Managing disrespect in tainted occupations: An ethnographic investigation into the recognition experiences of dirty workers and the strategies they use to cope with disrespect

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

by

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Abstract

While current literature has exhaustively explored stigmatic experiences of those engaging in dirty work, as well as agentic and socially derived esteem enhancing strategies adapted by these workers to manage taint; evidence of the implications from adopting these strategies remains contradictory. As such, this study aims to contribute further understanding by moving away from the current focus of affirming a positive identity, towards an understanding of self-actualisation. By drawing on Honneth's (1996) recognition theory this research seeks to provide further insights with regards to the experiences of disrespect faced by dirty workers. Thereafter, in seeking to address the shortcomings of Honneth's (1996) theory of recognition, this study draws on Bourdieu's (1977) concept of habitus to incorporate how structural processes and embedded presuppositions may influence experiences of disrespect amongst this particular group. Using an ethnographic study of dirty workers encompassing 32 semi structured interviews, 128 hours of participant observation and field notes, this study demonstrates that despite the continual adoption of discursive strategies, attainment of respect remains limited for these workers, due to a perceived lack of usefulness as well as decreasing security and autonomy at work. However, street cleaners and refuse workers draw on familial recognition in accordance with primary habitus in attempts to attain some form of positive recognition. Resultantly, this study demonstrates that street cleaners and refuse workers draw on intersubjective relations with family members and specific internalised beliefs such as the importance of work itself which align with the norms of their working class communities. As such, this study argues that in spite of lack of respect afforded to these workers, they continue to engage in the use of esteem enhancing strategies as they are restricted to drawing on discursive resources that align with their attainment of symbolic capital; that is, from adhering to working class norms and the limited respect of which they are afforded through familial recognition.

Key words: dirty work, recognition, habitus, disrespect, taint management

Declaration

I declare that this thesis is the result of my own independent research and that all sources have been duly acknowledged. The work presented here has not been submitted to any other institute of learning in support of any other degree or qualification.

Some of the material presented herein has already been published in the form of the following publications:

Slutskaya N., Morgan R., Simpson R., Simpson A. (2018) Does *Necessity Shield* Work? The Struggles of Butchers and Waste Management Workers for Recognition. In: Thomson S., Grandy G. (eds) Stigmas, Work and Organizations. Palgrave Explorations in Workplace Stigma. Palgrave Macmillan, New York.

Morgan, R.; Game, A. M. and Slutskaya, N. (2018). Qualitative Research through Documentary Filmmaking: Questions and Possibilities. In Cassell, C; Cunliffe, A. L. and Grandy, G, The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Business and Management Research Methods, p.329-345. Sage Publishing.

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Dedication

***My brother, Tom** – you can do anything you set your mind to*

Waste management operatives *– for the tireless effort you exert every day, thank you.*

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Part 1 - Introduction

1.1 Overview

Contrary to previous assumptions based on increasing technological change, recent times have not only seen a rise in employment in higher skilled work, but also a rise in the lowest skilled jobs (Goos et al., 2009). In the UK, jobs such as cleaning make up a large percentage of unskilled work. While manual work such as cleaning has not been directly impacted by technological change, the impact of technological change on 'middling' jobs, resulting in decline of these occupations; has been suggested to lead to a growth in unskilled work (Goos and Manning, 2007). A continuing increase in 'lousy jobs' (Goos and Manning, 2007) then has sparked further investigation with regards to the experiences of those occupying positions in these jobs in light of current market changes.

Existing research exploring the impact of neoliberalism on experiences of those occupying working positions that are seen as 'dirty' has demonstrated increasing struggles for these workers both socially and economically. Indeed, increased professionalisation of the cleaning industry and increased outsourcing has ultimately led to decreasing the standard of working conditions faced by cleaners on a daily basis (Tomic et al., 2006). The freedom at which organisations can enter the market and charge lower costs exacerbates difficulties faced by unions acting on behalf of cleaning operatives (Ryan and Herod, 2006). Resultantly, limited power of trade unions have rendered cleaners in a state of job insecurity with lower wages (Rowbotham, 2006; Ryan and Herod, 2006). In conjunction stems the irony from the expectation of cleaners to preserve symbolic spaces to present modernity (Tomic et al., 2006; Brody, 2006), whilst at the same time being excluded from the benefits of the 'modern neoliberal order' of which they are maintaining. Accompany this with a turn towards neoliberal policy, proposing freedom of choice (Beck and Beck-Gernshiem, 2002), neoliberalism has resulted in double taint for those occupying such low skilled dirty jobs, therefore increasing social and psychological burden for these workers (Ashforth and Krenier, 2014b). Consequently, this research turns towards a particularly marginalised and disrespected group, namely: street cleaners and refuse workers. In so doing, this study is able to highlight the struggles for disrespect amongst these men and provide explanation as to how this particular

group are able to cope with experiences of disrespect, despite increasing struggles for these workers both socially and economically.

Scholarly debates have revealed contradiction with regards to management of disrespect amongst those occupying positions in tainted occupations, that is, those working in occupations deemed as dirty, degrading or disgusting (Ashforth and Kreiner, 1999, Hughes, 1958). Certainly, while existing literature, broadly dissected into two perspectives: psychological (Ashforth and Kreiner, 1999) and social constructivist (Dick; 2005; Tracy and Scott, 2006; Simpson et al., 2014; Grandy and Mavin, 2014), has explored experiences of stigma, as well as exploring the implementation of certain strategies to mitigate the negative impact that occupying a position in a tainted occupation may have on identities; the outcome of implementing taint management strategies with regards to managing experiences of disrespect presents as contradictory. Indeed, recent research concerning low prestige physically tainted occupations scholars have argued that current literature may be projecting false optimism with regards to the management of stigma (Hughes et al., 2016). Hughes et al. (2016) indicate that the physicality of dirt both supports and undermines attempts to engage in strategies that manage stigma. While more recently, Slutskaya et al. (2018) despite finding that workers engaging in physical tainted occupations draw on aspects of traditional masculinity to affirm positive identity, labour market changes and decreasing valuation afforded to manual work has rendered this resource problematic. Additionally, the street cleaners and refuse workers in this case were unable to draw on a necessity shield (Ashforth and Kreiner, 2014) due to resultant stigma they attained from working for the council (Slutskaya et al., 2018).

This study has addressed the existing inconsistency regarding how those in tainted occupations manage disrespect by moving away from a focus on positive identity affirmation towards understanding realisation of the self. By incorporating an understanding of Honneth's (1996) recognition theory with regards to understanding how experiences of disrespect can impact on self-realisation of persons, this study has provided further insights in reference to experiences of disrespect amongst dirty workers. In addition, responding to calls from McNay (2008), this research has addressed shortcomings in Honneth's explanation of recognition, by incorporating an

understanding of Bourdieu's (1984) habitus to account for how power relations and subjectivity interplay. Resultantly, this study has demonstrated how those occupying positions in dirty jobs, in the modern neoliberal order of which is perpetuating disrespectful experiences, are limited to drawing on internalised dispositions to cope with disrespect.

What's more, the adoption of an ethnographic approach to this study has presented these workers with a space to be heard, in light of an era whereby they are deemed as forgotten (Slutskaya et al., 2016). Simultaneously, this research illuminates practical implications for managers which, if implemented, can potentially aid in reducing the experiences of disrespect faced by these workers.

1.2 Research Rationale

The initial catalyst for this research stemmed from personal motivations of my own. Specific interest into manual occupations originated from my upbringing. Indeed, from attending under performing schools in a deprived area within the South East of England resulted in many of my school friends entering manual labour jobs. Of these friends, many would convey their feeling of not being worthy to speak to me after my leaving the area to attend a red brick university. Moreover, both of my grandfather's had previously worked in low skilled manual jobs, in different areas across the UK, before the 1980's which encompassed a political and social movement with respect to valuing individualism and neoliberal ideology. This resulted in numerous difficulties for both of my parents' families.

As such then, in response to my own personal motivations, coinciding with research demonstrating increasing struggles amongst those in dirty low skilled work both socially and economically in the modern neoliberal order; this study sought to explore the disrespectful experiences faced by those in manual labour positions. Thus, attention was turned towards seeking out current insights existing in the literature in reference to those engaging in occupations deemed as tainted. What was uncovered then, was a lack of respect afforded to those in physically tainted occupations (Baran et al., 2016; Hughes et al., 2016; Slutskaya et al., 2018). Whilst this was also apparent for socially and morally tainted occupations, struggles for respect are perpetuated amongst those in physically demanding occupations due to

a lack of resources to draw on in order to manage their experiences of disrespect (Slutskaya et al., 2018).

1.3 Research Aim and Objectives

The theoretical background accompanied with the personal rationale for this study provided the backdrop for the construction of the overarching aim of this research: To investigate how dirty workers draw on certain strategies to manage disrespect.

In order to address this aim, the following research objectives were devised:

1) To explore current literature to understand current strategies used by dirty workers to manage taint

2) To draw on Honneth's recognition theory to understand how disrespect can manifest and be experienced by dirty workers

3) To explore how class and gender can play a role in managing disrespect for dirty workers.

Corresponding with the research objectives of this research are the following research questions:

1) How do street cleaners/refuse workers experience recognition and/or misrecognition?

2) What strategies do street cleaners and refuse workers use to cope with experiences of disrespect?

3) How does the use of certain strategies help/hinder street cleaners and refuse workers in coping with experiences of disrespect?

1.4 Thesis map

The content of this thesis is organised into six chapters. Firstly chapters one to three highlight the research background and research problem underlying the importance of this research. These chapters also present the research gap, thus together, illuminating the need for further investigation. The fourth chapter in this thesis seeks to provide justification for the research design and chosen methods to carry out the investigation that lies here within. Finally, the subsequent chapters, namely chapter

five and chapter six, demonstrate analysis and findings of this research, concluding with the contribution.

1.4.1 Background and problem statement

In highlighting the struggle for respect amongst those in physically tainted occupations (chapter one), chapter two has explored current dirty work literature with relation to experiences of disrespect and implementation of strategies to manage said experiences. Chapter three presents a conceptual turn towards focusing on self-realisation whilst incorporating an understanding of how underlying power relations shape individual experience; to further insights in relation to experiences of disrespect amongst this group.

1.4.2 Methodology

Chapter four discusses in-depth justification of the chosen methods for this research. Indeed, by using a critical realist ethnographic approach, a deeper understanding of experiences of street cleaners and refuse workers was sort, as well as the complex structures within which they find themselves intertwined. Additionally, a combination of participant observation, semi-structured interviews provided deep immersion (Cunliffe, 2010) for the everyday lives of these workers, resulting in rich and detailed accounts of their experiences (Saunders et al, 2015, Zickar and Carter, 2010), as a group unseen and unheard in society (Slutskaya et al., 2016). Adoption of this method contributed to achieving the aim of this study by enabling further insights into the recognition struggles of an overlooked group in society and the manifestation of coping mechanisms for disrespect.

1.4.3 Findings, contributions and conclusions

Chapter five depicts analysis and research findings of the interviews, participant observation and field notes, in-line with the pre-determined research questions previously stated. Chapter six provides a discussion of the research findings within the context of recent literature, in essence answering the research questions outlined previously. Finally, Chapter six draws conclusions of the research, including limitations and areas for future research, whilst highlighting contributions to both theory and practice.

Part 2 – Dirt and Dirty work

2.1 Introduction

The nature of working in close proximity to that which is seen as dirty is problematic when attempting to affirm a positive identity. In order to understand the experiences of dirty workers, those who engage in work that is deemed physically disgusting or degrading, one must first comprehend what constitutes dirt and how effects of working with dirt are managed. To this end, this chapter seeks to provide an explorative overview of current dirty work literature, particularly focusing on negative experiences that incur as a result of working in close proximity to dirt; as well as what particular strategies dirty workers use in order to manage the impact of their experiences. As such, the chapter takes the following form. Firstly, the chapter provides an introduction to the concept of dirt, followed by an overview concerning the foundations of dirty work. Thereafter, the concept of stigma and potential consequences of stigmatic experiences are discussed. The next section of the chapter is broadly split into two parts with regards to different perspectives shaping understandings of stigma management techniques, namely: psycho-social perspective and social-constructivist perspective. Finally, current learnings from the literature based on the effectiveness of stigma management strategies are reviewed.

2.2 Conceptualisation of dirt

Conceptions of dirt originated in ideas surrounding physical contamination and hygiene, for example bodily fluids or bacteria, material forms of dirt that can manifest pollution (Douglas, 1966). Douglas (1966) furthered the concept of dirt by not only considering the material aspects of dirt, but by also considering the symbolic nature of dirt. Indeed, she argues that "…our idea of dirt is compounded by two things, care for hygiene and respect for conventions" (Douglas, 1966, p.7). Therefore, dirt need not only refer to the physical cleanliness of a particular space or object, but also has a strong symbolic link to specific social rules set in particular societies. Resultantly, according to Douglas (1966), dirt is a socially constructed concept of which connotations are formed and adhered to on the basis of an individual's perspective, and the respective social rules with which an individual identifies with, dependent on different communities.

Focusing on the symbolic nature of dirt then, Douglas (1966) argues that which is seen to connote dirt is that which goes against the preferred order of a particular society. As she argues, "…our pollution behaviour is the reaction which condemns any object or idea likely to confuse or contradict cherished classifications." (Douglas, 1966, P.37). Thus, dirt is not an absolute category and what is classified as dirt may be different depending on the social order in different community groups (Douglas, 1966). Resultantly, notions of dirt represent symbolic social systems which reinforce classifications of social ordering in society (Douglas, 1966).

Dirt provides a symbolic basis for disorder in society, while cleanliness represents the sacred or upholding of social conventions within a social system (Douglas, 1966). As Douglas argues, "…where there is dirt, there is a system. Dirt is the by-product of a systematic ordering and classification of matter, in so far as ordering involves rejecting inappropriate elements" (Douglas, 1966, p.44). Therefore, that seen as dirty opposes order and that which is seen as sacred or pure. In Douglas' (1966) words one can define dirt then as: "…dirt as matter out of place" (p.36). In other words, dirt is that which goes against forms and conventions, that which does not contribute to order in society but rather represents disorder. Resultantly, dirt poses a threat to the social order and so must be removed or avoided to respect convention and symbolise the pure.

The social hierarchy whereby some have claim to higher status positions and some have claim to lower status positions is impacted by the symbolic notion of dirt. Indeed, the symbolic connotations of dirt as representing societal disorder are perpetuated through rules of avoidance (Douglas, 1966). For example, occupations that contain tasks with elements of physical dirt are deemed as low skilled and allocated to those lower in the social hierarchy. Nevertheless, avoidance rules are not deemed to be used as a form of degradation, but rather are seen to provide systematic order to society (Douglas, 1966).

2.3 Dirty work

Drawing on the work of Mary Douglas (1966) and her influential conceptualisation of dirt as opposing symbolic order, Hughes (1951, 1958) further highlighted the material and symbolic elements of dirt by exploring the concept of dirty work. Hughes' (1958) conception of dirty work, originating in his 1951 work, refers to occupations with roles

which engage in tasks deemed physically disgusting, or tasks that resemble degradation. Engagement in dirty work is required in order to deal with any matter that poses threat to the social order (Hughes, 1958, 1962). Resultantly, engaging in said tasks are argued to injure one's dignity (Hughes, 1958). Additionally, tasks deemed to be immoral may be classed as dirty work in society (Hughes, 1958).

In order to demonstrate his understanding of dirty work, Hughes draws on specific examples that illustrate how certain occupations, due to their 'dirty' nature, can lead to experiences of shame and injure one's dignity. Much of his work explored janitors (Hughes, 1958) and prison guards (Hughes, 1962). Said occupations are infused with an immoral aspect, reiterating the idea that the work is bad or impure, therefore posing threats to the dignity of the individual's partaking in such jobs (Hughes, 1958).

In his 1958 work on the experiences of janitors, Hughes argued that not only did physical contact with rubbish pose threat to the janitor's dignity, but rather the issue with those in the community they were serving posed a further threat through the creation of 'unacceptable waste'. Unacceptable waste was deemed to incorporate the extra difficulties created by members of the public which elicited a negative impact on the janitors daily work routine (Hughes, 1958).

Hughes argued that the physically dirty nature of such occupations was not the only reason dirty workers experience dignity struggles. In particular relation to janitors, he argued that in addition to the association with physical dirt, they also experienced social shame through having to serve others (Hughes, 1958). Thus, an occupation classed as dirty work may not only be physically tainted, but may also be socially tainted.

Hughes (1962) draws on Douglas (1966) to reiterate how dirty work is used to create distinctive groups in society. Those that engage in dirty work are in close proximity to dirt in all manner of forms, which threatens social order, therefore they are deemed as out-groups and must be separated from other members of society. In accordance with avoidance rules, in-groups will dissociate themselves from dirt whether it be physical, social or moral due to fear of contamination (Hughes, 1962). Nevertheless, dirt needs to be dealt with in order to retain social order, posing the need for the 'dirty worker' (Hughes, 1962).

Societal rules influence the type of work or occupations available for a man through a man's social status (Hughes, 1958). For example, a male of working class origin may be expected to engage in low skilled occupations involving manual labour. Everett Hughes' work on men and their work demonstrates that a man's work becomes an important aspect of his personality (Hughes, 1958). Indeed, work provides a basis for judgement of a man, not only by himself but by others (Hughes, 1958). As a result of the degrading aspect of dirty work through connotations of the work being immoral and impure, this type of work is generally left for those in the lower rungs of the social hierarchy (Hughes, 1958). Indeed, this work is carried out by individual's that have limited options with regard to occupation choices.

Dirty workers occupy tainted occupations, that is, elements of work which are seen to be dirty and elicit disgust in various forms (Hughes, 1951). In his 1962 work, Hughes noted that stigmatised groups carry out dirty work on behalf of society. As a result of stigmatised groups carrying out work that is seen to be dirty, others in society are able to see themselves as clean and superior beings (Hughes, 1962). Resultantly, people seek collective recognition for their work in order to infuse value in what they do (Hughes, 1958). In order to do this, insider rules are created within occupations which shape behaviours and roles of workers, thereby creating a collective entity which forms status and respect amongst insiders, and creates distance between insiders and outsiders (Hughes, 1958).

Nevertheless, Hughes argues that dirty work can be found in any occupation because all occupations involve contact with a stigmatised group which compromises personal dignity (Hughes, 1951, 1958). Certainly, it is difficult to find an occupation that does not illicit shame in some form (Hughes, 1958). However, one's place in the social hierarchy has an impact on how to manage the stigma which comes from working in a tainted occupation. For example, individuals with a higher social status engaging in dirty work, can draw on their privilege in order to better manage stigma. On the other hand, those with lower social standings will struggle to draw on positive aspects of identity and resultantly experience a negative impact on self-worth (Hughes, 1958). While Hughes (1958) did find that janitors were able to sort power over tenants through access to their personal information as a result of

handling their waste (Hughes, 1958), thus arguably providing some of claiming dignity, the janitors were found not to exert this power (Hughes, 1958).

Hughes (1958) argued that the psychological and social consequences faced by dirty workers as a result of working with dirt are bound to be largely overlooked (Hughes, 1958). He further stated the likelihood that people occupying positions in dirty occupations will face a long term battle for status and struggle to affirm a positive identity (Hughes, 1958).

Drawing on Hughes' influential grounding of dirty work, Ashforth and Kreiner (1999) elaborate on the different types of taint previously highlighted by Hughes. Physical taint involves direct contact with rubbish such as a cleaner or occupations with dangerous working conditions such as a firefighter (Ashforth and Kreiner, 1999). Contrarily, social taint consists of regular and close proximity with stigmatised groups (Ashforth and Kreiner, 1999) for example, a prison guard or a mental health worker. Additionally one may encounter social taint through a servant relationship in their job role (Ashforth and Kreiner, 1999). Moral taint involves working in a sinful occupation or an occupation which is against civility (Ashforth and Krenier, 1999).

Although forms of taint have been identified using separate categories, including physical, social and moral taint, one must not conclude that forms of taint are mutually exclusive. Indeed, Ashforth and Kreiner (2014) argue that the common assumption of clean representing good and dirt representing bad results in physical taint always being accompanied by moral taint.

Not only did Ashforth and Kreiner explain physical, moral and social taint in more depth, they also added another dimension in the form of occupational prestige to try to enhance understandings of how individuals in tainted occupations experience the resultant stigma from working in an occupation that is tainted. In doing so, they suggest that those with relatively high occupational prestige such as a police officer, can use a status shield to negate the negative impact that occupying tainted work may have on affirming a positive self-identity. Whereas, low occupational prestige work, for example the job role of a street cleaner, lacks a protective status shield. For those occupying positions in low prestige dirty work then, building and affirming a

positive self-identity becomes problematic due to insults on the self (Ashforth and Kreiner, 2014).

Kreiner et al., (2006) challenge the current dirty work literature for overlooking the complexity of dirty work by grouping different occupational types under the same umbrella term, arguing that difference found between occupational groups stems beyond physical, moral and social taint. Resultantly, this somewhat simplistic classification omits the complexity involved in responses to stigma, both on an individual and collective level (Kreiner et al., 2006). Firstly, they extend the categorisation of dirty work occupations by creating new concepts including pervasive stigma, compartmentalised stigma, diluted stigma and idiosyncratic stigma (Kreiner et al., 2006). Pervasive stigma refers to "…occupations that are socially defined by their strongly stigmatised tasks or work environment" (p.622). Compartmentalised stigma refers to "…occupations where only some tasks are strongly stigmatised" (p.622). Diluted stigma refers to "…occupations where stigma is predominant but mild" (p.622). While, idiosyncratic stigma refers to "…occupations where tasks are neither routinely nor strongly stigmatised" (p.622). The particular group dirty workers belong to will influence their experience of stigma.

2.4 Stigma and identity struggles

Before entering dirty work occupations, people are exposed to pre-existing assumptions of cleanliness and dirt, equating to good and bad respectively, which become internalised by society and the workers themselves (Ashforth and Kreiner, 1999). Therefore dirty workers, due to their close proximity to dirt whether through physical, social or moral taint face stigmatisation which ultimately leads to struggles in affirming a positive identity.

The term stigma was initially coined by Goffman, defining it as "…an attribute that is deeply discrediting" and proposes that the stigmatised person is reduced "…from a whole and usual person to a tainted, discounted one" (Goffman, 1963, p.3). In other words, stigma is a particular aspect or set of aspects which invades perceptions of an individual to the end that they are then seen as tainted. Goffman (1963) argued that stigma is a socially constructed concept, grounded within social interactions and exchanges. Embedded social perceptions of an individual, also known as "…virtual

social identity" (p.2) are at odds with the actualised characteristics of an individual, known as "…actual social identity", which forms a stigmatised identity (Goffman, 1963). It is the interactions with multiple social identities then that lead to the occurrence of a stigmatised identity (Goffman, 1963).

In dirty work, a stigmatised identity is formed based on negative stereotypes which are attributed to those who engage in dirty work (Crocker et al., 1998), thus dirty workers are rendered as outsiders (Bolton, 2005). Tokyoki and Brown (2014) propose that "…a stigmatised identity is an effect of power and can marginalise an individual, resulting in that person being disqualified from full societal acceptance" (p.715). Indeed, stigma then helps to demonstrate power relations in that those with a stigmatised identity are demonised in some sense rendering them without full acceptance in society.

In seeking to understand the impact of stigma, Perry (1978) argues that "…there are dire consequences for someone who feels stuck in an occupation that robs him of his personhood or, at best, continually threatens his personhood for eight hours a day" (p.7). That is, those that are working in a tainted occupation will experience identity struggles during their working hours, if not beyond. Concurringly, Baran et al. (2012) propose that "…our results suggest that being involved in a dirty task affects key well-being outcomes for those who conduct dirty work and likely functions as a risk to employees' internal resources for coping with occupational stressors" (p.614). Moreover, they demonstrate that engaging in tasks deemed as dirty seems to coincide with limited attainment of social relationships outside of work, therefore leading to decreased satisfaction at work and increased negative well-being outcomes (Baran et al., 2012).

However, some scholars have argued that dirt may not always have stigmatic effects which result in struggles for identity. In their study exploring the work of car technicians, Dant and Bowles (2003) found that in opposition to much of the dirty work literature, in this case, dirt is perceived as a material problem rather than a culturally infused symbolic issue. Indeed, car technicians are seen to view dirt as a matter of hygiene and operational importance (Dant and Bowles, 2003). They argue that while society generally distances themselves from dirt and those that occupy positions in dirty work, resulting in devaluation, in this particular case, practical

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considerations of how to manage dirt are what underlines work practices (Dant and Bowles, 2003). In addition, in the case of prisoners, some participants sought pride from their prisoner identities, thus rather than being internalised as stigmatic, they perceived their prisoner status as a choice (Tokyoki and Brown, 2014).

While Baran et al. (2012) propose that if a dirty worker identifies their main task as negative, they may have internalised an outsider perception of the work which may influence attempts to construct a positive identity. Engaging in a large number of dirty tasks alone may provide a space for the dirty worker to distance from the stigma of occupying such a position (Baran et al., 2012). However, prolific perceptions of the work as negative induce difficulties with distancing oneself from the stigma as the dirty identity may become internalised in the psyche (Baran et al., 2012).

Yet, research suggests that in general stigma associated with occupying a position in a dirty occupation seems to stain the body, a stain which stays throughout someone's occupational life as the work itself is perceived to be internalised (Ashforth and Kreiner, 2014b). Anyone that faces close encounters with dirt are at risk of experiencing staining, that is where dirt is attached to the body as a result of some form of pollution (Höpfl, 2012). A stain can be physical, emotional or symbolic in nature and represents a visible indicator against order (Vachhani, 2012). For example, blood stains from handling meat carcasses are a physical representation of dirt that is against the order of cleanliness in society, thus both physical and symbolic in nature (Vachhani, 2012).

In dirty work, staining is the physical representation of taint (Vachhani, 2012). In this sense, staining does not only display in a material sense, for example through contact with waste in the case of street cleaners or butchers, but can also symbolically mark one's sense of self (Simpson and Simpson, 2018). Nevertheless, physical stains can also provide a source of honour for those engaging in dirty work (Vachhani, 2012). Indeed, in the case of slaughtermen, it has been documented that these particular dirty workers take pride from attaining blood stained clothing, due to its connotations of masculinity (Ackcroyd and Crowdy, 1990). Thus, the meaning attributed to stains in a physical sense will be context specific, producing different meanings in and across different social spaces (Vachhani, 2012).

Additionally, the stigma that attaches to an individual working in an occupation deemed as dirty is likely to stick, despite leaving the tainted occupation. Bergman and Chalkley (2007) sought to explain how a stigmatised identity is not automatically removed after a person has left a tainted occupation through their concept of stickiness. They suggest that stickiness occurs once an individual has left their tainted work roles and internal attributions do not change (Bergman and Chalkley, 2007). That is, the perception that dirty workers engage in such work and are stigmatised as a result of their own doing. Furthermore, they argue that stickiness will be stronger for outsiders in comparison to the dirty workers themselves as in order to protect their own self-worth, they need to maintain the boundary of insiders and outsiders, whereby the dirty workers remain stigmatised (Bergman and Chalkey, 2007).

Factors influencing stickiness include immorality, visibility, onset-controllability and offset-controllability (Bergman and Chalkley, 2007). In addition, they suggest that the period of time working within dirty work and how the work ended are also key influencers (Bergman and Chalkey, 2007). With regards to immorality, they suggest that engaging in a morally tainted occupation would increase chances of stickiness due to the strong negative conceptions by outsiders that the work is bad or unethical, which they would associate with the internal characteristics of the worker themselves (Bergman and Chalkley, 2007). In addition, the concealment or non-concealment of the work in social spaces will impact the occurrence of stickiness. Indeed, the more visible the taint is, the more likely stickiness is to occur (Bergman and Chalkley, 2007). In reference to onset and off-set controllability, the greater perception that a dirty worker has control over entering and continuing to work in a tainted occupation would increase the chances of stickiness (Bergman and Chalkey, 2007). Furthermore, they argue that the chances of stickiness will be impacted by the perception that someone has chosen to continue their tainted work as well as the length of time doing the work and how the exit process occurred. For example, if the perception is that of the dirty worker has chosen to engage in said work, and they have worked in the occupation for a longer period of time, stickiness will be higher as the perception is that they would have had the choice to leave sooner (Bergman and Chalkey, 2007).

Indeed, they argue that the concept of stickiness may in fact explain particular work patterns of those engaging in a dirty work occupation (Bergman and Chalkley, 2007). Whereas, the dirty worker, instead of an internal locus of control in respect to the positioning of their dirty worker status, will exhibit external attributions, thus, their experience of the factors influencing stickiness will be different (Bergman and Chalkley, 2007). With regards to immorality, dirty workers are more likely to position themselves as moral citizens, doing what they have to in order to survive and provide for their families (Bergman and Chalkey, 2007). Thus, the experience of stickiness is likely to be lower in this sense (Bergman and Chalkey, 2007). In reference to onset-controllability, instead of attaining the perception that they had choice in acquiring work, they are more likely to perceive lack of control with the initial engagement in a dirty work occupation (Bergan and Chalkey, 2007). They are likely to feel that they had no occupational choice yet had to work in order to provide for their families (Bergman and Chalkley, 2007). Similarly, in reference to off-set controllability, dirty workers will again exhibit an external locus of control, whereby they equate external factors whereby the situational context requires them to continue with the work, such as they don't have the option to end the work because they need to sustain regular income (Bergman and Chalkey, 2007).

Nevertheless, there are factors that may arguably impact experiences of stickiness including at what time an outsider or observer acquires the information of the dirty workers past engagement with a tainted occupation (Bergman and Chalkey, 2007). For example, if an outsider is to meet the dirty worker and initially associate strongly positive connotations to the person, to which they later find out they used to engage in dirty work, the stickiness may be less (Bergman and Chalkey, 2007).

Additionally, the period of time that has passed since the work has ended impacts experiences of stickiness (Bergman and Chalkey, 2007). Indeed, the more time that passes means that more positive attributes can be connected to the previous dirty worker which could again result in a reduction in the experience of stickiness (Bergman and Chalkey, 2007). Finally, the new associated status that is attributed to the dirty worker, once they have left the tainted occupation is a further consideration with regards to the impact of stickiness (Bergman and Chalkey, 2007). In this case, the experience of stickiness may be reduced if the previously stigmatised dirty work

attains a higher status than that of the outsider or observer that has not engaged in dirty work (Bergman and Chalkley, 2007).

The experience of stickiness results in a continuation of stigmatisation. Outsiders will still acquaint a stigmatised identity onto the previous dirty worker and thus the former dirty worker will continue to experience degradation (Bergman and Chalkley, 2007). This attack on self-identity may be higher as the dirty worker no longer has the resource of belonging to the stigmatised group of insiders and is not accepted as one of the outsider group (Bergman and Chalkley, 2007).

This poses questions as to how dirty workers manage the resultant stigma they face from working in a tainted occupation in order to affirm a positive sense of self. Scholars have explored how those occupying said positions manage stigma and try to reaffirm a positive self-identity. To this end, the dirty work literature has been broadly divided into two schools of thought: the psychological perspective and the social constructivist perspective. The psychological perspective sees identity as fixed and stable, whereas, the social constructivist perspective sees identity as ever changing, 'a social accomplishment', contingent on a 'specific social context' (Dick, 2005, p.1373).

2.5 Psychological Perspective

The key scholars at the forefront of the psychological perspective in the dirty work literature are Ashforth and Kreiner. Ashforth and Kreiner (1999) identified various strategies that individuals in tainted occupations draw on in order to maintain a positive self-identity when working for an occupation that is tainted.

2.5.1 Work groups

Firstly, dirty workers build associations to strong work group cultures "…that is, widely shared and deeply held systems of values, beliefs, and norms – with attendant ideologies and social weighting processes" which helps to protect members of dirty job roles from the social stigma they face (Ashforth and Kreiner, 1999, p.414). Indeed, Goffman (1963) argues the importance of in-group networks for those that are stigmatised, suggesting that a mutual connection based on the sharing of stigma may allow the development of coping strategies and alternative interpretations of stigmatisation. Work practices and the threat of danger help to

cultivate strong work group cultures, a culture of togetherness (Ashforth and Kreiner, 1999).

Work groups are formed under certain conditions including collective socialisation, high task independencies and physical proximity between individuals, clear boundaries and isolation and group longevity (Ashforth and Kreiner, 1999). On the other hand, physical isolation, high turnover and interpersonal competition and rewards, inhibit formation of work groups in dirty work (Ashforth and Kreiner, 1999). For example, those working as refuse collectors face a higher turnover of staff and an increase in agency workers (Simpson et al, 2014b) which leads to higher levels of isolation and a weaker collective culture between workers. Resultantly, a psychological boundary of 'us versus them' increases difference and isolation (Ashforth and Kreiner, 1999). Nonetheless, strong work group cultures enhance self-esteem of individuals that work in dirty job roles.

2.5.2 Occupational ideologies

Strong work group cultures provide a strong basis to adopt occupational ideologies in order to provide meaning to work and affirm a positive self-identity for those engaging in dirty work roles. Indeed, the purpose of occupational ideologies is to "…transform the meaning of the stigmatised work by simultaneously negating and devaluing negative attributes and creating or revaluing positive ones" (Ashforth and Kreiner, 1999, p.421). Dirty workers are able to turn negative parts of their job roles into positives by using reframing, recalibrating and refocusing techniques, however, this does not result in acceptance from outsiders (Ashforth and Kreiner, 1999). Reframing involves transforming the meaning of stigmatised groups through infusing or neutralising (Ashforth and Kreiner, 1999). Infusing is where stigma is permeated with positive value, thus transforming it into a badge of honour (Ashforth and Kreiner, 1999). Whereas, neutralising consists of negating stigmatised elements of the work. For example, denying responsibility of a negative event within the job, by shifting the responsibility onto 'it's just the job' (Ashforth and Kreiner, 1999). Furthermore, dirty workers also use 'denial of the victim' as a reframing tactic, whereby the worker suggests that perpetrators deserve what is coming to them. This may be particularly relevant for morally tainted occupations such as border patrol officers. For reframing to be adopted successfully, a strong occupational work group is required (Ashforth and Kreiner, 1999).

Recalibrating involves retelling and reliving the positive aspects of a job role (Ashforth and Kreiner, 1999). Recalibration entails "…adjusting the perceptual and evaluative standards can make an undesired and ostensibly large aspect seem smaller and less significant and a desired but small aspect seem larger and more significant" (Ashforth and Kreiner, 1999, p.). It is best to implement the recalibration strategy if the work group culture is weaker. Refocusing involves concentrating on specific non-stigmatised elements of the work (Ashforth and Kreiner, 1999). Workers will focus on the positive aspects of the work while minimising the stigmatised elements. Occupational ideologies including reframing, recalibrating and refocusing are not mutually exclusive (Ashforth and Kreiner, 1999).

2.5.3 Social weighting techniques

In addition to the use of occupational ideologies, those occupying positions as dirty workers use social weighting. Social weighting techniques include condemning the condemners, supporting the supporters and selective social comparisons (Ashforth and Kreiner, 1999). The use of social weighting requires a strong work group culture. For example, Bosman et al. (2015) argues that domestic cleaners seek to enhance their self-esteem through identification with their own group relative to comparison groups. Furthermore, domestic cleaners make downward comparisons such as comparing to those that are unemployed. Nevertheless, social weighting poses difficulties in positive identity formation as clusters of certain groups in low prestige work normalises the divide between insiders and outsiders, thus retaining or perpetuating stigma amongst those occupying positions in low prestige dirty work (Ashforth and Kreiner, 2014b).

While some domestic workers like to engage in in-group favouritism that is, a preference towards interacting with in-group members, others engage in out-group favouritism (Bosmans et al. 2015). Out-group favouritism involves a preference towards interacting with out-group members and is accompanied by internalising the stigma attached to one's occupation (Bosman et al. 2015). As a result, out-group favouritism generally leads to possessing a negative sense of self (Bosmans et al. 2015). Examples of out-group favouritism used by domestic workers include a preference for social mobility, often stating importance of wanting to study for more highly educated jobs. Additionally, domestic workers would stress that cleaning lacks

the need for qualifications, thus reinforcing negative perceptions of their work (Bosmans et al. 2015).

2.5.4 Avoidance tactics

Moreover, domestic workers use avoidance tactics as a coping strategy to manage stigma. For example, cleaners would often work away from their home towns in order to hide their occupation (Bosmans et al. 2015). Consequently, stigma is maintained or perpetuated (Bosmans et al, 2015). On the contrary, slaughterhouse workers exert more effort to defend their occupational tasks to an outsider group (Baran et al. 2016). However, this results in resource drain (Baran et al. 2016).

2.6 Social constructivist perspective

While Ashforth and Kreiner do acknowledge the social construction of dirt by arguing, "…the more given occupation is performed by 'dirty people' – or otherwise marginalised groups – the more likely that the occupation will be socially constructed by others as dirty work" (Ashforth and Kreiner, 2014b, p.432); they overlook its socially constructed nature (Dick, 2005), by failing to explore the impact of external discourses of power on taint management (Tracy and Scott, 2006). Indeed, Dick (2005) argues that dirt relates to ideological societal beliefs that maintain societal order in what is right and wrong. While diversion away from the ideological may threaten moral order, it may also threaten the power held by groups in society that set the boundaries imposed on society (Dick, 2005). Drawing on Goffman's concepts of 'front' and 'back' regions (1959), Dick (2005) argues that social construction of identity can be demonstrated through 'front' and 'back' regions. Back regions include interactions with colleagues, friends and family where an individual can feel safe and relaxed. Whereas, front regions involve an 'audience' so the individual may feel they have to present their work to suit societal ideals (Dick, 2005). Supportively, Tokyoki and Brown (2014) have suggested that "…stigmatised identities are held with others in repertoires of simultaneously existing self-narratives from which individuals can draw selectively according to the context and purpose of interaction" (p. 729).

2.6.1 Exploring physical, moral and social taint

Scholars founded in the social constructivist perspective have been able to draw on and identify with Ashforth and Kreiner's (1999) understanding of tainted occupations

in dirty work. For example, Rivera and Tracy (2014) explain how border patrol agents experience physical taint by putting their bodies in danger and acting as first response to the wounded. Additionally, Ackroyd and Crowdy (1990) and Simpson et al (2011) state how butchery is physically dirty through the handling of meat carcasses, blood and other bodily fluids. Moreover, Grady and Mavin (2014) argue that exotic dancers may experience physical taint as a result of using dirty poles in 'dangerous zones'. On the other hand, Tracy and Scott (2006) found that correctional officers experience physical taint through the tasks of cleaning up faeces and completing strip searches, whereas firefighters face physical taint through death and dangerous working conditions. Furthermore, street cleaning is physically tainted as a result of picking up dirt (Simpson et al, 2014).

Exotic dancers face regular contact with stigmatised groups in society such as 'sleazy men', as well as being part of a servant relationship for this particular group, resulting in social taint (Grady and Mavin, 2014). Simultaneously, exotic dancers face moral taint as a result of sexual contact with multiple people (Grady and Mavin, 2014). Exotic dancers experience a wide range of negative emotions as a result of the stigma they face from occupying a position in a tainted occupation (Grady and Mavin, 2014). Some of the emotions they experience include disgust, shame, fear of rejection, insecurity, guilt, anger, humiliation and jealousy (Grady and Mavin, 2014).

While the work of border patrol agents is morally tainted through the capture and deportation of illegal immigrants, by using some level of force (Rivera and Tracy, 2014). Rivera and Tracy (2014) report how patrol officers feel tension between their roles and the moral taint that they face. In this case, tension further provokes anxiety as correctional officers want to do the job they are paid to do; however they also feel compassion for some immigrants (Rivera and Tracy, 2014). In this form, compassion is a negative emotion and it is followed by experiences of guilt and helplessness as a result of not being able to do enough for certain immigrants in dire need. However, Rivera and Tracy (2014) also found that patrol officers experience pride in the toughness they must develop in order to manage the stigma associated with this work.

Furthermore, Dick (2005) explores how police officers experience moral taint due to moral ambiguity regarding the tasks they do and the people that they deal with. As Dick (2005) notes, "…they symbolise the possibility of potential disorder that inheres in any fragmented social system threatening our cherished way of life and its habits, customs and routines" (p.1384). That is, police officers are a representation of social disorder which threatens the idea of a moral way of life, therefore the occupation is shadowed with moral taint.

Additionally, scholars founded in this perspective have further highlighted that forms of taint are not mutually exclusive. For example, butchery is physically tainted due to involvement with blood, meat and knives (Simpson et al, 2011). However, it is also morally tainted as a result of moral concerns of slaughtering animals (Simpson et al, 2011). Furthermore, while correctional officers are faced with physical taint as part of their work roles, they also experience social taint as a result of working with clients that are stigmatised, namely criminals (Tracy and Scott, 2006). Similarly, firefighters experience social taint from working with stigmatised clients, e.g. 'caring for shitbums'. This goes against heroism, masculinity, physical and emotional strength which is the general social impression of a firefighter (Tracy and Scott, 2006). While correctional officers encounter moral taint through a perception they are cruel (Tracy and Scott, 2006).

