenacious attempts to slow down and bind identity. Suburban living poses identity dilemmas since Pakistani have to cope with a symbolic detachment from the ‘heart’ of the community (equated in Glasgow to the Pollokshields / Govanhill nexus). These feelings may be especially sharp-edged for white-collar elites and others who whose work, leisure and social rituals are performed in predominantly white company. Adding to this, suburban parents also appear conscious that their children may not realise their ‘true’ identity through their distinctly ‘white’ surroundings, not to mention their native-born Scottish identity. Religion and the *Urdu* language in all of these instances provide parents with a welcome anchor to the past through which they can lay claims to an ‘authentic’ Pakistani cultural identity.

Adopting a political-economy perspective on the suburbanisation process, Chapter Seven introduced how the hybrid identities of young Pakistanis are

⁶⁸ This was demonstrated in Chapter Six with reference to family who persuaded family members from Preston, England, to join them in the Boclair district of Bearsden.

⁶⁹ The perceived benefits of suburbia in other words contained no obvious reference to one’s ethnicity or them ‘being’ Pakistani.

opportunistically deployed in a range of modern employment and business activities that are themselves emblematic of Glasgow's 'new' urban economy. The signs are that the unique forms of human capital these young Pakistanis possess are maintaining the relative wealth and wellbeing of this community. Unemployment levels are low, even for young Pakistani men who have suffered perilously at the hands of urban economic restructuring elsewhere in Britain, notably in the textile towns of Northern England. From observation, significant numbers appear to be entering the professional service sector as doctors, dentists, accountants, financial consultants or estate agents. Others are dispelling claims of managerial 'glass ceilings' by landing esteemed positions in predominantly white firms and institutions, or entering teaching or research. In business they have breathed new life into old enterprises, and led the 'flight' towards more profitable and unconventional 'trailblazing' lines of activity, again often in the professional services (accountancy, estate agency and financial services) as well as high-order, high-tech retailing. A history of strong educational attainment has played an important role within these successes.

The political economy perspective also extends to a consideration of how successive rounds of economic and political restructuring have created a crosshatched pattern of 'winners' and 'losers' amongst the Pakistani business community (as with the city's wider population: Helms and Cumbers, 2004). The losers tend to be remaining migrant-generation corner shop owners, who have been hit hard by the state interventions and the liberalisation of this former niche market. This refers specifically to The 1994 Shops Act, which removed many of the restrictions dictating closing times and when certain products (such as alcohol) could be sold. The removal of this regulatory 'grey area' (Jones and Ram, 2003) opened the small independent-owned stores who frequently flouted these regulations up to intense levels competition from (multi)national conglomerates such as Tesco, Sainsbury and Asda. These multinationals are cashing in on the deregulated market through the advent of 24hr opening *metro* stores and petrol stations. Where they do not get boarded-up, adding to the itinerary of vacant ex-corner shop properties dotted around the city, struggling independent stores may sold to more powerful co-ethnic rivals, or sold or franchised out to mainstream national chains such as *Alldays* or *Spar*. The difficulties faced by corner shop retailers are compounded by the increasingly specific whims and preferences of the

new urban consumer, many of whom happen to be upwardly mobile members of Glasgow's elite service and managerial class (and many of whom happen to be migrants to the city of Glasgow themselves). This negative operating context explains why those still in the trade have come to a consensus that things are 'more difficult than ever'. It may also go some way to explaining the 8% drop in the number of self-employed Glasgow-Pakistanis, as observed by the most recent population census (General Registers Office for Scotland, 2003).

The entrepreneurial 'winners' in Glasgow's 'new' urban economy are often new entrepreneurs, or others who had the foresight to leave ailing traditional enterprises behind and diversify into more unconventional activities. These new activities are strategically chosen and tap into general consumer trends relating to levels of disposable income and increased demand for high-order 'lifestyle' goods (including, notably, homes). Glasgow's entrepreneurial urban economy (MacLeod, 2002) and penchant for speculative land development has also led to some spectacular capital gains for Pakistanis with extensive property interests in the city. Many of these are located in what may be considered Glasgow's 'zone of transition' (Rex, 1968); the old warehouse district immediately South of the CBD, which over the past decade has attracted a multitude of flagship private housing, retail and leisure developments investments made only possible through the purchase of Pakistani-owned land and property. Several first-generation Pakistanis have made large capital gains through these ventures, and where this does not go into subsequential retirement, much of it will be used to purchase business premises elsewhere in the city, or to fund excursions into trailblazing areas of business. Quite often the intent is for one's children to take over these consolidated or diversified enterprises.

The next two sections condense these empirical findings into a series of theoretical discussions outlining their intended ramifications for future scholarship on the geographies of 'race' and ethnicity in Britain.

8.2 Beyond 'Ghetto' Geography

The empirical findings introduced in Chapters Six and Seven provide a critical entry point into traditional geographical approaches to issues of 'race' and ethnicity in the city. Existing studies of Britain's minority-ethnic communities are invariably located across the metropolitan spine of England, stretching from

London in the South, through the Midlands, and more recently up to the Northwest, to include former manufacturing towns such as Oldham and Bradford. Research is also concentrated at an even finer scale in locations with high minority-ethnic representation. This often involves district, neighbourhood or even street level analysis, where, as we move down this scale, levels of ethnic segregation may be especially elevated. These studies are often also in the spatial sociological tradition, hence why areas of high segregation prove popular. This genre of work is, after all, charged with keeping tabs on the extent of this segregation. Some studies are in fact effectively positioning themselves as part of a 'ghetto warning system' (e.g. Peach, 1996a). Space in these studies is an immobile backdrop; a stage in which people become equally immobile dots or numbers.

This 'ghetto geography' is compounded by conceptual and methodological blindness to the British-born representatives of these groups, and their maturation as active participants in urban labour and housing markets. As a result there has been a failure to expose how 'coming' of these individuals may actually leading to the dispersal of non-white communities into previously assumed 'white' areas. Indeed, Vaughan Robinson's (1996) quantitative study of inter-regional patterns of migration stands alone as the only sustained British engagement with the 'new' material⁷⁰ geographies of Britain's young non-white population. What is more, solutions to this generational lacuna do not appear forthcoming. In the 'New Geographies of Race and Racism' paper session at this year's IBG-RGS conference⁷¹ residential segregation and social conflict were again the main themes. This proved disappointing, not least since the title of the session did intimate an intellectual break from tradition. Furthermore, the need to progress a *new* geography of the British-Pakistani population (in which the issue of generation is central) was a central argument of my own research, and so I would have welcomed advances in this respect elsewhere. But while this was a rare opportunity to take stock of ongoing directions in the subfield, to enter critical dialogue, and to set new agendas, there was, contrary to the session's title, nothing really 'new' about proceedings.

⁷⁰ Claire Dwyer (1999a, 1999b, 1999c) has of course published extensively on the more abstract 'embodied' geographies of young Muslim women.

⁷¹ Arguably British human geography's 'flagship' academic conference, the RGS-IBG is an event hosted by the Institute of British Geographers - Royal Geographical Society scholarly body.

Contrary, then, to traditional approaches, the findings from this study maintain that the growth of Glasgow's suburban Pakistani community is symptomatic of the generational 'crossroads' the community finds itself at. The migrant generation are no longer the majority⁷² having been succeeded by a British-born second-generation who are contributing in their own unique way to the suburbanisation process. What is more, there is no reason to believe that this phenomenon is not occurring elsewhere around Britain. Most British-Pakistanis share a common New Commonwealth migratory legacy and so they have been part of the British urban system for more or less uniform lengths of time. The same demographic shifts are being repeated in towns and cities across the U.K., but what are the geographical consequences of this? Where is segregation increasing? Where is segregation decreasing? Just how prevalent is Pakistani suburbanisation? These remain pressing questions. In the meantime, this thesis therefore sits firmly behind current calls for more a more representative geography of 'race' and ethnicity, in which there is a salvaging of non-white experiences of previously considered 'white' landscapes such as suburbia and the countryside (Watt, 1998; Naylor and Ryan, 2002). Evidence from Glasgow suggests that the these 'other' space of minority-ethnic experience will only become more glaring omissions as the later-generations continue to imprint themselves more boldly on their relevant geographical landscapes. The Glasgow experience suggests that generation provides another welcome alternative to these 'ghetto geographies'. Forty years or so years have elapsed since the pinnacle of non-white migration to the U.K, so it is time to specifically acknowledge the British-born as the new protagonists of their respective 'migrant' communities. As the Glasgow situation demonstrates, these studies will inevitably be forced to confront issues of minority-ethnic integration, success and prosperity, as opposed to conflict, economic marginality and 'ghettoization'. There is thus arguably as much at stake politically as there is academically.