Moreover, Border patrol agents experience physical, social and moral taint (Rivera and Tracy, 2014). They experience physical taint as a result of having to put their bodies in danger and deal with wounded immigrants. They further experience social taint due to working closely with immigrants and criminals, while also experiencing moral taint as a consequence of seeking to capture and deport immigrants with force. Despite working in an occupation that was physically, morally and socially tainted, correctional officers are able to manage stigma from the possession of a status shield as a result of members of the public seeing their work as just and essential for the good of the community (Rivera and Tracy, 2014).

In addition, Tracy and Scott (2006) identify with Ashforth and Kreiner's understanding of occupational prestige and how this can affect the degree of taint attached to an occupation. Indeed, although firefighters do work in a physically

tainted occupation through working in dangerous conditions which can be deemed as life threatening, while also being socially tainted due to the calibre of some of their clients, firefighters possess a status shield through an idealised iconic image (Tracy and Scott, 2006). They possess an iconic badge of honour which they are able to draw on for high self-esteem.

Scholars founded in this perspective have also further highlighted that dirty workers draw on work group culture and occupational ideologies to manage the stigma they face. For example, street cleaners sort some benefits as a result of close group cohesion, as Simpson et al. (2014b) argue "…devaluation and lack of recognition affect the daily work experience and translate arguably into strong occupational cultures based on shared camaraderie which helps to give meaning to work" (p.197). Certainly, in the case of private security officers, the creation of an informal work culture helps to mitigate stigma (Lofstrand et al., 2016). This culture incorporates shared values which help to reframe the work as meaningful, thus increasing the value of the occupation (Lofstrand et al., 2016).

Similarly, Dick (2005) states that dirty workers lack support from external communities, resulting in development of a strong in group identity for internal legitimation. Additionally, Ackroyd and Crowdy (1990) found that slaughtermen choose not to delve outside of their local pubs for social gatherings as they prefer not to discuss their background with outsiders. Furthermore, prisoners relished the social support that they received from other inmates (Tokyoki and Brown, 2014). Certainly, prison seemed to provide them with a space to form a supportive community of which they had previously struggled to achieve (Tokyoki and Brown, 2014).

Additionally, association to a union has been argued to help reduce the negative effects experienced as a result of stigma for janitors (Soni-Sinha and Yates, 2013). Not only does union membership aid with material resources such as increased pay and holidays, but it seemingly aids in the construction of a different and more positive identity for those engaging in dirty work (Soni-Sinha and Yates, 2013). For example, janitors were able to rebel against discrimination and felt heard as a result of being part of a union. Additionally, better resources in terms of money and holiday which resulted

from belonging to a union helped to reaffirm the value of their work (Soni-Sinha and Yates, 2013).

Firefighters use the technique of infusing in order to turn dirt into an iconic badge of honour (Tracy and Scott, 2006). Whereas, correctional officers engaged in neutralising through the use of linguistic control in order to manage ambivalent feelings that accompany the work (Rivera and Tracy, 2014). For example, they would use phrases such as 'my hands are tied' in order to mitigate some of the ambivalent feelings they had as a response to immoral tasks which were part of the job (Rivera and Tracy, 2014). Linguistic control then helped to normalise the ambivalent emotions experienced as part of their work (Rivera and Tracy, 2014). While certain dirty workers belong to physically tainted occupations would engage in neutralising and infusing. Certainly, in work on butchers in America, Meara (1974) found that butchers are able to sort pride from being able to engage in work that others would struggle to do, thus reframing themselves through the work they do in an honourable way. Additionally, care aides took pride in being able to engage and thrive in very dirty tasks which were part and parcel of working as a care aide, tasks that many people would squirm at just by thinking of them, such as dealing with people's excrement (Stacey, 2005). Therefore, care aides would engage in both placing responsibility of engagement in dirty tasks onto the job, while reframing themselves as honourable in that they relish completing tasks that others would struggle to do.

Additionally, firefighters engage in recalibrating techniques by focusing on the dangerous aspects of their work, such as fighting fires to help maintain positive self-esteem (Tracy and Scott, 2006). While Johnston and Hodge (2014) argue that those occupying positions in physically tainted occupations may refocus dirty parts of their work by focusing on toughness and strength, typical attributes required to complete such tasks. Whereas, funeral directors and morticians seek to distance themselves from 'dirtier' aspects of their work in order to manage stigma (Thompson, 1991). Indeed, Thompson (1991) suggests that morticians and funeral directors engage in work redefinition by trying to shift the focus of their work away from handling dead bodies towards the positive connotations of providing an essential service of work aiding the families at a vulnerable time.

Moreover, exotic dancers engage in refocusing by concentrating on how their work enabled financial empowerment and self-employment (Grandy, 2008). While, prisoners would focus on specific attributes that stemmed from having a prisoner status such as having the time and space to improve oneself (Tokyoki and Brown, 2014). In a similar vein, dirty workers have been found to refocus on non-stigmatised aspects of their work through autonomy afforded to them due to their working positions. For example, Stacey's (2005) research exploring how care workers attach meaning to their work demonstrated that care aides seek dignity from engaging in a dirty occupation by focusing on the practical autonomy afforded to them on a daily basis. Indeed, while they were governed by occupational rules and processes, due to the nature of their work requiring constant movement and the lack of direct monitory supervision this afforded them, they were able to make their own rules in some sense. Indeed, the care aides would ensure that they spend a sufficient amount of time to carry out duties that were needed, in spite of regulatory practices concerning how long they should spend on each task (Stacey, 2005). Additionally, some aides would engage in medical services such as dressing bandages, despite such processes being forbidden, a challenge to which some took pride in doing (Stacey, 2005).

Likewise, female cleaners in a Bangkok shopping mall would seek autonomy through certain practices that bent the rules of the shopping mall, such as eating their lunch amongst the general public, breaking the dividing barrier reinforcing their position as an invisible entity, hired to clean but not be seen (Brody, 2006). Furthermore, they also sort autonomy through creating future plans whereby they use money they earned to initiate start-up ventures and supporting their families by investing in land (Brody, 2006).

In addition, those in masculine dominated occupations such as builders were also able to draw on the autonomy they attain through this type of work (Thiel, 2007). Similarly, in an attempt to manage the stigmatic consequences of working in a slaughterhouse, workers would create their own forms of autonomy by engaging in horseplay and occupational sabotage such as throwing bits of meat at each other (Thompson, 1983), amongst other strategies. Other strategies such as having breaks which deviated from the imposed schedule. Nevertheless, the underlying way

that stigma was managed in this case was through a collective sense of belonging which was achieved amongst the workers and reinforced a sense of self-worth (Thompson, 1983).

However, McCabe and Hamilton (2015) highlight how, particularly in unskilled work such as meat inspectors, technological changes has contributed to decreased autonomy at a group and individual level (McCabe and Hamilton, 2015). Therefore, posing problems for those engaging in such occupations to use autonomy as a resource to help build self-esteem in relation to work identity. As depicted by Meara (1974) in his research on butchers, dignity is found from autonomy afforded in their job roles, whereas reduction in autonomy decreases feelings of pride.

Some workers will be able to compensate for the loss of autonomy by focusing on unique skills afforded to them through their work roles, which could indeed aid in career progression. For example, care aides sought pride in expressing that engagement in their work provided them with a unique skill set of which they could put to further use in other careers in the future (Stacey, 2005). Regardless of whether the care aides planned to move into different careers or whether they sought to stay in their current position, the acquired caregiving skill set that they attained generally elicited a sense of pride and honour through engaging in this type of dirty work (Stacey, 2005). Similarly, room attendants are seen to argue that their work is skilled owing to the fact that not everyone could carry it out (Powell and Watson, 2006). Additionally, the room attendants possess territorial feelings with regard to ensuring the rooms looked immaculate and presentable (Powell and Watson, 2006). In so doing, they are able to affirm a positive identity for themselves, despite social degradation (Powell and Watson, 2006). However, for workers engaging in unskilled low prestige dirty work such as cleaning, occupations generally seen as physically tainted, they would not necessarily be provided with a skill-set to which they could use in order to progress within the modern economy.

In their analysis of dirty work struggles using the context of exotic dancers, Grady and Mavin (2014) found that the workers engaged in social weighting techniques including condemning the condemners, equating to feeling disgust towards the people using their services. While, exotic dancers distanced themselves from dirty dancers by creating a distinction between clean and dirty – the good girl and dirty

dancer (Grandy, 2008). Additionally, prisoners would often engage in a strategy of differentiation whereby they would assert their difference over other prisoners (Tokyoki and Brown, 2014). Indeed, here the prisoners would identify them as special and therefore above those of normal prisoner status (Tokyoki and Brown, 2014). Whereas, builders sought to reinforce a positive identity within society by selectively comparing themselves to the unemployed, often referring to them as 'scroungers', as well as comparing themselves to immigrants and criminals to reinforce their own elevated status (Thiel, 2007). Furthermore, in light of engagement with reframing, care aides were able to engage in social comparisons with informal caregivers, as they were less likely to feel able or willing to complete such a task; a task which is not only honourable due to its dirty nature, but because of the essential nature of the jobs, in that doing so can improve the lives of people (Stacey, 2005).

Although scholars following the social constructivist perspective of dirt have acknowledged that dirty workers do draw on psychological techniques to manage stigma, they argue that the process of identification is related to discursive meanings (Tracy and Scott, 2006), thus engaging in agentic techniques may not be efficient in affirming a positive identity. As Tracy and Scott (2006) argue taint, dirt and prestige are strongly connected to power social identity categories such as class and gender (Tracy and Scott, 2006). Certainly, one way in which prisoners manage their stigmatised status is by redefining their status of prisoner by focusing on other parts of their identities which are socially accepted (Tokyoki and Brown, 2014). As such, they were able to transform their criminal identity into that of being a good person (Tokyoki and Brown, 2014). Whereas, other prisoners would resist the prisoner identity category altogether (Tokyoki and Brown, 2014). On the other hand, due to the poor recognition associated with being a cleaner, some domestic cleaners have sought to stress that their real identity lies beyond that of a cleaner and more towards a prestigious occupation (Bosmans et al. 2015). For example, one participant distances from her current occupation as a cleaner by focusing on her identity as an academic researcher (Bosmans et al. 2015).

While, Soni-Sinha and Yates (2013) note that while association with a union may aid in positive identity formation for janitors, societal perceptions of janitorial work as being unskilled and dirty are reinforced through daily interactions and discourse.

Working practices have also reduced the effectiveness of certain agentic strategies such as formation of work groups. Indeed, research exploring the implementation of work groups among meat inspectors in a UK slaughterhouse in light of technological changes has suggested that presentations of work groups may have eroded due to decreased availability in space to be able to establish a strong work group culture (McCabe and Hamilton, 2015). Additionally, an increasingly fragmented and ever-changing workforce has limited opportunities to formulate strong work groups in this case (McCabe and Hamilton, 2015). Thus, scholars have sought to investigate how dirty workers draw on social constructivism to manage stigma by affirming a positive identity.

2.6.2 Class and Gender

Scholars exploring the experiences of dirty work have found how dirty workers are able to draw on class and gender to give meaning to their work and affirm a positive self-identity. In Thiel's (2007) work while class was not explicitly used in the accounts of the builders by the builders themselves, their expressions suggested discourse rooted in working class ideology (Thiel, 2007). In so doing, they demonstrated internalisation of strong cultural beliefs surrounding class (Thiel, 2007). In research on the dirty work experiences of builders in London, builders were found to engage with aspects of working-class masculinity to protect themselves from stigma that may be experienced by members of said class group (Thiel, 2007). Indeed, the focus for the builders was on the strength and physicality required to complete their work, not only on an individual level, but also on a collective basis, which acted as a barrier against class stigma (Thiel, 2007). They were able to use specific class and masculine norms to exert some form of power to dissipate disputes (Thiel, 2007).

Similarities can be drawn with low prestige dirty work. For example, Simpson et al., (2011) found that tolerance of dirty parts of butchery led to value and pride among the workers, conforming to working class habitus. Refuse workers were proud of the sheer physical strength required to complete daily work tasks, drawing on the positives of a working-class masculine identity, thus emphasising one's belonging to this group (Simpson et al., 2014). Similarly, butchers sought pride from the physicality of the work and the sheer strength required to carry meat carcasses and deal with dirty aspects which others may not, such as blood (Slutskaya et al., 2012).

Likewise, Soni-Sinha and Yates (2013) found that men focus on the heavy parts of the work, identifying with masculinity to affirm work identity. Additionally, hospital security officers manage stigma as a consequence of their tainted occupations by emphasising resilience, emotional detachment and expressing excitement about dangerous and 'off-putting tasks' (Johnston and Hodge, 2014).

Additionally, working class men endure hardship through work to provide for their families and provide a better future for their children (Simpson et al., 2014)**.** Similarly, domestic cleaners seek self-respect based on the notion of doing a job to provide for their families (Bosmans et al. 2015). Therefore, those engaging in dirty work seek dignity and value by conforming to established ideals of the marginalised group they identity with, in the previous case, the working class (Simpson et al., 2014). Concurringly, cleaners in a Bangkok shopping mall resist their degraded status by redefining their own meanings to their work. Indeed, they focus on how persisting to carry out the cleaning work, they are able to provide for their families as well as focusing on their persistence to engage in hard work (Brody, 2006). Likewise, being able to elicit pride from partaking work in any regard provides street cleaners and refuse workers with a sense of achievement which would otherwise be deemed as insufficient by higher tiers within the social hierarchy due to the nature of the work (Slutskaya et al., 2016).

Firefighters engage in sexual banter within their work role thus reinforcing their working-class masculinity (Tracy and Scott, 2006). While, butchers were found to display aggression which increased their tolerance of the work as drawing on this particular emotion secured value by reinforcing a positive working class masculine identity (Simpson et al., 2011). As such, class seems to be a valuable discursive resource to draw on, particularly in the case of those occupying positions in physically tainted occupations, to help manage stigmatisation.

Members of physically tainted occupations draw on masculinity and heroism/self-sacrifice to reaffirm a positive self-identity (Ashforth and Kreiner, 2014). Ackroyd and Crowdy (1990) describe how the butchers they studied engaged in competitions regarding who can finish their grueling work tasks first. Furthermore, these individuals expressed an identity of heroism by being able to do something that others could not. Similarly, Firefighters are able to manage taint by drawing on the

masculine values elicited within their job roles, as well as through repositioning themselves as heroes (Tracy and Scott, 2006). As a result, firefighters are able to reconstruct their work to accentuate masculine values.

Garbage workers have been seen to engage in the construction of a dignified identity of an 'everyday hero' despite the dirtiness involved in the work (Hamilton et al., 2017). In doing so, they draw on different aspects of masculinity including courage, physicality, resilience and paternalistic care (Hamilton et al., 2017). Firstly, they attempt to resist the stigma infused from their occupational identities by focusing on the positive aspects of the work, that is, of providing a service which is valuable to society (Hamilton et al., 2017). Secondly, they seek to not only gain esteem through a hero status by comparing to those occupying a lower social status, but also through comparison to their managers (Hamilton et al., 2017). Finally, by discursively constructing an identity of the everyday hero, specifically in terms of making the lives of the community and vulnerable members of society better, they are attempting to re-shape connotations of garbage workers towards work that is ethically driven (Hamilton et al., 2017).

Butchers are able to engage in camaraderie with peers through collective masculine identity, however, they also benefit from being able to engage in humour and banter with customers as a result of their customer facing roles (Simpson et al, 2011). Similarly, refuse workers use camaraderie and honour in order to manage the taint attached to their job roles (Simpson et al, 2014). Nevertheless, butchers also found pleasure and pride through the construction of eye catching aesthetic displays in shop windows and subsequent customer interaction created a form of value for the workers (Simpson et al., 2011). Thus, despite depletion of value towards knife skills which convey danger and strength (key characteristics of a masculine identity), butchers were able to draw pride and value through softer skills such as customer interactions. Furthermore, with the rise of popularity of celebrity chefs and various cooking programmes, butchers are able to take pride in their skills, and the skills are accepted as valued in society (Simpson et al., 2011).

The use of masculinity as a discursive resource to manage taint makes it harder for those engaging in feminine work roles to manage stigma (Tracy and Scott, 2006). Despite correctional officers taking pride in the danger they face as part of their work,

they struggle to detach from the highly feminised notions of their work which are degraded and devalued (Tracy and Scott, 2006). Indeed, correctional officers feel like glorified maids or babysitters. Although they discussed the premise of no-one being able to do their job, it wasn't with the same pride as firefighters as they were unable to draw on masculine value of strength/bravery. Thus, their form of respite comes in the form of self-deprecating humour, being able to laugh at themselves which they reconstruct as being a real man (Tracy and Scott, 2006). Furthermore, firefighters rarely draw on feminine nature of the work, such as the emergency medical service work, and if they do, they refer to it in a negative way (Tracy and Scott, 2006). Similarly, within the case of slaughterhouse workers, the most stigmatised element of the work was the cleanest part of the work due to its connotations with femininity (McCabe and Hamilton, 2015).

While street cleaners and refuse workers use masculinity as a discursive resource to enhance self-esteem, engaging in such behaviours demonstrate and reinforce social disadvantage through vulnerability and dislocation (Slutskaya et al., 2016). Such behaviours include drawing on the value attributed to hard work and the physicality of the work (Slutskaya et al., 2016). Indeed, both street cleaners and refuse workers would resist negative connotations in some sense by focusing on the physical nature of the work and how those in higher status positions would struggle to complete the work due to lack of physical capability (Slutskaya et al., 2016). Nevertheless, they have to contend with the fact that they struggle for power and autonomy, in accordance with power afforded to those in non-manual working positions (Slutskaya et al., 2016).

In the case of females working in dirty work, specifically in work roles perceived as predominantly feminine, discursively drawing on femininity is a way to reinforce positive identity. Certainly, despite their position within an occupation that is seen as tainted, gynaecology nurses seek to minimise the impact of stigma by constructing an identity which sees them as 'special' (Bolton, 2005). They draw on their femininity to construct a 'special identity' whereby due to their female status, they are the only people that are able to provide the necessary care required for this position (Bolton, 2005). Indeed, they draw on positive aspects of femininity, such as being kind and caring, qualities deemed to be anchored in ideologies of what makes not only a

woman, but a good woman (Bolton, 2005). Nevertheless, drawing on this can create conflict as their job requires them to deal with bodily failure that depicts women (Bolton, 2005). Additionally, they are aware that their position is perceived to be lower down the pecking order in comparison to male medics as well as midwives due to their engagement with the female body at the most operational and pure form, rearing children (Bolton, 2005). However, due to the construction of a shared culture which is perpetuated as them being caring and opposing anyone that contests this reframed identity, they continuously draw on femininity to reassert their own contested value (Bolton, 2005).

2.6.3 Drawing meanings from place and space

The concept of space has been documented to connote different meanings depending on everyday experiences of people occupying it (Castells, 2000; Bauman, 1998; Soja, 1994). More recently, there has been a turn towards focusing on place due to its significance in furthering insights regarding particular societies and cultures (Escobar, 2001). Certainly, Escobar (2001) argues how place and space are vital in understanding domains or resistance and domination. This is reiterated by later research on sex workers suggesting that carrying out said work in certain places refers to periods of 'territorialization and deterritorialization', whereby the relation between different spaces is configured and reconfigured (Hubbard and Sanders, 2003).

In research regarding the experiences of sex shop workers in Soho, Tyler (2011) explored how place infuses meanings around work. Buildings are more than a material space whereby tainted work takes place, due to their location, buildings are infused with socio-cultural meanings. Hence, the place of work influences construction of work identities. While influencing the taint attached to work, place can also be used as a coping mechanism for those engaging in dirty work. For example, a sex shop located in Soho is infused with social and moral taint due to perception or associations with cheap, dirty and sleazy people taking part in morally stigmatised acts (Tyler, 2011). However, for these workers, the place itself where the shop is located provides both a contaminated space fused with negative connotations as well as a community where everybody has each other's backs (Tyler, 2011). Indeed, some commented on feeling a sense of belonging (Tyler, 2011).

Table 2. 1: Summary of psychological and social constructivist management strategies

Author and Year	Name of article	Psycho-social perspective	Social constructivist perspective	Key findings
Ashforth and Kreiner (1999)	**"How can you do it?": Dirty work and the challenge of constructing a positive identity**	✓		Occupational prestige used as a status shield for some forms of dirty work. Occupational ideologies used as stigma management strategies which are used on the basis of strong work group cultures: reframing, recalibrating and refocusing. In addition, social weighting processes are used.
Dant and Bowles (2003)	**Dealing with dirt: servicing and repairing cars.**		✓	In the case of garages, dirt is seen as a practical problem that need to be dealt with in order to avoid health consequences. They suggest that the work is tailored towards focusing on this rational approach, rather than focusing on the cultural codes that underpin dirt.
Bolton (2005)	**Women's work, dirty work: The gynaecology nurse as 'other'**		✓	Qualitative data collected from a group of gynaecology nurses in a North West National Health Service hospital displays how they actively celebrate their status as women carrying out dirty work. These workers have created a unique occupational culture which celebrates femininity and the value attached to being female.
Dick (2005)	**Dirty work designations: how**			Sees identity as ever-changing depending on social context. Argues that social construction of dirt is overlooked by Ashforth and Kreiner. Dirt

	police officers account for their use of coercive force		✓	relates to ideological societal beliefs that maintain the status quo. Social construction of dirt through front and back regions.
Stacey (2005)	**Finding dignity in dirty work: the constraints and rewards of low-wage home care labour**		✓	Care workers are able to draw on rewards that come from being a care worker. They felt rewarded from the practical autonomy of the work, increase in skill set and doing dirty work. Said rewards are argued to be a way for care workers to draw on and impose some form of dignity into their stigmatised job roles.
Brody (2006)	**The cleaners you aren't meant to see: order, hygiene and everyday politics in a Bangkok shopping mall**		✓	Cleaners in a Bangkok shopping mall focus on how their work allows them to provide for their families as well as the hard work required to complete their work. They also engage in resistance techniques to control by making their own rules, outside of the expected norms for the cleaners to remain invisible.
Powell and Watson (2006)	**Service unseen: the hotel room attendant.**		✓	Hotel room attendants argue that their work is skilled owning to the fact not everyone could carry it out, as well as possessing territorial feelings with regard to ensuring the rooms looked immaculate and presentable. In so doing, they are able to affirm a positive identity for themselves, despite social degradation.
Tracy and	**Sexuality,**			Firefighters are able to manage taint by drawing on the masculine values

Scott (2006)	**masculinity, and taint management among firefighter and correctional officers: Getting down and dirty with "America's heroes" and the "Scum of Law enforcement"**		✓	elicited within their job roles, as well as through repositioning themselves as heroes. Correctional officers feel like glorified maids or babysitters, their form of respite comes in the form of self-deprecating humour, being able to laugh at themselves which they reconstruct as being a real man.
Bergman and Chalkley (2007)	**Ex' marks a spot: The stickiness of dirty work and other removed stigmas**		✓	In seeking to understand the perpetuation of stigma, even after leaving a tainted occupation, they propose the concept of stickiness. Stickiness is the continuation of stigma for people that once worked in a tainted occupation, whereby despite removal of the 'dirt' the stressful experiences of the stigma mark still exist. They argue that stickiness is impacted by internal attributions perceived by outsiders, the idea that the dirty worker has chosen their avenue of work, as well as factors including visibility, onset-controllability, offset-controllability, period of time doing dirty work and how dirty work ended.
Thiel, (2007)	**Class in construction: London building workers, dirty work and physical**		✓	To manage stigmatised status, builders would engage in selective social comparisons including comparing themselves with the unemployed. Additionally, while class was not explicitly used in the accounts of the builders by the builders themselves, their expressions suggested discourse rooted in working class ideology.

	cultures			
Grandy (2008)	**Managing spoiled identities: dirty workers' struggles for a favourable sense of self**		✓	Exotic dancers engage in refocusing by concentrating on how their work enabled financial empowerment and self-employment. Exotic dancers distanced themselves from dirty dancers by creating a distinction between clean and dirty – the good girl and dirty dancer.
Simpson et al. (2011)	**Emotional dimensions of dirty work: men's encounters with taint in the butcher trade**		✓	Butchers were found to display aggression which increased their tolerance of the work as drawing on this particular emotion secured value by reinforcing a positive working class masculine identity. Butchers also found pleasure and pride through the construction of eye catching aesthetic displays in shop windows and subsequent customer interaction created a form of value for the workers.
Tyler (2011)	**Tainted love: from dirty work to abject labour in Soho's sex shops**		✓	Explored how place infuses meanings around work. For these workers, the place itself where the shop is located provides both a contaminated space fused with negative connotations as well as a community where everybody has each other's backs. While influencing the taint attached to work, place can also be used as a coping mechanism for those engaging in dirty work.
Baran et al,.(2012)	**Shouldering a silent burden: the toll of dirty tasks**		✓	Shifts away from the general consensus of focusing on occupational dirty work, towards a dirty task approach. Those that engage in dirty tasks are likely to have a negative well-being outcomes, resultantly impacting internal resources that would help manage occupational stress.

				Engaging in dirty tasks relates to limited opportunities to produce social relationships, which negatively impacts satisfaction at work and well-being.
Slutskaya et al. (2012)	**Lessons from photo elicitation: encouraging working men to speak**		✓	Butchers sought pride from the physicality of the work and the sheer strength required to carry meat carcasses and deal with dirty aspects which others may not, such as blood
Soni-Sinha and Yates (2013)	**'Dirty work?' Gender, race and the union in industrial cleaning**		✓	Union membership aids with attainment of material resources such as increased pay and holidays, as well as construction of a different and more positive identity for those engaging in dirty work. Men are able to affirm masculine identity through leadership roles.
Toyoki and Brown (2014)	**Stigma, identity and power: Managing stigmatised identities through discourse**		✓	Drawing on the empirical work with prisoners, they argue that stigmatised identities are best explained in relation to individual's ideas about the 'Other' which can be draw on to illicit self-support.
Ashforth and Kreiner (2014)	**Dirty work and dirtier work: differences in countering physical, social and**		✓	Members of physically tainted occupations draw on masculinity and heroism/self-sacrifice to reaffirm a positive self-identity. Those who are unable to draw on masculinity as a discursive resource to reconstruct the meaning of their work and affirm a positive self-identity will draw on their work as being a critical service to society. Managers in organisations

	moral stigma			engage in certain strategies to help manage stigma.
Ashforth and Kreiner (2014b)	**Contextualising dirty work: the neglected role of cultural, historical and demographic context**		✓	Social weighting poses difficulties in positive identity formation as clusters of certain groups in low prestige work normalises the divide between insiders and outsiders, thus retaining or perpetuating stigma amongst those occupying positions in low prestige dirty work. Stigma associated with occupying a position in a dirty occupation seems to stain the body, a stain with which stays throughout someone's occupational life as the work itself is perceived to be internalised.
Grandy and Mavin (2014)	**"Emotion management as struggle in dirty work: the experiences of exotic dancers"**		✓	By researching the experiences of exotic dancers, they found that the workers engaged in social weighting techniques including condemning the condemners, equating to feeling disgust towards the people using their services. Nevertheless, by doing so the workers are unable to eradicate ambivalence that comes from occupying such position, but rather attain conditional acceptance of their work.
Johnston and Hodge (2014)	**'Dirt, death and danger? I don't recall any adverse reaction…': Masculinity and the taint management of Hospital private security work**		✓	Those occupying positions in physically tainted occupations may refocus dirty parts of their work by focusing on toughness and strength, typical attributes required to complete such tasks. Hospital security officers manage stigma as a consequence of their tainted occupations by emphasising resilience, emotional detachment and expressing excitement about dangerous and 'off-putting tasks'.

Rivera and Tracy (2014)	**Embodying emotional dirty work: a messy text of patrolling the border**		✓	In order to manage ambivalence, US Border Patrol agents often engaged in the process of linguistic control. Linguistic control helped to normalise the emotions experienced as part of their work.
Simpson et al. (2014)	**Sacrifice and distinction in dirty work: men's construction of meaning in the butcher trade**		✓	Working class men endure hardship through work to provide for their families and provide a better future for their children. Those engaging in dirty work seek dignity and value by conforming to established ideals of the marginalised group they identify with.
Simpson et al. (2014b)	**The use of ethnography to explore meanings that refuse collectors attach to their work**		✓	Those working as refuse collectors face a higher turnover of staff and an increase in agency workers, which leads to higher levels of isolation and a weaker collective culture between workers.
Bosmans et al. (2015)	**Dirty work, dirty workers? Stigmatisation and coping strategies among domestic**		✓	Domestic cleaners make downward comparisons such as comparing to those that are unemployed, identify with their own group relative to comparison groups, in group favouritism, avoidance strategies and draw on working class/masculine norms to seek value.

	workers			
McCabe and Hamilton (2015)	**The kill programme: an ethnographic study of 'dirty work' in a slaughterhouse**		✓	Ethnographic study on meat inspectors in UK slaughterhouse. They argue that as a result of an increase in agency workers there are limited opportunities for group cohesion.
Baran et al. (2016)	**Routinized killing of animals: Going beyond dirty work and prestige to understand the well-being of slaughterhouse workers**		✓	In seeking to understand further implications of those that engage in the routinized killing of animals, they argue that in spite of occupational prestige, this particular group if dirty workers experience poor physical and psychological well-being.
Lofstrand et al. (2016)	**Doing 'dirty work': Stigma and esteem in the private security industry**		✓	Private security workers seek to manage taint through the creation of an informal work culture. This culture incorporates shared values which help to reframe the work as meaningful, thus increasing the value of the occupation.

Slutskaya et al. (2016)	**Masculinity and class in the context of dirty work**		✓	Street cleaners and refuse workers engaged in behaviours which draw on masculine values in order to alleviate some of the stigma from their subordinate positions. Additionally, they engage in selective social comparisons with migrant workers and women to seek esteem enhancement. They argue that such behaviours indicate vulnerability and feeling of dislocation on behalf of the street cleaners and refuse workers.
Hamilton et al. (2017)	**'Lower than a snake's belly': discursive constructions of dignity and heroism in low status garbage work**		✓	Garbage workers demonstrated experiences of dignity through constructing specific narratives around being an everyday hero.

2.7 The impact of taint management strategies

Using their categorisation of dirty work occupations, including pervasive stigma, compartmentalised stigma, diluted stigma and idiosyncratic stigma, accompanied by the theoretical groundings of system justification theory and social identity theory, Kreiner et al. (2006) formulated a number of propositions in order to further understanding of how individuals experience and manage stigma. Indeed, they have argued that strength and permanency of stigma are intertwined with stigma management strategies which may in fact decrease the validity of a stigmatised identity. Thus, dirty workers may not experience low self-value as a result of their tainted occupational roles. Furthermore, they found that many of those engaging in dirty work either dis-identify from the work or experience an ambivalent identity at worse (Kreiner et al., 2006).

On the other hand, occupying a position in tainted work has been suggested to negatively impact the wellbeing of individuals. In seeking to understand further implications of those that engage in the routinised killing of animals, Baran et al., (2016) argue that in spite of attaining occupational prestige, this particular group of dirty workers experience poor physical and psychological well-being (Baran et al., 2016). Additionally, they argue that this particular group engage in more negative coping strategies including, but not limited to, drinking and smoking in order to manage the negative impacts of their work (Baran et al., 2016). Additionally, slaughterhouse workers are suggested to exert more effort to defend their occupational tasks to an outsider group; however, this results in resource drain on behalf of the individual (Baran et al., 2016).

Additionally, while exotic dancers do engage in a number of social weighting techniques, including condemning the condemners, equating to feeling disgust towards the people using their services, Grandy and Mavin (2014) argue that, by doing so, the workers are unable to eradicate ambivalence that comes from occupying such a position, but rather attain conditional acceptance of their work (Grandy and Mavin, 2014).

Undeniably, some members of dirty work occupations are able to draw on a number of resources in order to manage stigma. For example, firefighters are able to use a badge of honour in conjunction with conforming to masculine identity norms.

Similarly, despite some perceiving correctional officers and hospital security officers negatively due to their contact with socially denigrated clients, they are still able to draw on occupational prestige as a result of providing an essential service to the community, which is recognised as such. Exotic dancers are able to reaffirm their stigmatised identities in a number of ways including condemning their clients, and focusing on the idea that they are in their current work to gain financial means to complete something societally accepted such as a research degree. While care aides are better able to reaffirm a positive identity by being able to focus on attaining a unique skill-set from their work, one of which can lead them into other careers in the future. Concurringly, builders are able to draw on being a skilled tradesmen, a trade of which is required by economies with growing populations, in conjunction with working class masculinity. Butchers are not only able to draw on working class masculinity to reduce the effects of their stigmatised identity, they are also able to benefit from an increase in celebrity chef programmes which increase societal perceptions and interest about butchery. Whereas, street cleaners and refuse workers are able to manage stigma through group cohesion, drawing on working class masculinity, and by engaging in selective social comparisons with the unemployed.

However, research concerning low prestige physically tainted occupations has demonstrated that social constructivist accounts may be projecting false optimism with regards to the management of stigma. Indeed, Hughes et al., (2016) have moved away from focusing on the discursive elements of dirty work, by focusing on how the material and the symbolic interplay to shape the experiences of dirty workers. They argue that neglecting the material and symbolic may present exaggerated hopefulness regarding the experiences of dirty workers (Hughes et al., 2016). Indeed, the aim here was to show how overemphasising the use of discursive strategies may hide constraining factors that make implementation of stigma management strategies problematic (Hughes et al., 2016). Resultantly, they show how esteem strategies are supported and undermined by the physicality of dirt (Hughes et al., 2016). Certainly, the material and the symbolic in dirty work help to demonstrate how dirty workers are subordinated within society. Firstly through physical/material disruption to work practices as a result of 'unacceptable dirt' and secondly; through encounters with the public such as verbal abuse and ignorance towards workers, perpetuating a power relationship which deems

the workers at the bottom of the social hierarchy, unworthy of respect (Hughes et al., 2016).

While materiality of dirt enables refuse workers and street cleaners to draw on aspects of masculinity such as the value of hard work to affirm a positive identity, it also limits affirmation of a positive identity due to exhaustion and negative emotions that are elicited as a result of unacceptable waste (Hughes et al., 2017). Although refuse workers and street cleaners feel pride from being able to keep social spaces clean and engage in an essential service for communities, they also have to contend with "…embedded social hierarchies which see workers as 'out of place' within middle class domains" (Hughes et al., 2017, p119). While they can draw on class to feel pride in completing a task and working hard to do so, members of the public interrupt this in two ways. Firstly, by ignorance or other indicators of perceived low value, or through physically disrupting work practices, revealing and reiterating social relations of power (Hughes et al., 2017). Thus, by overlooking how symbolic and material work together, to demonstrate how stigma management strategies are undermined by dirt, can lead to false optimism with regards to the experiences of dirty workers (Hughes et al., 2017).

More recently, in seeking to explore constraining factors that impact the use of stigma management strategies in physically tainted occupations, Slutskaya et al., (2018) found that drawing on aspects of traditional masculinity helped in affirming a positive identity for the men they studied. Nevertheless, due to changing labour markets and decreasing valuation afforded to manual work, their focus on the physicality of the work deems this a problematic resource to manage stigma (Slutskaya et al., 2018). Additionally, while Ashforth and Kriener (2014) propose the use of a necessity shield to aid in managing stigma, in this case, the workers continuously expressed the stigma that was attached from working as members of the council, providing a public service (Slutskaya et al., 2018). Thus, while those in physically tainted occupations do engage in traditional strategies to mitigate the impact of stigma and build a positive identity, the availability of these resources and the impact they have are flailing (Slutskaya et al., 2018).

As a result of changes in working practices then, those engaging in low prestige dirty work are deemed to be struggling with certain stigma management strategies such

as attaining autonomy in the work and group cohesion. Additionally, the use and impact of masculinity as a discursive resource for these particular workers is questionable, in light of the fact that it arguably reinforces social disadvantage and social dislocation. As such, the impact adopting these strategies has on managing taint is ambiguous. While current literature has focused on the use of management strategies in attempts for dirty workers to reaffirm a positive identity, understandings of how taint is impacting recognition of the self as a socially accepted entity in their own right is overlooked. This seems to be specifically significant for those in physically tainted occupations in light of the fact that more recent research has highlighted that use and impact of management strategies may in fact be undermined by dirt, whilst also reinforcing social disadvantage. Thus, there is a need to explore the current impact of taint on the self rather than solely on identity.

2.8 Summary

The current chapter has provided a depiction of the origins of dirt, that is, anything that offends symbolic order (Douglas, 1966) and how this has underpinned the conceptualisation of dirty work; referring to occupations which involve tasks deemed as physically disgusting, immoral or tasks that resemble degradation (Hughes 1951, 1958). Drawing on Hughes' influential understandings of the nature of dirty work, Ashforth and Kreiner (1999) have elaborated on the various categories of taint which attach to dirty work occupations, including physical – that which involves direct contact with physical dirt or working conditions deemed as dangerous; moral – that which concerns working in a sinful occupation; and social taint which refers to occupations that requires individuals to work in close proximity to stigmatised groups.

What follows is an understanding of resultant stigma that can occur as a result of working in a tainted occupation. With an initial focus on the origins of stigma, of which Goffman (1963) argues is a particular aspect or set of aspects which invades perceptions of an individual to the end that they are then seen as tainted, the chapter then goes on to focus on the definition of a stigmatised identity in dirty work as well as the impact of attaining a stigmatised identity due to engagement in dirty work. Indeed, while some have argued that engagement with dirt may not entice detrimental stigmatic effects for the individual (Dant and Bowles, 2003; Tokyoki and

Brown, 2014), the general consensus is that of negative experiences, including negative well-being outcomes, body staining and identity struggles.

In light of such, scholars in the dirty work literature have sought to understand how stigma is experienced and managed by those occupying positions in tainted occupations. To this end, the dirty work literature has been broadly dissected into two perspectives, namely the psychological perspective and the social constructivist perspective with respect to management strategies. Firstly, the psychological perspective argues that for dirty workers, stigma that comes as a result of the work they do may be managed using agentic strategies whereby the worker is in control of shaping their own identity by engaging in certain techniques. For example, Ashforth and Kreiner (1999) have established that dirty workers form strong work cultures which are an essential basis for dirty workers to then engage with occupational ideologies such as reframing, recalibrating and refocusing. Additionally, dirty workers in higher prestige dirty work roles, such as police officers, are able to draw on occupational prestige which forms a status shield (Ashforth and Kreiner, 1999).

While scholars in the social constructivist perspective argue that the social construction of dirt is overlooked (Dick, 2005). Indeed, Dick (2005) argues that what constitutes dirt depends on the perspective of other people. Agreeably, Tracy and Scott (2006) argue that the process of identification is related to discursive meanings, thus engaging in agentic techniques may not be sufficient in affirming a positive identity. Thus, social constructivist scholars have sought to explore how dirty workers draw on discursive meanings to affirm positive identity. Some dirty workers were able to draw on working class masculinity to attempt to affirm a positive identity while occupying a position in a tainted occupation. For example, firefighters engaged in sexual banter during work which reinforced identification as a working class male (Tracy and Scott, 2006). Similarly, Simpson et al. (2011) found that butchers display aggression which increases their tolerance of the work as drawing on this particular emotion secured value by reinforcing a positive working class masculine identity. Likewise, refuse workers were able to focus on enduring hardship through work in order to provide a better life for their families (Simpson et al., 2014), thus conforming to a working class habitus.

To date, the dirty work literature has also explored the effectiveness of adoption of management strategies for dirty workers in trying to cement a positive self-identity. While Kreiner et al., (2006) argue that factors such as strength and permanency of stigma as well as the use of stigma management strategies may in fact decrease the validity of a stigmatised identity, other scholars have sought to suggest otherwise. Indeed, Baran et al. (2016) notes that despite the use of an occupational shield, those engaging in the dirty work of the routinised killing of animals still experience poor physical and psychological well-being. In addition, in the case of exotic dancers, the use of stigma management strategies only goes so far in positive identity affirmation in that the workers are able to attain conditional acceptance of their work rather than eradicate ambivalence which accompanies occupying such a position (Grandy and Mavin, 2014).

Certainly, in research concerning low prestige physically tainted occupations, scholars have argued that current literature may be projecting false optimism with regards to the management of stigma (Hughes et al., 2016). Indeed, Hughes et al. (2016) indicate that the physicality of dirt both supports and undermines attempts to engage in strategies that manage stigma. While more recently, Slutskaya et al. (2018) despite finding that workers engaging in physical tainted occupations draw on aspects of traditional masculinity to affirm positive identity, labour market changes and decreasing valuation afforded to manual work has rendered this resource problematic. Additionally, the street cleaners and refuse workers in this case were unable to draw on a necessity shield (Ashforth and Kreiner, 2014) due to resultant stigma they attained from working for the council (Slutskaya et al., 2018).

As such, while the existing literature has addressed experiences of stigma and implementation of certain strategies to mitigate negative effects on identities of those occupying a position in a tainted occupation, the implications of working in a tainted occupation and managing experiences of disrespect presents as contradictory. Particularly, in light of recent research arguing that those engaging in low prestige dirty work are deemed to be struggling to draw on management strategies such as: autonomy, work group cohesion, a necessity shield and masculinity as a discursive resource; there is a need for further understandings regarding how taint is impacting recognition of 'the self' as a socially accepted entity in their own right. To this end, the

next chapter seeks to explore Honneth's (1996) 'struggles for recognition', with prominent focus on intersubjective relations and how lack of peer recognition can result in moral injury through preventing resources for self-realisation. Resultantly, this can help shed further light on disrespectful experiences faced by those occupying tainted positions through a conceptual turn away from focusing on positive identity affirmation towards an understanding of subjectivity.

Part 3 – Conceptual chapter: Incorporating Honneth and Bourdieu to understand the recognition experiences of dirty workers

3.1 Introduction

In light of current research presenting contradictory evidence regarding the implications of those in low prestige dirty work engaging with discursive strategies to manage experiences of disrespect, the following chapter seeks to conceptualise ways to address this gap twofold. Firstly, in an attempt to move away from current focus on positive identity affirmation, towards an understanding of subjectivity of these workers, Honneth's (1996) recognition theory is reviewed. Such a turn seeks to advance understandings of how recognition or lack of recognition across three spheres, namely: love, legal and solidarity, as well as the impact this may have on self-realisation for dirty workers. Thereafter, limitations of Honneth's (1996) theory are discussed. In line with McNay's (2008a, 2008b) criticisms of Honneth's depiction of recognition, specifically regarding overseeing how economic inequalities underplay struggles for recognition, as well as a lack of focus on how power leads to subjectivity and identity which overemphasises the idea of agency (McNay, 2008b), what follows is an overview of how combining Bourdieu's (1977) concept of habitus with Honneth's (1996) theory may present a more holistic understanding of experiences of disrespect among those engaging in low prestige dirty work. To this end, the chapter aims to demonstrate how configurations of power result in embodied practices which facilitate and constrain certain forms of recognition.

3.2 Honneth and recognition

Honneth (1996) presents a theoretical conceptualisation of how struggles for recognition result in moral injury and provide a catalyst for social revolt, with specific focus on how intersubjective relations aid in self-realisation. Honneth's (1996) recognition theory is based on the principles that a person can only be recognised if they are recognised by a legitimate other. For an individual to form positive relations to self, they must experience recognition in three spheres of social life, namely: love sphere, legal sphere and solidarity sphere. As a result of being recognised in these spheres, an individual can experience three different forms of self-relation, including self-confidence, self-respect and self-esteem respectively. For self-actualisation to occur, intersubjective recognition must occur in all spheres. Indeed, according to

Honneth, lack of peer recognition in any of the aforementioned spheres would result in hindrance towards self-actualisation.

3.2.1 Self-realisation and intersubjective relations

Rather than focusing on how to preserve one's identity, Honneth seeks to provide a conceptualisation of self-realisation, that is, subjectivity through the struggle of mutual recognition across different spheres of social life (Honneth, 1996). In agreement with both Hegel and Mead, Honneth's (1996) core premise in understanding and presenting a theory depicting social change is that of the importance of mutual recognition (Honneth, 1996). Indeed he states that "…the reproduction of social life is governed by the imperative of mutual recognition, because one can develop a practical relation to self only when one has learned to view oneself, from the normative perspective of one's partners in interaction, as their social addressee" (Honneth, 1996, p.140). Thus, Honneth saw recognition in the form of 'intersubjective processes of reciprocal recognition' (Austen et al., 2016).

On this basis, self-realisation is formed through internalisation of standards which are socially recognised as legitimate (Honneth, 2004). Social recognition is a necessity for one to achieve positive relations to self, which in turn shapes an individual's propensity to autonomous action (Honneth, 2004). Not only does one's personal autonomy need to be intersubjectively recognised as do their specific capabilities, to ensure full positive self-relation (Honneth, 2004).

3.2.2 Spheres of recognition

Honneth draws on Hegel's and Mead's understandings of recognition which centre around the idea that social relationships are of crucial importance with regards to the formulation of a positive self-relation (Honneth, 1996). Honneth saw recognition in the form of 'intersubjective processes of reciprocal recognition' (Austen et al., 2016). More specifically, drawing on Hegel, Honneth (1996) follows the premise that for individuals to fully form, a struggle for recognition must take place in three forms of relations, namely: love, law and ethical life (Honneth, 1996). Conjunctively, Honneth draws on Mead's work to account for the intersubjective underpinnings to which shape individual self-realisation (Honneth,1996). As such, Honneth (1996) proposes three modes of self-relation which are dependent on intersubjective relations,

namely: self-confidence, self-respect and self-esteem, which must be granted for an individual to form as an autonomous self (Honneth,1996). Attainment of these three modes of self-relation can be sort in three different spheres of recognition, the love sphere of recognition, the legal sphere of recognition and the solidarity sphere of recognition respectively (Honneth,1996) .

3.2.2.1 Love sphere of recognition

The first sphere, namely love and friendship equates to the individual and social need for interpersonal love. The focus for this sphere is grounded in the ways in which the primary relationships with caregivers and later relationships with friends and spouses as an adult aid in the conception of positive self-relations (Honneth, 1996). In other words, self-confidence is developed through caregiver-child relationships, friendships and spousal relations, whereby the individual is granted unconditional mutual recognition of their needs and desires (Honneth, 1996).

In conceptualisation of this sphere, Honneth draws prominently on the work of Winnicott and object-relations theory (Winnicott, 1965). Indeed, the premise of object-relations theory is that to understand child development, one must explore the interactive relationships which take place between primary caregivers and the child. Initially, a child is wholly dependent on the capabilities of the caregiver to read and provide the needs of the child for survival (Honneth, 1996). This whole dependency should not be seen as parallel to the child's behaviour, but rather should be seen as intertwined to such an extent that every individual starts life development based on intersubjective relations with the caregiver (Honneth, 1996). At this stage, both caregiver and child are mutually dependent on each other as the caregiver interprets the behaviours and needs of the child as their own (Honneth, 1996). The next stage of development entails the caregiver gradually becoming aware of their own autonomy by engaging with aspects of their social environment, for example spending time with friends and family. Here, the child begins to see the caregiver as an independent being, thus acknowledging their own independence in the process (Honneth, 1996). To this end, the child then seeks to challenge this by acting in aggressive ways towards the caregiver, whereby if received and responded to in a reliable and positive manner, provides the basis for the self-confidence of the infant to form (Honneth, 1996). Therefore, the process of maturation from wholly

dependent baby to autonomous adult is reliant on trust that the caregiver's emphatic care will continue after the erosion of interdependence whereby the caregiver and child recognise themselves as mutual independent beings (Honneth, 1996). As such this drives future relationships be that of a friendship or romantic significance (Honneth, 1996). Trust in care and love from this level result in providing an individual the basic confidence required in order to become an independent person in social life (Honneth, 1996). The intersubjective experience of love and needs and resultant acquirement of basic self-confidence provides the underlying condition for an individual to achieve recognition and respect in the proceeding spheres (Honneth, 1996).

3.2.2.2 Legal sphere of recognition

The second type of relation to self is self-respect. Recognition at this level results in acceptance as an autonomous individual who has the right and ability to participate in discussions and debates of an institution e.g. an organisation or state. Indeed, at this level an individual is seen as obtaining equal accountability to all others (Honneth, 1996). While in the love sphere children are able to develop self-confidence due to continuity of trust that their needs will be met, the legal sphere provides adults the opportunity to be respected with regards to being an autonomous person in society, thus equating to self-respect (Honneth, 1996).

Attainment of legal recognition is grounded in historical significance. That is, rights claims which are seen to be legitimate in this sphere are dependent on historical context. What is seen to define a person depends on the subjective conditions which are deemed to enable equal autonomous participation at a certain period of time (Honneth, 1996). Indeed, since the turn of modernity, what is seen to be legitimate with regards to a person being seen as a free and respected autonomous individual in their own right has changed. Honneth argues that claims to being seen as an autonomous individual in current societies have increased as a result of continuous struggles for recognition in this particular sphere, which have resulted in a shift in the subjective preconditions which are seen to enable an individual to participate as an autonomous individual.

Current rights claims are grounded in both a political and social forum. In the case of political rights, Honneth argues that equal participation in the political sphere occurred from an initial struggle for recognition based on aforementioned civil rights, whereby males already had the privilege of participating in a political sense (Honneth, 1996). Such movements as the civil rights movement saw struggles for recognition that lead to a far more encompassing form of participation for other members of society e.g. women, to be accounted as autonomous individuals in the political realm.

In the latter realm, that of social rights, a similar struggle for recognition occurred to ensure social rights to enable individuals to be accounted as autonomous acting individuals. This encompasses a turn towards welfare states which the aim is to ensure people the capability to pursue their own claims for rights (Honneth, 1996). Such capabilities are now granted based on minimal provisions of education and economic security for all persons (Honneth, 1996). Thus, the meaning of being respected as an autonomous individual in a legal sense has changed from an initial conception, whereby an individual has the capacity to be seen an autonomous in accordance with current moral norms, towards an expectation that to enable autonomy an individual must encompass a basic social standard of living (Honneth, 1996).

Possession of, or lack thereof, both of political and social rights allows an individual to legitimately understand and convey to others experiences of respect or disrespect. Rights enable self-respect for individuals because of their public nature and as such provide an individual with the power to take action that can be perceived by others. As Honneth states: "…for, with the optional activity of taking legal recourse to a right, the individual now has available a symbolic means of expression whose social effectiveness can demonstrate to him, each time anew, that he or she is universally recognised as a morally responsible person" (Honneth, 1996, p120). Resultantly, through legal recognition an individual is able to see oneself as an autonomous member of the community who shares the conditions that predetermine self-formation, which Honneth relates to a relation to self which lead to self-respect (Honneth, 1996). The impact of denial of rights claims in the legal sphere have demonstrated feelings of shame, for example with the civil rights movement whereby

groups that have experienced disrespect at this level have regained their respect through protests to re-claim their rights to autonomy (Honneth, 1996).

3.2.2.3 Solidarity sphere of recognition

The third sphere of recognition refers to self-esteem. Recognition at this level results from an individual's skills, traits and abilities being recognised as valuable (Honneth, 1996). That is to say, the solidarity sphere encompasses an individual being recognised based on valued skills, abilities and attributes that make a person different (Honneth, 1996). That which is seen to be valuable is dependent upon which skills and abilities are perceived as a merited contribution to society (Honneth,1996). Indeed, Honneth argues that "…for self and other can mutually esteem each other as individualised persons only on the condition that they share an orientation to those values and goals that indicate to each other significance or contribution of their qualities of for the life of each other" (Honneth, 1996, p.121). That is then, intersubjective recognition of self-esteem can only come to fruition when there is a shared sense of values and goals which render contribution to everyone's lives. Thus, a shared understanding of cultural values underlie this particular form of relation to self in that an individual's abilities and achievements are judged based on how they are able to conform to culturally defined norms (Honneth, 1996).

In a similar vein to the legal sphere, claims to self-esteem in the solidarity sphere also have an underlying historical context due to changing cultural norms as to what traits and abilities are seen to be as contributive in conforming to shared cultural norms. More recently, struggles for recognition in this sphere centre around different groups attempting to establish value of their traits and abilities in society (Honneth, 1996). Honneth (1996) argues that this struggle and fruitions of this struggle are not only concerned with the power of the groups concerned, but also depend on the alignment of the public's perceptions with regards to the groups cause. Certainly, a group struggling to assert the value of its traits and abilities are more likely to be successful if members of the public acknowledge and agree that the group's claim of misrecognition in this sphere is legitimate (Honneth, 1996). That is, their individual abilities and achievements must be seen as contributive to society.

If one is granted legitimacy in their claim through their struggle for recognition in this sphere, what results is feelings of 'group-pride' or 'collective honour' (Honneth, 1996, p.128). Indeed, through this experience, an individual is able to align oneself to a group that is morally esteemed on the basis of mutual recognition of traits and abilities that make worthwhile contribution to society (Honneth, 1996). Within such groups then, arises intersubjective relations of solidarity whereby each group member recognises each other's ways of life. As such a process of individualisation occurs whereby the individual is able to move away from the collective respect accustomed to the group's achievements and can inherit these accomplishments as their own (Honneth, 1996). Resultantly, an individual is able to experience self-respect due to acknowledgement that their individual abilities will be recognised as valuable in society (Honneth, 1996).

Intersubjective recognition at this level is the baseline for access to solidarity. That is, mutual recognition of esteem between autonomous individuals provides the basis for solidarity to form (Honneth, 1996). While Honneth (1996) does argue that as a result of differences in societal values it is impossible to mutually recognise one another on a level footing, but rather mutual recognition must be conceptualised as all individuals being exempt from being collectively denigrated based on their group status. Consequently, individuals are able to have their own traits, abilities and achievements recognised as an autonomous valuable contributor to society.

3.2.3 Experiences of disrespect

When speaking of experiences of disrespect, Honneth by drawing on Hegel and Mead, is referring to the vulnerability of individuals as they are only able to achieve positive self-relations with agreement from others in the form of intersubjectivity (Honneth, 1996). As such, experiences of disrespect can result in moral injuries for an individual (Honneth, 1996). Moral injury can be experienced in different forms. For example, a subject's self-respect can be harmed as a result of their moral accountability in society being unrecognised or overlooked (Honneth, 1996). Additionally, subjects may experience humiliation due to misrecognition of individual capabilities leading to social insignificance in a particular section of society (Honneth, 1996). Therefore, one's relations to self are damaged and the individual experiences personal harm (Honneth, 1996).

The three spheres of recognition provide a basis in understanding how an individual can experience disrespect in different ways. Experiences of disrespect are categorised based on disturbances of people's practical relation-to-self, that is self-confidence, self-respect and self-esteem which equate to misrecognition in the love sphere, legal sphere, and solidarity sphere respectively (Honneth, 1996). Honneth argues that by understanding experiences of disrespect this way, one is able to comprehend the reasons for a social uprising in the form of struggles for recognition (Honneth, 1996).

3.2.3.1 Experiences of disrespect in the love sphere

Disrespect in the love sphere may be experienced through forms of physical abuse whereby an individual fails to have autonomous control over their own body (Honneth, 1996). What follows is a loss of basic self-confidence and trust in oneself and the social world around them which illicit negative relations with others (Honneth, 1996). Indeed, with the experience of physical abuse, the individual would lose trust in the value of one's own needs and love from the eyes of another (Honneth, 1997). That is, the trust of one's physical well-being as being recognised and valued by others is lost.

3.2.3.2 Experiences of disrespect in the legal sphere

On the contrary, experiences of disrespect in the legal sphere are dependent on historical context. Indeed, experiences of disrespect at this level denote situations whereby an individual is denied certain rights within society which will change based on development in legal relations (Honneth, 1996). Moral injury in this form results in damage of an individual's self-respect due to the perception that our judgements as autonomous individuals are failed to be recognised by others (Honneth, 1997). That is, an individual is failed to be given the recognition as others on the basis of moral accountability and responsibility (Honneth,1996). Such experiences do not only result in restraining a person's capacity to act on an autonomous basis, but also denies a person from feeling as a fully participative member of society with equal moral rights as all others, resulting in a moral attack on self-respect (Honneth, 1996). As such an example of disrespect, Honneth refers to situations such as fraud on an individual level and group discrimination at the group level (Honneth, 1997).

Research on aged care workers has demonstrated experiences of disrespect at this level whereby workers face excessive supervision and surveillance implying mistrust in the workers judgement and thus presenting misrecognition for the workers at this level (Banks, 2018).

3.2.3.3 Experiences of disrespect in the solidarity sphere

Disrespect in the solidarity sphere can be understood as experiences of degradation or denigration, whereby an individual is degraded based on their particular way of life (Honneth, 1996). If said way of live is perceived as deficient by other members of the community, then the individual is unable to relate their abilities as attaining any social value. Social esteem is measured by the valued contribution one makes to society with respect to their labour. Indeed, acquisition of social esteem relates to an individual's chances in acquiring a rewarding and socially accepted form of work. To solidify this point he draws on the example of housewives from two different perspectives. Firstly, from a historical standpoint, he argues that as the duties of a housewife fail to be accepted as valued types of labour in society, one can only explain the experience of low self-esteem which equates from carrying out womanly duties in a social world constructed on masculine values. From a psychological sense, he argues that due to masculine dominance, women have had limited opportunities to seek social respect that is required for positive self-formation. This example demonstrates that the structural and symbolic of labour in society is highly significant when looking at social recognition "…because the culturally ranked social tasks determine the amount of social esteem an individual can obtain for his or her occupation and for the attributes associated with it, the chances of forming an individual identity through the experience of recognition are directly related to the societal institutionalisation and distribution of labour." (Honneth, 2007, p.76)

What results, according to Honneth, is one will struggle to acknowledge oneself as socially significant. Thus, an individual's self-esteem is attacked as they are unable to see their abilities as mutually esteemed by others (Honneth, 1996). Here, Honneth speaks of moral injuries in reference to feelings of humiliation and disrespect with regards to one's abilities and achievements rendering an individual to be socially insignificant. He argues that such cases include the experience of stigmatisation (Honneth, 1997).

3.2.4 The struggle for respect

Honneth (1996) claims that his work on struggles for recognition helps to explain social change through behavioural norms that are sought in 'relations of mutual recognition' (Chamberlain et al., 2010). His understanding of justice constituted to the needs of the individual being met and individuals being mutually respected for individual achievements and contributions made as a morally autonomous person in society (Austen et al., 2016). Moral injustice refers to situations whereby individuals are denied recognition, which Honneth deems social disrespect (Honneth, 2007). Certainty, Sayer (2007) stipulates the importance of the treatment of others with which we engage with regularly in relation to our acquisition of self-respect. As such, he argues that if one fails to be treated with dignity, then one would struggle to maintain their own dignity.

In opposition to criticisms from Fraser, Honneth has proposed that "…in modern society the conditions for individual self-realization are only socially secured when subjects can experience intersubjective recognition not only of their personal autonomy, but of their specific needs and particular capacities as well." (Fraser and Honneth, 2003, p.189). Indeed, Honneth argues that respect equates to recognition of a human's existence (Ramarjan and Barsade, 2008). Therefore, there is a need to look at unequal distribution as struggles for recognition regarding the valuation of an individual's social contributions (Honneth, 2004), rendering redistributive struggles as secondary to the experience of social disrespect (Honneth, 2004). To understand social injustice, a movement must be made from focusing on the conflicts that arise between the system and individual experience, towards encompassing an understanding of how social causes elicit violation of claims for recognition (Honneth, 2007). Thus, focus needs to turn towards avoiding humiliation and disrespect (Honneth, 2004).

Experiences of disrespect which result in emotions such as anger are accompanied by experiences of negative affect, whereby an individual is able to highlight to themselves and others that some form of recognition is being withheld (Honneth, 1996). Due to the required prerequisite of social recognition for self-realisation, experiences of disrespect result in the threat of loss of self. The resultant feelings that accompany such disrespect include shame, anger or indignation (Honneth,

2007). He argues that such emotional responses provide the motivation for struggles for recognition in order to achieve social justice because the only way to diffuse shameful and angry emotions that accompany experiences of disrespect is to seek out the possibility of self-realisation and social inclusion that a struggle for recognition may afford (Honneth,1996). That is, the potential for self-realisation which equates the individual as a fully legitimate contributive member of society, which relies on the mutual acknowledgement of such by legitimate others which leads to social inclusion (Honneth, 2004). Nevertheless, whether such emotions equate to a political and social revolt on behalf of the morally injured will be dependent on an individual's cultural-political environment and the potential that such provides to allow for a collective social movement in the struggle for recognition (Honneth, 1997a). In his more recent work on disrespect Honneth (2007) argues that social protests from the lower classes are not as a result of positively formulated moral principles, but are rather a reaction to the experience of injustice.

Empirical research has demonstrated how aged care workers sort to affirm their own recognition despite experiences of disrespect at the love, legal and solidarity level (Banks, 2018). Indeed, both workers and clients in this respect found that they could recognise each other resulting in mutual benefit. Nevertheless, attainment of a positive relation to self in this case was continuously disrupted as a result of elements of mistrust and devaluation (Banks, 2018). Similarly, in their empirical research on the recognition experiences of street cleaners and refuse workers, Simpson et al. (2016) have demonstrated how said workers struggle to attain a practical relation to self in the face of disrespect in the solidarity sphere. Certainly, in this case, while the workers did mention a number of experiences whereby their work was recognised as meaningful by members of the public, every single worker did demonstrate that they struggled for recognition as an occupational group (Simpson et al., 2016).

3.3 Criticisms of recognition theory

3.3.1 Recognition vs redistribution debate

Nancy Fraser (1995) criticises recognition theory by stating that "…cultural recognition displaces socioeconomic redistribution as the remedy for injustice and the goal of

political struggle" (p.68). She deems this the problem of displacement, whereby focus on recognition (as a consequence of globalisation) displaces distributive struggles (Fraser, 2000). She argues that struggles for recognition are grounded within material inequalities such as access to paid work, education and leisure time (Fraser, 1995). Therefore, she suggests a need to understand how both redistribution and recognition are intertwined (Fraser, 1995). For example, jobs stigmatised as feminine equate to lower wages, thus demeaning connotations of outgroups have negative distributive effects, which is ignored by theories of recognition (Fraser, 1995). Some forms of identity politics have been known to identify links between demeaning connotations and redistributive injustice. However, they have equated redistributive injustice as a secondary effect of misrecognition (Fraser, 2000) suggesting that if cultural recognition is achieved, redistributive struggles will also be rectified.

Furthermore, Fraser criticises recognition theory for "…emphasising psychic structure over social institutions and social interaction" (Fraser, 2001, p.24), resulting in pressure being placed on individuals to conform to group identity. As a result, Honneth's theory can reinforce misrecognition through promoting conformism (Fraser, 2000). Additionally, she argues that focus on group identity promotes distancing through conceptualising cultures as mutually exclusive (Fraser, 2001). Moreover, she states that recognition theory "…obscures the struggle for power of authority within groups" (Fraser, 2001, p.24). She deems this the problem of reification, whereby focusing on recognition fuels group stigmatisation, othering and separatism (Fraser, 2000). Consequently, Honneth's theory reinforces cultural and economic repression.

In her earlier work, Fraser (1995) focuses on how the politics of recognition both support and undermine politics of redistribution. In order to do as such, she treats cultural injustice and economic injustice as different, despite acknowledging that both are intertwined (Fraser, 1995). She defines socioeconomic injustice as rooted within the economic structure of society, including exploitation, marginalisation and deprivation. Whereas, cultural injustice she defines as rooted within ones representation, interpretation and communication within society, including cultural domination, invisibility and disrespect (Fraser, 1995). Concurringly, she suggests two different remedies: firstly, for economic injustice she proposes political-economic restructuring, with an aim to deny difference. Using the working-class as an example, she argues that

class struggles are rooted within political-economic structure as working class individuals experience exploitation of their labour capacity in relation to gained rewards. Thus, the aim here is to move away from a working class identity (Fraser, 1995). Secondly, for cultural injustice she proposes cultural change, with an aim to promote difference (Fraser, 1995). Using a despised sexuality as an example, Fraser (1995) argues that this form of injustice is grounded in cultural value by not fitting in with cultural norms, thus the aim here would be to promote difference. However, she acknowledges that certain individuals may experience both recognition and redistributive injustice, which she entitles the 'redistribution-recognition dilemma' (Fraser, 1995).

Honneth argues that experience of social injustice stems from denial of legitimate recognition. As such, polarising distribution struggles and recognition struggles is problematic due to the corresponding argument that economic claims of redistribution are independent from experiences of disrespect (Fraser and Honneth, 2003). Instead, he reiterates his argument by placing the emphasis on the idea that for a socially just society, strong conditions of mutual recognition need to be present to enable an individual to form positive relations to self (Fraser and Honneth, 2003). While both Honneth and Fraser do agree on the importance of participation in social interactions while being free from ridicule, this is where their similarities end (Fraser and Honneth, 2003). While for Fraser, equal participation in social life is the core of social justice, for Honneth, participation is a pre-requisite for self-actualisation (Fraser and Honneth, 2003). Certainly, Honneth argues that "…from here it was only a small step to the generalized insight that the moral quality of social relations cannot be measured solely in terms of the fair or just distribution of material goods; rather, our notion of justice is also very closely linked to how, and as what, subjects mutually recognize each other." (Honneth, 1997, p17).

Fraser (1995) conceptualises those that face the redistribution-recognition dilemma as 'bivalent collectivities' specifically referring to gender and race. In relation to gender, she discusses how women experience economic injustice through exploitation and marginalisation, for example, through division of paid work and unpaid domestic work, as well as higher and lower paid wages/salaries (Fraser, 1995). However, women also experience cultural injustice through dominant norms in society that favour masculinity,

leading to sexism (Fraser, 1995). Therefore, Fraser (1995) explores affirmative remedies (aimed at correcting inequality without changing the underlying framework) and transformative remedies (aimed at correcting inequalities by reshaping the underlying framework). Thus, affirmative remedies reinforce group difference while transformative re-shape groups and provide less focus on difference. Looking at cultural injustice, affirmative remedies would revalue stigmatised groups without changing their identities. Whereas, transformative remedies change underlying valued cultural norms through destabilising group identities (Fraser, 1995). For example, regarding sexuality, an affirmative remedy is gay identity politics, whereas a transformative remedy involves deconstructing the dichotomy between heterosexuality and homosexuality (Fraser, 1995). Concluding, she argues that transformative remedies may be better as they do not create resentment. For example, less resentment is felt by males with transformative remedies as there is less focus on positive discrimination compared to using affirmative remedies.

Fraser (2001) explores the difference between morality and ethics to challenge pre-set assumptions regarding redistribution and recognition: firstly, claims for distribution belong to morality, and secondly, claims for recognition belong to ethics. She aims to account claims for recognition as justice claims within an expanded understanding of justice (Fraser, 2001). Thus, she proposes that recognition injustice should be re-phrased as a violation of justice. Consequently, Fraser (2000, 2001) produces another perspective: recognition as a status model.

Within the status model perspective, recognition is determined as being a full player in social interaction, whereas, being misrecognised equates to lacking the means to be a full player in social interaction. Thus, misrecognition refers to one being denied the opportunity to participate as a peer in society (Fraser, 2001). She suggests that to overcome social subordination, institutionalised patterns placing some as inferior need to be examined, therefore the status model aims to "…deinstitutionalise patterns of cultural value which prevent full participation in social interaction and replace them with patterns encouraging full participation" (Fraser, 2001, p.25). As a result, the status model moves away from focusing on the individual psyche towards social relations, avoiding a 'blame the victim' mentality (Fraser, 2001). To ensure equal participation, which she deems 'participatory parity', she states that two conditions must be met.

Firstly, the objective condition which is "…distribution of material resources must be such to ensure independence and voice" (Fraser, 2001, p.29). Secondly, the intersubjective condition which is "…institutionalised patterns of cultural value must express equal respect for all participants and ensure equal opportunity for achieving social esteem" (Fraser, 2001, p.29). Thus, the status model prevents problems of displacement through recognition of maldistribution justice while distancing from group identities and segmentation by focusing on ensuring full individual participation in social interaction, rather than conformity (Fraser, 2000).

Honneth challenges Fraser's core concept of participatory parity due to its presentation of ambiguity with regards to why only the economy and culture are deemed obstacles to participation in social life, while spheres of socialisation and law are not (Fraser and Honneth, 2003). As such, he argues that an understanding of how the self is realised in relation to social interactions is required (Fraser and Honneth, 2003). This provides justification for his conceptualisation of recognition and how it can present a comprehensive understanding of social justice (Fraser and Honneth, 2003). Indeed, he argues that his theory of recognition encompasses two processes, that of individualisation and inclusion, which together provide the basis for social progress (Fraser and Honneth, 2003). In the first sense, he argues that opportunities for self-realisation are increased (Fraser and Honneth, 2003). Whereas, in the latter sense he refers to an individual's increasing opportunity to be included as a full member of society (Fraser and Honneth, 2003). Certainly, Honneth (2004) argues that the measure of social injustice is based on withholding of a form of legitimate recognition. Constructing economic disadvantage and cultural disadvantage as polar differences is questionable as the reference of social injustice should be seen through experiences of social disrespect or humiliation (Honneth, 2004). As such, struggles for redistribution can be categorised as a form of disrespect, grounded in a struggle for individual and group contributions to be valued and recognised (Honneth, 2004). What is stipulated from here then is that only claims for recognition which are seen to contribute to the development of social relations of respect are those that are justified and this can be measured through processes of individualisation and inclusion (Fraser and Honneth, 2003). Thus, in

order to see if claims are warranted, an individual must prove that they are unable to compete fairly with peers on an objective and/or intersubjective level.

3.3.2 Structural factors and subjectivity

While acknowledging the merits of Honneth's recognition theory for explaining how social struggles are rooted in morality, Kauppinen (2002) argues that his conceptualisation faces two challenges. Firstly, prioritisation of particular norms as the norms by which all should be judged is questioned. As such, Kauppinen (2002) argues that certain social groups may align to their own particular norms of which take precedence over other norms. Secondly, Kauppinen (2002) critiques Honneth's theory by arguing why members of a social group should mutually recognise everyone on an equal basis. Here, what is debated is that even contending with the claim that normative recognition is fundamental for interactions, this does not equate to the need for norms of recognition to shape behaviour towards outgroups (Kauppinen, 2002). Consequently then, Kauppinen (2002) stipulates that while mutual recognition is fundamental for subjectivity, the extent to Honneth's claims of requirement of recognition from all persons, in all contexts to maintain self-respect is overemphasised.

Both Honneth and Fraser's accounts of recognition have been criticised on the basis that their stances are reducing the full nature of recognition through presenting solutions to justice in the form of recognition and distribution of justice and identity (Kompridis, 2007). Certainly, here it is argued that the meaning of recognition is unclear and as such should be understood as a matter of freedom. While acknowledging core differences between both Honneth and Fraser's views, Kompridis (2007) focuses on one of their few similarities in that both perceive an instrumental view towards recognition. Finding this instrumentalism problematic, he compares such a view to a medicalisation of recognition struggles arguing that this limits solutions to the provision of medicine to be fixed. Secondly, he suggests that recognition is not a prescription that can be distributed as and when needed (Kompridis, 2007). Rather, Kompridis (2007) suggests that recognition should be conceived as messy, grounded in the historical, requiring further understanding of contextual differences. As such, drawing on Tully (2006), the proposition is that recognition should be construed as '"…struggle over norms of recognition"

(Kompridis, 2007, p.87), resulting in an understanding of how one's wish to be recognised in a certain way and intersubjectivity of recognition interplay.

With regards to attainment of self-esteem according to Honneth's theory, Owen (2007) highlights that the nature of affording respect to an individual does not solely relate to skills seen as valuable to society, but we also commend people for characteristics such as honesty and kindness, therefore self-esteem can also be offered on the basis of mutually accepted terms of ethics and values. Moreover, Honneth's theory overlooks the differences in social communities and what different communities may value as achievements (Owen, 2007). As such, attainment of self-esteem is not easily reducible to a one-size-fits-all conception as what is seen as valuable (Owen, 2007). Furthermore, this theory would argue that if one is granted praise from their community based on certain community specified values, one would still struggle to be afforded recognition if those community specific values were not also valued by society as a whole, thus marginalised social/cultural communities would struggle to attain conditions for self-actualisation (Owen, 2007).

In seeking to make Honneth's theory of recognition more applicable for contemporary modern societies, Van Leeuwen (2007) proposes a fourth sphere of recognition, namely 'difference –respect'. This additional sphere is argued to provide for 'minority rights claims' due to its focus on the value of cultural norms among the cultural group concerned, rather than recognition of a particular culture in society (Van Leeuwen, 2007). Such a conceptualisation arguably acknowledges the significance of social attachments and the respect that may be afforded to specific groups through such social attachments whereby respect can be attained through a sense of belonging (Van Leeuwen, 2007).

3.3.3 Social domination

Honneth is further critiqued for overlooking the role of power relations with regards to the attainment of positive self-realisation with an over optimistic view that cultural struggles for recognition will render solution to moral injustice (Kalyvas, 2003). As such he further overestimates that social struggles would result in drastic political movements on behalf of groups unrecognised by failing to account for "…intermediary social, symbolic and institutional structures that intervene between emotional reactions and political identities" (Kalyvas, 2003, p.102). Certainly, he fails

to fully acknowledge the significance of certain structural factors such as class, gender and history (Kalyvas, 2003).

Reiteratively, Honneth is criticised due to an oversight of how materiality impacts subjectivity and agency, as well as overlooking the influence of social norms dependent on environmental context. As such, Honneth fails at attempts to provide a valid critique of domination (Deranty, 2005). Indeed, by overlooking materiality, Honneth struggles to concede of the interplay between material structures and intersubjective relations (Deranty, 2006). Consequently, Deranty (2006) argues that a return to encompassing historical materialism and its grounding in anthropological materialism, in order to incorporate understanding of "…extra linguistic processes underlying social interactions and normativity" (p.119).

While Honneth's (1996) theory arguably provides a fitting picture of social conflicts that may arise as a result of struggles for recognition, he overlooks the complex interlink between recognition and domination by lacking account for structures of social domination (Allen, 2010). With a focus on gender, Allen (2010) argues that "Honneth is unable to diagnose how the attachment to gender norms that are pernicious and subordinating operates beneath the level of reasons and is, as such, often impervious to rational critique" (p.31). As such, Honneth fails to present a holistic picture of how power influences subjectivity (Allen, 2010). Therefore his theory, contradictory to his aim, perpetuates subordination as by overlooking underlying structures that render groups dominated, fails to account for their powerlessness to rebel against said structures (Allen, 2010).

Similarly, Charli (2010) has argued that a limited understanding of how socio-economic factors influence recognition results in redundancy of Honneth's own aim of a critical theory due to an oversight of dominance in society. By decoupling the economic and political, Honneth's theory downplays the struggles and constraining factors faced by certain groups that inhibit their attempts towards moral progress with respect to changing underlying social structures (Charli, 2010). Subsequently, what is suggested here is that an understanding of how dominant social structures intertwine with intersubjectivity (Charli, 2010).

Both Honneth and Fraser have been criticised for lacking account of the impact of a turn towards neoliberalism has had on recognition theory (Garrett, 2010). In so doing, Garrett (2010) draws on Markell's (2003) criticism of Honneth, suggesting that his conceptualisation of recognition overlooks the role of the power of those that render individuals as lacking recognition, with a predominant focus on the consequences for individuals that suffer at the hands of being misrecognised. Indeed, Garrett (2010) postulates that a core difficulty with current theories of recognition is grounded in limited consideration of how the state with an intention to continue certain processes due to a favour towards capitalism, impacts experiences of injustice amongst individuals. As such, current recognition theory fails to account for structurally fuelled experiences of injustice (Garrett, 2010).

In her interview with Rasmus Willig, Judith Butler has presented her own critiques of recognition theory with respect to an oversight of the significance of social structures when seeking to propose a critical theory of justice (Willig, 2012). Certainly, she highlights that attainment for recognition is problematic with members of society that fail to be represented in the public domain by those in power positions (Willig, 2012). As such, there is a need to take note of underlying structures that influence who in society is granted to be worthy of recognition (Willig, 2012) due to the impossibility of being able to detach power processes from a holistic understanding of determinants for recognition whereby power relations and subjectivity intertwine.

3.3.4 Refining the spheres of recognition

Honneth's third sphere of recognition is argued to provide an oversimplified view through predominant focus of self-actualisation being attained through valued traits and abilities from work (Zurn, 2005). This one-dimensional focus oversees the potential for other areas of which can confirm self-actualisation (Zurn, 2005). Additionally, in support of Fraser, Zurn (2005) argues that not all claims for injustice can be reduced to identity and status recognition. Drawing on an example set by Fraser, Zurn (2005) postulates that in the case of an individual losing work based on a corporate merger, rather than framing this as misrecognition of traits or abilities, a better understanding would incorporate market structures. Accordingly, he proposes a need to account for the current market mechanisms at play in a capitalist society to

further enhance understandings of injustice in contemporary western societies, rather than solely reducing such to recognition (Zurn, 2005).

While in relation to Honneth's three spheres of recognition, basic self-confidence as a relation to self which is attained through the love sphere of recognition has been criticised due to its reductionist dimensions and oversight of its significance in relation to subjectivity (Owen, 2007). Indeed, Honneth reduces disrespect in this form to abuse and rape, discounting for other forms of disrespect in this sense such as adultery. In so doing, he contradicts his own conceptualisation of the love sphere, that is, that this particular sphere provides consolidation as an independent being which is shaped and re-affirmed through care (Owen, 2007). Consequently then, by reducing disrespect in this particular sphere to experiences of physical abuse and rape, presents an oversight of other forms of disrespect which equate to mistrust that negatively impact the formation of self (Owen, 2007). Additionally, Owen (2007) argues that in the love sphere prominent focus lies on primary relationships with caregivers as the driver of attainment of basic self-confidence; however, this overlooks the impact of continuous evolvement of the self and how experiences in later relationships impact such experiences (Owen, 2007).

3.4 Class struggles and recognition

In his more recent work, using his conception of recognition, Honneth (2007) has sort to present the struggles for social justice among those occupying positions in the lower classes. As such, he stipulates that the presentation of feelings of social injustice are grounded in processes of class domination (Honneth, 2007). Indeed, these processes illicit a form of social control with the aim to prevent hindrance to the current dominance in society (Honneth, 2007). Thus processes of control allow those in positions of class dominance to preserve status quo and limit the opportunity for those in lower classes to assert claims of injustice. Concurringly, Sayer (2007) argues that achievement of respect is influenced by one's deeply embedded positions of class, gender, race and ethnicity.

To illuminate the process of class dominance, Honneth turns to processes of individualisation and social exclusion (Honneth, 2007). With respect to cultural exclusion, Honneth highlights the idea that language which is widely used in societies today de-personalises class experiences of injustice to which end, such

claims for injustice remain hidden from the public sphere. Simultaneously, legal regulations are present which set specific requirements as to the inclusion of numerous deprived groups (Honneth, 2007), which equate to some form of participation. However, such legalities are intertwined with class deprivation, therefore, justice claims of this particular group remain hidden from public view and may only be expressed in a private forum. Certainly, Sayer (2007) suggest that those occupying positions as subordinates suffer a paradox of disadvantage whereby efforts to maintain some sort of respect result in an overestimated positivity regarding their situation. On the other hand however, presenting claims of disrespect by this group results in unfavourable criticism whereby they are rendered accountable for their fate. Additionally, previously sort political movements for social change are systematically repressed (Honneth, 2007). For example, the resistance sought by NHS workers at a hospital in Birmingham in the 1970s in the form of a 24 hour strike, which resulted in a movement towards hiring more staff to help manage the overbearing workload, or resistance through striking on behalf of bin-men at the same time (Rowbotham, 2006), are refrained from being discussed in a public forum today. As such this represents a form of cultural exclusion which prevents capabilities of people in this group to express their claims for social injustice in the same way (Honneth, 2007).

With respect to institutional processes of individualisation, Honneth refers to state and organisational implemented strategies that seek to reward action on an individual level (Honneth, 2007). Resultantly, collective forms of claims for injustice and resultant attempts of mobilisation are hindered (Honneth, 2007). These strategies also extend to increasing competition in labour markets and destruction of previous working communities. Individualisation reinforces these processes. Certainly, a turn towards a neoliberal ideology has resulted in public budget austerity, deregulation of product and labour markets, cuts in state welfare provision, privatisation and value sort in individualism (Scherrer, 2014; Aguiar and Herod, 2006). The process of individualisation then, outlines the premise that individuals have freedom of choice with regards to their own destinies due to "…disintegration of previously existing social forms and changes in the labour market" (Beck and Beck-Gernshiem, 2002, p.2). While proposing a similar level of competitiveness for every

individual in the labour market as a result of changing work practices, Beck and Beck-Gernshiem (2002) acknowledge that there are limited resources on offer and as a consequence, one needs to be able to "…know how to assert oneself in the competition for limited resources…" (p.3). However, any experience of misfortune such as poor career choice, illness or divorce is seen to be a result of bad luck (Beck and Beck-Gernshiem, 2002). Atkinson (2007) questions Beck by highlighting the ambiguity surrounding the concept of individualisation, as well as the effects individualisation has on class. Atkinson challenges the theory by arguing that a pupil's decision to continue with education is affected by their former education as well as their "…ability or inclination to absorb it" (Atkinson, 2007, p.361). In a similar vein, Brannen and Nilsen (2005) draw on the difficulties faced by individuals to talk about structurally embedded forces shaping their own lives. Consequently, "…individualisation as an ideology can thus be thought to disempower those whose lives are more at the mercy of structural constraints than others" (Brannen and Nilsen, 2005, p.424). That is, those at the bottom of the hierarchy still struggle to gain any autonomy over life choices as a result of structural inequalities. Similarly, Honneth (2007) argues, the individualisation process of social living makes identification of injustice claims on a public stage difficult.