The findings from this thesis also highlight the inadequacy of existing theoretical insights into the *spatiality* of non-white communities in the Western world. Exemplified by North American literature on the 'ethnic enclave', there is still a commonly upheld assumption that non-white groups are somehow

⁷² Approximately 60% of Glasgow's total Pakistani population were born within the U.K.

imprisoned by their immediate spatial surroundings, and that the scope of their cultural, social and economic contacts do not extend beyond exchanges with fellow group members occupying the same space (Wilson and Portes, 1980; Wilson and Martin, 1982). Rather than closed and static, the economic, social and cultural spaces of Glasgow's Pakistani community are instead open and relational, and increasingly so it seems. People flit between core and suburbia to live, work, socialise and shop; and it is common for inter-personal and inter-familial networks of communication and support to exist between Pakistanis living in Glasgow and elsewhere in Britain. Business success – a traditional engine of the suburbanisation process – also rests on a healthy contribution from an increasingly non co-ethnic client base. Following the ideas of both Brah (1996) (on 'diasporic space') and Crang et al (2003) (on 'transnational space'), the spatiality of Glasgow's Pakistani community should instead be critically positioned as *multi-dimensional* and *multiply inhabited*; a spatiality in which Pakistani success and prosperity is constituted through a whole host of engagements with *outside* agents, forces and people, *as well as* those of co-ethnic origin.

8.3 'Grounding' Hybridity: Companioning Culture and Political-economy

It is clear that the historical development of Glasgow's Pakistani community has been played out against a distinguishably 'global' context. Forces of global economic restructuring, propelled most recently by the advancement of a distinctly 'post-industrial' urban logic, have had defined consequences in Glasgow; this over a period in which the Pakistani population has itself departed from its embryonic status to form the city's largest non-white community by some way. Glasgow, as with many of Western Europe and North America's other heavy industrial centres, was forced to restructure and reprioritise along new and more competitive lines in response to savage losses in industrial infrastructure and employment. Through a prolonged programme of state and private-led encouragement, ailing industrial activities were replaced with rapidly expanding service and retail activities as the lynchpin of the Glaswegian economy (Lever, 1991). Through the local refraction of undoubtedly global patterns, then, Glasgow has become a much different city in which to live and work. Local, situated cultural practices in the realms of employment and housing, for instance, are therefore deeply permeated by *the global*. The 'culturalist' perspective favoured by the majority of ethnographic

studies into British-Pakistani life would evidently only go so far within this explanatory study of Glasgow-Pakistani suburbanisation. It was instead necessary to break from tradition and fuse culture *and* political economy into a united theoretical perspective, allowing for both a 'top down' and 'bottom up' re-creation of the suburbanisation process.

This 'critical cultural political economy' approach (Sayer, 2001) provided for the recovery of subtle, emancipative and much-welcome narratives of contemporary British-Pakistani experience. This refers to the successful deployment of young Pakistani 'hybrid' identities in emerging business and employment opportunities emblematic of Glasgow's 'new' urban economy. As well as establishing a relevant connection between grassroots cultural practice, wider issues of political-economy, and Glasgow turbulent industrial past, this approach allowed for the momentary displacement of stale, stereotypical and negative assessments of the contemporary British-Pakistani labour experience. Professionalisation, human capital, diversification and education all became relevant watchwords. This successful intertwining of hybridity and political economy augments Katharyne Mitchell's recent concerns that discussions of the former have so far unproductively remained isolated from the everyday, grounded practices of individual and community life (Mitchell, 1997a). Wary of the ongoing confinement of these ideas to the world of post-colonial identity politics (see the discussions of hybridity in Chapter Two), she is essentially concerned that they have so far been 'abstracted away' from the minority lives they are supposed to be representative of. My use of hybridity in this study corresponds with her subsequent call for a bringing of geography 'back in' so that an appropriate level of attention is given to the material, socio-spatial implications of these cultural forms (Mitchell, 1997b).