When looking at social injustice of the underclasses then, a theory focused on unequal distribution of resources fails to be sufficient, instead it should include limitations to cultural and psychological life chances (Honneth, 2007). In this respect, Honneth refers to "…a class specific distribution of opportunities for cultural education, social recognition and identity-guaranteeing work…" (p.93), in order to make visible normative conflicts which are grounded in class-specific feelings of injustice. When taking into account market chances of the underclass and how this limits opportunities to attaining cultural and psychological respect, the result is a continuation of struggles for social recognition (Honneth, 2007). Both in an informal and an institutionalised sense, certain jobs, in line with a dominant value system, provide opportunities for respect whereas, others which oppose a dominant value system fail to ascribe respect. Certainly, Sayer (2007) argues that "…the distribution of dignified and undignified work varies strongly by class, gender and race, and tends to be taken as confirming the status of those who do it" (p.577). As such, those

occupying positions in lower classes struggle to attain opportunities for respect, whereby Honneth predominantly refers to those occupying manual occupations (Honneth, 2007). Fairly recently, Simpson et al., (2016) have argued that in response to experiences of disrespect, some may argue that street cleaners and refuse workers unwillingness to adapt to changing market expectations and commitment to manual labour depicts their own failures to progress. However, they stipulate that being unable to meet current market demands further demonstrates their lack of power with regards to meeting new conditions of self-realisation.

Honneth (2007) stipulates then, if a supportive environment for a social movement is not present, experiences of injustice will remain limited in a specific construction of a counterculture of compensatory respect whereby individuals will privately raise the honour of their own work or degrade the work of higher status work. Such ways of managing disrespect have been demonstrated by dirty work scholars (Ashforth and Kreiner, 1999; Grady and Mavin, 2014; Grandy, 2008; Tokyoki and Brown, 2014; Thiel, 2007). Honneth (2007) interprets such behaviour as a formulation in a private domain, of a consciousness of injustice which stresses an injustice claim for the right to be autonomous in the organisation of work. Additionally, Honneth (2007) emphasises that the stipulations posed above require further empirical investigation by stating "I believe that an analysis of society that accurately describes the reality of capitalist class relations must construct its fundamental concepts in such a way that it can grasp the normative potential of socially suppressed groups" (p.94). In a similar vein, Sayer (2007) calls for further investigation into experiences of the attainment of dignity and constraints to such at work, arguing that class equalities and instrumentalism result in particular occupations struggling to afford dignity; nevertheless, there are ways to earn respect which would result in benefits for the organisation and the individual. Therefore, this proposes the question as to how those in physically tainted occupations manage experiences of disrespect in light of processes of class domination including individualisation and social exclusion.

3.5 Recognition, redistribution and relations of power

Current understandings of recognition in the form of Honneth's (1996) theory and Fraser's (2000) status model may struggle at some level to understand experiences of disrespect, more particularly, in the way that those are physically tainted

occupations manage their experiences of disrespect. Certainly, both Honneth's (1996) recognition theory and Fraser's status model have been criticised on the basis of overlooking the ways in which relations of power frame experiences of moral suffering. With respect to the status model of recognition, critique has stemmed from the polarisation of culture and economy by disconnecting identities from deep rooted inequality (McNay, 2008). As such, Fraser's account is argued to be too objectivist as it "…ignores counter-hegemonic political movements of any active agents" (McNay, 2008, p.161). Resultantly, Fraser is unable to explain agency or the connection between subjective and objective forms of oppression (McNay, 2008).

On the other hand, Honneth's (1996) account, due to its subjectivism, is deemed as an unreliable gauge of social injustice. From this standpoint, McNay (2008a) criticises Honneth "…for the way in which his construal of social suffering results in an uncritical subjectivism that… is not a reliable indicator of injustice and reduces oppression to psychic harm" (McNay, 2008a, p.272). On this basis, McNay (2008a) argues that due to the subjectivist nature of Honneth's ontology, and the objectivist nature of Fraser's (2000) recognition redistribution paradigm, one needs to incorporate an understanding of the role power relations play in moral suffering.

Honneth's (1996) conceptualisation of recognition is deemed problematic due to the proposed relationship between agency and identity. In this form, agency is outlined as an expression of one's desire for recognition. However, there is a lack of focus on how power leads to subjectivity and identity which "…naturalises the idea of agency" (McNay, 2008b, p195). Indeed, Sayer (2005) argues that "…low income people are not disadvantaged primarily because others fail to value their identity and misrecognise and undervalue their cultural good, or indeed because they are stigmatised, though all these things make their situation worse; rather they are disadvantaged primarily because they lack the means to live in ways which they, as well as others value" (Sayer, 2005, p.947). Therefore, agency does not stem from desire for recognition, as some groups in society suffer from structural inequalities, and so lack the resources needed to decipher agency and be recognised as an individual. Thus, in order to fully understand class inequalities one needs to consider how unequal access to economic goods interplays with recognition (Sayer, 2005).

In order to bridge the gap between the subjectivism and objectivism which characterises models of recognition and redistribution McNay (2008a) draws on Bourdieu's (1984) habitus to enable an understanding of moral injury and social injustice which incorporates the interplay between recognition, redistribution and relations of power. McNay (2008a) suggests that habitus conceptualises agency as "…an embodied practice that is realised in different ways through particular configurations of power" (McNay, 2008b, p.195). Furthermore, she argues that "…as a way of explaining how power relations are incorporated into the body as psychical and psychological dispositions, habitus does not lead to the naturalisation of the cluster of emotions associated with social suffering that seems to be as an inevitable consequence of Honneth's ontology of recognition" (McNay, 2008a, p.272). Additionally, she argues that habitus can add valuable insights to Fraser's paradigm by addressing how identities are used as a strategy for social control.

Skeggs argues that middle classes obtain a habitus which allows them to explain experiences through self-ownership, while less privileged groups lack such capability, thus they are unable to explain social relations in the same way (Skeggs, 2004). Incorporating habitus into the recognition paradigm then uncovers how "…economic forces are often lived as psychological dispositions" (McNay, 2008a, p.288). As a result, one moves away from a partial understanding of social suffering. Moreover, certain social groups can be observed engaging in agency more easily due to internalised predispositions that result in symbolic capital and knowing the rules of the game.

As such, incorporating habitus into current understandings of recognition may help to provide a more holistic understanding of how those in physically tainted occupations experience and cope with disrespect. Firstly, Honneth's (1996) spheres of recognition can provide insights into how those in physically tainted occupations experience disrespect. However, an incorporation of habitus (Bourdieu, 1984) will enable one to understand how relations of power are embedded within the psyche of those in physically tainted occupations and shape people's behaviours; thus explaining their reactions and management of said experiences, rather than assuming the naturalisation of a cluster of emotions which assume as a consequence of experiences of disrespect. Such a conceptualisation of exploring

how those in physically tainted occupations manage disrespect will also respond to calls from Honneth's (2007) work, for empirical exploration of the construction of a counterculture of compensatory respect on behalf of those occupying positions in the lower classes.

3.6 Pierre Bourdieu – Theory of practice

In light of the explanatory power incorporating Bourdieu's habitus may afford with regards to how those in physically tainted occupations experience and manage disrespect, the following seeks to provide an outline of his theory of practice in order to present an understanding of how power relations interplay with experiences of recognition.

Through his *'Theory of Practice'*, Pierre Bourdieu (1977) seeks to explain and understand human actions and the formation and function of the social hierarchy by focusing on 'practice'. He argues that previous accounts that have attempted to explain human action are too simplistic as they focus on social convention rules. While acknowledging the importance of social rules for the explanation of human action, he argues that we need to consider how these rules are constantly interpreted in different situations. Thus, the role of social norms is to provide 'interpretative resources for strategic action'. People use these rules as interpretive resources in order to advance individual interests. As a result, Bourdieu seeks to provide a deeper understanding of 'practice' by defining it as a series of complex exchanges between three of his main concepts, including capital, habitus and field.

Bourdieu identifies four types of capital, including cultural capital, economic capital, social capital and symbolic capital. Bourdieu conceptualised cultural capital from researching educational achievement, class divisions and class disadvantage (Bourdieu, 1986). Cultural capital is defined as capital that can sometimes be converted into economic capital and can be institutionalised in the form of educational credentials (Bourdieu, 1986). Bourdieu states three types of cultural capital, including embodied state, objectified state and institutionalised state. Embodied state refers to long lasting dispositions of the mind and body; objectified state refers to cultural goods such as pictures and instruments; and institutionalised state refers to recognition in the form of qualifications, for example, a degree from

Oxford University (Bourdieu, 1986). Bourdieu and Wacquant (2013) argue that lifestyle is the key determinant of recognition and legitimacy in the social world and thus of status.

Economic capital is defined as anything that can be converted into monetary form immediately (Bourdieu, 1986). On the other hand, social capital is defined as social network and connections which can also sometimes convert into economic capital and can be institutionalised in the form of nobility (Bourdieu, 1986), in other words by becoming a legitimately recognised figure. An individual's network provides a gateway to potential resources which can be used to mobilise within a field as well as providing legitimation for actual or potential resources (Bourdieu, 1986).

Symbolic capital is linked to one's taste and consumption practices and provides strong relation to recognition, i.e. being seen as legitimate in a social field. The aforementioned capitals (cultural, economic and social) are transformed into symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1977) when they are recognised by peers in the social field (Bourdieu, 1977). As a result, symbolic capital depends on *doxa* (the rules of the social field). Individuals are able to use symbolic capital to advance in particular social fields as a result of the legitimacy that comes from obtaining symbolic capital (Bourdieu 1986).

Bourdieu defines habitus as a system of internalised dispositions and tendencies which are determined and shaped by history (Bourdieu, 1984). The habitus shapes an individual's practice in social space through behaviours, language, thinking and feeling (Bourdieu, 1984). Habitus is a key concept in Bourdieu's explanation of human action as it helps explain how individuals are not only susceptible to social conventional rules but are also active in eliciting their own behaviours (Bourdieu and Passeron, 2000). While the habitus is shaped by existing structures in the form of particular 'rules of the game' which differentiate different social classes, which then become internalised by the individual; the habitus also aids reproduction of social structures through shaping individual action (Bourdieu and Passeron, 2000). However, he argues that individuals are not consciously aware of how internal dispositions shape their actions (Bourdieu, 1984).

Bourdieu differentiates between the primary habitus or *class habitus* (Bourdieu, 1977) and the secondary habitus (Bourdieu, 1990). The primary or *class habitus* refers to internalisation of parental behaviours, thinking, feeling and links to one's place in the social hierarchy (Bourdieu, 1977). The primary habitus shapes an individual taste's and consumption practices (Bourdieu, 1984). Whereas, the secondary habitus, while being influenced by the primary habitus, is shaped by educational experiences through school and education (Bourdieu, 1990).

There is a strong relationship between habitus and field as primary habitus which is influenced by someone's social class position leads to internalisation of conventional rules for a specific social field, which in turn sets social boundaries, limiting an agent's opportunity to mobilise one's position in the social field (Bourdieu, 1977). Certainly, this has already been demonstrated with regards to the recognition of street cleaners and refuse workers, whereby Simpson et al. (2016) have displayed that these workers draw on the value of physical labour due to their powerlessness to meet new market ideals. Therefore, one's practices or actions are constrained as the habitus (unbeknownst to the individual) confirms one's place in the field (Bourdieu, 1990).

Bourdieu argues that each social field has its own set of governing rules (Bourdieu, 1966). However, he states that although each field has its own set of rules, fields are only autonomous to a certain degree as fields are also set in social space; thus, wider social rules can influence the field, for example the economy (*Ibid*). Good understanding of the rules of the field allows individuals to predict field related opportunities and effectively increase chances of mobilisation within a particular field (Bourdieu, 1984). Bourdieu emphasises that a field hosts the stage for positional struggles (Bourdieu, 1975) and it is the structure of a field that presents both dominant and dominated positions (Bourdieu, 1977). As a result, a person's position within a field determines one's field of possibilities, which in turn shapes people's actions (Bourdieu, 1977). Each field possesses particular resources (in the form of capital) which are seen as valued and represent symbolic capital (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). Those that possess symbolic capital become dominant in the field and those that do not become the dominated. Therefore, fields are spaces which represent relational struggles for power. As Bourdieu contends, the interplay

between habitus and field can be seen as circular whereby the relationship between objective structures and subjective dispositions result in the confirmation and reproduction of objective structures (Bourdieu, 1977). Taking Bourdieu's contention with Sayer's argument then, that respect is influenced by one's deeply embedded positions of class, and the manual nature of physically tainted occupations, one may suggest that in this particular field of work, despite the lack of self-esteem afforded as a result of constraints preventing these workers meeting newly acquired market demands of what work is valuable, the symbolic capital afforded to the workers in this field as a result of embedded primary habitus and the rules in this field, may in fact provide space to cope with experiences of disrespect. Certainly, while processes of social exclusion and individualisation may reinforce experiences of disrespect for this group (Honneth, 2007), and this group fails to attain the possibility to exert claims of justice in the current market, construction of a counterculture of compensatory respect may indeed propose as a way to manage experiences of disrespect due to the possession of symbolic capital by these individuals as a result of their class habitus and the respect this can afford amongst each other in the field of manual work. Here lies then three research questions to adapt in order to understand how those in physically tainted occupations experience and manage forms of disrespect. Firstly, empirical research should seek to explore how those in physically tainted occupations experience recognition/misrecognition. Secondly, empirical work should determine what strategies are adopted by those occupying positions in physically tainted occupations to cope with disrespect. Finally, empirical data should aid in the understanding of how adopting certain strategies may enable those in physically tainted occupations to cope with experiences of disrespect.

3.7 Conceptual map and summary

Figure 3. 1: **Conceptual map for a study of how those in physically tainted occupations manage disrespect**
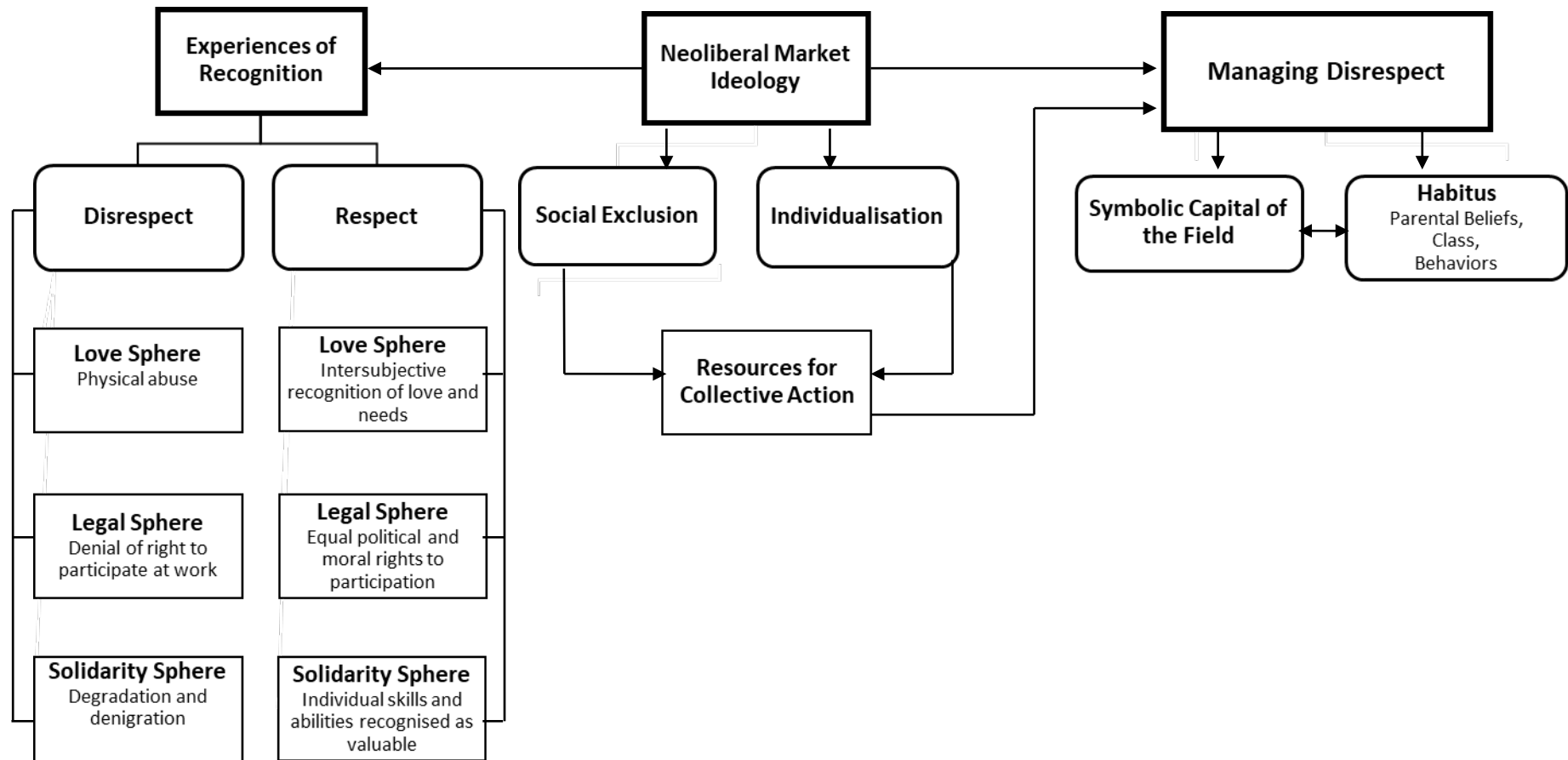
As depicted in the conceptual map, this chapter has provided an overview of Honneth's (1996) understanding of recognition. That is, in order to alleviate experiences of moral injury, individuals must experience recognition in three spheres, namely, the love sphere, the legal sphere and the solidarity sphere. In his work on class struggles and recognition however, Honneth (2007) has demonstrated the need to explore the struggles for recognition associated with those in manual occupations, as he stipulates their experiences of recognition will be influenced by processes of social exclusion and individualisation. Certainly, Simpson et al.'s (2016) work has highlighted this in their work on street cleaners and refuse workers, arguing that these workers are powerless to adhere to new market expectations. As such, the current study seeks to explore how those in physically tainted occupations experience recognition and how they are able to manage experiences of disrespect in light of the current market situation. Thereafter, following McNay's (2008, 2008b) calls to provide a more holistic understanding of struggles for recognition, the chapter has turned to the work of Pierre Bourdieu (1977), and more specifically his theory of practice to highlight how relations of power may interplay with experiences of recognition. Accordingly, one can acknowledge how deeply embedded positions of class, and the manual nature of physically tainted occupations, may suggest that in this particular field of work, despite the lack of self-esteem afforded as a result of constraints preventing these workers meeting newly acquired market demands of what work is valuable, the symbolic capital afforded to the workers in this field as a result of embedded primary habitus and the rules in this field, may in fact provide space to cope with experiences of disrespect. As such, one can respond to Honneth's (2007) stipulation of how a counterculture of compensatory respect may indeed propose as a way to manage experiences of disrespect for this particular group. Consequently, this study seeks to empirically investigate what strategies those in physically tainted occupations engage in to manage disrespect and how these particular strategies may aid in managing experiences of disrespect felt by this particular group in line with Bourdieu's concept of habitus. In light of this then, this study seeks to address the following research questions, Firstly, how do those in physically tainted occupations experience recognition/misrecognition. Secondly, what strategies are adopted by those occupying positions in physically tainted occupations adopt to manage disrespect. Finally, how does adopting certain

strategies enable those in physically tainted occupations to cope with experiences of disrespect. The next chapter highlights how the current study has been designed in order to address the aforementioned research questions, that is, it outlines and justifies the chosen methodological apparatus used in order to conduct the current research.

Part 4 – An ethnographic approach: doing 'dirty work'

4.1 Introduction

The following chapter outlines the methodological decisions and justification for the empirical research in this study. Firstly, the adoption of critical realism as the chosen research philosophy due to its middle-ground approach (Contu and Willmott, 2005; Clark and Blundel, 2007) is discussed. Thereafter, in a similar vein abduction is discussed and justified as the chosen research approach for the current study, a less prolifically adopted approach, but an approach which is gaining significant grounding in management research (Kovács and Spens, 2005).

While there were a number of considered methodological approaches for this research, the chosen approach is ethnography. The decision to use ethnography for the current study was highly influenced by the nature of the research, that is, the need to enhance understanding of how dirty workers, a group overlooked in society, draw on certain strategies to manage experiences of disrespect. Resultantly, deep immersion within the social context was required (Cunliffe, 2010).

Subsequently, the chapter discusses further details about the data collection process. Firstly, the chosen sampling techniques of judgement and snowballing are justified in order to attain participants. Then, thematic analysis procedures used to analyse the empirical data are outlined and justified. Finally, procedures to account for ethical concerns are debated and summarised, followed by considerations of reflexivity and limitations in the current research.

4.2 Critical realism

Critical realism is increasingly being adopted and accepted within management research and across the social sciences (Brown, 2013; Brown and Roberts, 2014; Maxwell, 2012). The reasoning behind this acceptance is that critical realism presents itself as the middle ground between positivism and interpretivism (Contu and Willmott, 2005; Clark and Blundel, 2007). Indeed, "Critical realism agrees with positivists that there is an observable world independent of human consciousness. At the same time, it suggests that knowledge about the world is socially constructed." (Eriksson and Kovalainen, 2008, p.15). The holistic nature of this philosophy appeals

to my own research as I have approached the data collection in line with Bourdieu's understanding, whereby, individuals possess embedded predispositions which are shaped by inherited capitals and previous experiences which influence how people experience the world. While positivism would allow for such an assumption due to the positivist's belief that there is a reality independent of humans (McKenzie, 2011); this philosophy fails to fit the confines of the current research. As Hasan (2016) argues, positivism's focus on objectivity results in a lack of emphatic understanding about individuals and the social world. The current study aims to explore the recognition struggles of an overlooked group in society and thus requires a deeper understanding of street cleaners and refuse workers and the complex social structures they find themselves intertwined in. Positivism is argued to provide a simplified view on people's behaviours (Sayer, 1992). Whereas, in the remit of this study, the aim is to understand how both agency and structural constraints may reinforce recognition struggles for a social group struggling to affirm a positive identity, and how resultant experiences of disrespect may be managed by drawing on certain strategies. Concurringly, Antonesa et al. (2006) argues that positivism is an inadequate philosophy to adopt when exploring how people experience and live aspirations.

Additionally, I advocate that social relations and culture shape our understanding and experience of the world. Realists and constructivists agree that understanding of the social world is 'socially mediated'; nevertheless realists argue that this may have perpetrated a heavy reliance on socialisation to explain how the world works (Newton et al, 2011). Interpretivists advocate that in order to fully understand social reality, a researcher must endeavour to uncover the participants own understanding of their behaviours and structures/rules, in their social world (Balsvik, 2017). Certainly, for robust understandings of social phenomena, interpretivists argue that the researcher must ensure they account for participants as the bearers of knowledge, and in doing so try to understand how participants see their own social world (Giddens, 1993). This is due to the belief that individuals create their own understandings (Taylor, 1985), which inevitably impacts on their actions and beliefs in everyday life (Giddens, 1993). Whereas, realists argue that while the world is influenced by culture, understanding the world through social construction alone

poses limited understanding (Newton et al, 2011). Certainly, critical realism advocates that "…there is a reality 'out there' that exists independently of our knowledge of it. The only way we can interpret this reality, however, is through our own subjective, conceptual schemas" (McLachlan and Garcia, 2015, p.197).

Further justification for critical realism in this study stems from the idea that it helps to explain the world by seeking to understand how underlying structures of reality shape events (Saunders et al, 2015; Brown, 2013). Concurringly, Clark and Blundel (2007) state that "…critical realism draws attention to persistent structures and associated causal powers" (p.48). Within this research, I aim to explore how street cleaners in London experience recognition and how they draw on certain strategies to manage disrespect by taking into account how the class structure and class inequalities within the UK shape and affect recognition struggles faced by these street cleaners. Critical realists argue that social relations constrain and facilitate social positions in the world (Brown, 2013). Power emerges within these social structures and "…these powers constrain and facilitate social activity" (Brown, 2013, p.116). By applying a critical realist perspective to this research, I am able to explore how power struggles which are rooted in class positions impact experiences of value amongst individuals in this occupation.

Subramaniyam (2000) states "…the principle advantage of critical realism's retroductive methodology, from the perspective of the policy-maker or practitioner, is that its purpose is to develop a theoretical understanding of real mechanisms, and the contingent ways in which they combine to generate effects" (Subramaniyam, 2000). However, critical realism is criticised for failing "…to recognise that its open system ontology of multiple separable structures and powers must be replaced in order to comprehend the capitalist system as a totality" (Brown, 2013, p.118). An additional criticism of critical realism is founded in its complexity (Clark and Blundel, 2007). Despite its complexity, the middle ground approach of this perspective and acknowledgement of power structures and how they impact social experience provide a solid justification for its use in this research project. Although post modernism is argued to cultivate ways to explore bridges between the individual and the social (Cosgrove, 2003), while also incorporating how power relations shape reality, the predominant aim of a post-modernist is to challenge and deconstruct

dominant beliefs (Saunders et al, 2015). In other words, postmodernism seeks to "…think the unthought and ask questions previously unasked" (Larner, 1999). As my research aim is to explore recognition struggles faced by street cleaners, a post-modernist perspective is beyond the remit of this research. Although I aim to understand how dominant beliefs may perpetrate these struggles and how one's habitus and working class attributes may shape experiences and management of disrespect by street cleaners, the intentions of the research are not to challenge concepts or beliefs. Nonetheless, future research would highly benefit from deconstructing and challenging concepts related to this situation such as class value and respectability.

4.3 Abduction

Within business research, the abductive approach is becoming more prevalent (Bryman and Bell, 2015). Kovács and Spens (2005) suggest that abductive reasoning is a mixture of both induction and deduction in that the process not only considers a scientifically rigorous approach but also accounts for instinctual arguments. Adoption of the abductive approach is a good way to counteract the limitations of both the inductive and deductive approaches (Bryman and Bell, 2015). For example, deduction focuses on theory testing with the predominant aim of accepting or rejecting hypotheses which have emerged from literature (Saunders et al., 2015). On the other hand, induction as an approach, involves generating or building theory from research data (Hyde, 2000). However, no matter how well executed, the inductive approach may still fail to build theory (Bryman and Bell, 2015). The current research does not aim to test theory; therefore deduction is not applicable for this study. Additionally, when undertaking inductive reasoning emergent data is correlated to best fit theories in order to explain causal links (Friedland, 2016), which fails to account for the pre-existing theoretical assumptions which are being carried forward through to data collection and data analysis in the current research.

Alternatively, abduction can help to clarify blurred areas in theory whereby the existing literature struggles to explain certain phenomena. The aim is to discover alternative ways to add a further piece to the presenting puzzle (Bryman and Bell, 2015). In other words, abductive reasoning can further promote understanding of

existing phenomena by searching for alternate pre-existing theories that shine a new light on empirical observations (Dubois and Gadde, 2002). Indeed, in this research I am aiming to further understanding of how street cleaners and refuse workers manage experiences of disrespect by exploring how Bourdieu's habitus and Honneth's recognition theory explain the recognition experiences of employees in an unrecognised working class occupation, and the how these particular workers draw on certain strategies to manage disrespect. In seeking alternate ways of piecing the puzzle together, the researcher will choose the best possible fit from both pre-existing explanations outlined in current theory and/or interpretations of the data (Bryman and Bell, 2015).

Table 4. 1: Comparison of research approaches

Research Approach	Characteristics	References	Justification for/against use
Induction	Theory building/generation Aim: try to explore and understand action and behaviours in everyday contexts Emerges from data Specific – general Aligned with qualitative	Friedland, 2016; Friedland and Cole, 2013; Saunders et al, 2015; Hyde, 2000; Bryman and Bell (2015); Stake, 1994	Can fail to build theory. Doesn't account for pre-existing theoretical assumptions.
Deduction	Theory testing hypotheses are formulated by the researcher carry out data collection and use the findings to confirm, reject or revise theory aligned with quantitative	Bryman and Bell, 2015; Hyde, 2000; Saunders et al, 2015	Not testing existing theory or hypotheses. Aligned to quantitative research.

	research		
Abduction	Middle ground between induction and deduction. can further understanding of existing phenomena by searching for alternate pre-existing theories that shine a new light on empirical observations	Bryman and Bell, 2015; Kovács and Spens (2005); Dubois and Gadde, 2002; Reichertz, 2009; Svennevig, 2001	Aiming to further understanding of how street cleaners and refuse workers draw on certain strategies to manage experiences of disrespect by exploring how Bourdieu's habitus and Honneth's recognition influence the experiences of employees in an unrecognised working class occupation.

4.4 Ethnography approach and the research setting

The data collection process took place in summer 2015, autumn 2016 and spring 2017; with four different councils in North, South, East and West London. Three of the councils had in-house waste management operations, whereas one council had contracted out operations to a private waste management company. I used an ethnographic approach to collect the data, with street cleaners and refuse workers, which involved a combination of participant observation and semi structured interviews. In total, I conducted 32 semi-structured interviews and 128 hours of participant observation. I employed both judgement and snowball sampling techniques to recruit participants. To recruit participants, I both telephoned and emailed each London Borough council, explaining that I was inviting their street cleaners to take part in my study. Thereafter, I organised dates and times that suited both me and the partaking councils via e-mail.

An ethnographic approach was chosen as it allows for deep immersion within the social setting (Cunliffe, 2010), in this case, the working lives of street cleaners in London. Consequently, I was able to gain rich, detailed accounts and understandings (Saunders et al, 2015, Zickar and Carter, 2010) of the experiences of street cleaners, a group unseen and unheard in society (Slutskaya et al., 2016). Likewise, McMurray and Ward (2014) report on how adaptation of an ethnographic method allowed a degree of closeness which wouldn't have been possible otherwise. Additionally, Purser (2016) argues the use of ethnography enabled first-hand experience of unknown phenomena. Indeed, the ethnographer has a privileged insight into the lives of participants (Burawoy et al., 2000). Bourdieu (1977) argues that "…subjects, strictly speaking, do not know what they are doing and that what they do has more meaning than they know" (p.79); additionally arguing that habitus is "…beyond the grasp of consciousness" (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 195). Therefore, other methods such as interviews alone may fail to produce the same insights as ethnography because people struggle to see beyond embedded predispositions that shape one's thinking and behaviours. Similarly, Mackintosh et al., (2014) found that adopting an ethnographic approach provided deeper insights than previous research that had solely used surveys and interviews to collect data.

While grounded theory approach does have its merits, including being able to delve deep into complex social issues (Fendt and Sachs, 2008), it is often suggested that the researcher have previous experience before conducting such a complex approach (Hughes and Jones, 2003), which I do not have as an early stage researcher. Additionally, grounded theory is criticised on the basis of its complexity which stems in part from the Glaser and Strauss debate regarding how theory should be developed through this approach (Kelle, 2005). While Glaser follows the traditional or classic grounded approach, Strauss and Corbin follow what is deemed the pragmatic approach (Sharaini et al. 2011). Classical grounded theorists argue that empirical data should be emergent, whereas the pragmatic approach argue that empirical data should be forced (Walker and Myrick, 2006). The former suggests that theory should emerge through continuous comparisons throughout the data collection process, or through theoretical sampling (Glaser, 1978). Whereas, the latter implies that theory should be generated by generating pre-existing ideas and

generating category codes which the data is then allocated to (Strauss and Corbin, 1998). Furthermore, grounded theory aims to build or generate theory (Roberts, 2002) which was beyond the remit of the current study. While I was open to concepts produced from the data (Roberts, 2002), this was not then used to build new theory, but to rather see how class inequalities and more specifically, recognition struggles and the management of disrespect among street cleaners and refuse workers can be seen differently using current theoretical concepts in a new way. Additionally, the complexity surrounding the Glaser and Strauss debate regarding how to conduct grounded theory poses too many questions with regards to carrying out a sufficient and valid method. Moreover, grounded theory is commonly criticised for being time consuming and very complex (Roberts, 2002; Bryman and Bell, 2015).

Although ethnographic data can be collected in many forms: including interviews, participant observation, diaries and autobiographies to name a few (Schwartzman, 1993; Silverman, 2001; Zickar and Carter, 2010); I decided to use a combination of participant observation and interviews as I felt these would not only provide more insightful data with the sample in question here, but also make participants feel more at ease due to the 'boundaries' an interview can elicit. For example, using diaries or autobiographies may be seen as invasive and very personal, which may pose challenges and uneasiness with working class males as they prefer to keep to themselves. Whereas, participant observation allowed me to build a rapport with the participants as I worked alongside them and talked to them all day. Simultaneously, one can argue that interviews provided a professional boundary, despite personal questions being asked.

Zickar and Carter (2010, p.314) discuss a new form of ethnography that is less time consuming and requires less commitment in the form of "…a host of new, online contexts…". Indeed, Purli (2007) argues that virtual ethnography, also known as online ethnography, netnography, or webnography (Purli, 2007), might be an alternative that would be more compatible to contemporary academic lifestyles. In this case however, many participants did not know how to use a computer, and as this method relies on virtual participation via chat rooms, social networks etc (Zickar and Carter, 2010), the method would not suit the sample. Additionally, the aim here was to explore struggles for recognition among street cleaners in London and how

they manage experiences of disrespect; a manual job, thus partaking in virtual ethnography would not facilitate a true understanding of the everyday experiences these workers face in their work.

Despite the fact that I worked with street cleaners across different London Boroughs, the daily routines were generally the same for each council. The working day would start at 6am in North and West London, while starting at 7am in South and East London. The reason for the later start in South and East London was that both of these councils were closer to central London, therefore if they started earlier, they would fail to get around the busy traffic filled streets from the morning rush hour. On the first day at each council I would enter the head office and introduce myself to the person I had made initial contact via e-mail/telephone, generally the operations manager. I would then be assigned to a specific team for the day. The operations manager would introduce me to members of the team I was to be working with and then we would stand outside the office, waiting for the keys to the truck we would be in. There were a number of job roles that I partook throughout the data collection process, including loader, graffiti cleaner, sweeper, and flytipp removals. While the jobs differed slightly, the daily practice was fairly similar. Once the relevant team had been handed keys to the van, they would also receive maps with 'the beats' they had to cover that day and for the rest of the week. The beats referred to the roads they had to clean. The driver of the van was generally the man in charge of the team and would pick the best route possible that would cover all the beats with minimal disruption to London traffic, the school run and general busy periods of the day. Despite this careful planning, it was clear that manoeuvring a large, heavy duty vehicle around London was not easy and elicited endless frustration for both the drivers and the public. Nonetheless, the driver would navigate the team around the relevant route for the day, stopping at times to allow the loader to get out and load the bin bags onto the back of the lorry. In very busy periods and with very heavy loads, the driver would get out and help the team with loading before moving onto the next 'beat'. There were at least two visits to the tip daily, normally at 10am and 2pm, where the driver would offload the rubbish bags that the crew had collected, ready for the next part of the beat. For those starting at 6am, the working day would finish at 2pm, whereas for those starting at 7am, the day would finish at 3pm.

Due to the intense involvement required with ethnography, the ethnographer has to be able to be comfortable with unpredictability and open to merge oneself in an unknown world (Cunliffe, 2010). Indeed, when first starting data collection, it was difficult to adjust to the different world I was entering, not only with regards to the different daily practices such as waking up early and the physicality of the work, but also with the sense of 'this is it', hopelessness that seemed to emanate among the street cleaners. Some scholars take issue with ethnography, stressing that there is a likelihood that observer bias may occur (Zickar and Carter, 2010; Roulet et al., 2017). Zickar and Carter (2010, p.311) argue that "…organizational researchers became concerned about how the personal bias of the researcher could influence what the ethnographer perceived and reported." However, to mitigate this criticism, I have ensured that I have reflexively considered how my own personal experiences and my own feelings during the participant observation may have influenced my reporting and analysis of the data within this study which is detailed below.

Table 4. 2: How ethnography has been useful in dirty work research

Author	Context/aim	Methods used	Usefulness
Woodthorpe and Komaromy, (2013)	Examine the role of APT's and how APT's interpret their occupational identity.	Carried out across 12 months. Included a mixture of semi-structured interviews and observation.	Able to consider the 'technical' and 'emotional' experiences of those in the APT job role.
Mackintosh et al., (2014)	Provide support for RRS.	180 hours of observation across a 12 month period. Combined observations with 35 semi-structured interviews with a wide array of health care professionals.	Deeper insights as previously only been researched using surveys and interviews.
McMurray and Ward	"…how the handling of difficult and burdensome	Conducted 180 hours of observation at two	Achieved "a degree of closeness" which

(2014)	emotions, which are often written out of rational accounts of work, is outsourced to others who act as society's agents in the containment of emotional dirt."	Samaritan branches in the UK. 6 semi-structured interviews were conducted with employees that did not take part in the observation phase.	enabled them to understand what Samaritans do and how they did it.
Rivera and Tracy (2014)	To "understand agents' identities at work, and how broader social discourses impacted agents' experiences of work and self."	The research took place over two and a half years US Border Patrol. Observation involved researchers shadowing the agents throughout their everyday working lives. A number of formal (25) and informal (88) interviews were conducted of which the formal were recorded and transcribed. 165 hours of research hours were employed.	The researcher stated how ethnographic writing was a good way to portray the emotional aspects of the exchanges between the agents and themselves.
Simpson et al. (2014)	Exploring meanings refuse workers attach to their work.	They conducted a total of 14 interviews combined with participant observation and took over 50 photographs, during summer 2011.	Provided fresh understandings as to how dirt may be perceived.
McCabe and Hamilton, (2015)	Consider the typical daily routine for meat inspectors, the ways they spoke and the	The research involved a combination of observation and interviews. 16 hours	Shed new light on the nature of 'dirty work': the divisions and differences between

	processes and practices they were engaged in."	of observations were carried out which included observing meat inspections, tours of factories and shadowing meat inspectors. Formal and informal interviews were conducted both at and away from the research site.	different groups of 'dirty workers' and why we believe that strong workgroup cultures are not the most significant issues in the lives of either frontline staff or meat inspectors."
Purser (2016)	Exploring processes of eviction.	Employed participant observation, whereby detailed field notes were taken. In addition, 59 in-depth interviews were executed with staff ranging across different eviction companies.	Enabled first-hand experience of an unknown phenomena, in this case, evictions.
Solimeo et al., (2016)	Exploring the role of hospital clerks.	Combination of observations, interviews and quantitative data.	the data produced from ethnographic work "were particularly essential to understanding the relationships among space, social location and organizational culture.

While ethnography does facilitate access to rich understandings of social settings through deep immersion within the setting, during the initial stages of data collection, I found the recording of events, sounds, smells and language (all elements that are key features of the everyday experiences of street cleaners); to be problematic.

Thus, although participant observation did provide a greater insight into the experiences of this unheard group in society, important parts of the insights observed were lost. In order to ensure I was able to record the richest of data and retain the valuable insights I was discovering as a result of immersing myself within the work of the street cleaners, I turned to field notes in line with previous scholars within the dirty work field, including Mackintosh et al. (2014); McCabe and Hamilton (2015); McMurray and Ward (2014); Rivera and Tracy (2014) and Purser (2016).

Field notes are detailed summaries of observations that have taken place in a field by the researcher. Field notes are part of the ethnographer's data collection process. Ethnographers reflect on field notes to enrich their understandings of the social settings they are studying (Bryman and Bell, 2015). Within this research in particular, because of the nature of the sample, field notes were vital in providing rich understandings of the experiences of street cleaners as they were able to unveil certain inconsistencies between lived experience and responses in recorded interviews. For example, during the participant observation part of my research, the strain and frustration of the work and perceptions of the public were evident; however, when asked about this in recorded interviews, street cleaners would often focus on discussing what they liked about the work and how certain members of the public showed appreciation for the work they do.

While there is no explicit procedures to follow to conduct field notes, scholars have provided principal guidelines for ethnographers to follow (Bryman and Bell; Reimann, 2011 and Spotwood and Tapp, 2013). For example, Bryman and Bell (2015) suggest that field notes should be written down as quickly as possible, at the research site, after making observations on behaviours, language or events (Bryman and Bell, 2015). However, in some instances, making notes at the research site may be inappropriate, in which case notes should be taken as soon as it is appropriate to do so, as I found when conducting this study. Similarly, Spotwood and Tapp (2013) found themselves in this situation and therefore took notes "…after each observation episode rather than during, which was considered too intrusive" (p.280). Therefore, in line with Spotwood and Tapp, for this research I took notes immediately after each work day, generally on my way home from the research site, also known as jotted notes (Lofland and Lofland, 1995; Sanjek, 1990), which were informed by mental

notes. Thereafter, it is recommended that field notes are written up in full at the end of each day (Bryman and Bell, 2015). In this case, I had formulated a field notes table (see Appendix A) which included: data, time, location, situation, senses, language and questions from the site. Jotted notes were recorded into this table and then detailed field notes were written up in full on the same day. These notes are used for data analysis purposes.

As part of my jotted notes, I ensured that I reflected upon my own experiences and feelings, not only my observations of the work and the experiences of the street cleaners. This enabled me to consider differences between my perspective as a participant observer and how they may have changed after writing up full field notes ready for analysis (Riemann, 2011). As the data collection process went on, I was able to use field notes to record inconsistencies that deviated from the social norms of the street cleaner's experiences at work and my own experiences as a participant observer (Reimann, 2011). Additionally, I tried to ensure that the jotted field notes reflected the language used by the street cleaners themselves (Riemann, 2011), to provide more authentic and robust findings.