8.4 Re-theorizing the City: Glasgow Unbound

Such discussions reiterate how a relational reading of Glasgow offers positive insights into suburbanisation process. Rather than living enclosed or bounded lives apparently separate from contemporary forms of urbanism, an immutable part of the Pakistani existence is constituted through a range of interactions with a diverse range of people in Glasgow and elsewhere. Relational readings thus urge recognition of the fact that Pakistanis do not simply live *in* the city, but that they are

also part *of* it. Think here about the accumulated contribution made by white Glaswegians to Pakistani prosperity over the years, notably as consumers of the goods they sell and the services they provide. These external contacts and connections are not always of the 'peopled' variety, either. Witness the effect of state-driven policy change and The 1994 Shops Act on the entrepreneurial landscape, for example. And look at how the business landscape is now partly determined by Glasgow's positioning within, and connection to, a global geo-economy. The *type* of jobs now available to post-industrial workforces regulates the supply of migrant entrepreneurs (Kalra, 2000), creating extreme levels of competition in some areas, and prompting trailblazing successes into others. Consider, also, Glasgow's increasingly international labour market, and the preferences of Glasgow's new managerial and service elite (many of whom are in one way or another migrants to Glasgow themselves). While their tastes, preferences and overall lifestyles do not coordinate with the limited range of items normally in stock convenience retail outlets, there is harmony with the sorts of goods and services (home computers and home loans, for instance) that are increasingly offered elsewhere by Pakistanis. Then there are the (international) business supply chains and commodity networks via which items arrive in Pakistani-owned stores, takeaways and restaurants. And also the transnational technological and cultural fads transplanted to Glasgow from abroad, only to be appropriated by a new generation of Pakistani entrepreneur. Think, for instance, of a recently released model of mobile phone handset on sale in a Govanhill electronics boutique, shortly after winning rave reviews from Tokyo's business elite. Following Ash Amin (2004), the suburbanisation of Glasgow's Pakistani community, and the processes of wealth creation and distribution implicit within it, provide more evidence of how:

'Cities and regions come with no automatic promise of territorial or systematic integrity, since they are made through the spatiality of flow, juxtaposition, porosity and relational connectivity' (Amin, 2004: 34)

8.5 Final Comment: In What Sense a Unique Community?

‘Residentially, some districts are on their way to becoming fully fledged ghettos – black holes into which no-one goes without fear and trepidation, and from which no-one ever escapes undamaged. The walls are going up around many of our communities...We are sleepwalking our way to segregation. We are becoming strangers to each other and leaving communities to be isolated outside the mainstream’ Trevor Phillips, Chairperson, Commission for Racial Equality (CRE), September 2005⁷³

This thesis has shown Glasgow’s Pakistani community in a thoroughly positive light. Drawing upon primary and secondary data sources as well my own ‘inside’ knowledge, it portrayed a relatively affluent community with notably low levels of unemployment, a distinguishable history of migrant entrepreneurial success, and a promising knack for educational and professional attainment. It seems relevant to finish this study by giving some consideration to the *generisability* of these findings. Are they being repeated elsewhere across Britain, and, if so, where? This is a fitting ending point given how British-Muslims have become lightning rods for popular suspicion and criticism, and how British-Pakistani communities are frequently portrayed as amongst the most segregated and economically disenfranchised in the whole of the U.K. This suspicion surfaced most recently in a speech given by the Chairperson of the Commission for Racial Equality, who warned that Britain’s non-white communities were effectively ‘sleepwalking’ into segregation and ghettoization⁷⁴ (see above).

The following may at least be said with some authority: the ‘coming’ of second and later-generation Pakistanis within indigenous housing and labour markets is most definitely *not* just a Glasgow thing. Sharing the same half-century old New Commonwealth migratory history, Britain’s Pakistani communities are all of an approximate age and so they are all experiencing generational realignment. That this has had positive repercussions for community in Glasgow does not, however, mean that the same community ‘benefits’ will result from generational realignment elsewhere in Britain. Indeed, there are grounds for believing that in

⁷³ Extracts taken from ‘*After 7/7: Sleepwalking to Segregation*’, an address given to the Manchester Council for Community Relations, 22/9/05. <http://www.cre.gov.uk/Default.aspx?LocID-0hgnew07s.RefLocID-0hg00900c002.Lang-EN.htm>, accessed 25/9/05.