While participant observations and field notes did provide detailed accounts of struggles faced by street cleaners in their everyday working lives, one of the key objectives of this research was to enhance understanding of social misrecognition and management of disrespect by incorporating Bourdieu's habitus and Honneth's recognition. Resultantly, I felt the additional usage of interviews would allow deeper exploration of how pre-existing theoretical assumptions may highlight recognition struggles faced by street cleaners. Alternatively, analytic induction uses both inductive and deductive elements to analyse data in a systematic manner (Thomas, 2006). Resultantly, analytic induction can produce clear casual explanations on subject matter (Znaniecki,1934), which could have potentially met the aforementioned objective of this research. Nevertheless, analytic induction has been criticised due to the ambiguous nature of its functionality (Robinson, 1951). The method follows that instances whereby phenomena occur are listed and conditions that always accompany are found (Robinson, 1951). Thereby, only the necessary conditions are sort and one is not aware of the full picture, i.e. the other conditions to explain phenomena (Robinson, 1951). Agreeably, the approach has been criticised

for being one dimensional as it overlooks other contexts where phenomena may or may not occur (Johnson, 2004). Therefore, the explanatory nature of this approach can be somewhat argued as limited.

Arguably, an unstructured interview can produce more genuine insights about a social setting (Bryman and Bell, 2015). However, unlike an unstructured interview, a semi-structured interview has some structure in that the researcher may produce a set of more specific topics to ask participants which focus on the research question (Bryman and Bell, 2015). All the while, this type of interview still permitted deviation from the specific interview topics (Bryman and Bell, 2015), thereby fulfilling the exploratory aim of this study and allowing participants to express themselves freely. In this case, I did produce an interview guide (see Appendix B), of which all participants were asked the same questions, as is common with semi-structured interviews (Bryman and Bell, 2015). Topics asked about included: current working position, previous work, changes in work, parent's occupations, interests and hobbies and future plans, which falls in line with the pre-existing theoretical assumptions infusing the current research. While there were key topics to discuss of which were discussed with each participant, the interviews took a more conversational tone; therefore the topics were not asked in the same order for each participant and participants were free to discuss anything else they felt was relevant to their work experiences.

Table 4. 3: Comparison of methodological approaches

Potential Approach	Advantages	Disadvantages	References
Ethnography	Deep immersion with social setting. Rich, detailed understandings. Better insight into lives of participants. Easier to communicate with challenges regarding linguistic	Time consuming. Observer bias. Have to be comfortable with unpredictability.	Cunliffe, 2010 Saunders et al, 2015 Zickar and Carter, 2010 Burawoy et al., 2000

	expression. Possibility of multiple data collection methods.		
Case Study	In-depth analysis of context. Rich understandings. Answers "how and why" questions.	Time consuming. Complexity with masses or research data. Criticised for only descriptive questions, e.g. 'what' – not 'how' and 'why'.	Hyde, 2000 Yin, 2003 Yin, 1994 Baxter and Jack, 2008 Barzelay, 1993 Denk et al., 2012
Analytic induction	Systematic analysis of data using deductive and inductive elements.	Ambiguous functionality. Limited exploration of different contexts. Explanatory nature of the approach is limited.	Znaniecki, 1934 Thomas, 2006 Robinson, 1951 Johnson, 2004
Grounded approach	Explore complex social issues. Allows for theory generation/building Deep immersion with data	Very complex methodological approach. Glaser VS Strauss debate. This research does not aim to build theory. Difficulty in conducting for a novice researcher.	Strauss and Corbin, 1994 Glaser, 1978 Walsh et al. 2015 Glaser and Strauss, 1967 Kelle, 2005 Strauss and Corbin, 1998 Walker and Myrick, 2006 Sharaini et al. 2011

4.5 Sampling

As previously noted, the sampling technique adopted in this study was twofold. Initially, judgement sampling was employed whereby, the researcher contacted different councils across London – including North, South, East and West, to appropriately represent the experiences of street cleaners across London. Indeed, in the case of judgement sampling, the sample is selected based on the personal judgement of the researcher (Sekaran, 1992). Thereafter, snowball sampling was executed due to the difficulty in approaching street cleaners as a result of the stigma of the work and reservations about talking to a researcher about their experiences in the workplace. Indeed, Sadler et al (2010) have discussed how snowball sampling aided their recruitment of 'hard-to-reach' members of society. Additionally, snowball sampling has been deemed a method that can cultivate knowledge that accounts for structural conditions in social contexts (Noy, 2008), thus aligning with the remit of this study. Generally, snowballing involves finding an initial person that inhabits relevant characteristics based on the research phenomena, also known as a 'seed' (Sadler et al. 2010). The 'seed' then introduces the researcher to a number of other contacts and so on (Sadler et al. 2010; Noy, 2008). Here, street cleaners would introduce the researcher to others on a recommendation basis. While snowball sampling has been criticised due to its informality as a procedure for recruiting participants (Hendricks et al. 1992) and leading to an increased risk of biased research data (Magnani et al. 2005), the benefits are substantial. Firstly, as previously discussed, this technique enables access to participants that may be difficult to acquire. Secondly, as a sampling technique, it facilitates more trust between the researcher and potential participants, therefore, participants are more likely to want to engage with the researcher openly and honestly (Sadler et al. 2010). Convenience sampling was inappropriate for this research as this involves recruiting participants at random (Blumberg et al, 2014), whereas here, the context being explored is specific, i.e. the recognition struggles of street cleaners across London; therefore, I needed a sample that represented different areas of London. Similarly, I felt quota sampling was inappropriate because the aim is not to compare or reflect on experiences of street cleaners based on their age/gender/race and rather to look

at street cleaners generically. Whereas, quota sampling seeks to represent a segment of the population by ensuring selected participants all share similar characteristics to one another (Blumberg et al, 2014). For example, if the population segment being studied was 60% white, 30% black and 10% Hispanic, the sample chosen would need to reflect this to ensure representativeness.

What follows is the provision of the economic and social context of each borough with which participants were selected and recruited from. Firstly, in relation to employment statistics, the percentage of the population of the North London borough employed in elementary occupations grew from 7.7% in 2016 to 12.2% in 2017 (Nomis, 2019). In the same borough, the percentage of the population in employment rose from 76.9% in 2016 to 81.9% in 2017 (Datalondon.gov, 2019). While the percentage of the population that were unemployed decreased from 4.8% in 2016 to 3.8% in 2017 (Datalondon.gov, 2019).

With respect to the South London borough whereby participants in this study were recruited and selected, the percentage of the population in elementary occupations declined from 11.5% in 2016 to 11.1% in 2017 (Nomis, 2019). In the same borough, the percentage of the population that was in employment rose from 81.5% in 2016 to 84.6% in 2017 (Datalondon.gov, 2019). While the unemployment rate in this borough decreased from 6.5% in 2016 to 6.3% in 2017 (Datalondon.gov, 2019).

In East London, the percentage of the population occupying positions in elementary work decreased from 9.3% in 2016 to 8.1% in 2017 (Nomis, 2019). Whereas, the percentage of those in employment grew only slightly from 74.8% in 2016 to 75% in 2017 (Datalondon.gov, 2019). While the percentage of those unemployed decreased significantly from 7.2% in 2016 to 4.7% in 2017 (Datalondon.gov, 2019).

While in West London, the percentage of the population employed in elementary occupations rose from 11.5% in 2016 to 13.4% in 2017 (Nomis, 2019). Similarly, the percentage of those in employment also rose, from 78.8% in 2016 to 79.6% in 2017 (Datalondon.gov, 2019). Additionally, the percentage of the population that were unemployed decreased by 1% from 5.7% in 2016 to 4.7% in 2017 (Datalondon, gov, 2019). A comparison of the employment statistics form each borough in shown in table 4.4.

Table 4. 4: Comparison of Employment statistics per borough in 2016 and 2017

	North London council		South London council		East London council		West London council	
	2016	2017	2016	2017	2016	2017	2016	2017
Population	248,700	248,900	311,700	314,200	273,200	275,900	344,800	342,700
% of employment population in elementary occupations	7.7	12.2	11.5	11.1	9.3	8.1	11.5	13.4
% of population in employment	76.9	81.9	81.5	84.6	74.8	75	78.8	79.6
% of population unemployed	4.8	3.8	6.5	6.3	7.2	4.7	5.7	4.7

In relation to the diversity make up of each borough that participants were recruited and selected for this study, recent statistics suggest that in the North London borough, 49.6% of the population were born abroad as at 2016/17 (Datalondon.gov, 2019). The largest migrant population by birth country for this particular area in North London was India in 2011, followed by Kenya and Sri Lanka respectively (Datalondon.gov, 2019). Whereas, in this particular area of South London, 38.4% of the population were born abroad as at 2016/17 (Datalondon.gov, 2019), with the largest migrant population in 2011 coming from Nigeria, followed by Jamaica and Ireland respectively. In the case of the particular area in East London where the participants were recruited and selected from, 35.8% of the population were born abroad as at 2016/17, the largest migrant population of which originated from Turkey in 2011, followed by Nigeria and Jamaica respectively (Datalondon.gov, 2019). While the particular area whereby participants were recruited and selected in West London

contained 47.4% of the population born abroad as at 2016/17, the largest migrant population of which came from India in 2011, followed by Poland and Ireland respectively (Datalondon.gov, 2019). A summary of these statistics is compared and demonstrated in table 4.5.

Table 4. 5: Comparison of diversity statistics for each borough

	North London council	South London council	East London council	West London council
% of population that are born abroad (2016/17)	49.6	38.4	35.8	47.4
Largest migrant population by birth country (2011)	India (9%)	Nigeria (4.7%)	Turkey (3.6%)	India (7.6%)
Second largest migrant population by birth country (2011)	Kenya (4.9%)	Jamaica (2%)	Nigeria (2.7%)	Poland (6.4%)
Third largest migrant population by birth country (2011)	Sri Lanka (4.3%)	Ireland (1.7%)	Jamaica (1.8%)	Ireland (2.3%)

With respect to rates of crime across the areas in London within which this study recruited and selected its participants, the area in East London had the highest crime rate, with a total crime rate of 110.4 per thousand population in 2017/18 (Datalondon.gov, 2019). Across the same period, the area in South London had the second highest crime rate with a total crime rate of 105.7 per thousand population,

followed by the area in West London with a total crime rate of 80.7 per though population. The lowest crime rate across the same period was found in the area in North London, with a total crime rate of 55 per thousand population. These statistics are demonstrated in table 4.6.

Table 4. 6: Comparison of crime rates per borough

	North London council	South London council	East London council	West London council
Total crime rate per thousand population (2017/18)	55	105.7	110.4	80.7

As for housing statistics in each borough that participants were recruited and selected from then, the area with the highest average house price in 2017 was in South London, at £537,500, closely followed by East London with an average house price of £535,000 (Datalondon.gov, 2019). In North London, the average house price was recorded as £500,000, whereas the lowest average house price was situated in West London at £485,000 (Datalondon.gov, 2019). Unsurprisingly then, the highest percentage of full home ownership was equated to the area in North London with 31% in 2016, followed by the area in West London with 14.2% (Datalondon.gov, 2019). Whereas, the lowest % of full home ownership was in East London with 11% in 2016, the second lowest being in South London with 13.6% (Datalondon, gov, 2019). As such, the highest percentage of social housing in the same period was found in East London at 43.7%, closely followed by South London with 40.9% (Datalondon.gov, 2019). While unsurprisingly, the lowest amount of social housing was in North London with 8%, the second lowest in West London with 14.2% (Datalondon.gov, 2019). With regards to privately rented housing then, the highest percentage was found in West London with 33.3%, closely followed by North London with 31.4% (Datalondon, gov, 2019). While the lowest percentage of privately rented housing was found in South London with 22.5%, closely followed by East London with 25.7% (Datalondon.gov, 2019). Table 4.7 shows the comparison of the housing situation across each borough.

Table 4. 7: Comparison of housing statistic per borough

	North London council	South London council	East London council	West London council
Average house price (2017)	£500,000	£537,500	£535,000	£485,000
% of Full home ownership (2016)	31	13.6	11	24.4
% Rented from local authority or housing association (2016)	8	40.9	43.7	14.2
% of private rents (2016)	31.4	22.5	25.7	33.3

With respect to education statistics for each borough then, the borough with the highest level of the population with no qualifications resided in East London. This percentage decreased from 8.2% in 2016 to 7.9% in 2017 (Nomis, 2019). Similarly, both the borough in West London and the Borough in East London saw a decrease in the percentage of people without qualifications. In West London, the percentage of the population with no qualifications was 6.2% which then decreased to 5.9% in 2017 (Nomis, 2019). While in East London, the percentage of the population with no qualifications decreased from 6.6% in 2016 to 5.6% in 2017 (Nomis, 2019). Whereas, the borough in North London had the lowest rate of population with no qualifications, with no change across the two years at 2.8% (Nomis, 2019). However, the borough with the highest percentage of qualifications equating to NVQ4 and above resided in South London. Indeed, in 2016, this percentage was at 59.5% and rose to 63.1% in 2017 (Nomis, 2019). Whereas the borough with the lowest percentage of qualifications equating to NVQ4 and above resided in North London, with 44.7% in 2016, rising to 49% in 2017 (Nomis, 2019). Comparison of education levels for each borough is demonstrated in table 4.8.

Table 4. 8: Comparison of education statistics per borough in 2016 and 2017

	North London council		South London council		East London council		West London council	
	2016	2017	2016	2017	2016	2017	2016	2017
% of population with no qualifications	2.8	2.8	6.6	5.6	8.2	7.9	6.2	5.9
% of population with NVQ4 and above	44.7	49	59.5	63.1	54.7	59.4	56.1	49.5

4.6 Thematic analysis

Initially, interviews were fully transcribed on the same day using Nvivo Software. Field notes were taken at the end of each day as to record field notes at the research site was inappropriate and would have elicited discomfort among the research participants. Preliminary field notes were then entered into a table which was formed by the researcher, and thereafter were written up fully. Once all 32 interviews were fully transcribed and field notes were fully written up, the initial coding phase commenced. Coding is a way to organise data or a form of categorising by using certain codes which help build a summary of the research. Coding is a continuous process and may provide a guide for further analysis of research data by applying new ideas to research (Roberts, 2002).

In concurrence with previous dirty work scholars (Simpson et al., 2011; Tyler, 2011; Johnston and Hodge, 2014; Simpson et al., 2014; Slutskaya et al., 2016), I employed thematic analysis to analyse the data. Indeed, thematic analysis has been widely used across the social sciences (Nowell et al., 2017). Thematic analysis involves searching for themes and recognising relationships (Saunders et al., 2012). As a data analysis technique, thematic analysis allows flexibility within the analysis process which can lead to rich insights from the data set (Braun and Clarke, 2006). Flexibility is sort in part through the researcher being allowed discretion with regards to what constitutes a theme (Braun and Clarke, 2006); however determination of themes should follow a consistent process (*ibid*). When deciding on what constitutes a theme, the researcher must consider important data emerging which relates to the research question which shows patterns and meaning (Braun and Clarke, 2006).

While narrative analysis can also facilitate rich and detailed understandings about phenomena (Gartner, 2010), it has been criticised on the basis of complexity as there is no clear way to execute the analysis process. Indeed there are many types of narrative analysis that can be employed with little explanation as to why and how to employ them (Cortazzi, 2001, Mishler, 1995). Furthermore, narrative analysis generally follows the employment of life stories as the method of data collection (Riessman, 2008), which was beyond the remit of the current research.

Within the current study, the data was initially scanned thoroughly multiple times in-line with pre-determined themes stemming from the literature that related to each research question. For example for the first research question, predetermined themes driven from the literature included: market changes, recognition and respect. Thereafter, following Strauss and Corbin's (1998) coding techniques, initial coding took place whereby specific codes and concepts from the data were identified in-line with the pre-determined theory driven themes. The next stage of coding the data involved a process of axial coding whereby initial codes were grouped and linked into various sub categories. Finally, a process of relational coding took place which involved consolidation of relationships which arose in the data. Table 4.9 demonstrates an example of the coding process used in this study for each research question.

Table 4. 9: Example of the coding process

	Theory Driven Themes	Initial coding	Axial coding	Relational coding
RQ1:	Market Changes (Aguiar and Herod, 2006)	Cuts, staff, workload, pressure, decreasing power of trade unions, overtime, changes in value attributed to the work.	**Reduction in Staff:** Losing a lot of staff members due to cuts to council budgets e.g. *"Cuts in the councils budget for the start, I mean we lost a hell of a lot, a hell of a lot of money and they had to make it somewhere and a lot of it was frontline staff went and one stage we lost 53 members of staff…"* - N06. Increased pressure of work due to decreasing members of staff e.g.	Council cuts resulting in decreasing members of staff, which is reducing trade union power increasing struggles for recognition for the workers.

				"…obviously we had a lot more men then, we are a hell of a lot shorter now, doing the same area" – S05.	
				Changing work practices: Feelings of being easy to replace due to decreasing power of trade unions and increase in agency staff, e.g. *"Now because of the amount of pressure we are under and the amount of people we got working for us now, when I first started there was no such thing as an agency worker, so if I went on strike, tomorrow they'd make a phone call and get another driver in from the agency, the work would still get done, so what's the point in striking, we're not achieving nothing accept losing a day's pay"* – E01. Cuts in overtime payments due to cuts to council budgets making it difficult to live, resulting in increased divisions between management and frontline staff due to the latter's feeling of loss of an acceptable standard of living e.g. *"there's no money to be earned on the Council, if you're on the front line staff there's no money to be earned there 'cos whereas the overtime used to be time and half for Saturday, double for Sunday, it's all single time now, they took that away and that really hurt,*	Reduction in trade union power and increase in availability and use of temporary agency workers resulting in struggles for recognition with respect to enacting strike action, combined with decreasing working standards promote struggles for recognition among these workers.

				that really hurt a lot of lads 'cos they rely, the money's so bad that they have to do overtime to make it, earn a living wage 'cos at the moment it's, you know when you get your wages slip you look at it, you think well what it is dry roasted or ready salted you know what I mean, it really is peanuts you know? You know it's just above the government minimum so I dunno." – N01.	
				Changes in value attributed to the work by the public: One perception of the work increasing in value due to current difficulties in attaining work e.g. The loader feels the value attributed to the job has changed in a positive way as when he arrived it was easy to get the job because no one wanted to do the job, whereas now it is harder so he feels people value it more. – Field notes 16.11.16. General perception of decreased value of the work due to a redundancy of manual labour e.g. While we had a mini lunch break in the van, members of the public would glare at us as they walked past. Indeed, I felt insignificant and that people were staring at what I was doing and stared at the trucks. She did say she feels the public watch her more now. She also expressed that this work is a manual job and people just don't wanna do that anymore.	General perception of value towards the workers changing overtime due to perceived redundancy of manual labour and physical change in the population of the area where older communities are replaced with an influx of migrants renders struggles for recognition for these workers.

			– Field notes 3.11.16.	
			Perception of decreased value of work due to influx of migrants e.g.	
			They showed feelings of nostalgia when talking about a seemingly better time where they received cups of tea from the old lady down the road. They said they felt the respect had decreased and expectations had increased due to an increased number of people entering the borough and different people entering in the borough. Indeed, they said we used to get cups of tea but we don't anymore because it's not the old lady down the road, it's the family from wherever they are from. – Field notes 9.11.16.	
RQ2:	Work groups (Ashforth and Kreiner, 1999)	Teamwork, shared responsibility, sense of work community, connection with workers, divide between workers, banter, changes in workforce.	**Sense of connectedness** Strong emphasis on teamwork and working together resulting in the workers wanting to stay in the job despite decreasing value attributed to the work e.g. *"I love the crew that I'm with. I think I feel quite lucky to come on to this side, from the dust, I was working on the dust carts, I've come onto this crew, lovely guys, all like working and that's why I've sort of stayed. You know, I've sort of just slotted in it and it's, yeah, just day by day really."* – N03. *"It's nice you know the workforce here, they're alright. They're a good laugh, that keeps you going."* – N05.	In the face of increasing experiences of disrespect, the connection and shared responsibility felt amongst the crews indicates a strategy by which the workers can draw on to feel a strong sense of belonging reinforcing a mutual understanding of value for each other, therefore keeping them in the job.

				Camaraderie Shared forms of banter and camaraderie increasing the collective bond between the workers and reinforcing their own value e.g. While the team leader was assigning me to the different crews, the guys would often engage in gentle mocking of each other and argue over who I could work with – I assume due to me being a young woman. Indeed, they would often throw sexual innuendos back and forth in my presence which also seemed to be a way of displaying their conformity to working class masculinity norms. – Field notes 16.11.16. *"Well, the interaction with people really is good, firstly and fore mostly it's the staff, it's the rest of the staff like I told you before, it's the glue that holds it all together, we wouldn't have a Council if it weren't for the camaraderie"* – N01.	Camaraderie plays a crucial part in aiding a sense of connectedness amongst these workers. As such, engaging in certain types of humour which conform to and reiterate working class masculine norms, these workers are further able to not only collectively reinforce each other's value in light of increasing experiences of disrespect but also seek enjoyment while carrying out the work.
				Breakdown of work groups Solitary nature of the work has led to breakdown in teamwork and sense of a work community in some respects, e.g. *"What's happening is the crews don't wanna help out, because you think oh they won't do it for us, so there is no team work, it's like you work for yourself"*	As a result of market changes including council budget cuts and an influx of agency workers which are generally migrants, in some respects, the value sort from engaging with work groups is at risk due to an increase in the solitary nature of the work, jeopardising the chance for teamwork and banter whilst simultaneously presenting divides

			– N11.	between workers, particularly between British workers and migrant workers.
			Influx of migrant workers rendering divides between workers due to a consensus on behalf of British workers that they are the reason for decrease in work benefits e.g.	
			"I've had one day off work sick in the last 9 years and never been thanked for that, we've had more taken away than an incentive, let's put it that way. Sick pay for example, where certain people from certain nationalities were taking the piss and using 4 weeks sick as holiday" – W04.	
RQ3:	Importance of work (Bourdieu, 1977; Bosmans et al., 2015; Simpson et al., 2014; Simpson et al., 2011; Thiel, 2007; Tracy and Scott, 2006)	Hard work, continual employment, providing for family, paying debts.	**Beliefs about importance of work grounded in family** Being raised to work hard meaning that engaging in any work is valuable e.g. *"its work at the end of the day, as I said to you before I'm in the process of doing something different, but in the meantime instead of sitting picking my nose in doors watching Jeremy Kyle I'll come out and do a days, that's the way I was brought up so that's what I'm always gonna do, you know what I mean"* – S02. Support from family as engagement in any type of work enables financial support e.g. *"They just take it as a job is a job you know, you've got to go out, you've got to pay the mortgage, you've got to do this, that*	Being brought up by a working class family provided participants with underlying beliefs concerning the importance of working for a living. As such, despite working in a job which elicits experiences of disrespect whereby their skills and traits are deemed as useless, continuous employment in work was supported by family through the mutual consensus of working hard in any respect being valuable and the financial support afforded to the family through engagement with continuous work.

			and the other, so you know?" – N14.	
			Beliefs about the importance of hard work grounded within the individual Value is placed on engaging in any work despite what kind due to the need for money e.g. *"…at the end of the day you've got to do what you've to do no, I don't really want my kids to do this sort of work."* – N12. Difficulties to obtain work reiterating the value of engaging in any kind of work e.g. *"…whatever is available I will take, I don't actually go and search for the jobs... [laughs]... the job is there to be done, why not go and try to do it, for me it's easier and it's quicker and you can maintain the income coming through, and when you are picking and choosing, sometimes it takes you weeks, sometimes it might take you months to get a good job."* – W01. Importance of work as it allows for attaining money to pay off debts e.g. *"Yeah, once again, when I got the job, in the afternoon I was gonna do a little bit of me own stuff still, I thought, "Yeah, I finish at two, I'll come home…" because I've still got, I still rent a bit of space in a shop where I earn a bit more, because I have to, to top up for the mortgage payments. So but my ideal was I was*	Embedded beliefs as a result of working class habitus were demonstrated through personal attributions regarding the importance of work. The difficulties of finding work in the current market as well as the need to ensure regular income to be able to provide for one's family confirmed an adherence with working class habitus and as such they were able to draw on the fact that they were working and provide for family and pay off debts, despite experiencing disrespect in relation to perceived uselessness of their skills and abilities as presented in the solidarity sphere.

			gonna finish early and basically crack on and sort of have another half day working." – N03.	

While thematic analysis does have its merits, in a similar vein to narrative analysis, there is no clear definition or application process for this method of analysis (Tuckett, 2005, Atrride-Stirling, 2001). Nevertheless, thematic analysis lends itself to provide rich and detailed accounts of the everyday lives of people (McLeod, 2001). Content analysis can counteract this limitation as it is deemed a favourable method when delving into topics which are surrounded with complexity (Morris, 1994), while being an easily replicable way of seeking embedded individual and collective values which may shape experience (Kabanoff, 1996). However, thematic analysis does not necessarily need to follow pre-existing hypotheses (Braun and Clarke, 2006), and is a good choice of method when following a critical realist philosophy (Willig, 1999), as is the case in the current study. As such, using this method of analysis enables the researcher to "…acknowledge the ways individuals make meaning of their experiences and in turn, the ways the broader social context impinges on those meanings, while retaining focus on the material and other limits of 'reality'" (Braun and Clarke, 2006, p.81). Additionally, although content analysis has the potential to increase reliability and validity of findings and conclusions (Lissack, 1998), Blumberg et al. (2011) argue that reliability and validity may also be compromised when using this method due to the flexibility afforded to the researcher with regards to coding. In particular, when opting to search for data driven codes, or adopting open analysis, coding may be biased (Blumberg et al., 2011).

In order to mitigate the common criticism of thematic analysis that the method is problematic due to ambiguity about how to execute the analysis technique (Bryman and Bell, 2015); I not only adapted Strauss and Corbin's (1998) guidelines to search for key themes and relationships within the dataset, but I also used Nvivo software and excel to record data driven themes from both field notes and interview transcripts, in line with recommendations from the National Centre for Social Research in the UK (Spencer et al, 2003). Additionally, in line with Spencer et al (2003), I ensured the responses recorded into the excel spreadsheet were as true to

responses as possible by inputting exact quotes with the exact language used by the street cleaners and refuse workers.

4.7 Ethics

Researchers have a duty to conduct research in an ethical manner. Inevitably, the research process poses multiple questions and choices regarding trust and openness that may potentially lead to ethical dilemmas (Cunliffe and Alcadipani, 2016). Therefore, a researcher must consider how the study may affect participants and how one can mitigate those effects by 'protecting the rights of participants' (Oliver and Eales, 2008; Blumberg, 2014). Indeed, Atkinson (2004) argues the importance of the moral responsibility a researcher faces in order to protect the participant. Denzin (2009) suggests that to ensure ethical behaviour in research, a researcher must consider how the data is collected, what are the incentives for participation, informed consent, confidentiality, falsification and conflicts of interest. Similarly, Blumberg et al (2014) argue that researcher's must consider physical or psychological harm, privacy and deception. Hereafter, the chapter discusses potential ethical issues that may have arisen during the current study and what measures this study has in place to ensure the safety and protection of participants.

4.7.1 Consent

Informed consent entails notifying participants about the nature of a study and the procedures that follow (Blumberg et al, 2014). Importantly, informed consent relies on informing participants, before asking them to partake in the study (Blumberg et al, 2014). Due to a rise in concerns about how research is conducted with regards to potential risks to participants, conducting any form of research without informed consent has become increasingly difficult (Cunliffe and Alcadipani, 2016). Nevertheless, commonly in ethnographic research, observations in everyday lives are sort without consent of participants, which is known as covert observation (Roulet et al., 2017). Such research is best devised when aiming to study secretive organisations or natural behaviours (Roulet et al. 2017). Indeed, one may be able to gain access to behaviours participants would normally prefer to hide from record (Goffman, 2015). Resultantly, covert observations may provide a richer understanding of the subjects that are being explored (Roulet et al., 2017). Despite the potential benefits that may flourish due to implementing a covert observation

strategy, in this case an overt observation process was elicited whereby the participants are aware of the researcher and the researcher's purpose.

In the present research, a participant information sheet was drawn up by myself and submitted to the Brunel Research Ethics Committee (BREO) for approval. The participant information sheet set out to explain the voluntary participation rights of the participant as well as the purpose of the study and how the study would be conducted (See Appendix C). Once the researcher has explained the research procedures to the participant and the participant has fully consented to take part, the researcher must not deviate from the agreed consenting contract (Blumberg et al, 2014). That is, researchers are unable to then change collection methods after a participant has consented to the initial brief. In this case, I initially stated in the participant information sheet that I will work alongside participants as a participant observer and conduct a 20-30 minute interview, thus no interviews went over this agreed timescale and participants were fully aware that while I was taking part, I would conduct field notes on my observations later in the day.

There are two ways researchers can gain consent from participants, a verbal agreement or a written consent form. "With business research, verbal consent is usually enough and if they decide to take part and are willing after knowing participation is voluntary, their participation is interpreted as a form of consent" (Blumberg, 2014, p123). However, if any research requires the participation of children or there is a slight risk of psychological or physical harm, a written consent form is obligatory (Blumberg et al, 2014). While I did form a written consent form for participants which was approved by BREO, due to the nature of the work of street cleaners and the nature of the participants, verbal consent was used. Indeed, throughout the data collection, participants were reminded by myself about the purpose of the study and that if they wish not to participate they were free to decline to take part.

4.7.2 Confidentiality

By law, everyone is entitled to have personal information protected and conducting a research project is no exception. All participants have the right to have their personal details and responses concealed. Therefore, it is a researcher's job to ensure the

responses given by participants are dealt with accordingly. For example, a researcher may "…obtain signed non-disclosure documents, restrict access to participant identity, only reveal participant information with written consent, restrict access to data instruments where participants have been identified" (Blumberg et al, 2014, p124). Additionally, Queen (1959) argued that in order to manage any potential risk to participants, the researcher should ensure the participants anonymity. In consensus with Blumberg et al., (2014) and Queen (1959), to ensure confidentially in the current research, all names of individual participants have been changed, and all names of Councils have been omitted to ensure anonymity. Additionally, all 32 recorded interviews and supplementary field notes have been safely stored on password protected computers and the file names have been assigned randomly.

An additional consideration for researchers here is the right of refusal. All participants are allowed to refuse to take part in a study at any given point throughout the research process, they are also allowed to decline answering certain questions which make them feel uncomfortable and it is the researcher's job to ensure participants are aware of this before data collection begins (Blumberg et al, 2014). As already referred to previously, participants were continuously reminded by myself of the fact that participation was completely voluntary and if they did not want to take part at any stage, they could leave.

Blumberg et al. (2014) states that "…people also have the right to engage in private behaviour in private places without fear of observation." (p.124). In a similar vein, Cunliffe and Alcadipani (2016) state that the researcher needs to be responsible after exiting the research site with regards to what data should be published and how. Concurringly, as this research adopted an ethnographic approach to data collection, a major part of the collection process involved observations; however, to respect privacy of participants, I asked the participants to inform me of any occurrences throughout the day that they would prefer to omit from the research, such as specific things discussed or specific behaviours that the participants would prefer to keep private.

4.7.3 Deception

Deception occurs when participants are misinformed to conceal the whole truth or part of the truth (Blumberg et al, 2014). Deception in research has been deemed as an ethically unacceptable way of completing any research study (Coser, 1959). Deceiving participants may result in long term issues for the researcher as it may produce strong trust barriers preventing researchers from being able to conduct any future research with the deceived group (Roulet et al. 2017). While deception should be avoided where possible, there are two reasons that deception may occur: to prevent bias and to protect the confidentiality of a third party involved within the research (Blumberg et al, 2014, p123). Additionally, sometimes revealing the purpose of the study may be problematic in gaining unbiased results (Blumberg et al, 2014, p122). In such a case the researcher may mislead participants by concealing their primary motives (Cunliffe and Alcadipani, 2016). Nevertheless, a researcher may also mislead participants accidentally by not clearly stating the motives behind the research (Cunliffe and Alcadipani, 2016). Deception may be defensible if it is "…justified by the study's expected scientific, educational or applied value" (Blumberg et al, 2014, p123). There must be no other means the research can be completed for deception to be accepted. If deception does take place, a full debrief to all participants is required (Blumberg et al, 2014). Indeed, Clarke (1999) stresses the importance of de-briefing to ensure potential harm to participants is reduced.

Within this study, deception was avoided through the processes that have already been outlined such as the participant information sheet. Participants were fully briefed about the purpose of the study and what the collection process would entail before the research took place and were consistently 'rebriefed' throughout the data collection process.

4.7.4 Researcher's safety

While having a duty to protect research participants throughout the data collection process, the researcher also has duty to protect oneself and ensure one's safety. Depending on the nature of the research, researchers may be required to enter an unsafe location. For example, research exploring the resilience of local people after a natural disaster may require a researcher to conduct the data collection process in dangerous conditions. Blumberg et al (2014) state that "…it is unethical to require

staff members to enter an environment where they feel unsafe" (p.131). Usually, in this case, a researcher will be asked to complete a risk assessment form before the research proposal is approved. Here, the researcher will have to consider what procedures they will follow to ensure their own safety as well as the other members of the research team (if applicable). Only when a research committee approves the research to be safe for both participants and researchers will the researchers be granted approval to start the data collection process. A risk assessment was beyond the remit of this study, however, due to the nature of street cleaning across London Boroughs, I still needed to be aware of potential dangers when 'on the job'. Some potential dangers included physical strains from not using equipment properly, watching out for the traffic when sweeping the streets, ensuring not to walk behind a moving vehicle and wearing the provided health and safety protective clothing (PPI). Health and Safety training was attended by myself in this instance, whereby each council briefed me on potential hazards, how to use equipment properly and provided me with the relevant safety clothing including gloves, high visibility jacket, jumper, trousers and steel toe capped boots.

Table 4. 10: How ethical issues were addressed

Ethical consideration	How ethical consideration was addressed
Consent	Participant information sheet submitted to BREO. Verbal consent.
Confidentiality	Data safety stored on password protected computers and the file names have been assigned randomly. All names have councils have been omitted to ensure anonymity. All names of individual participants have been changed. Participants reminded continuously of the voluntary nature of the study. Asked the participants to inform me of any occurrences throughout the day they would like to

	omit from the research.
Deception	Participant information.
	Initial brief on research purpose on initial meeting.
	Constant re-briefing throughout.
Researcher's safety	Health and Safety training.
	Protective clothing (PPI).

4.8 Reflexivity

Reflexivity enables a researcher to be aware of how one's own beliefs, previous experiences and how one's own use of language may influence the formation of the research question, the data collection process and the data analysis process. In other words, being reflexive of oneself throughout the research process can reveal and explore how my own identity may influence different stages of the research (Kondo, 1990; Tomkins and Eatough, 2010; Butcher, 2013). Hereafter, I will discuss how my own experiences, feelings and how the relationship with the participants may have influenced the current research, facilitating more rigorous research (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992) as well as more of an ethical ethnography (Spivak, 2010; Butcher, 2013).

4.8.1 Introspection

I was born and grew up in a working class area in the South East of England, namely the Medway Towns. I attended 'under-performing' schools from primary school and was the first person in my secondary school to gain 3 A grades at A Level and go onto a red brick university to study an undergraduate degree. Resultantly, many of my friends that entered manual labouring jobs commented on how they did not feel worthy to speak to me and how they were 'too stupid' to attend university themselves. Additionally, my parents were both originally from working class backgrounds, one being born and raised in a deprived area in the North of England, the other being born and raised in a deprived area in South Wales. Both of my grandfather's worked in manual jobs, one in the East London docks, the other in the

coal mines in the Valleys, before the 1980's whereby the movement partaken by the then prime minister Margaret Thatcher resulted in difficulties for both my Mother and Father's families. My own experiences of being born and raised in a working class area, as well as both of my parent's experiences sparked my interest in class inequality within the UK and how working class males in manual labour occupations struggle to find value and recognition in today's society.

4.8.2 Intersubjective reflection

Initially, on my way to the first Council, on the first day, my general feeling was that of respect towards the street cleaners I was about to work alongside and interview, mainly emanating around the fact that these cleaners had to be up so early every day, a time when most people are still sleeping, to clean up the rubbish left behind by the general public. Arguably, my initial feelings of respect may in fact have been strongly influenced by my own experiences of my family and friends completing manual work. While my own feelings of respect towards the street cleaners continued to grow throughout the data collection, this feeling of respect soon intertwined with a feeling of sorrow and helplessness towards the cleaners. After partaking in the work myself, alongside these hard working (predominantly males) street cleaners, I not only felt the physical strain of the manual labour itself, but also the shame attached to the stigma of the job itself. Indeed, it was clear on the faces of the public, specifically during the school runs whereby mothers would often point to us and say to their children 'you must stay in school, otherwise you will end up like that' with a demeaning tone. Oftentimes, the best we could hope for was for the public to ignore we existed. Southgate (2011) states that one should "…always know, at the outset, the emotional risks they will take when conducting fieldwork. This is certainly true where the emotional and bodily dynamics of the social bond interfere with the idea of the dispassionate investigator (Reger, 2001), one who is expected to produce solid, incontrovertible evidence." (Southgate, 2011, p247).

My own feelings of helplessness stemmed from informal conversations with the cleaners themselves. For example, when asking about if they felt pride doing the job, they often responded with 'I know all I do is pick up shit'. Additionally, when asked about future plans, the street cleaners generally hadn't considered that there was another option for them, all the while needing to earn money to survive in today's

London. Additional conversations about previous experiences the cleaners have had with the public, whereby the public had become aggressive while they were trying to do their jobs also elicited helplessness as a result of the workers feeling they were unable to do anything due to fear of losing their jobs. Helplessness over their own life choices was absorbed by myself, which then elicited sympathy.

Nevertheless, I also felt joyous as a result of informal conversations with street cleaners about their children. While the general feeling about their own life choices was that 'this was it', in other words, hopeless, the feelings towards their children and their children's prospects in life were pride and hope, which was then projected onto myself and there was a shared feeling of pride and joy for not just the children of the street cleaners, but of the street cleaners themselves.

In sum, I feel I would describe my connection with the research participants as a sympathetic attachment. As Cunliffe and Alcadipani (2016) argue, the relationship between the researcher and the participants is partially influenced by the researcher's motives and values. Nevertheless, this was not only a result of my previous life experiences which may have influenced my initial interest towards my research topic, but I feel the research design, that of ethnography, due to its key characteristic of emerging oneself into the research setting, helped to elicit a more emotional connection with the participants. Undoubtedly, I feel this led to a more honest and genuine portrayal of the everyday lives these street cleaners are engaged with through a sense of trust and belonging experienced between the street cleaners and myself as the researcher.

4.8.3 Social critique

Within this research, there were a number of power relationships at play. Indeed, the most obvious power relationship was between myself as the researcher and research participant. However, I feel the nature of ethnographic research helps to blur this power relationship. Specifically, in this case, I as the researcher was a participant observer, thus I was working alongside the street cleaners and admittedly struggling to walk for miles each day with heavy barrows, heavy bags and at an extraordinary pace to try to get the job done. While, I did interview participants and therefore, at this point, the researcher-participant relationship was reinforced, I feel

the participant observation stimulated a togetherness feel or a 'one of us' feel. Notably, during interview, nerves on behalf of the participants seemed to stem more from a fear of saying the wrong thing and losing their jobs.

On the one hand, the research participants did have the upper hand on some accounts within the collection of this research data. Indeed, the second power relationship at play here was the employee-apprentice whereby the street cleaner was the all-knowing employee and I was the apprentice trying to learn on the job and catch up with the other cleaners. Oftentimes, I would have to repeatedly be shown the most efficient way to clean the streets so we could get the current task completed and move onto the next. Additionally, I had to continue to ask for help and ask for the next job once we were finished with the current task. As a result, I feel the cleaners were empowered in their supervisory position due to their vast knowledge of the job role and my limited knowledge of the job role, thereby they felt empowered, but also responsible for my wellbeing.

Another power relationship at play throughout the research was a male-female power play. As the street cleaners were predominantly male, and the work is stereotypically masculine as a result of dirt, heavy lifting and danger, there was a common consensus among the street cleaners that they must 'take care' of me as the female researcher. Additionally, they would often tell me not to lift heavy things or would insist that I sit in the van to have a rest as the manual work we were doing was 'not suitable for ladies'. Similarly to the previous power relationship, I feel this may have empowered the street cleaners and suited their working class masculine values of men completing laborious tasks due to their strength and agility.

4.9 Limitations and considerations

Negotiating access with councils in London was an initial limitation of this research. Ideally, the sample would have been larger, incorporating street cleaners from other London Boroughs. However, many were reluctant to allow myself access to work alongside and interview the street cleaners. Indeed, two councils stated that they were unable to co-operate in the research at this time due to recent redundancies and restructuring of waste management operations. Others failed to engage with me at all after initiating phone and email contact. Another council did agree to co-operate

with the research, however, unlike the other councils that chose to participate, a depot address was not given and I was referred to meet a street cleaner on their 'beat' in the borough. By the time I had arrived at the road address I was given, the street cleaner had moved on. Thereafter, contact was terminated by the council themselves.

Recent cuts to council budgets not only affected initial access into councils to participate in this research, but also meant an increase in workload for the cleaners that I worked with (Slutskaya et al., 2016). Resultantly, the workers felt increasingly under pressure and at times, I felt as if I was slowing them down which seemed to add to the pressure they were experiencing. This posed difficulties when trying to talk with the workers, as well as difficulties in conducting interviews as they were consciously anxious of the time they had to complete a task and moving onto the next task to get the job done. Nevertheless, they did seem to enjoy 'the break' away from the work for the 20 minute interviews and were both intrigued and happy about the fact they could voice their experiences to someone. This was only once I had reassured them that the management were aware that I would be taking some time out of their day to interview them and therefore they would not suffer any consequences.

Additionally, during interviews and during informal conversations that took place between myself and the participants, some workers repeatedly stated that they didn't want to say the wrong thing to me and end up losing their jobs. This accompanied their initial suspicions that I was planted there by management to spy on them. While some of this stemmed from a clear feeling of not measuring up, a large part of this seemed to have resulted from recent cuts to council budgets which placed more pressure as they felt their jobs were becoming more insecure. However, I feel the participant observation did help to mitigate said feelings and build trust between myself and the participants.

Oftentimes, what was said during informal conversations between myself and the participant failed to be relayed in the recorded interviews. Once again, this may be explained by the fear of the wrong thing being on record and the consequences this may incur. For example, one cleaner refused to be interviewed but stated that he

would talk to me outside of work hours and away from the work site so that he could not be heard. In addition, some street cleaners were migrant workers, of which many struggled to speak English. Consequently, this limited my sample somewhat as the language barrier posed difficulties for both me and the participant to understand one another.

Alternatively, in order to understand how recognition struggles for street cleaners change overtime, I could have adopted a longitudinal study. However, due to the restricted time frame I had to complete this research, I felt a longitudinal study was unfeasible. Additionally, employment of a visual methodology may have produced unseen valuable insights. As Slutskaya et al. (2012) found, the use of visual methods, in their case, photelicitation, images were able to uncover previously hidden themes among the sample of butchers they were exploring. Thus, for this research, employment of collaborative ethnographic documentary may have produced richer insights. Indeed, a collaborative ethnographic documentary would have provided a visual depiction of the daily lives of the street cleaners (Morgan et al., 2018), while mitigating the disadvantages of recording field notes from mental notes taken during participant observation, as was the case in the current research. However, practical considerations meant that a documentary based method was beyond the remit of this research. For example, funding is a key consideration when planning to execute a documentary method (Parr, 2007). No funding was acquired to carry out this data collection and the cost of a professional camera and quality editing software is too great. Additionally, considering the initial difficulties in finding willing councils to participant in the research with the current design, the proposition of a documentary may have created more barriers to entry due to current conflict occurring in councils as a result of recent cut backs.

Figure 4. 1: Research process diagram
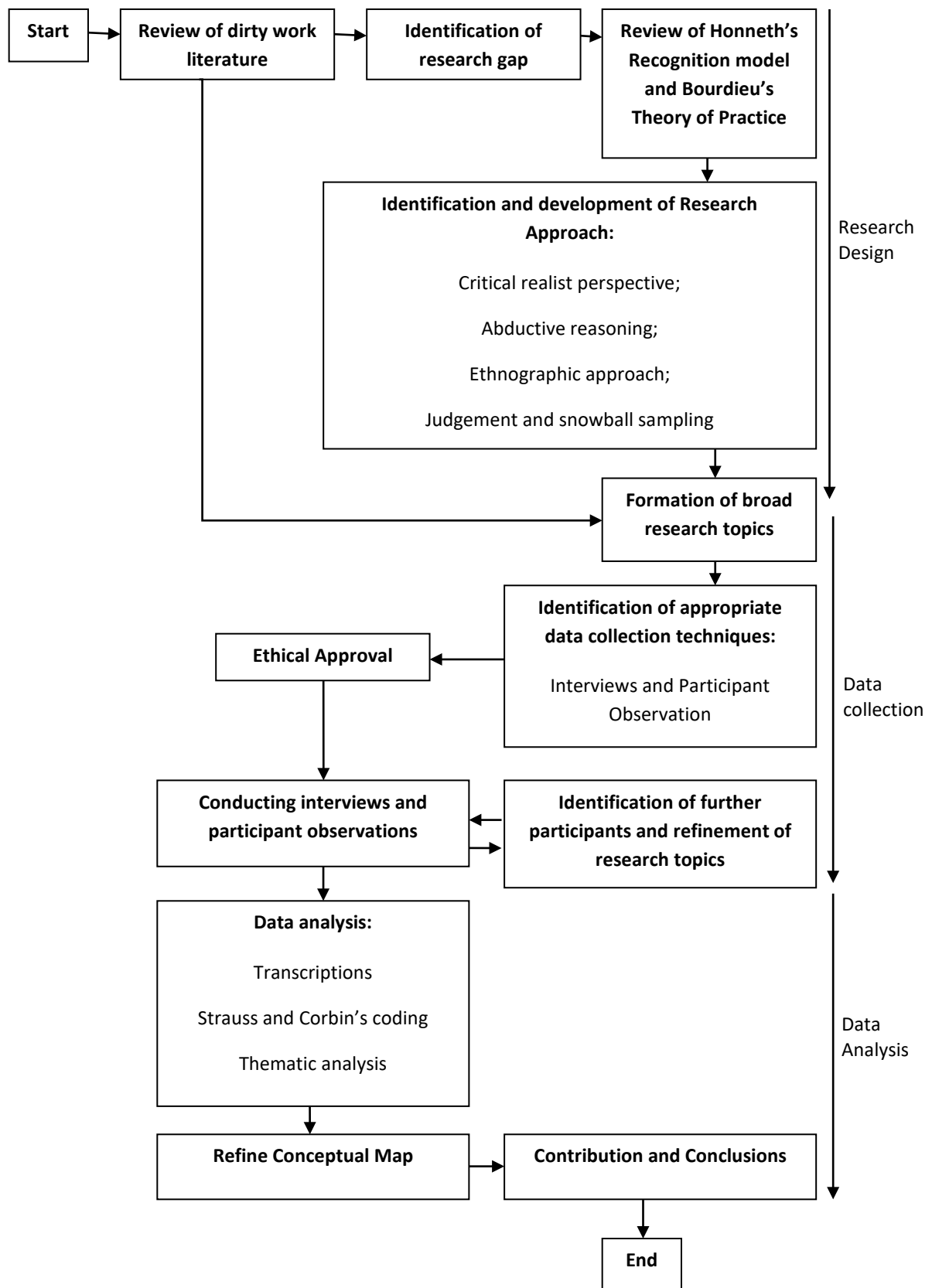
4.10 Summary

The holistic nature of the critical realist philosophy appeals to my own research as I have approached the data collection in line with Bourdieu's understanding whereby, individuals possess embedded predispositions which are shaped by inherited capitals and previous experiences which influence how people experience the world. While positivism would allow for such an assumption due to the positivist's belief that there is a reality independent of humans (McKenzie, 2011); this philosophy fails to fit the confines of the current research. As Hasan (2016) argues, positivism's focus on objectivity results in a lack of emphatic understanding about individuals and the social world. The current study aims to explore the recognition of the struggles of an overlooked group in society and the manifestation of coping mechanisms for disrespect, thus requiring a deeper understanding of street cleaners and the complex social structures they find themselves intertwined in. Whereas, positivism is argued to provide a simplified view on people's behaviours (Sayer, 1992).

While, realists and constructivists agree that understanding of the social world is 'socially mediated'; nevertheless realists argue that that this may have perpetrated a heavy reliance on socialisation to explain how the world works (Newton et al, 2011). Whereas, realists argue that while the world is influenced by culture, understanding the world through social construction alone poses limited understanding (Newton et al, 2011). Within this research, I aim to explore what strategies street cleaners and refuse workers engage in to be able to manage disrespect and how the class habitus and class inequalities shape and affect recognition struggles and management of disrespect. Critical realists argue that social relations constrain and facilitate social positions in the world (Brown, 2013). Power emerges within these social structures and "…these powers constrain and facilitate social activity" (Brown, 2013, p.116). By applying a critical realist perspective to this research, I am able to explore how power struggles which are rooted in class positions impact experiences of value among individuals in this occupation.

In a similar vein to justification of a critical realist philosophy, abductive reasoning was chosen on the basis of being a mixture of both induction and deduction in that the process not only considers a scientifically rigorous approach but also accounts for instinctual arguments (Kovács and Spens, 2005). Resultantly, abductive

reasoning can further promote understanding of existing phenomena by searching for alternate pre-existing theories that shine a new light on empirical observations (Dubois and Gadde, 2002). Indeed, in this research I am aiming to further understanding of recognition of the struggles among those in physically tainted dirty work by exploring how Bourdieu's habitus and Honneth's recognition explain the experiences of disrespect, and management of such by employees in an unrecognised working class occupation, namely street cleaning. The current research does not aim to test theory; therefore deduction is not applicable for this study. Additionally, when undertaking inductive reasoning emergent data is correlated to best fit theories in order to explain causal links (Friedland, 2016), which fails to account for the pre-existing theoretical assumptions which are being carried forward through to data collection and data analysis in the current research.

An ethnographic approach was chosen including the use of participant observation, field notes and semi-structured interviews as it allows for deep immersion within the social setting (Cunliffe, 2010), in this case, the working lives of street cleaners in London. Consequently, I was able to gain rich, detailed accounts and understandings (Saunders et al, 2015, Zickar and Carter, 2010) of the experiences of street cleaners, a group unseen and unheard in society (Slutskaya et al., 2016). While grounded theory approach does have its merits, including being able to delve deep into complex social issues (Fendt and Sachs, 2008), it is often suggested that the researcher have previous experience before conducting such a complex approach (Hughes and Jones, 2003), which I do not have as an early stage researcher. Additionally, grounded theory is criticised on the basis of its complexity which stems in part from the Glaser and Strauss debate regarding how theory should be developed through this approach (Kelle, 2005). While analytic induction may potentially combat this limitation of complexity deemed from grounded theory due to its replicable nature (Robinson, 1951), agreeably, the approach has been criticised for being one dimensional as it overlooks other contexts where phenomena may or may not occur (Johnson, 2004). Therefore, the explanatory nature of this approach can be somewhat argued as limited.

Initially, judgement sampling was employed in the current research whereby, the researcher contacted different councils in across London including North, South,

East and West, to appropriately represent the experiences of street cleaners across London. Thereafter, snowball sampling was executed due to the difficulty in approaching street cleaners as a result of the stigma of the work and reservations about talking to a researcher about their experiences in the workplace.

Despite consideration of different data analysis methods, including thematic analysis, content analysis and narrative analysis; thematic analysis was chosen. As a data analysis technique, thematic analysis allows flexibility within the analysis process which can lead to rich insights from the data set (Braun and Clarke, 2006). While narrative analysis can also facilitate rich and detailed understandings about phenomena (Gartner, 2010), it has been criticised on the basis of complexity as there is no clear way to execute the analysis process. Furthermore, narrative analysis generally follows the employment of life stories as the method of data collection (Riessman, 2008), which was beyond the remit of the current research.

While thematic analysis does have its merits, in a similar vein to narrative analysis, there is no clear definition or application process for this method of analysis (Tuckett, 2005, Atrride-Stirling, 2001). Nevertheless, thematic analysis lends itself to provide rich and detailed accounts of the everyday lives of people (McLeod, 2001). Content analysis can counteract this limitation as it is deemed a favourable method when delving into topics which are surrounded with complexity (Morris, 1994), while being an easily replicable way of seeking embedded individual and collective values which may shape experience (Kabanoff, 1996). However, thematic analysis does not necessarily need to follow pre-existing hypotheses (Braun and Clarke, 2006), and is a good choice of method when following a critical realist philosophy (Willig, 1999).

A detailed discussion about potential ethical issues and how they were addressed in the current research is presented. For example, consent and confidentiality of participants were maintained as a result of ethical approval from BREO, participant information form and verbal consent, while storing raw data on password protected computers. Furthermore, my own safety as the researcher was ensured by wearing protective clothing to minimise the risk of injury and through attending training before entering the field.

Reflexivity has been comprehensively discussed in this chapter to ensure a more ethical and robust ethnographic approach. Firstly, my own childhood and familial experiences of growing up in a working class family and living in a working class town have been described as well as their impact on inspiring my research interest. Secondly, my feelings of respect and admiration for the participants are discussed and the evulsion of feelings throughout the data collection process are described, including respect, helplessness and sorrow due to the lack of respect the street cleaners received while engaging in such gruelling work. To conclude this section, potential power relationships that occurred during the data collection process are defined, including researcher – participant, employee-apprentice and male – female.

Lastly, this chapter has discussed limitations faced throughout the data collection stages including but not limited to acquiring access to participants as a result of council cutbacks. Not only did council cutbacks affect initial contact with participants but increase in workload among street cleaners and the fear of 'saying the wrong thing' posed challenges with regards to interviewing participants. Additionally, consideration of the use of collaborative ethnographic documentary was discussed on the basis of potentially producing richer insights due to the visual and collaborative nature of this method. However, due to funding constraints and the difficulties already faced in attaining participants, this method was deemed unfeasible. The following chapter seeks to present my analysis and research findings in line with the pre-proposed design demonstrated here.

Part 5 – Investigating experiences of recognition and management of disrespect amongst street cleaners and refuse workers in London

5.1 Introduction

The following chapter presents analysis and findings from 32 semi-structured interviews and 128 hours of participant observation (in the form of field notes). Using thematic analysis, in line with an abductive critical realist approach to the research, transcriptions of interview data and field notes were analysed. Analysis was conducted in line with pre-determined research questions, namely:

1) How do those in physically tainted occupations experience recognition/misrecognition?

2) What strategies do those in physically tainted occupations use to cope with disrespect?

3) How does the use of certain strategies enable those in physically tainted occupations to cope with experiences of disrespect?

Initially, this chapter seeks to demonstrate how market changes have impacted attainment of recognition for street cleaners and refuse workers. Thereafter, the chapter explores how street cleaners and refuse workers experience Honneth's (1996) three spheres of recognition in light of market changes. What follows, is a depiction of the strategies street cleaners and refuse workers engage with in order to manage experiences of disrespect. Finally, in order to answer the final research question, the chapter seeks to demonstrate how, through an understanding of habitus and recognition these workers attain in the love sphere of recognition, may shed light on how the use of certain strategies may aid in coping with experiences of disrespect.

5.2 Experiences of recognition

Firstly, this section seeks to present an idea of how market changes driven by an adjustment towards neoliberal ideology, street cleaners and refuse workers have experienced changes with respect to their attainment of recognition. Thereafter drawing on Honneth's theory encompassing the three spheres of recognition, namely: love sphere, legal sphere and solidarity sphere, which are required to be fulfilled in order for one to achieve self-realisation (Honneth, 1996, 2004), this section

demonstrates how some spheres, most notably the solidarity sphere are ultimately unfulfilled, resulting in negative recognition experiences on behalf of the street cleaners.

5.2.1 Market changes and changes in value

In reference to any changes in their work they had noticed over the time they had been working for their respective councils, the street cleaners and refuse workers commonly focused on the reduction in staff numbers and how they perceived that respect for their work from others had changed overtime.

5.2.1.1 Reduction in staff numbers

When asked about any changes that have occurred in the time the street cleaners had been working in their current position, common responses seemed to note the reduction in staff members as a result of the cuts to council budgets:

> *"Cuts in the councils budget for the start, I mean we lost a hell of a lot, a hell of a lot of money and they had to make it somewhere and a lot of it was frontline staff went and one stage we lost 53 members of staff…"* - N06

Here, this particular participant places strong emphasis on the reasoning behind losing so many staff members, arguably as a justification to a shocking number of staff being dismissed by explaining how the decision was forced due to the need to recuperate losses as a result of council budget cuts. Whereas, the following participant stresses the decrease in staffing numbers alone:

> *"…obviously we had a lot more men then, we are a hell of a lot shorter now, doing the same area"* – S05

Indeed, while both participants in this instance arguably stress a sense of shock at the reduction in staff numbers by using the phrase 'hell of a lot', the first street cleaner seemed to articulate a justifiable reason behind it, possibly due to her husband working in a higher management position at the depot. Whereas, the second exert not only doesn't provide a justification for such drastic staff re-structure, but also focuses on how this has impacted daily work practices through stating there is less staff to cover the same areas.

5.2.1.2 Changing work practices

Certainly, one way in which participants seemed to express a change in value overtime with respect to being easy to replace since cuts to council budgets and resultant changing work practices:

> *"Now because of the amount of pressure we are under and the amount of people we got working for us now, when I first started there was no such thing as an agency worker, so if I went on strike, tomorrow they'd make a phone call and get another driver in from the agency, the work would still get done, so what's the point in striking, we're not achieving nothing accept losing a day's pay"* – E01

Not only does this particular street cleaner demonstrate a change in work practices with regards to increased pressure, he also demonstrates how easy a replacement could be found in relation to strike action. Indeed, in the context of discussing the decreasing power of trade unions, he expresses hopelessness in any attempts to strike because it would be very easy for the council to find a replacement from an agency.

Participants also demonstrated many concerns around how standards of living were attributed to the standard wages and changes in overtime payments since cuts to the council budget which were making it increasingly difficult to live, specifically for frontline staff:

> *"If you don't do overtime, put it this way, if I didn't do overtime, I wouldn't be sleeping"* – W04

> *"there's no money to be earned on the Council, if you're on the front line staff there's no money to be earned there 'cos whereas the overtime used to be time and half for Saturday, double for Sunday, it's all single time now, they took that away and that really hurt, that really hurt a lot of lads 'cos they rely, the money's so bad that they have to do overtime to make it, earn a living wage 'cos at the moment it's, you know when you*

get your wages slip you look at it, you think well what it is dry roasted or ready salted you know what I mean, it really is peanuts you know? You know it's just above the government minimum so I dunno." – N01

"You wouldn't be able to have a mortgage or if you were renting you wouldn't be able to afford to rent, you wouldn't be able… I mean, on average, we would spend £150 to £200 a week on food, shopping, right? Then you've got, on top of that, you've gotta pay your bills. Now if I was young doing this job, trying to start out a family, wouldn't be able to afford it, no way on earth, no way." – N02

The changes in overtime rates clearly elicited feelings of anger and frustration due to the struggles they face trying to make ends meet on the standard wage they receive from the council. Said feelings seemed to have created a divide between frontline workers and management. For example, in both accounts we can see a reference to struggles for frontline workers and those just starting out in the job, in addition to the mention of 'they took that away' in the first account. Both participants express said struggles in different ways, firstly by referring to the standard wage as 'peanuts' and referring to how overtime is now needed to earn a living wage. The second account depicting the struggles to pay rent or mortgage payments, buy food and pay bills with the current wage and suggesting that the situation is dyer for youngsters starting out in the work.

In concurrence, I myself witnessed first-hand how council wages were affecting the living standards of one particular street cleaner while we were on a mid-morning coffee break. This particular participant was willing to save money in any way possible:

> Just before lunch, we went to McDonalds to get a coffee and I was shocked when the team leader started picking cups out of the bins so he could use the stickers to get a free coffee. – Field notes 27.10.16

Indeed, I distinctly remember my shock at watching this particular member of the cleaning team stop at the entrance by the bin to McDonalds and start rooting around for any discarded cups to which he informed me he does this on a regular basis so he can collect the stickers and get free coffee.

5.2.1.3 Changes in value attributed to the work by the public

There was a common consensus among the majority of participants that respect and praise from the public has changed overtime. For example, while accompanying two migrant street cleaners in the van, during a discussion about public perception of the work, the loader felt that value of the work had increased in the eyes of the public:

> The loader feels the value attributed to the job has changed in
> a positive way, as when he arrived it was easy to get the job
> because no one wanted to do the job, whereas now it is harder
> so he feels people value it more. – Field notes 16.11.16

Indeed, this particular guy felt as if acquiring work as a street cleaner was valued more now because of changes in the job market, suggesting that it lacked value before because no one wanted the job, whereas now, it is much more difficult to get work so any job is valued. Nevertheless, this was not common consensus for the majority of street cleaners I worked alongside. Indeed, most felt that perceived value of the work on behalf of the public had decreased overtime:

> While we had a mini lunch break in the van, members of the
> public would glare at us as they walked past. Indeed, I felt
> insignificant and that people were staring at what I was doing
> and stared at the trucks. She did say she feels the public watch
> her more now. She also expressed that this work is a manual
> job and people just don't wanna do that anymore. – Field notes
> 3.11.16

From this particular extract from my field notes based on informal conversations that took place between myself and those that I was working alongside, it was evident that my own feelings of insignificance and feeling watched were also felt by the street cleaner I was working with. Indeed, she comments on how she feels that in

general, manual work fails to be valued anymore, contributing in her own opinion, to the negative connotations and resultant taint that is attached to those engaged in street cleaning. The following extract from my own observations yet displaying a similar feeling of value decreasing overtime, provides an alternative reason behind the change:

> They showed feelings of nostalgia when talking about a seemingly better time where they received cups of tea from the old lady down the road. They said they felt the respect had decreased and expectations had increased due to an increased number of people entering the borough and different people entering in the borough. Indeed, they said we used to get cups of tea but we don't anymore because it's not the old lady down the road, it's the family from wherever they are from. – Field notes 9.11.16

Indeed, they feel that physical change to the place in the way of the older generation moving out and being replaced by an influx of migration from across the world has resulted in a symbolic and cultural change in public perception of the street cleaners.

5.2.2 Spheres of recognition

In light of these changes, there is arguably a negative impact they have had on the acquisition of respect and value for street cleaners, so the following seeks to demonstrate, in accordance with Honneth's spheres of recognition, the current struggles for recognition faced by the street cleaners and refuse workers in this study.

5.2.2.1 Solidarity sphere of recognition

In reference to Honneth, the following sections seek to explore how street cleaners may or may not be recognised as an autonomous contributing and valued individual member of society based on recognition or lack thereof from their daily work activities.

5.2.2.1.1 Recognition of usefulness:

Most participants did mention that they do experience some positive experiences with the public with regard to praise and saying thank you. Indeed, the following participant shared his own 'better experiences' in the work with regards to feeling respected and praised by retelling a kind gesture offered by a member of the public on an extremely hot day:

> *"You know, but the other humbling experiences are when the old dear is waiting for you, she's waiting for the van, she sees it and she's there with tea or juice, thanking ya for what you done, sometimes even give ya a little hug. Now that makes you feel appreciated"* – N01

From the retelling of this experience, it is evident that the offer of a drink while he was working by a female member of the public elicited some element of pride in the work he does as a result of the praise the guys receive that day and the fact that they were deemed visible and more importantly valuable and useful to the community based on the work they do. While very well received, unfortunately, this seemed to be a rarity, as I had noticed from my own experiences working alongside various street cleaners. So much so that I recorded my surprise on one particular occasion whereby a member of the public actually came and thanked the person I was working with:

> A nice surprise was when a lady came out to thank the street cleaner for doing her job – a rarity from my own experiences doing the work and from the experiences I had heard about from the street cleaners themselves. The street cleaner in this case did however belittle the job, repeatedly telling me "it don't take rocket science to do our job". – Field notes 3.11.16

It was very evident from my observations however that this was a rare occasion, and despite such an occasion, the feeling of respect and value for the work they do is lacking as the street cleaner (not just in this case) belittled the work. In a similar vein, it was common to see many inconsistencies with regards to stated feelings about the public in conversation and actions that I observed whilst working alongside them:

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> When I asked him about the public, he said they are nice,
> however, while doing the work and observing the public walking
> past the guys, both seemed to have their heads down and
> seemed defeated, degraded and demoralised. – Field notes
> 8.5.17

Here, while working alongside two road sweepers, it was clear that the street cleaners did not feel respected, valued or even visible to most members of the public, despite telling me that they have no problems with the public and that the public are 'nice'.

5.2.2.1.2 Struggle for solidarity through degradation:

During my participant observations, despite knowing this was not my every day job and my work identity is that of a researcher, I experienced a great sense of shame and degradation while travelling to the different council depots in my high visibility uniform:

> On the way to the depot, I felt very visible, yet invisible in my
> high visibility council uniform which automatically elicited a
> sense of shame. – Field notes 3.5.17

Indeed, during the travel to the depots, one thing was evident in that during the early morning rush hour, while wearing the uniform, no one would sit next to me despite the trains and buses being packed – an experience I had never encountered in my normal clothes. Additionally, during the partaking of the work that the street cleaners do every single day I felt invisible and ignored as depicted in my field notes:

> During the day, I myself felt ignored by the public, exhausted,
> achy, pointless, dirty and demotivated due to monotonous work
> and decreased morale. – Field notes 27.10.16

In a similar vein, the following exert from the field notes shows the strength of the disrespect experienced as a result of the social taint associated with being a street cleaner as one guy in particular reports how differently he is treated dependent on if he is dressed in his own clothes compared to if he is dressed in his council uniform:

The driver also commented on how he feels he is treated differently depending on whether he is wearing his uniform or normal clothes. Indeed explaining why the driver chooses to wears his own clothes to and from work and changes in and out of his uniform at the start and end of the working day. – Field notes 17.5.17

Indeed, this particular street cleaner choses to wear his own clothes on his way to work and change into his uniform at work, while changing out of his uniform and into his own clothes on his way home, depicting the strength of taint attached to wearing the council uniform and the resultant shame that comes with the tainted experiences.

I also experienced ignorance from the public while I was sweeping the streets, people often pushing past me if not crossing the road to avoid any potential contact with me at all, enhancing the sense of dread that accompanied the dirtiness and physical exertion that the job already entailed. In a similar vein, during one of my days working alongside the street cleaners, I experienced the social taint that attaches to the body when wearing a council branded uniform:

What was immediately apparent as I entered the café in my high visibility council uniform was the glares from the customers. In the first instance I assumed this may have been a result of being a woman, which is rarer to see in such attire than a male. This started up a conversation between me and the guys regarding their own encounters with the public. They stated how you are invisible if you are a council worker, unless they want to be rude or complain. – Field notes 13.11.16

While my initial reaction to the glares from the public I experienced was personally thought to be due to my female status in a male dominated occupation (likely due to being mindful that this wasn't my real job and I had a lack of experience within this particular work); the conversation which followed with the street cleaners demonstrated a feeling of worthlessness in the form of being invisible to the public due to the association they have with the council. Indeed, the only time they felt

visible to the public was as a metaphorical punching bag in the form of abuse or complaints.

One particular participant seemed to struggle to understand why being associated with a council through working as a street cleaner increased their experience of disrespect, as the public construct negative connotations about councils which are deflected onto them as individuals as they are frontline operatives:

> *"I come out of that, come over to the council and I didn't realise on how, the council, like how people look down their nose at them. I was told when I come on here how it is but they do, they just, I don't know. You can even be driving past in a council van and they stare at you and glare at you and I've got no idea why…"* – N03

Despite now being fully aware of the degradation that stems from the public when working as a street cleaner, his struggle of trying to understand the reasoning behind such a perception still continues. However, from reported accounts of incidents whereby the street cleaners have been treated in a disrespectful manner, it becomes evident that the council are deemed as useless:

> *"We've had a guy come up to us, we're all sitting there eating our lunch. "Look at the council workers, one of you hold a lightbulb, the other four of you to turn the van" or whatever comment he come out with. Yeah, just a member of the public come and just start abusing us for sitting there."* – N03

In this first instance for example, the participant tells me of a time whereby the crew were on their lunch break and a member of the public directed a degrading form of mockery towards them in particular reference to council workers, deeming anyone that works for the council as useless and wasteful. Similarly, the following participant not only details their initial surprise at the amount of abuse street cleaners face as part of their working lives, but they also inform me that when they first started, they were asked why they worked for council, referring to working for the council as shit:

"When I first started I was going home from work and I had someone come up to me, see my uniform and say why do you work for them it's shit, I was like I've just started and you're telling me this… I didn't realise the amount of abuse people get and I just started, I was like woah" – W03

Indeed, one may argue then in this case that the member of the public that approached this particular street cleaner, asking them why they work for the council because 'it's shit', may also suggest a public perception of the council being worthless and as such any one that works for them is also worthless. Certainly, as a result of their association with the council, and the visibility of their uniform heightens their experiences of disrespect through degradation and abuse as a result of the council and all those associated with the council as being not only useless but also worthless.

Further depiction of street cleaners being perceived as useless was evidenced by feelings of posing as an inconvenient obstacle for members of the public. Quite often, I noticed myself as a participant observer and was informed on various occasions by the workers that they felt that they were a nuance for the public in different forms:

For example the driver was very frustrated with the other cars on the road that would never say thank you to him for moving out the way, they'd never give way to the driver and would continuously toot as if the van was a major nuance. They all told me that they feel like they are just in the way most of the time. – Field notes 9.11.16

"Last week, a guy come up to a van calling us the c word, calling us a pair of c words, one the other week as well we pulled up in the middle of the road to throw some stuff on the back for less than 20 seconds and the car behind kept beeping and called my driver a fat c word, then when we did pull over to

let him past he was all aggressive saying watch what I'll do, trying to threaten us as well" – E03

Firstly, the physical presence of the vans and machinery were deemed as an inconvenience for the public to which they would shout and toot at the driver. The reaction towards the street cleaners due to the physical inconvenience of the van, as explained by the quotation, displays strong verbal abuse and threats of physical abuse depicting strong degradation towards the street cleaners.

Secondly, I observed a different type of situation on numerous occasions whereby the cleaners would be sweeping the road and people would bump into the cleaners and walk away with a look of disgust, despite the apologies presented by the cleaners:

> While we were sweeping, I was surprised owing to the fact that some members of the public came up to us and thanked us for the job we were doing by saying 'thank you for keeping it clean'. Also a few members of the public would say good morning. However, there was an incident whereby one of the guys was sweeping the corner of a pavement and a female member of the public bumped into him. The sweeper immediately said sorry but the woman walked past ignoring the apology and looked at him with disgust. Regrettably, this seemed to be a regular occurrence for the guys so they seemingly brushed the bad treatment off and carried on with their day. – Field notes 8.5.17

This particular behaviour was reiterated by parents on school runs with their children:

> While we were cleaning the streets during the school run, I noticed one of two reactions towards us from parents: either complete avoidance/lack of acknowledgement that we were there, to the extent that they would cross the road to avoid

walking past us, or judgemental glares up and down. – Field notes 3.5.17

Indeed, it was very clear to me while working that in most cases, the cleaners would get one of two reactions from those taking their children to school, either complete ignorance to the extent that they would cross the road so they didn't have to cross our path, or judgemental looks as they walked past us trying to complete the work. Thus, despite their physical presence with both vans and as bodies completing work that will ensure cleanliness and hygiene in the area, looks of disgust or pure ignorance of their presence suggests that the public did not recognise the street cleaners in a useful or contributive way, but rather as unwanted and unnecessary.

Unfortunately, a further reiteration of the perceived uselessness of street cleaners on behalf of members of the public presented itself in common occurrences whereby the street cleaners endured physical ways of ignorance and disrespect such as having rubbish thrown in front of them while they were trying to clean the street:

> *"It's like I was saying, you know, certain things they do, like you know when they throw rubbish away in front of you and things like, you know, there's no need to do that, you know what I mean? You're going round trying to keep the streets clean and they're just… tossing away, you know what I mean, tossing away their rubbish and that so."* – S01

> *"when you get certain people you know, you're sweeping and you get someone that throws something down right in front of your face and you think oh you know, it's you know, I'm standing here either with a bin or if you're on the barrow you've got a barrow, why not just walk 10 yards and just come and put it in the bin, or you've got a bin to put it in you know, it's them sorts of things get you down sometimes you know."* – S07

> *"when I go down [town] shopping or walking you just see like children and people, they'll open up a chocolate bar, the bin will be there and they don't give a shit they just drop it where they*

are, you know like even the takeaway like KFC people might be
eating it and they chuck the rapper and the bag on the floor,
you know unbelievable, you never used to get all that, alright
occasionally you get one or two but now you're seeing
takeaway gear everywhere now on the floor" – S05

"I would go as far to say I hate the public; I know it's a strong
word, but they'll very ignorant, you can be doing your job and
they come and throw litter in front of you, disrespect you, give
you dirty looks, look at ya like you're a piece of shit" – W04

We can see here the idea of disrespect through ignorance of the street cleaners is reiterated in a physical sense through discarding rubbish on the floor, despite either being in the direct presence of a street cleaner while they are sweeping the road or being in close proximity to a bin where they could easily discard the rubbish appropriately. Such behaviours seem to elicit strong feelings of frustration amongst the street cleaners as well as feelings of low self-esteem.

Additionally, the street cleaners and refuse workers in this study faced disrespect during their daily working lives through being on the end of either physical abuse or the threat of physical abuse:

> While I was informed they do receive occasional thank you's, they also told me one guy that was punched in the back of the head while working, he hit back to defend himself but was suspended. – Field notes 9.11.16

> Indeed, in the same breath he told me about how one of the street cleaners had been bottled recently. – Field notes 8.5.17

Physical abuse experienced by the street cleaners varied from physical violence using fists to the use of weaponry in the form of bottles posing not only the lack of respect attributed to the street cleaners as autonomous individuals but also the danger associated with the work. Nevertheless, some street cleaners seemed to

attain value through experiences and threats of physical abuse, by identifying with masculine values:

> "When I was on a different team a couple of years ago this lad that was quite clearly drunk and on drugs come up to me and asked me what I was looking at 'cos I was standing by the truck and I was keeping an eye on the tools and I didn't want the tools to be nicked, you know what I mean? 'Cos it has happened before and this lad he said "I'll shank you", in other words, I wanna stab you, I will stab you if you keep looking at me and everything like that and I said "I'm not looking at you mate" and I said "If you fancy your chances come on let's have it, 'cos you can see I'm a big bloke" and as it turned out he thought better of it and then he apologised, so that was a bit scary 'cos he kept tapping the top of his thigh sort to say I've got a knife on me, you know I should have reported it to the Police and all that, but you know, what's the point?" – N01

Indeed, in this case, the participant seemed to seek value by expressing his own physical stature and strength as a male which deterred the threat of physical abuse becoming a reality. Thus, one can argue that the danger posed in such situations may be relished in some part by the street cleaners and provide them with some form of self-respect in the sense of strength, toughness and no fear.

Experiences of disrespect extended to members of the public spitting at street cleaners as I was informed during informal conversations while working on the job:

> I was informed that down a certain high street, people spit at them while they are trying to complete their daily work activities. – Field notes 16.11.16

The revelation of being informed by the street cleaners that in a specific area of South London, the workers are spat at by members of the general public, was most surprising to me, demonstrating not only a disregard for the street cleaner's dignity, but posing a strong sense of disgust on behalf of the public towards the street

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cleaners. In addition, I was pre-warned by the street cleaners that I should make sure I wear my gloves because people often spit on the bags, displaying a complete lack of recognition for the workers and their daily activities:

> It was clear that they also felt disrespected by members of the public as I was told that I have to use gloves when handling the bags because people spit on them. - Field notes 27.10.16

Unfortunately, the threat of experiencing spit was not isolated to one area in London. Indeed, on a separate occasion at a different council, the street cleaners were fully prepared and alarmingly casual about having to be handling spit on the bags that they have to pick up and dispose of, suggesting this was a much routinised part of the job. Thus, one may argue that through such behaviour, street cleaners are failed to be recognised as an individual deserving of respect in any sense, let alone recognised as a valuable individual that contributes to society.

5.2.2.1.3 Street cleaner's explanations of degradation:

When posed the question as to why they felt the public viewed them in this way, the street cleaners came up with various explanations. One such explanation revolved around generational differences. Indeed, they generally felt that the older members of the public are more respectful:

> *"The older people respect the job you're doing where the younger ones they just don't care."* – N14

> While we were sweeping, the public walk often tut and glare at us. There was a constant feeling that we were always in their way. Additionally, two youngsters walked past us, pointing and laughing. – Field notes 15.5.17

Both the participant's quote and an extract from my own field notes depict the idea of there being a difference in treatment by the public towards the cleaners dependent on their age. The participant outrightly feeling and suggesting that older people respect the work, while younger people fail to respect the work. In a similar vein, my own observations also demonstrating behaviours which fit the latter feeling through

younger people mocking us while we were carrying out the work. However on the flip side, some participants also expressed an opposing view with regards to the younger generation, in particular children, by telling me about an incident whereby a child pointed out to their father how rude he was being through ignoring the street cleaner in question:

> *"Well, I'd only been working a couple of months here, in Pinner, you'd have thought a nice area, a man was taking his toddler to playschool in a pushchair, so he was old enough to talk, I said, "Good morning," as I always do to everybody I see first thing in the morning, or throughout the day, the bloke ignored me but the child actually turned round to his father and said, "Daddy, that man said good morning to you." And that just sums it up. A lot of people think they don't… we're beneath them a lot of the time."* - N02

Whereas, another participant felt that the older generation, in this case a nursery school teacher, are installing a negative connotation of street cleaners in younger children of nursery school age through their own unnecessary and judgemental behaviours towards street cleaners:

> *"Like I was telling you this morning when a nursery school teacher walked by and I just got out the truck and alright it was full of rubbish, that's fair enough, but she was holding her nose. Now on that basis all the rest of the little, I don't know, nursery sized children they all held their nose and all and there was no reason for it, you know? It didn't stink, it wasn't you know, it's a dirty job and it's a dusty job and all the rest of it and there was no need for that, but that's someone older, only a teacher who should know better, teaching the kids every time they see a yellow jacket they might hold their nose now do you know what I mean?*– N01

What may be suggested here then is that rather than disrespect towards street cleaners being dependent on generational differences, disrespect may be filtrated from those with particular ideologies about what is a respectful occupation.

Common consensus among the street cleaners was that societal assumptions that connote what is a respectful occupation were infiltrated through the education system. Indeed, they commonly felt that the education system degraded street cleaning and any work that involved manual work, placing value on office work:

> Interestingly, she opened up a conversation with me about how schools don't teach kids manual labour these days and are only taught how to use computers. This, she believed was one of the reasons for a change in perception of street cleaning work as she often experiences school children walking past saying I'd never do that job, in a condescending tone. Nevertheless, she did also tell me how 'people can't hack this job', potentially a way to alleviate some of the shame. – Field notes 3.11.16

Indeed, here we can see that the street cleaners felt no value is attributed to manual work by schools with a focus on trying to ensure children are taught how to use computers, deeming the manual skills the street cleaners possess as useless. This point is reiterated by the following participant suggesting that schools will try to deter anyone away from manual work:

> *"If anything I think they put you off manual labour, in school, if anything they say that manual labour isn't as hard as say an office job"* – E03

While the following participant goes further by arguing that street cleaning or refuse collection was often used as a degrading threat in school to try to make people work harder in school:

> *"To be honest, I think most people do, they tend to look down on sweepers because we do this sort of job, its, I think it goes back to years you know, when you was at school, if you don't*

learn, you'll end up being a dustman… not just suits, a lot of
normal people to but then we know that and we accept that
because we got a job to do" – E01

Thus again, by using the idea of working as a street cleaner or refuse worker as a threat to encourage further participation and engagement with school work and education, one may argue that with the emphasis on educational credentials, those deemed as useful and contributive are those that pursue academically. Whereas those that struggle or fail to engage academically will become a street cleaner or refuse worker perpetrating the idea that street cleaners or refuse workers lack intelligence and are useless as a result.

5.2.2.1.4 Struggle for solidarity through denigration

A commonly felt criticism expressed to me by the participants was that the public focused on the assumption that street cleaners have no qualifications:

"They look at you different, like you are thick or something, you
must have come out of school with nothing because you're
doing this job." – S01

While here the participant acknowledges the pre-judgement of lacking qualifications that comes with being a street cleaner, the following expresses that the street cleaners feel that the public fail to see their value by focusing on a generic stereotype that street cleaners lack intelligence and are therefore idiots:

"I think we are taken for granted by a lot of people, so they see
us as, you don't have to be very intelligent to do this job so they
see us as idiots sort of thing, you know what I mean, like all we
do is manual labour so we haven't got a brain in our head
basically" – E03

Similarly, the following participant shares the sense of being judged by the street cleaners based on lacking 'brains', however, this particular street cleaner seeks to challenge this idea:

"generally I think they think we're a bit on the simple side, I think they think anyone who's a road sweeper as they used to call it you know that I don't know that maybe they aint got the brains to do anything else, well that's not strictly true" – N06

Certainly, such a consensus is reiterated by the following street cleaner in that they give a clear example of how a woman taking her children to school clearly reinforced the idea that if you fail to attend school, you will become a street cleaner. However, this particular street cleaner seeks to challenge this criticism more explicitly by stating that the public fail to realise the value of the work they do:

"I've heard like when I've worked in [South London] a couple of times, a woman taking her kids to school and I've heard her say in front of her kids to me see if you don't go to school you'll end up like him, you know I've never answered that back but I thought that's sorta a little bit much you know, you get, I've had that, I've heard that, it's not just me, I think, I think it's quite funny when they say that to be honest because I think they don't realise the value of the job" – S05

Clearly depicted then is the indication that the street cleaners feel they are perceived by the public to have no qualifications due to the work they are doing. Additionally, there are attempts to try to contest this perception by passing ridicule onto the perpetrators for not realising the value attached to the work they do. However, what is arguably evident in light of previous perceptions that continuing in school and attaining qualifications equates to usefulness and contribution in conjunction with being a street cleaner or refuse worker, the public's focus on how street cleaners lack certain qualifications reinforces a perception of their work being useless.