⁷⁴ While this polemic was not intended to focus on any minority-ethnic group in particular (Trevor Phillips actually stated that his sentiments were ‘not only, or even principally, about Muslims), the ‘7/7’ title of the speech does nevertheless condense proceedings around British-Muslim experience in particular.

some instances the opposite may be true, and that later-generations are actually contributing to endemic levels of residential segregation and economic marginality. This is certainly indicated by the problems young Pakistanis are facing in locations such as Oldham and Burnley, although how much of this is actually down to personal *choice* and individual desires to live segregation is open to question (such problematic conditions are of course also attributable to these areas' painful experiences of industrial job loss). Following on from this, it is also clear that Pakistanis in Glasgow are somewhat 'better off' than some of their English counterparts. I am relying again on the safe comparisons that can again be made between Glasgow and the 'textile towns', where Pakistani unemployment is much higher, and where the history of social conflict and racism seems that much more pronounced (I am specifically thinking here of recent incidences of social unrest involving Pakistani youths, and also the historical advances made by far-right groups such as the British National Party in these areas). I am also thinking of the disenfranchised and disaffected Pakistani youth 'counter cultures' of these areas (Amin, 2002). This was something I did not note in Glasgow.

Such questions of representation may of course be turned inwards and critically redirected at my own study. Just how representative are my findings? Am I guilty of projecting individual instances of prosperity and 'success' on to the community as a whole? Certainly my sample primarily consisted of suburban Pakistanis and so it is true that I am conveying a highly selective 'snapshot' of the community, not to mention an extremely skewed picture of attainment. Perhaps, for instance, I did not note an economically marginal youth culture-culture because *I did not specifically go out* to look for one, and it goes without saying that suburbia is the unlikely setting for such extreme instances of disenfranchisement. Taking heed of these limitations, it is thus necessary to acknowledge the limitations of this study. The findings are effectively my own interpretations of the most pertinent themes that resulted from discussions with approximately one hundred Pakistanis, who, incidentally, could all speak English, and who were all obviously 'integrated enough' to contribute to a PhD thesis carried out under the auspices of a Scottish university. I am therefore not claiming that these are conclusions are wholly representative of the situation in Glasgow. I do, however, remain adamant that they provide valid *and valuable* evidence of British-Pakistani success, prosperity, and social cohesion.

APPENDIX 1

INTERVIEWEE SUMMARY ('FG' denotes focus group respondent)

	Pseudonym (where cited in text)	Extracts included on page(s)	Gender	Age	Location	Occupation
1			M	28	Govanhill	Charity worker
2	Arif	114	M	62	Bearsden	Garage proprietor
3		161	F	31	Milngavie	Shop worker
4	Inzamam	149	F	57	Giffnock	Shop owner
5	Faiz	104	M	41	Newton Mearns	Shop owner
6			M	*	Shawlands	Chef
7	Yousuf	108	M	27	Newton Mearns	Store manager
8	Rozanna	74	F	39	Bearsden	Accountant
9			M	51	Pollokshields	Butcher
10	Qasim	114	M	49	Bearsden	Restaurateur
11	Mohammed	115	M	45	Bearsden	Shop owner
12			M	*	Clydebank	Chef
13			M	25	Govanhill	*
14			F	27	Govanhill	Bank worker
15	Tahir	117	M	58	Bearsden	Physicist
16			F	51	Pollokshields	*
17			M	*	Pollokshields	IT sales
18	Safdar	140	M	27	Pollokshields	Warehouseperson
19	Usman	109, 110	M	22	Mount Florida	Student
20			M	37	Dowanhill	Shop owner
21		161	F	30	Lenzie	Teacher
22			M	20	Kirkintilloch	Student
23	Rafiq	103	M	44	Giffnock	Shop owner
24			M	23	Newton Mearns	Student
25			M	56	Newton Mearns	Foreman
26			M	66	Kirkintilloch	*
27	Hamed	144, 145	M	28	Pollokshaws	Store manager
28	Purvaiz	139	M	20	Govanhill	Student
29			F	33	Baillieston	Store assistant (p/t)
30			M	37	Baillieston	
31	Akhtar	106	M	45	Bearsden	Shop owner
32			M	39	Govanhill	
33	Khalil	151,152	M	25	Shawlands	Shop worker
34			M	*	Milngavie	Insurance salesman
35	Kalda	119	F	28	Milngavie	Housewife Bar owner/restaurateur
36	Azhar	154	F	29	Milngavie	
37			M	34	Bishopbriggs	
38	Adeel	121	M	36	Govanhill	Fitness instructor
39	Uzma	114	F	58	Bearsden	Houswife
40			M	28	Govanhill	Chef
41			M	52	Newton Mearns	*
42			M	26	Giffnock	*
43	Farheen	160	F	31	Duntocher	Dental hygienist
44	Azma	110	F	20	Woodlands	Student