From many conversations with the street cleaners while engaging in participant observation, there was a common consensus felt by the street cleaners of 'being a target' for the public as a result of their association with the local council:

On route to the first beat, the supervisor accompanying me told me about how wearing a council uniform makes you a target. He told me "you wear this, they know you work with the council and that's it. They think we don't pay council tax; I pay my council tax!" – Field notes 8.5.17

He felt that working for the council made you a target for people because 'they just wanna get money out of ya'. – Field notes 17.5.17

Here, extracts of the conversations which took place during the participant observation demonstrate that the street cleaners are very aware that wearing the uniform showed their alliance with the council and therefore created a negative perception of them by the public. Indeed, we can see that they felt there is great animosity between the public and the council, of which the street cleaners are a symbol of. Additionally, they demonstrate that while predominantly being deemed as useless and worthless, their only use is to be used, either for monetary gains or to complain and vent. Arguably, the social taint that accompanies those that are deemed as council workers automatically refrains from them being accepted as an autonomous and valuable individual. Instead they are perceived of and treated based on their council affiliation.

This idea was further perpetuated by the street cleaners and refuse workers feeling as if they experienced disrespect based on an embedded societal assumption that working in this type of job attributes to worthlessness:

"…we're not all idiots so you know, we're just normal human beings tryna do a job but for some reason we get classed down the bottom you know" – N06

"That's the way of life isn't it, it's the way of life, the way people look at street cleaners it's like they're the lowest of the lowest you know what I mean, basically, I find, that's how it's looked at." – N12

> The female member spoke about how people look at her all the time, "they look at you like your shit because you are a street cleaner". – Field notes 3.5.17

> There was a constant rhetoric from all workers that the work that they do is not valuable, often stating "you don't need brains to do this job". – Field notes 13.11.16

Indeed, the above exerts are referring to how the public associate street cleaning as being the lowest of the low or 'shit' and that the street cleaners are therefore treated accordingly, rather than being seen as an autonomous individual. Arguably, one can suggest that this presents an acknowledgement on behalf of the street cleaners of their perceived lack of usefulness in society through further declaration of them being classed as excrement, rather than as a respected and contributive member of society. There also seems to be a sense of reluctance or fatalism in that this particular rhetoric is set in stone, this is something that they must accept as the strong likelihood is that this will not change.

Certainly, street cleaners and refuse workers seemed to feel denigrated due to their position in the social hierarchy demonstrated by depictions of feeling as if they are treated differently by members of more affluent classes:

> *"the fairies come in and do it as far as they're concerned, they, I think people on the whole want these things cleaned but they don't wanna know who does it, they don't care who does it they just want it done you know and yeah we go in and do it, you get some residents that will say oh thanks very much you're doing a wonderful job and then you get some of them who you sort of you know, you you're sweeping the street and you step out the way for them to walk past and not a word, not a dicky bird they won't say thank you, they won't say good morning or anything they are just, you shouldn't be in my way, get out of my way (posh imitation), it's just" – N06*

There was a clear feeling of us and them with regards to affluence levels, as shown in the previous quote whereby this particular participant mocked those from a higher class bracket. Indeed, from my own observations, I myself felt very aware of the divide between us and them as demonstrated by my feeling of being watched and glared at by 'the suits':

> All the while, we had commuters in suits glaring at us while we were cleaning up the waste that had been left on the floor. – Field notes 27.10.16

The social class divide seemed to be attached to the work in that it was a contagious feeling that even I was 'infected' with, despite partaking participant observations for a short period of time. Nevertheless, one participant had opposing views in respect to the differences of treatment based on one's social class, indeed suggesting that in general more affluent areas were generally more respectful towards street cleaners, while less affluent areas were hit and miss:

> *"You've got different classes of people, I mean, see, yes, if we're working, without mentioning, say [less affluent area]. We can be over there and the public will come past and say, "Thank you, lovely job." You know, we can be in other alleyways and you can virtually get abuse, you know? Or ignored, or look down their nose at you, you know? And, yeah, and other places you go, nicer areas, I suppose, they will all say, "Thank you for a good job you're doing and keep it up." –* N03

While this particular street cleaner does mention that he faces abuse while carrying out his daily work activities, he fails to make a clear distinctive explanation for this abuse based on those from more affluent backgrounds looking down on those with less affluent backgrounds as was previously expressed. Nevertheless, it is worth mentioning that in general the particular borough in which this person worked in could be argued to be generally more affluent and community orientated than the others.

Additionally, the street cleaners felt that some members of the public assumed that that street cleaners were criminals:

> *"Not everybody but some people used to think that because we*
> *were doing streets we were on community service but, it's not*
> *it's just a normal job"* – W01

Indeed, here the participant states how some people assume that due to the work they are doing, they must be completing a community service order, a form of prosecution for people that have executed a criminal act. Nevertheless, this particular street cleaner seeks to contest this idea by normalising the work they do.

Whereas, another street cleaner conveyed to me that she felt due to the dirt aspect involved in her job as a street cleaner, members of the public also assumed her to be dirty:

> *"People, like when you see them out on the street they look at*
> *you differently, they just think because you're a street cleaner*
> *you're dirty and stuff. I hate it, I like doing back roads, alleys*
> *because then I'm away from all the public"* – W03

Indeed, this unfair assumption from the public led her to feel more comfortable working on back streets and alleys, where she can be away from the judgemental perceptions of the public and get on with her work without feeling ridiculed. Similarly, the following participant demonstrates how the physical contact with dirt elicits degrading connotations towards street cleaners of 'being shit because you pick up shit'

> *"I didn't ask him to go out for a drink or anything, just a good*
> *morning, a good morning back would have been nice. But a lot*
> *of people do think we are shit because of what we pick up."* –
> N02

Not only do the accounts above show how physical contact with dirt is an everyday requirement in the job, they also show how having everyday contact with dirt

produces negative perceptions of street cleaners themselves which as well as conjuring up feelings of shame, at least in the first instance, also reinforces the idea that street cleaners are not deemed as useful individuals in their own right, but rather deemed as 'dirty' or 'shit', something to be avoided or hidden, due to their affiliation with the council.

The overarching reality from the point of view of the participants in this study then was that praise and recognition as a contributing member of society in the form of valued traits and skills in work was a rare occurrence and in general, they face victimisation through degradation and denigration. As a result of a strongly perceived division by the public, which is ultimately perpetuated through the educational system, which equates qualifications with usefulness and value while equating manual labour as uselessness, street cleaner's usefulness goes unrecognised. Thus, the street cleaners fail to achieve this particular sphere of recognition.

5.2.2.2 Legal sphere of recognition

In light of the undoubted lack of acknowledgement of the usefulness of street cleaners and refuse workers by society in relation to their work, what follows is an exploratory insight in to how and whether the street cleaners are considered as accepted autonomous individuals in their own right, in both a legal and a moral sense. That is, to explore if they feel they have equal rights in the form of being recognised as an equal and autonomous participating member in society, from a legal and moral standpoint.

5.2.2.2.1 Autonomy to work

While participants did possess a certain standard of legal recognition through equal rights to participate in work, they seemed somewhat concerned with regards to the security of their work and therefore their means to a certain standard of living. Indeed many conversations highlighted the impact of council budget cuts and how this had effected work security and work practices.

5.2.2.2.1.1 Job security:

Despite the occurrence of staff re-structuring through reduction in staff numbers, in some cases, this particular change did not deter the workers and they still felt secure

in their work. In fact, in two particular cases, participants I spoke with felt strongly about the prospect of job security for the rest of their working lives as a street cleaner:

> *"erm I think your fairly secure in it I think things have got to get really bad or you gotta really misbehave or do something really you know atrocious to get the sack here 'coz the erm union you know says you gotta have 3 strikes now so you gotta have one verbal two written so if you behave yourself I think you near enough got a job for life, even if it was privatised they still wanna keep you because of the knowledge you have of the town centre or the area and also you know I've put in for redundancy twice and both times I've had it turned down"* – N07

In this case, this particular street cleaner not only feels strongly protected by employment regulations at the council making it difficult to get fired, but also feels that despite any privatisation that may occur, the job would still be secure due to the knowledge he has. It is worth noting that this particular worker had been working with this council for 14 years and occupies a team leader position after deciding to step down from a higher position. What is most surprising is the rejection of his request for redundancy, on two occasions being turned down.

While the following participant seems to share a similar positive outlook with regards to job security with the council when asked about his future plans:

> *"You know this is where im planning to retire, yeah yeah, I dont see myself going anywhere"* – S03

Indeed, not only does this particular participant plan to retire from working within this particular council, he also reiterates that he fails to see himself 'going anywhere' else, thus one may argue he feels positively secure in his current job role and optimistic in his future plans to continue with the company. However, during informal conversations which took place during my participant observer role of this research, one particular participant informed me that a job for life is no longer possible with the council:

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> The driver seem grieved by the fact that a council job used to
> be a job for life, whereas now it is not. – Field notes 16.11.16.

Indeed, amidst reminiscing about previous years when he started working for the council with the prospect of a job for life and being able to retire comfortably, he expressed a sense of grief due to changes which had made such an idea redundant in the current market.

5.2.2.2.1.2 Job insecurity:

Certainly, job insecurity seemed to be a very pressing issue for a majority of workers throughout the hierarchy at the councils, from the frontline street cleaning operatives to the managers in the offices. The fear of losing their jobs resulted in some street cleaners wanting minimal to no contact with me and/or refusing to take part in an interview:

> In a similar vein to previous visits, the team leader (same guy
> as before) that had to assign me to each crew refused to take
> an interview with me as he didn't want to be on record because
> he wanted to keep his job. – Field notes 16.11.16

In the first instance recorded here, despite being friendly and talkative off record, he categorically refused to take part in an interview with me due to fear of losing his job.

> He repeatedly expressed to me that there is a lot of problems
> with this job, but he couldn't talk to me about them because he
> and others would be out – in reference to losing the job. – Field
> notes 1.5.17

Whereas, in this instance, the participant did agree to take part in an interview but he was incredibly cautious about what he said on record, mainly trying to focus on the positive aspects of the work, again out of fear that if he spoke out of turn, he could lose his job or may create issues for other colleagues. In a similar vein, the following extract from my field notes depicts the reluctance to take part in interviews with me:

> After some time, the guys reluctantly accepted to be
> interviewed by me. The reluctance was understandable as one

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of the guys told me he was worried that one of the others may
say something that he shouldn't. – Field notes 15.5.17

However, in this case, the guys did not explicitly express that talking to me about certain things would result in potential job loss but rather reiterated that they were concerned that one member of the crew I was working with on that particular day may say something that they shouldn't, arguably implying fear of potentially severe repercussions, such as losing their job.

Indeed, while working alongside the participants, not only did they categorically tell me their fears of losing their jobs if they spoke to me on record, but in some cases, their behaviours towards me demonstrated caution and distance:

> In concurrence with previous observations at other councils, there seemed to be genuine fear of one losing their job resulting in street cleaners seemingly always on edge. On this particular occasion I could strongly sense scepticism coming from the other street cleaners, all being fully aware that my purpose for being there was research. Indeed, many would physically move away from me so as not to have to engage in any conversation with me. – Field notes 17.5.17

Certainly, in this particular case, during a coffee break which involved frequenting a café where all other street cleaners from this specific council met up, while being aware of my purpose for being there, they would physically move away from where I was standing to ensure physical distance between myself and their conversations. Understandably, considering the constant informal expressions surrounding fear of losing their jobs, their aim was to ensure they were as disengaged with me as possible.

Genuine fear of losing their jobs was unsurprising considering the amount of participants that expressed the difficulties they faced when trying to acquire full-time contracts. Some street cleaners felt that difficulties acquiring full-time positions were as a result of lax government regulation:

> *"As I said, trying to get a full-time job is like hard, basically these agencies I think should be put out of business, they're taking all the work away from everyone, it's the government's fault basically, the government allowing them to do it."* – N12

Indeed, this particular participant seems to feel that increase in agency workers has accentuated the struggle to gain full-time employment, thus showing animosity towards agencies. However he seems to place further dismay towards the government by holding them accountable for the increase in such agencies, which reinforces struggles in attaining full-time work.

While the following participant equates difficulties with attaining a full-time contract with council budget cuts:

> *I'm still working through an agency, they're not, the council aren't giving out contracts because of their budget because everything's so tight at the moment, they're not giving out any… there's no positions going. So, for me, yeah, I've got no idea what's gonna, what will come of it, you know?* – N03

This particular agency worker seems to express hopelessness in retrieving full-time work with the council with absolute phrasing such as "they're not giving out contracts" and "there's no positions going". In the same vein this seems to illicit feelings of anxiety about the future with regards to his work.

On the other hand, the following participant doesn't equate difficulty of getting a full-time contract to staff structural changes as a result of cuts to the council budgets, but rather feels that acquisition of full-time work with the council depends on the relationship between you and your supervisor:

> *"it's always been the same, it's about who you are and who your supervisor is, I'm not saying it's a racist thing, but if you've got a Hungarian supervisor and you're a Hungarian and you are chatting, you're gonna get the contract before the English person, that's the way it goes"* – W02

Certainly, this particular agency worker feels as if social and cultural connections with your supervisor determines your chances of being able to acquire full-time work, rather than placing the government responsible for lack of accountability in regulating the job market, or expressing that increasing budget cuts has increased the struggles in acquiring full-time employment with the council.

Fear of losing their work can also be argued to be a result of easiness, at least in their own minds, to replace them very quickly and cheaply. Undeniably, this feeling seemed to be largely linked with an influx of migrant agency workers entering the various councils as street cleaners:

> Certainly there seems to be a lot of animosity towards migrants. They felt that people in this work lose jobs because they come over and work for cheaper money. They clearly didn't feel valued by the management as they informed me "don't worry, if we left they'd soon replace us with cheap poles". – Field notes 9.11.16

From my observational field notes I recorded exerts of informal conversations I had with some of the guys in relation to how they feel migrant workers are recruited easily and quickly by the council at a cheaper cost, which in light of clear acknowledgement of budget cuts, must arguably cause anxiety amongst the current workers.

While members of management did seem to experience some sense of job insecurity, this was displayed in the form of light-hearted banter between them and their colleagues:

> As soon as I entered the office, I overheard the management laughing and joking about the next sacking – "you'll be next, watch out it aint you next" was a commonly used banterous phrase. – Field notes 3.11.16

One may argue that the managers here were using camaraderie to manage their own fears in respect to losing their jobs. However, it is interesting that in the case of the street cleaners, there was genuine fear to the point of avoidance, whereas in the

face of stigma from physical contact with dirt or social taint due to association with the council, they would happily engage in camaraderie, potentially suggesting that the street cleaners have more to lose. Whereas, in general one would perceive that the managers could rely on skills and attributes that are valued more in the job market, therefore if they were to lose their jobs, it may be easier for them to find work. As opposed to street cleaners that may encounter struggles due to lack of value attributed to their specific skills in the job market.

5.2.2.2.2 Autonomy at work

Many participants seemed to convey that they felt untrusted in their work, more specifically drivers, due to increasing technical devices such as trackers being fitted to their vans:

> The driver told me how he felt like he was being watched all day while working due to the tracker he had fitted into the van. Indeed, he stated that he felt the trackers are on the van so managers can do less work and drive around less by monitoring from the office. He expressed a strong sense of distrust on behalf of the management, stating that he didn't feel trusted at all in the work he did. - Field notes 16.11.16

> Trackers are in the vans and they know exactly where you are, how fast you are going and you must 'sign in' with a tag so they know who is driving the vehicle. He was thankful that CCTV had not been fitted onto the 3 tonne vehicles. He told me how 'they are always watching', referring to higher management. – Field notes 8.5.17

From both extracts in my field notes, there was a clear consensus that drivers felt as if the introduction of trackers was to increase monitoring of the workers at all times, which not only initiated feelings of distrust from the management but also seems to cause increasing anxiety amongst the workers as they feel like they are always being watched. Indeed, this perception is unsurprising considering their knowledge

of cuts leading to decreasing staff members, difficulties in obtaining full-time contracts and their feelings of being easily replaceable.

In a similar vein, the following exert from my field notes reiterates feelings of street cleaners feeling untrusted and 'watched' constantly by management, but gives a clearer depiction of the anxiety caused as a result:

> They stated how they feel less heard since the cuts, less valued and less trusted by management. They constantly feel watched and feel they have little to no control in their work any longer which is decreasing their motivation. They felt they used to be respected but the cuts have led to more pressure, less pay and that those in higher management don't understand the impact of it all - Field notes 27.10.16

During my observations, they aligned decreasing trustfulness on behalf of management with increasing budget cuts while demonstrating that as a result they feel a lack of control over any of their work. Again, in light of their aforementioned knowledge of difficulties in securing full-time work, it would not be unreasonable to argue that anxiety felt from feeling untrusted may correlate with worries about losing one's job.

Indeed, the following street cleaner shows his anxiety in reference to speaking to a member of management about an issue but fearing the consequences:

> *"if you want to get something off your chest you can't do it, there is a team leader or a charge hand, because you feel like whatever you say is gonna go against ya. I know for a fact it does there is a lot of people that have spoken and they say they wish they hadn't…"* – N05

Despite not explicitly suggesting he may lose his job as a result of speaking to a member of management, he clearly expresses anxiety in the form of a definitive idea

of it going against him and provides evidence through a vague example whereby the consequences were severe. When asked further about this particular issue, he refused to explain further.

In light of market changes then, street cleaners and refuse workers face concerns surrounding staff restructuring, increased job losses and ease of replacement, which ultimately hinders their attainment of equal participation in the job market due to increasing fears of potential job losses. As such, their autonomy at work is somehow also skewed in a moral sense, as despite these particular participants holding working positions, they feel untrusted due to increased surveillance and supervision, which has been aided by developments in new technology such as van trackers. This seems to perpetuate diminished feelings of autonomy and thus impeding on their acquisition of self-respect in this sphere.

5.2.2.3 Love sphere of recognition

The following section seeks to examine the ways in which street cleaners acquire recognition from familial or close knit relationships. That is, to understand how families and close friends provide the street cleaners with support and recognition in terms of emotional and physical needs, in spite of the lack of perceived usefulness that their job elicits in the minds of the public and the limit of recognition in the legal sphere.

5.2.2.3.1 Intersubjective relations with family:

When telling me of an unpleasant experience of degradation shown by a nursery school teacher while this street cleaner was working, this particular participant emphasised his position within a family unit:

> *"…like I say we're all people and I'm some mother's son and that's how it goes."* – N01

Here, this particular participant tries to alleviate feelings of degradation by moving past his identity as a street cleaner and focuses on emphasising his position as a person, more specifically, as a 'mother's son'. Arguably, this demonstrates a positive connection with his mother which he is able to draw upon to feel some kind of confidence in order to oppose his tainted identity as a street cleaner.

Positive relations with family and friends are further demonstrated through the way in which the street cleaners in the current study acquired their working positions, that is with the aid of close family members:

> *"…went out looking for a job and I couldnt find nothing, me mum come back and said here i've spoken to someone, they were called gangers then, she knew one of the gangers and I knew him and he came up to me and said here the council are looking for sweepers so i went straight there"* – S05

> *"I've been working for [North London] council for 13 years so its started on, so it started on well I had an interview because I left gardening i wasnt getting enough money, i didnt want to leave it, it was just the money 'coz I was only getting about 400 pound a month, so erm I got out of there and my mum rung up the council and i had an interview…"* – N08

In both instances here, the street cleaners were able to acquire the job with the help of their mothers. In the first case, this was possible due to the mother having connections with a member of council staff at the time. Whereas, in the second case, the mother aided in the job searching process for the participant, but did not draw on informal connections with existing council members.

In a similar vein, the following exerts from interviews and field notes display how family and close friend connections with the council, aided in the following street cleaner's acquisition of their working positions with the council:

> *"I went to a different council and my uncle got me a job, he's in council and then I thought yeah I like that, then this council come up and I thought yeah I'll take that, nearer to home"* – E02

In this particular case, not only does he explain how his uncle was able to get him the job because his uncle already has a position working for the council, he also expresses one of his reasons for taking the job as being closer to home. However,

the following street cleaner informed me of how she was able to get her current work through the connections her brother-in-law had with the council:

> She informed me that she came about the work through limited
> social networks she has access to, her brother-in-law. – Field
> notes 3.5.17

While working alongside this particular street cleaner and engaging in conversations with her, it was becoming very evident that the extent of social networks she has are very limited, thus it was unsurprising that she sort out her brother-in-law, a close family member, when looking for help with regards to searching for work. Additionally, from my observations while working aside a different crew, I was informed that both members were able to seek their current work through close friend and familial connections:

> Both guys took the job due to having many friends that worked
> for the council. In fact the driver's cousin worked for the council.
> – Field notes 17.5.17

On the other hand, the following participant was able to get his current job with the help of his wife:

> *"…I was out of work for about 9 months, waiting and going for*
> *interviews I mean my wife sent out tonnes of cvs, I think my*
> *age then and I saw this advertised and thought well it's good*
> *and i'll come here…"* – N05

Indeed, here the participant's wife also aided with job searching by sending CV's to many different places in order to increase the chances of her husband being able to find work.

Not only were strong connections demonstrated with regards to family members aiding the street cleaners and refuse workers with acquisition of work, they were also

demonstrated through their leisure time being dedicated to their family. Indeed, it was unsurprising that when asked about how street cleaner's and refuse workers spend their free time, they focused on their families:

> *"If I'm not in my uniform... I only interact with people that are family…"* – S01

> *"Just have something nice to eat, talk to the family, try not to work every day of the week, try to have a day to myself, have a cold beer sometimes"* – E04

> *"The first thing I do is have a shower and wash my uniform but my mum doesn't get home for a while so then I'll watch some TV, Netflix, then when my mum gets back I got someone to talk to and just chat to about the day"* – E03

In all cases here, they demonstrate a connection with family, indeed placing family members at the heart of their free time outside of work. In the last case, not only does this participant place his mother at the heart of his free time, he also expresses how spending time with his mother is a way to vent the stresses of the day.

Again unsurprisingly, a majority of the street cleaners dedicated their leisure time to partaking in activities with their families, more specifically their children:

> *"Yeah, I've got three kids so, you know, that sort of answers it, run around after them all day."* – N03

While here the expression of having to run around all day after the participant's three children may be argued to be a necessity rather than a choice, the following participant demonstrates how he deliberately partakes in his work to ensure he has flexible working hours to still be able to perform duties as a father:

> *"Yeah, the reason why I wanted to go on the council, because I finish at sort of half two so it's good, I can pick my daughter up from school. I've got a 16 year old, a nine year old and a 22-*

month old baby. So I can pick me daughter up from school, I can go home and have time, you know, whereas… That was another thing also, because I had a new-born, you know, and I just didn't see, you know, I wasn't going to see anything of me little girl so I come on the council. They're sociable hours, get up early but finish early so you can sort of get on and still do things." – S03

Indeed, the fact that he has specifically chosen to work for the council to ensure he is able to spend time with his young child shows how important his identity and duties as a father are to him and arguably demonstrates the sense of intersubjective recognition he experiences from his role of being a parent. Additionally, the following participant demonstrates the importance placed on spending time with children, even after the child is of working age:

"I mean like tonight or on a Friday I generally go visit me daughter meet her after work, then we have a burger, she works in [central London] and then we have a burger there and then we just come home because there is nice little burger places there like you know restaurants and then we just come home." – N05

Here, the participant spends the majority of his leisure time with his daughter, regardless of what type of activity he decides to take part in such as eating or relaxing at home and despite her being of working age in opposition to previous accounts. Certainly, being able to spend time with family and more specifically children was very important for all the street cleaners I had spoken to, to such an extent that despite feeling unappreciated and disrespected in their work, they still wanted to stay in the job partly due to the flexibility the working hours afforded with regards to picking up children from school and spending extra time with them after school.

While in general the consensus was such of strong family connections, a much less common occurrence was distance between family relations. Nevertheless, there

were two occasions whereby two separate street cleaners informed me of elements of physical distance from family and slight emotional distance from a spouse:

> *"I've got no family, I only got one brother and that's it, he lives in Scotland, as far away as possible."* – N13

> She told me how she feels belittled by her husband sometimes as he is in the office and 'uses big words that he knows I don't understand them, don't know why he does it'. – Field notes 3.11.16

Indeed, in the first case, the street cleaner informed me of the physical distance that exists between him and his family, which only consists of his brother. Whereas, in the second case, from my recorded observations, the street cleaner informed me that she displayed feelings of belittlement through expressing her disbelief as to why her husband uses big words even though he is well aware she would struggle to understand them.

5.2.2.3.2 Intersubjective relations with the community:

Not only did participants demonstrate strong connections and acceptance from familial relationships, they also seemed to experience a form of intersubjective recognition from particular communities with which they worked and lived in.

Unsurprisingly, there seemed to be a general consensus of strong class divisions between street cleaners and some members of the public that they felt were more likely to be disrespectful to them. During interviews and during participant observations, they often outrightly expressed a distinct difference in their treatment by the public depending on the affluence of individuals and areas, or lack thereof:

> *"You can see the difference from where we are now in an estate to when we're down the river where people wearing suits, err everyone's in a rush erm down by the river erm and*

they'll happily brush past you with a shoulder without apologising because that's what they do" – S01

"Less recognised there than here for instance because here.. this is a community here, where people see you nearly every day and erm are inclined here to notice you more erm whereas on the other side your, you're not, you're not noticed so" – S02

Commonly, the participants felt as if they were more likely to be ignored by those from higher class backgrounds or those situated in more affluent areas. Indeed, it was very clear that the street cleaners seemed to feel more connected to the lesser affluent areas and estates that they worked on, demonstrated by one particular quote expressing a sense of community on the estates compared to other more affluent areas.

When looking for work, a majority of street cleaners opted to search for jobs in close proximity to where they live:

"I've lived in [East London] all me life and I know quite a lot of people that have worked here and still work here so I just spoke to them and asked them if there was any jobs coming up…" – E03

Here, the participant expressed to me how he's lived in the area in East London that he was working in all of his life, and resultantly, he has built up a strong social network, as one could argue a solid support network in the community, which led to him being able to seek and obtain work efficiently.

Interestingly, one particular participant had broken the general mould of street cleaners in that he had previously worked as an office working in the city of London. Nevertheless, during an informal conversation while I was working alongside him, he disclosed to me that he opted to leave his work due to feeling that he failed to fit in that particular environment:

The loader used to work in an office in the city but left the work due to having to pretend to be something he wasn't. He likes this job now because he feels he can be himself and he doesn't feel victimised as he did in his previous work. Nevertheless, he did tell me that his reasoning for not going to university was related to money. University was too expensive and he needed to start working and earning. - Field notes 17.5.17

Having grown up in the particular borough he was now working in, a typically working class area in London, it was unsurprising that he had a sense of feeling out of place as an office worker in the city and that part of his identity was lost. Thus, despite previously working in a job that is less degrading in a societal context as a whole, one may argue that as a result of inhabiting a working class habitus, office work has its own taint attached to it in a working class community, which would impact on your own identity, stressing the importance of the working class community for intersubjective recognition.

While working at a council in North London, one street cleaner told me about her strong affiliations to the place she was born and had been raised in:

She is over 50 and has lived in [North London Borough] all her life. She told me [North London Borough] is where she feels comfortable and she never wants to move away. – Field notes 3.11.16

Certainly, she feels so attached to the place in which she was raised in that she never wants to leave, demonstrating the importance of community. She further expressed her strong alliance to this particular borough during our interview:

"Someone says to me what do you do for a living, I work for [North London council], what do you do, clean the streets, oh do you really, yeah it's a good honest job you know I'm earning a living, I'm making a difference to the borough, to the

> *environment, to where I live, so why wouldn't I do and why wouldn't I be proud of it…" – N06*

Indeed, here this street cleaner not only proudly identifies herself as being part of the street cleaning crew that keeps her borough clean, but also shows the importance of work, both demonstrating important values that those with a working class habitus adhere to.

Moreover, the following participant demonstrates a feeling of acceptance from his neighbours among the community he lives in:

> *My neighbours are really nice and I don't think they care, my neighbours, what I do, because they always see me coming back from work, going to work, they know that I'm working hard, and I think that's more important to them people than what I do for a living. – S01*

Rather than feeling as if he is being ridiculed due to being a street cleaner then, this particular participant feels as if the most important thing is that of partaking in work in general. More so, he believes that his neighbours place importance on the fact that he goes out to work and earns a living, rather than placing importance on the job role he partakes in. Thus, he is able to experience a form of self-confidence based on acceptance from his neighbours, in spite of his occupation.

Despite generally being deemed as useless by society through lack of recognition of their work, and failing to be rendered as an autonomous individual from a moral standpoint, through identifying as a family member, as well as evidence that family generally help them in obtaining their working positions, as well as identifying as part of the community, they experience intersubjective recognition from the close knit ties they are associated with. Thus, one may argue street cleaners and refuse workers are able to draw on the support and acceptance of their family in order to feel a basic self-confidence despite lack of fulfilment in previous spheres. A summary of these findings are shown in table 5.1.

Table 5. 1: Summarising street cleaners and refuse workers experiences of recognition

Sphere of recognition	Struggle for recognition
Solidary sphere of recognition	Rare occasions of praise and acknowledgement of usefulness
	Experiences of degradation, e,g. ignorance, belittlement, mockery, perception of uselessness
	Experiences of denigration, e.g. perceived as criminals
	Perceived as redundant and useless through lack of qualifications.
Legal sphere of recognition	Staff restructuring, increased job losses and ease of replacement
	Despite these particular participants holding working positions, they feel untrusted due to increased surveillance and supervision, aided by developments in technology such as van trackers.
	Diminished feelings of autonomy at work, impeding on their acquisition of self-respect
Love sphere of recognition	Identify as a family member to alleviate experiences of disrespect that stem from the work
	Strong connection with family demonstrated through family being at the heart of leisure time
	Family physically assisting in attaining the current work
	Strong affiliation with local community
	Experience of intersubjective recognition through family and community leading to self-confidence.

Resultantly then, the current findings demonstrate that in light of market changes resulting in changes to working practices and structures, the recognition of street cleaners seemed to be negatively impacted twofold. Indeed, street cleaners and refuse workers struggle for recognition in both the legal sphere and solidarity sphere, rendering them to face experiences of disrespect, impacting on their self-respect and self-esteem respectively. However, street cleaners and refuse workers are able to experience intersubjective recognition from strong connections with family members, those of which have often aided in acquisition of their current working positions, and as a result of strong connections and alliances with their working and living communities. In light of such, the following will explore what strategies street cleaners and refuse workers engage in to manage their experiences of disrespect.

5.3 Strategies to manage disrespect

In order to cope with experiences of disrespect, street cleaners engage in a number of strategies, founded in both the psychological perspective and social constructivist perspective in dirty work literature. For example, they draw on work groups, recalibrating techniques and reframing techniques, as well as drawing on masculinity

and working class masculinity as a discursive resource to manage the disrespect they face as a result of their occupation.

5.3.1 Work groups

In line with Ashforth and Kreiner's (1999) depiction of stigma management strategies, work groups seemed to be an effective way for the street cleaners in this research to manage the disrespect they experience as a result of being physically and socially tainted.

5.3.1.1 Sense of connectedness

Many participants mentioned how the relationships with co-workers and the camaraderie help them carry on with the work. One may go as far to say the work groups provided the workers with enjoyment in their work:

> *"I love the crew that I'm with. I think I feel quite lucky to come*
> *on to this side, from the dust, I was working on the dust carts,*
> *I've come onto this crew, lovely guys, all like working and that's*
> *why I've sort of stayed. You know, I've sort of just slotted in it*
> *and it's, yeah, just day by day really." – N03*

This particular participant demonstrates strong affection towards the current crew he works with, while stressing his affection for the team comes from a sense of shared responsibility in the form of work. Additionally, this participant stresses how such an affiliation with his current crew has kept him in the job. Similarly, the following participant expresses the importance of working together as a team and how this makes the work easier:

> *"err it's the teamwork, err it makes life a lot easier because we*
> *actually work together and I got a good connection with the*
> *workers as well which makes life a lot easier for everybody" –*
> W01

Again, here we see a strong emphasis on not only being together, but more specifically working together and how this aids in managing all aspects of the work for everyone. Likewise, the following participant places a strong emphasis on the fact

that everyone is 'grafting' while additionally relaying a sense of community by saying 'in the same boat':

> *"I mean everyone you work with gets on with you but they're all in the same boat so basically as long as you're grafting the same as what they are grafting everybody is happy"* – S02

Indeed, one can argue then that this not only demonstrates the importance of working together and the importance of hard work but also demonstrates the importance of a collective community whereby those in a similar position support and value each other. The importance of a collective community is further demonstrated through the significance of camaraderie when managing the work:

> *"It's nice you know the workforce here, they're alright. They're a good laugh, that keeps you going."* – N05

> *"Well, the interaction with people really is good, firstly and foremostly it's the staff, it's the rest of the staff like I told you before, it's the glue that holds it all together, we wouldn't have a Council if it weren't for the camaraderie"* – N01

Certainly, the above quotes demonstrate a mutual acknowledgement between workers that each and everyone one of them is valuable in the sense of feeling a strong connection with each other, and a collective sense of we are all in this together. This seems to provide the workers with a strong sense of belonging with those that they work with which ultimately reinforces a mutual understanding of the value each individual has as part of the overall team.

5.3.1.2 Camaraderie:

Camaraderie seemed to play a big part in bonding the work groups together in the face of the disrespect the street cleaners encountered in their everyday lives. Indeed, engaging in work group banter seemed to attach a sense of enjoyment to the physically demanding and dirty tasks the workers had to complete on a daily basis:

While the team leader was assigning me to the different crews, the guys would often engage in gentle mocking of each other and argue over who I could work with – I assume due to me being a young woman. Indeed, they would often throw sexual innuendos back and forth in my presence which also seemed to be a way of displaying their conformity to working class masculinity norms. – Field notes 16.11.16

They engaged in general camaraderie mainly focusing on sexual innuendos, with the team leader facilitating the most of it. I sensed that the constant banterous referral to women as sexual objects was not only a part of the guys sense of humour, but also a way to increase his own value as a male. – Field notes 27.10.16

As was commonly depicted in the field notes recorded from my own participant observations, many of the guys I was working with engaged in a particular type of banter in my presence, that of sexual innuendos and reference to women as sexual objects. This was an unsurprising revelation owing to the fact that I was a young female researcher, entering a predominantly masculine space. I feel that not only did this enable them to enforce value by conforming to working class masculinity norms (Simpson et al., 2014), but this also may have enabled them to gain some form of power in the face of the suspicion and uncertainty that arose from my arrival.

Camaraderie was not only engaged with by the street cleaners themselves, but also by their managers. Indeed, while I was waiting for the operations manager to assign me to my first crew for the day, I would often overhear harsh mockery taking place between the managers in the office. While for the street cleaners this was a way of managing taint that attached to them from working on the frontline, for the management, it seemed to be a way of handling the pressures placed onto them from continuous cuts to council budgets:

Despite the frustration, the managers were engaging in camaraderie. Indeed, they would often joke about sending one

of the Polish supervisors back to his country, shouting "give me
your passport" at him. – Field notes 1.5.17

Here, the banter-filled conversations did not seem to focus on sexual innuendos as was common with the street cleaners, but turned more towards disrespecting those with different cultural backgrounds. The comment was made in light of the recent Brexit debate and increasing pressure through cuts to council budgets which were resulting in job losses. One may suggest that engaging in such mockery could have been a way to increase their own feelings of stability by asserting their association with Britishness and degrading those that are not, due to the ambiguity of the opportunity to stay in the country after the completion of Brexit. While all did seem to laugh at the comment, this seemed to represent an underlying divide between workers at the supervisory level.

5.3.1.3 Breakdown of work groups

Division between workers was also evident at the ground level. Indeed, some of the workers commented on the breakdown of work relationships with colleagues. Whereas the previous quotes demonstrate a strong collective bond between the street cleaners, the following present a different side of the coin. Indeed, these street cleaners seem to show the work to be solitary:

> The first thing I noticed was how disjointed the team seemed to
> be, each guy mainly working on their own throughout the day.
> One thing that struck me was how solitary the work seemed to
> be, indeed the team leader told me that it was nice to be able to
> have a conversation with someone. – Field notes 27.10.16

Certainly, on one particular occasion, I recorded my surprise at how solitary the work seemed to be. Despite three street cleaners belonging to the same crew, they rarely saw each other throughout the day, having to cover different beats on their own. Concurringly, the following participant reiterates the solitary nature of the work:

> *"What's happening is the crews don't wanna help out, because*
> *you think oh they won't do it for us, so there is no team work,*
> *it's like you work for yourself"* – N11

While this particular participant expresses a general lack of support across the workforce, the following participant provides a detailed example of an argument he had with a fellow colleague:

> *"I had a row with one of the workers that goes on the truck, Kidson, when you do the market there is someone who walks up and down to see you doing a good job and his attitude stinks, he said oi, I said na I got a fucking name, you've missed this. I said talk to me with fucking respect, now I've reported it to peter, I told him, so he said oh we'll see how it goes, blah blah blah and a couple weeks ago, same thing again, he started talking to me, he went oii,…"* – S04

Evidently, this participant does not only feel disrespected by this particular colleague, he also seems to feel as if his concerns had not been considered by a member of management that he told the incident to. This may suggest that the issue of fragmented work groups does not only exist between colleagues, but also between the workers and members of management.

There was also clear divides evident between British workers and migrant workers generally, it would seem on the basis that British workers felt an influx in migrant workers resulted in decreased work benefits for themselves:

> *"I've had one day off work sick in the last 9 years and never been thanked for that, we've had more taken away than an incentive, let's put it that way. Sick pay for example, where certain people from certain nationalities were taking the piss and using 4 weeks sick as holiday"* – W04

In this case we can see that while this particular street cleaner demonstrates feeling unappreciated by management for the hard work he has contributed to the council, he also demonstrates feelings of animosity towards migrant workers as he blames them for reductions in sick pay. In a similar vein, during informal conversations with refuse workers, there were clear feelings of animosity towards migrant workers on

the basis that these particular workers felt as if an influx in migrant workers lead to people losing jobs:

> *Certainly there seems to be a lot of animosity towards migrants. They felt that people in this work lose jobs because they come over and work for cheaper money. They were also frustrated at the fact that, in their opinion, migrant workers have the luxury of sending money home and building houses back home, while they are stuck. Even the banter displayed clear animosity towards migrant workers as they started to joke about the presidential election vote and how the Mexicans will all come over here now. In the same breath, they also engaged in some light hearted sexist banter, saying that Teresa May probably had shopping trips planned out with Hillary, planned to show her all the nice shopping centres in London, but she can't now.*
> – Field notes 9.11.16

Indeed, in this particular case it was also clear that the British workers were frustrated because not only did they feel that migrant workers came to the UK and undercut British workers in the labour market due to working for lower wages, but they also experienced frustration at the fact that migrant workers used their wages to send back to their countries and make a better life for themselves whereas in Britain, especially in London, it's impossible to do as such on the wages they receive. The British workers seemed to deal with said feelings through political and sexual banter surrounding the presidential electoral vote which was headlining at the time.

5.3.2 Recalibrating techniques:
Reiteratively, additional ways in which the street cleaner's managed disrespect conformed to Ashforth and Kreiner's (1999) research with regards to using recalibrating techniques by focusing on what they deem as positive aspects of the work.

The majority of the street cleaners engaged in recalibrating techniques by focusing on the positive aspects of the work they do. Indeed, they repeatedly express their favouritism towards working outside:

> *"I just wanted a job in the fresh air I thought it would be really nice to be out in the sun in the rain, you know, appreciate the weather basically that sounds really bizarre I know but that is the actual truth of it I just had enough of being stuck in hot bloody kitchen"* – N07

This particular street cleaner draws a comparison between his previous work as a sous chef and being stuck in a hot kitchen and his current work as a street cleaner supervisor where he can be out in the fresh air; whereas, the following quotes not only demonstrate the enjoyment they experience from working outside, they also express their enjoyment of doing something different everyday:

> *"The variety, working outside, doing different things, like I say, every day… It's… sometimes it's a challenge, maybe not like these jobs that you're seeing today but some of the jobs we get, unbelievable if you see the before and afters."* – N02

Here, we can see that the variety of the work seems to provide a welcome challenge for the street cleaners which they can take pride from completing once they see the final result. While the following participant shares a feeling of enjoyment as a result of the variety of the work, he focuses on the idea of decreased monotony:

> *"I like, I like the early starts and finishing early, err I enjoy doing something different every day. I like the team that I work with and I like being in different places, not just stuck in one place all the time"* – S01

Whereas, the following participant seemed to exhibit a strong sense of responsibility and autonomy in the sense of being able to be in charge of your own work:

"you're out in the fresh air, you're basically your own boss, you just get on with it, you get given a list of things to do and you just do it, quite easy really" – S02

While the following participant not only seems to feel responsible in the shape of doing something good for the community but also expresses their likeness towards the work as it keeps them physically fit:

"I like it because it keeps you active and it a sense of wellbeing, doing some good for the community, even though on the flip side, it is a bit demoralising." – N03

Nevertheless, the work still seems to pose difficulties in maintaining a positive self-identity with mentions of it being a bit demoralising and saying the work is quite easy really, thus acknowledging that their usefulness is not acknowledged or respected by the public while individually belittling the work they do.