45			M	34	Bishopbriggs	Salesman
46	Umar	114	M	60	Bearsden	Post Office operator (retired)
47			M	23	Govanhill	Student
48			M	*	Govanhill	
49			M	24	Giffnock	*
50			M	40	Bishopbriggs	Salesman
51	Nasreen	102	F	38	Newton Mearns	Housewife
52			M	35	Govanhill	Removalman
53	Akram	111	M	21	Cathcart	Student
54			M	67	Milngavie	Retired
55	Fahad	119	M	41	Milngavie	Shop manager
56			M	29	Maryhill	Chef
57			M	31	Maryhill	Waiter
58	Nadeem	116	M	34	Bearsden	Accountant
59			M	50	Newton Mearns	Shop owner
60			M	56	Giffnock	Managing director
61	Shoaib	102	M	29	Milngavie	Shop owner
62	Muneer	146	M	62	Giffnock	Shop owner (retired)
63			M	45	Baillieston	Importer
64			M	41	Newton Mearns	*
65			M	24	Govanhill	Student
66			F	*	Govanhill	Housewife
67			M	32	Govanhill	Unemployed
68			F	36	Milngavie	Housewife
FG1			F	44	Govanhill	*
FG2		160	F	21	Gorbals	Secretary
FG3			F	48	Govanhill	Housewife
FG4		158	F	45	Pollokshields	*
FG5			F	*	Govanhill	*
FG6		157	F	63	Pollokshields	Housewife
FG7			F	*	Govanhill	Housewife
FG8		157,159	F	57	Govanhill	Housewife
FG9			F	*	Gorbals	*
FG10			F	*	Govanhill	*
FG11		160	F	30	Pollokshaws	Personal Assistant
FG12			F		Pollokshields	*
FG13	Abida	123	F	20	Govanhill	Student
FG14			F	*	Pollokshields	*
FG15	Sara	123	F	24	Pollokshields	Trainee bank clerk
FG16			F	63	Govanhill	*
FG17			F	*	Govanhill	Housewife
FG18			F		Pollokshields	*
FG19		159	F	67	Govanhill	Housewife
FG20		159	F	40	Shawlands	Housewife
FG21	Saima	122	F	35	Cathcart	Shop worker
FG22			F	*	Govanhill	*
FG23			F	59	Pollokshields	Housewife
FG24		160,161	F	39	Pollokshields	Travel agent
FG25			F	48	Govanhill	*

APPENDIX 2

QUESTIONNAIRE SCHEDULE

Pakistani in suburban area:

- 1) Did you have any particular aspirations when you entered the labour market?
- 2) Did you have any particular aspirations when you entered the housing market?
- 3) What made you move to (location)?
- 4) What are your overall thoughts on being a Pakistani within suburbia?
- 5) What would you say influences Pakistani's decisions to remain in 'traditional' area of Pakistani settlement such as Govanhill and Pollokshields in Glasgow?
- 6) To what extent would you say you mix with people 'like yourself' and not 'like yourself'?
- 7) What do you think will be the main characteristics of future patterns of Pakistani settlement in Glasgow?
- 8) How do you think (location) has changed over the years, and how have these changes affected you, either positively or negatively?

APPENDIX 2 contd.

Pakistani in 'traditional' area:

1. Did you have any particular aspirations when you entered the labour market?
2. Did you have any particular aspirations when you entered the housing market?
3. What led you (or your family) to settle in (location)?
4. What are your overall thoughts on being a Pakistani living within an area of traditional Pakistani settlement?
5. To what extent would you say you mix with people 'like yourself' and not 'like yourself'?
6. What would you say determines whether a Pakistani will remain in a 'traditional' area of Pakistani settlement such as Govanhill and Pollokshields in Glasgow?
7. Do you think you (your family) are likely to suburbanise in the future?
8. What do you think will be the main characteristics of future patterns of Glasgow-Pakistani settlement?
9. How do you think (location) has changed over the years, and how have these changes affected you, either positively or negatively?

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