During my own observations it was clear that as well as the enjoyment of working outside, many of the workers focused on the physical strength required to carry the work they do and seemed to enjoy the physicality that the work entailed:

He told me how he enjoys the physicality of the work and repeatedly expressed how much it keeps you fit and that it's not a job for ladies. – Field notes 8.5.17

This particular street cleaner not only expressed his enjoyment of the physicality and the fact that carrying out the work keeps you fit, but also continuously, throughout my time working alongside him expressed how this work was not fit for ladies. Oftentimes, he would want me to stop participating in the work because he felt it was too strenuous for a woman to carry out. One would suggest that both focusing on the physicality and expressing the difficulties for a woman to partake in such work was a way to infuse self-value by identifying with masculine norms (Tracy and Scott, 2006; Ashforth and Kreiner, 2014; Bosmans et al., 2015) and asserting dominance in strength over a woman.

5.3.3 Reframing techniques:

On the flipside however, instead of expressing their enjoyment for the work and focusing on the positive aspects of the work they do, many of the street cleaners seemed to attempt to manage their experiences of disrespect by using reframing techniques (Ashforth and Kreiner, 1999) such as it's just the job:

> *"But, yeah, all in all, it's good, you know, it's a job and it's what we do."* – N03

> *"We don't like it at all, but obviously it's a job, it's a job."* – N12

Here, the street cleaners express their dislike for the work they do, however, they place their own value on working and the fact that they have a job, while it isn't a nice job, they work and this is more valuable and elicits more respect than sitting on the dole.

Many participants seemingly took pride from the essentiality of the work they do for the greater good of the environment and the community:

> *"it's good especially when you see something really really dirty and you are able to change it to make everybody's lives better, yeah, it does make me proud"* – W01

> *"oh yeah when you've done something, when you go up to site and you go oh my god that's a mess, and then afterwards you can stand back and go wow you know big difference for maybe not an awful lot of work but its impact init, it makes a big impact sometimes on things"* – N06

Here, both participants express how important the work they do is for the lives of people around them. Indeed, they express how making such an impact to the dirtiest of areas elicits pride in them as they are able to make a genuine difference to the community that they serve.

While the following participants seem to share a sense of pride due to impacting the community in a positive light, they also demonstrate clear knowledge of the fact that the work they do is not appreciated by the public:

"Yeah I think a lot of people sort of look down on ya because the Council is always seen as one of the lowest jobs, lowest of the low, but if it wasn't for the Council we'd all be knee deep in crap and there'd be a lot more rodents, there'd be a lot more problems, if you don't keep the lid on it as best you can with the resources that you've got you've got problems, you know, when the dustmen are on strike, can't remember the last time the dustmen were on strike in this country, I think it was the early eighties, but there was all manner of problems" – N01

Here, the participant demonstrates his frustrations at the lack of appreciation received from doing said work by making historical comparisons to a time when refuse workers went on strike and the problems that caused, as well as relaying the problems a repeat of that would cause again to emphasise the fact that they should have no reason to feel ashamed or be shamed by others for the work they do. Similarly, the following participant demonstrates his frustrations through a submissive threat directed towards the public in order to educate them on the essentiality of the service:

"Yeah but if it was left for 6 weeks they'd realise how essential that service is" – N10

Whereas, the following participants predominantly focus on how their work ensures the best for the community as a whole in the form of cleanliness and hygiene, but also seem grieved by the fact that the public fail to recognise the people behind the work:

"A lot of people say it's a dead end job but the trouble is we have to keep the environment clean and tidy to the best of our abilities." – N12

"It winds you up, you do an hard job, if it wasn't done, it wouldn't be a nice place to live, they come out their house and expect everything clear an all that but they don't think about how to get rid of their rubbish" – E04

Not only do the above street cleaners recognise the importance of their work and how essential it is to the community as a whole, they also acknowledge the lack of recognition they receive in this type of work, despite the essentiality of the service they provide. Indeed, the participants here seem frustrated, bordering on defensive of the work that they do, going into detail as to its importance of what they do to help the community.

5.3.4 Social weighting techniques:

In addition, the majority of street cleaners also engaged in social weighting techniques (Ashforth and Kreiner, 1999) to manage the disrespect they experience. One way in which they engage in social weighting techniques is through condemning the condemners (Ashforth and Kreiner, 1999; Grandy and Mavin, 2014) in the form of comparing the work that they do with the work of bankers:

> *"I think that we do do a very important and a worthwhile job, it's probably some more worthwhile than the banks, 'cos we're not judging anyone you know, we just get in there and get it done, whatever it is"* – N01

Here, this particular street cleaner reiterates the importance of the work of street cleaners in comparison to 'judgemental bankers'. In opposition to bankers, street cleaners will do whatever they need to do, regardless of the task, which makes the work they do worthwhile. Whereas bankers, in the eyes of this participant are judgemental, suggesting that they would not be willing to get down and dirty if required. While the following participant engages in said technique by condemning people that work in offices:

> *"…a lot of the guys at our place have got a lot more qualifications than other people have got that work in offices and things like that, you know, I myself, just purely my driving licence because I haven't got much else but I've got more qualifications than a lot of other people, a lot more than my husband so [laughs]…"* – N06

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This particular participant tries to reiterate the value of the work and the individuals that carry out the work by suggesting that street cleaners have more qualifications that those who work in offices, specifically referencing her main qualification of a driving license. Another way in which participants engaged in this particular management strategy was by condemning those from more affluent areas:

> *"I find that the more affluent the area the ruder the people 'cos they think they're, some of them are really up 'emselves and they're not, it's just the way I look at it, I'm sure some of the lads will agree with me, but they think that they, like I say they think they own ya, you know, and from certain persuasions and everything like that, not a specific category of person, but you know if they've got a dirty great house you know they automatically think they're better than you…"* – N01

Undoubtedly, this particular participant equates individuals in more affluent areas with rudeness, depicting feelings of belittlement caused by those that are better-off in economic terms than himself. However, he rebels against said feelings of belittlement by subtly disengaging with this perception by using phrases such as 'they're not' in reference to them not being better than street cleaners and 'they think that they are better than you', rendering such a perception as a thought in their own heads, not a realistic fact.

Additionally, participants seem to engage the technique known as supporting the supporters (Ashforth and Kreiner, 1999) to manage disrespect and enhance feelings of self-worth and value regarding the work they do:

> *"Less recognised there than here for instance because here.. this is a community here, where people see you nearly every day and erm are inclined here to notice you more erm whereas on the other side your, you're not, you're not noticed so"* – S02

Here, the participant makes a comparison between areas, whereby he states that in a particularly deprived area of South London, he identifies with a sense of community which elicits feelings of recognition and value by members of the public

which reside in that area. Whereas, in a more affluent area of South London, he fails to feel recognised. Again, the following participant specifically focuses on and aligns himself with a less affluent community:

> *"I think possibly the people that are working or living in a rougher area can sort of understand what we're doing, they're sort of doing the same type of job as us, possibly, I don't know…"* – N02

Indeed, here the participant not only expresses his perception that those living and working in a less affluent area can place more value on the work of street cleaners, but also implies that they are more likely to engage in similar types of work, therefore, suggesting that in less affluent areas, street cleaners maybe perceived as valuable and useful beings.

Contrarily, the following participant seemed to attempt to manage experiences of disrespect which comes with doing such work by engaging in the social weighting technique of selective social comparisons (Ashforth and Kreiner, 1999):

> *"…if you had issues about yourself it would, but I know it's just the person that's trying to make me feel like shit is actually shit, because you look at them and they are usually below what you are anyway you see somebody who will look at you because you are cleaning a block or sweeping a street, you're below them yet they don't have a job…"* – S02

This particular street cleaner demonstrates a specific social comparison to those that are unemployed. Indeed, he tries to assert his own positive value by directly ridiculing those without jobs as "being below you anyway" and refers to them as 'shit', reasserting taint onto those out of work. Reiteratively, the following participant also makes a direct comparison with those that are unemployed and reduces them to worthlessness:

> *"I try not to let it get to me, end of the day what have they got? Nothing, out of work, on the dole. Me, I'm working"* – E02

Indeed, this particular participant reduces those that are 'on the dole' or 'out of work' to nothing, in opposition to himself, who is working and earning money, regardless of the type of work he is doing.

5.4 Drawing on habitus and recognition to manage disrespect

Owing to the self-confidence attained by street cleaners as a result of intersubjective recognition, love and support from family and friends and community in accordance with the love sphere, the following, in line with Bourdieu's habitus, seeks to demonstrate how the street cleaners are able to draw on the aforementioned strategies to manage experiences of disrespect experienced in the legal sphere and the solidarity sphere. Certainly, street cleaners and refuse workers are able to draw heavily on recognition from the love sphere as a result of strongly inherited embedded presuppositions which are ultimately shaped and filtrated through the familial background and working class community. That is, the following will present underlying beliefs and values which are shaped by the family and internalised as part of a class habitus; and how said presuppositions produce particular behaviours in-line with the class habitus, of which I propose how engaging in certain strategies can help cope with experiences of disrespect among these workers.

5.4.1 Familial beliefs demonstrating the importance of work

As a result of the recognition the street cleaners receive from the love sphere, it was unsurprising that many participants, in spite of the taint attached to the work, drew on how obtaining work in itself is of major importance, in-line with family expectations:

> *"…its work at the end of the day, as I said to you before I'm in the process of doing something different, but in the meantime instead of sitting picking my nose in doors watching Jeremy Kyle I'll come out and do a days, that's the way I was brought up so that's what I'm always gonna do, you know what I mean"*
> – S02

This particular participant not only focusing on the fact that he is using street cleaning as a means to an end to pursue another career pathway (security), but he makes a direct reference to those that do not work to show his value, in that he has a

job and he has been raised to ensure he is working hard and as such he will always follow that principle, despite what type of work it is.

Similarly, in reference to being asked about his family's perception of his work as a street cleaner, the following demonstrates the importance that is placed on work in general, not specific work roles as partaking in any kind of work results in being able to provide a better life for the family:

> *They just take it as a job is a job you know, you've got to go out, you've got to pay the mortgage, you've got to do this, that and the other, so you know? – N14*

Indeed, here, he expresses that his family focus on the fact he is working, they do not focus on the taint attached to the work, but rather focus on how you must work in order to pay the mortgage to keep a roof over their heads, to which you do whichever work you can. Likewise, the following participant expresses the importance of work due to an urgent need for money and the resultant aid money can support in providing for families:

> *"…err when I was 17 years old my wife got pregnant, my wife now got pregnant and I needed to find some way of earning some money fast, I started off sweeping on the Aylesbury estate err from there I went for an interview. The interview didn't work out but I ended up getting onto this job." – S01*

As depicted by this participant, he needed to be able to earn a suitable amount of money due his wife's pregnancy, thus the importance was not placed on the work itself, but rather the acquisition of work to get money in order to provide for the family. Whereas, the following street cleaner in response to a question about whether his family appreciate the work he is currently doing both demonstrates the importance of work for money purposes to provide for family, as well as the shame that comes from external forces:

> *"Oh they appreciate what I do, I mean they know, they understand what I do but I mean who wants their dad to be a you know what I mean, a street cleaner, no kids do do they really, innit, you know when their friends ask them, "what does your dad do for a living", "oh he cleans the streets", they don't want to say that do they?"* – N12

This particular participant stresses that his children appreciate that he works for a living, despite being a street cleaner as they understand the value of work. However, he repeatedly states that it must be shameful to admit your father is a street cleaner when faced with outsiders, those outside the family, in response to the question of what does your father do. One may argue this further demonstrates how important the family sphere is for street cleaners with respect to acquiring any form of recognition as family can provide love, support and understanding and can provide a feeling of worth with regards to being useful in that by working the street cleaner is providing for the family, whereas in the public sphere, they are not deemed as useful.

5.4.2 Personal beliefs demonstrating the importance of work:

While not specifically stating that importance of work had stemmed from familial beliefs, the following participants express the importance and value that they place on work in spite of the type of work one engages in:

> *"Course I don't, no, no, no, they done it, they done it, they have to survive, I mean I don't really want them doing work like this but at the end of the day you've got to do what you've to do, so, no, I don't really want my kids to do this sort of work."* – N12

Indeed, here the participant presents the taint involved in working as a street cleaner by strongly suggesting he would not like his children to engage in such work. However, he further states that you've got to do what you've got to do, showing how important work in general is, despite what type of work it is. Such a strong value placed on working is in accordance with working class habitus. Similarly then, the

following participant displays the difficulties involved in obtaining work and that as a result, one must engage in any type of work:

> *"…I think the kids nowadays they're not taught enough about what it's like outside of school, how the work, how it is to be in the real world, they dont know enough, they just come out of school and think a job will get handed to them on a plate and they'll be able to have that ideal job but it doesn't always work like that, you know, you got to, sometimes you have to do jobs you don't really want to do…"* – N06

Here, while expressing dismay at the educational system for not preparing children for the 'real world', this participant expresses the difficulties in trying to obtain an ideal job and as a result, people have to engage in some form of work, regardless of what it is, in order to survive. Correspondingly, the following participant demonstrates the importance of work by expressing that he will take any job that becomes available:

> *"…whatever is available I will take, I don't actually go and search for the jobs... [laughs]... the job is there to be done, why not go and try to do it, for me it's easier and it's quicker and you can maintain the income coming through, and when you are picking and choosing, sometimes it takes you weeks, sometimes it might take you months to get a good job."* – W01

Not only does this participant suggest that he will take any job that is available, but he actually laughs at the prospect of being able to search for a job that would be of interest to him. This is unsurprising considering his focus and need to ensure he continuously has some form of steady income. Certainly, this is a general rhetoric for those occupying a working class habitus whereby work is important due to the need for money, rather than spending time unpaid, looking for a 'good job'. This claim was supported by field notes I had taken from my part as a participant observer:

> In concurrence with the first guy I met, he told me how
> minimum wage here is much better than in his home country –
> Portugal, and while in Portugal the weather and the lifestyle are
> great, there is no work. – Field notes 8.5.17

Indeed, the same participant, a migrant worker from Portugal, informed me that despite being able to obtain a better lifestyle due to the weather and relaxed pace of life in his home country, there is a shortage of work and minimum wage is better in the UK, therefore he prefers to be here. By the same token, the following field notes depict the value of work and more specifically, money over early finishes:

> It was very clear that they wanted to get the work done and
> skip ahead to the next day's work. Interestingly, when given the
> option of overtime or (strongly recommended) an early finish,
> they opted for overtime, stating that money is more important. –
> Field notes 8.5.17

Indeed, this particular crew were adamant that rather than finishing early, which was strongly suggested on a number of occasions by their supervisor at the time, they would prefer to work overtime so they could earn more money. While the following street cleaner emphasises the importance of work by explaining that his reasoning for taking his current job was to ensure he had the opportunity to engage in other forms of work due to the early finishes:

> *"Yeah, once again, when I got the job, in the afternoon I was
> gonna do a little bit of me own stuff still, I thought, "Yeah, I
> finish at two, I'll come home…" because I've still got, I still rent
> a bit of space in a shop where I earn a bit more, because I
> have to, to top up for the mortgage payments. So but my ideal
> was I was gonna finish early and basically crack on and sort of
> have another half day working". – N03*

Certainly, this particular account not only expresses value on work by wanting to engage in additional work after completing a day's shift street cleaning, but again provides a strong focus on attaining as much money as possible to be able to survive in the form of being able to pay mortgage payments.

With the overwhelming evidence then suggesting a strong belief in the importance of work, and the associated identity that comes with conforming to not only familial expectation but to a working class habitus, it was unsurprising to know that one particular participant informed me of her relief and excitement to be leaving school and entering work:

> She didn't like school, she couldn't wait to get out of it, telling me 'day I left school I was like yessss and I was in work Monday morning'. – Field notes 3.11.16

Indeed, this particular street cleaner has such a strong focus on work that as soon as she finished school, she was working two days after leaving education, due to the weekend.

5.4.3 Future aspirations

When asked about plans for the future, predictably the majority of responses surrounded two main themes, namely work and providing a better life for their families.

5.4.3.1 Work

Unsurprisingly then, due to the value attributed to work itself and the importance of ensuring a continuous stream of income, of those that were younger in age and not so close to retirement, many told me that they would like to continue doing the same work as they were currently doing:

> *"Just stay doing what I'm doing, yeah, I'm happy doing what I'm doing."* – N13

"You know this is where I'm planning to retire, yeah yeah, I don't see myself going anywhere" – S03

"If I had the choice, I'd stay here until I retire, because they've helped me out a lot so the least I could do is help them out as well" – W03

Unsurprisingly, when I asked what her future plans were, she told me she wanted to stay with the company, but not work her way up to supervisor or driver because she felt this would be too much stress and responsibility for her. – Field notes 3.5.17

Thus, despite the often negative experiences they came across in their daily working lives, they still wanted to stay on in their current positions, arguably due to the importance placed on having and obtaining a job. Interestingly, one of the limited female members that I worked alongside, a young female street cleaner, told me that she didn't even consider progression in the council because she was concerned about the stress and responsibility she may encounter. On the flip side, many of the street cleaners I had spoken to said that they would like to progress within the council:

"…erm carry on doing the job the best I can and possibly progressing in the company if possible" – W01

"Try to stay as healthy as possible and as I get older, maybe try to progress, work my way up into management or some sort other role in the council, if not within the council another organisation where I wake up in the morning and enjoy doing" – E04

"In the future... err, I'd still like to carry on doing this because it's a job that I do enjoy erm but obviously I'd like to be in a position where I can earn some more money working less hours, less days erm, if a job was to come up within the council doing that then id happily take it on erm yeah but for the

> *meantime I'm happy doing what I'm doing now, as long as I'm*
> *happy and my family are happy, everyone's happy." –* S01

In this instance, in a similar vein to the previous female street cleaner that outrightly doubted her abilities to take on a higher position in the council, these particular participants still seemed to possess some doubt in their abilities to progress within the council by stating they would like to progress if possible and that they may try to progress. This could be as a result of feeling unworthy of relevant skills and attributes as they are currently deemed as useless by members of society. Alternatively, this could be as a result of uncertainty about retaining a position in the council in-line with cuts to councils and an increase in job insecurity and redundancies. While the reasoning behind wanting to stay with the council and progress seemed to be related to a lack of work opportunities available to the street cleaners because of the urgent need for money and to ensure they are able to provide for their families at all times.

Whereas for those on agency contracts, when asked about future expectations or future plans, again unsurprisingly due to strong value attached to work, their main goal was to ensure they had a full-time job:

> *"Yeah, I've got future plans, I'm hoping to get a full-time job*
> *somewhere, that's my goal basically is to get a full-time job*
> *and…" –* N12

Whereas, it was relatively rare to hear people talk about moving jobs, and of those that did, there seemed to be no solid plans to make such thoughts of moving into different career paths a reality:

> *"Save up as much as possible, dunno buy some properties and*
> *get enough so I don't have to work anymore and then use the*
> *rent income as my money" –* E03

> *"I thought about doing training to be a train driver, it's double*
> *the wage and a lot less physical work" –* E04

"I'm thinking of doing the London contract because it's a lot better pay for less hours" – W04

Of those that did have thoughts of moving on from their current positions, one street cleaner was considering saving up enough money to buy properties and rent them out to receive a liveable income. Another participant was considering to train as a train driver. While another was considering continuing work as a street cleaner but moving to a different council as he felt he would receive more money for less hours work. Nevertheless, there seemed to be no concrete plans to make such ideas a reality. This was unsurprising considering earlier depicted concerns surrounding the need to maintain a steady income and the all too real threat of job losses and redundancies in the form of council work. However, one exception was that of a street cleaner who was already using his current position to pay for training in order to work in security.

"I'm going into security, so I'm in the middle of doing those licenses and everything like that so, gonna do events" – S02

Despite this street cleaner making actual plans to move into a different area of work, his actions still support that of one inhabiting working class habitus as he uses his current street cleaning job to ensure a steady income and ensure he is working, while trying to obtain licenses.

5.4.3.2 Bettering the lives of family

Another unsurprising admission then was that when asked about future plans, the majority of participants emphasised a focus on providing a better life for their families:

"I'm quite happy. As long as my family, I can sort out my family, which touch wood I should be able to, because I'm fortunate, in a couple of years' time I can actually draw a pension so this job, as long as I've got this job, I'm lucky, I can subsidise it with

the money that I'm getting from my pension to help my kids
out." – N02

This particular participant focuses on how a combination of being able to draw a pension and remaining in his current job as a street cleaner will aid in enabling him to help support his children in their own endeavours. Similarly, the following participant also focussed on supporting his children:

> *"…err I want my children to be able to have opportunities I*
> *didn't get erm, my daughter said she wants to be a scientist so*
> *I encourage her and I'm just happy to encourage them to do*
> *whatever they wanna do, erm but obviously try n push 'em in*
> *the right direction but not force them, erm, so again as long as*
> *their happy with the choices their making then I'm happy to*
> *support them with what they wanna do" – S01*

Here, he focuses on how he wants his children to have access to opportunities he didn't have and he wants to push them in a supportive way to fulfil their aspirations in order for his children to be happy. Again, the following participant explained to me how he is trying to provide his child with opportunities he did not have:

> While similarly expressing his dismay at the educational system
> and how it had failed him as a child. Resultantly, he now sends
> his daughter to a private school and she does extra-curricular
> activities such as dance and singing. – Field notes 1.5.17

Nevertheless, in this case, this street cleaner expresses how he felt the education system failed him, thereby he uses his current work as a street cleaner, as well as other forms of income to send his daughter to private school. Whereas, the following participants focus not on their children per say but rather on providing further enjoyment in the lives of other family members through having enough money to take them on holiday:

"I've got two grandchildren and I wanna have enough money so I can take them holidays and just do things with them really" – W02

"…take my mum out take the family out, take them on holiday" - N08

Indeed, in-light of the emotional and physical recognition received by their family members and a strong familial focus on hard work, it was unsurprising to learn that upon being asked about future aspirations, not only did they focus on obtaining some form of work, but also focused on trying to provide a better life for their families in a way to inform the intersubjective recognition they gain from such relationships. Whether that be in the form of providing more opportunities for their own children, or being able to fund special leisure activities such as holidays, as such they are able to confirm that as a result of work, despite the taint attached, they can support their families in different forms.

Arguably then, in accordance with working class habitus, street cleaners are able to draw on specific internalised beliefs such as the importance of work itself, providing for one's family and aligning with the working class community. Certainly, the objective goal for street cleaners is that of attaining any kind of work to be able to obtain certain amounts of money which can help provide for families and provide their families with a better life. Such values and beliefs are internalised from their familial backgrounds which ultimately reside in working class communities. Thus, as a result of the street cleaner's and refuse worker's habitus and the intersubjective recognition they receive from the love sphere, in-spite of lacking in other forms of recognition, e.g. the legal sphere and the solidarity sphere, street cleaners and refuse workers are able to draw on familial recognition in order to try to manage experiences of disrespect.

5.4.4 Coping with disrespect

Firstly, with regards to the usage of work groups as a way to manage experiences of disrespect, one can argue then that this not only demonstrates the importance of working together and as a result of strongly embedded presuppositions surrounding the importance of hard work, but also demonstrates the importance of a collective community whereby those in a similar position support and value each other. Similarly, camaraderie helps to foster the process of strong collective work groups. Indeed, engaging in specific forms of banter such as sexual innuendos, enables reinforcement of connections with work groups asserting a strong sense of community, whilst also drawing on underlying working class masculine norms.

With regards to recalibrating techniques by focusing on the physicality of the work street cleaners and refuse workers are able to draw on working class norms, underlying beliefs from habitus which are recognised and accepted by family. Additionally by focusing on the variety of work and working outside again, street cleaners and refuse workers can aid their struggles for recognition due to the underlying belief of importance of work itself in accordance with working class habitus, which is strongly supported and recognised by family, in adherence with the love sphere of recognition.

Debatably, by engaging in reframing techniques such as 'it's a job', due to the previous findings whereby the value of work itself was identified as a strongly embedded value as part of the primary habitus of the street cleaners and refuse workers, which is ultimately shaped by familial background, engaging in said strategy would be able to aid in positive identity formation as the street cleaners will certainly be able to achieve familial recognition in the love sphere as a result of attaining and maintaining a job, whilst also adhering to embedded values and beliefs of which harbour high importance amongst this group.

Despite, the perceived lack of usefulness of street cleaners and refuse workers on behalf of the public, engaging with condemning the condemners as a strategy to manage disrespect may aid affirmation of positive recognition and identity, in that by condemning those outside of a close knit working class community and aligning with those similar to them, they are adhering to deeply embedded beliefs from class habitus. Certainly, considering additional engagement in supporting those that they

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deem as similar to them, as both in conjunction may enable them to re-affirm a positive identity due to further legitimatisation of underlying values and beliefs, such as the importance of hard work and feeling accepted for their contribution to society.

Furthermore, by making selective social comparisons to those that are unemployed can reaffirm positive recognition on behalf of the street cleaners by being able to claim their usefulness. Undeniably, by drawing on their embedded beliefs of the importance of work and the importance of providing for one's family, by comparing themselves to one that is unemployed, they can reassert their own usefulness in the form of attaining work and retrieving money which ultimately aids them in supporting their own families.

Table 5. 2: Summarising how engaging in certain strategies to cope with disrespect can be explained by 'habitus' and love sphere of recognition

Strategies used to manage disrespect	Why the strategy may help cope with disrespect?
Work groups	Able to draw on strongly on familial recognition from the love sphere through a strong focus on collaborative/ collective working and community, key underlying beliefs that are legitimised from primary habitus.
Camaraderie	Feeds into the bonding process of work groups. Engaging in specific forms of banter such as sexual innuendos, they are able to reinforce connections with work groups asserting a strong sense of community, while also drawing on underlying working class masculine norms.
Recalibrating techniques	Focusing on the variety of work and working outside can lead to drawing on the underlying belief of importance of work itself in accordance with working class habitus, which is strongly supported and recognised by family, in adherence with the love sphere of recognition. Focusing on the physicality of the work they are able to draw on working class norms, underlying beliefs from habitus which are recognised and accepted by family.
Reframing techniques	Focusing on 'it's just a job' means they can seek value from the importance placed on work itself, an essential embedded belief which is part of working class habitus, recognised and accepted by family.
Social weighting techniques	Condemning the condemners and supporting the supporters can reinforce a close knit working class community thus adhering to deeply embedded beliefs from class habitus while also drawing on strong recognition from the love sphere. Making selective social comparisons to those that are unemployed also means they can draw on their embedded beliefs of the importance of work and the importance of providing for one's family, thus they can reassert their own usefulness in the form of attaining work and retrieving money which ultimately aids them in supporting their own families.

5.5 Summary

In summary, and as demonstrated in figure 5.1, this chapter has demonstrated how the use of certain strategies may aid street cleaners and refuse workers in coping with experiences of disrespect in light of market changes rendering their work useless, and themselves as workers as easily replaceable. As such, from the outset the impact of decreasing staff numbers and increased redundancies as a result of council budget cuts is shown to have an impact on the struggles for recognition among street cleaners and refuse workers. Thereafter, the chapter paints a picture of how street cleaners and refuse workers fail to achieve recognition on two accounts in accordance with Honneth's theory. Firstly, they fail to be recognised as useful and contributive members of society as a result of a general social rhetoric that educational credentials equate to usefulness and value whereas manual work is rendered redundant and useless. Secondly, in relation to the legal sphere, staff restructuring, increased job losses and ease of replacement promotes challenges for these workers with respect to autonomy to work, and they experience diminished feelings of autonomy at work through increased technological and managerial surveillance and increasing feelings of not being trusted, impeding on their acquisition of self-respect. However, street cleaners and refuse workers are able to draw on recognition in the love sphere due to intersubjective recognition from family members and alliances with working class communities whereby they live and work, despite their perceived lack of usefulness in the minds of the public. Subsequently, the chapter demonstrates which strategies street cleaners and refuse workers engage with in order to manage experiences of disrespect located from the legal sphere and the solidarity sphere. Finally, a proposal of how engaging in said strategies enables these workers to cope with experiences of disrespect is conceptualised. Indeed, street cleaners and refuse workers are able to draw on specific internalised beliefs, in-line with their primary or class habitus, such as the importance of work itself and providing for one's family which therefore means they can draw more heavily on intersubjective recognition from the love sphere in order to try to cope with their experiences of disrespect. Therefore, by engaging in strategies such as work groups and focusing on the physicality of the work, focusing on attainment of work and selective social comparisons, through intersubjective recognition from the love sphere and accounting for the significance of embedded

beliefs that are shaped from working class habitus; drawing on work groups and focusing on physicality of work may present coping mechanisms to manage disrespect due to being able to draw on strong working class masculinity norms. Additionally, engaging in strategies such as focusing on attaining a job or selectively comparing themselves to those that are unemployed may facilitate ways to cope with disrespect, because they are able to reassert their perceived lack of usefulness by drawing on the importance of work in itself, which conforms to underlying beliefs and values which are part of their class habitus. The following chapter seeks to discuss said findings in-line with previous literature in order to demonstrate how street cleaners and refuse workers cope with disrespect in light of struggles for recognition.

Figure 5. 1: **Refined conceptual map for study of how those in physically tainted occupations manage disrespect**
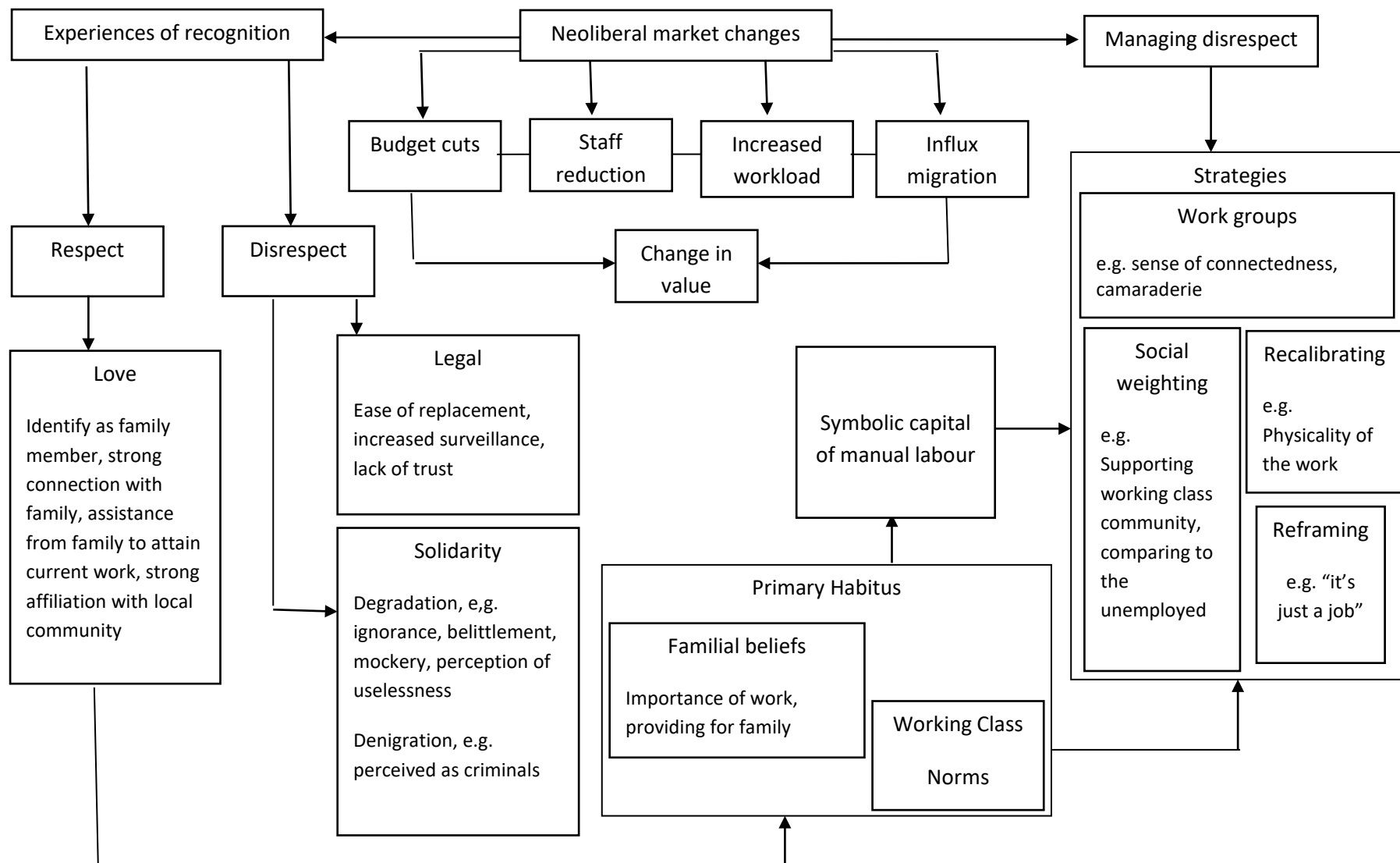
Part 6 – Discussion and conclusion

6.1 Introduction

The following chapter provides a discussion of the findings presented in the current study. The aim of this chapter is to discuss the findings in the context of dirty work literature, Honneth's (1996) recognition theory and Bourdieu's (1984) concept of habitus in order to address the predominant aim of this research, that is, how do street cleaners draw on certain strategies to manage disrespect. In so doing, this chapter demonstrates that despite the use of discursive strategies, dirty workers struggle to attain respect, thus hindering their self-realisation. Additionally, this chapter provides a discussion as to why, in spite of struggles for self-realisation, these workers continue to draw on discursive strategies to manage disrespect. Finally, the contributions and recommendations are presented, followed by the limitations of the current study and suggestions for future research.

6.2 Disrespect in dirty work

Similarly to previous research indicating the stigma attached to street cleaners as a result of working as members of the council (Slutskaya et al., 2018), in this study wearing the council uniform itself presented the opportunity for members of the public to engage in disrespectful behaviours towards the street cleaners and refuse workers, including ignorance and deprecating mockery, to such an extent that some participants would change in and out of work clothes to travel to and from work. As such, social taint (Ashforth and Kreiner, 1999; Hughes, 1958) was an evidential catalyst of disrespectful experiences for the workers in this study. Indeed, experiences of abuse amongst this particular group, confirming them as subordinated in society have been demonstrated in previous literature exploring the material and symbolic aspects of dirty work (Hughes et al., 2016). Likewise, the street cleaners and refuse workers in this research were victims of verbal and physical abuse by the public through a perception of being an inconvenience; thus enhancing feelings of worthlessness amongst this group, reiterating their subordinated position in society.

In concurrence with Ashforth and Kreiner's (1999) argument that working in a tainted occupation, as a result of internalised assumptions of cleanliness and dirty and proximity to dirt leads to struggles for identity, some of the workers felt as if they were perceived to be criminals due to the work they were doing and were treated as such.

Whereas others would attempt to avoid main roads due to the assumption that they themselves were dirty people because they were doing dirty work. Additionally, coinciding with Bosmans et al. (2015) whereby the nature of cleaning work lacking the need for qualifications fuels negative perceptions of those doing the work, the street cleaners and refuse workers in this study were victim to disrespectful experiences of denigration such as deeply held stereotypes of all street cleaners and refuse workers having no qualifications and being 'idiots'. Indeed, this seeks to demonstrate how taint, in this case physical, resonates negative stereotypes for those that engage in such work (Crocker et al., 1998). As such, this limits the possibility for those engaging in such work to attain full social acceptance (Bolton, 2005; Tokyoki and Brown, 2014).

In-line with Hughes, (1962) and Douglas, (1966) then, this study reiterates the divide between in-groups and outgroups, whereby those engaging in dirty work are cast as outgroups which threaten social order. Indeed, here the workers were ignored by the public to the extent of members of the public crossing the road to avoid having to have any contact with the workers. Moreover, confirming Sayer's (2007) argument that engagement in undignified work is generally seen to represent and reiterate the status of the individuals that engage with it, the street cleaners and refuse workers in this study also experiences denigration based on their position within the social hierarchy. Secondly, they experience social disrespect on the basis of being publicly perceived as useless. This conception of uselessness is a result of their class and occupation, presenting a power relationship which deems the workers at the bottom of the social hierarchy rendering them as unworthy of disrespect (Hughes et al., 2016; Sayer, 2007). Reiteratively then, in accordance with Brody (2006), such experiences of disrespect echo the power struggle for those at the bottom of the hierarchy helping to retain cleanliness in the modern neoliberal order, while being excluded from such themselves.

Concurring with Ryan and Herod (2006) demonstrating the impact of neoliberalism on cleaners in Australia and New Zealand which resulted in an increase in precarious employment, the street cleaners and refuse workers in this study had seen a number of material changes with relation to their working practices due to vast budget cuts to councils such as dramatic reduction in staff. For example, in accord with Aguiar and

Herod's (2006) suggestion that proliferation of small firms entering the cleaning industry, in conjunction with deregulation of labour rights has resulted in decreasing effectiveness of union representation for cleaning operatives; the participants in this study experienced an increase in workload pressure for members of staff that remained, whilst simultaneously relishing feelings of inadequacy and powerlessness with respect to being easy to replace due an increase in the use of agency workers. Resultantly, this rendered any previous power they had in the form of strike action useless. Additionally, in agreement with Tomic et al.'s (2006) work whereby in Chile, erosion of labour regulations has enabled employers to substitute strikers with strike breakers, the participants here showed reluctance to engage in strike action out of fear of being easy to replace as a result of an increase in the use of agency workers. Therefore, in agreement with existing literature on dirty work and neoliberalism, what is apparent from this research is that changing working practices in the form of reduction of staff and decreasing power of trade unions has perpetuated experiences of disrespect amongst this group.

Not only has market changes decreased trade union power for these workers perpetuating experiences of disrespect, but these workers have also experienced a decrease in pay. Coinciding with research demonstrating how changes in market regulations including scrapping of fair resolution wages in 1983, the eradication of wages council as well as decreasing trade union power have worsened the conditions of lower paid workers in the UK (Rowbotham, 2006); another notable change which elicited feelings of anger and frustration amongst street cleaners and refuse workers here was a vast reduction in overtime payments. Indeed, this particular change was presented as a great concern for the workers with regards to be able to make ends meet with the minimum wage that they are now restricted to earning. Certainly, Soni-Sinha and Yates (2013) have demonstrated the importance of unions for janitors in both a material and symbolic sense whereby such association can enhance management of tainted experiences while also ensuring appropriate conditions in terms of pay and holidays. Concurringly then, changing working practices and the resultant loss of union power for the workers in this study have not only posed material losses in the form of decreased wages but also ensued a symbolic loss due to a perceived loss of valued representation.

Additionally, market changes have also rendered greater job insecurity for dirty workers in physically tainted occupations. Indeed, Slutskaya et al. (2016) and their work on street cleaners and refuse collectors has projected that deregulation and contracting out of work has resulted in greater insecurity and vulnerability. Reiteratively, despite street cleaners and refuse workers in this research retaining working positions within the council during the period of data collection, the general consensus for these workers was that of great concern regarding job security and attaining a certain standard of living. Indeed, this uncertainty seemed to be strongly influenced by market changes which led to council budget cuts impacting job security and working practices. This level of job insecurity has previously been documented amongst dirty workers, for example limited power of trade unions have rendered cleaners in a state of job insecurity with lower wages (Rowbotham, 2006; Ryan and Herod, 2006). Indeed, commonly the workers here felt job insecurity to be a pressing issue to such an extent that many would refrain from talking to me out of fear of losing their jobs. Thus, market changes have led to an to erosion of trade union power, lower pay and greater job insecurity proposing further economic and social struggles for respect amongst dirty workers.

As such, in alignment with previous research demonstrating feelings of nostalgia amongst workers in physically tainted dirty work occupations with respect to industry and market changes (Slutskaya et al., 2012; Simpson et al., 2014; Slutskaya et al., 2016; Simpson et al., 2011), here the participants felt that positive perceptions of themselves with respect to their work had decreased overtime. Specifically, they attributed this to the material changes to the communities in which they worked in, such as a change in the population of each place with in fluxing migrants. Certainly, a sense of nostalgia was imminent with regards to losing the respect of the 'old lady down the road' due to the physical changes in the communities within which they worked. Arguably then, nostalgic feelings about the better times of the past are a way of drawing on previous times whereby they were valued and praised by members of the public for the work they do. This provides further demonstration of how market changes, in this case, changes in population make up, have perpetuated experiences of disrespect amongst dirty workers.

Certainly, in accordance with Slutskaya et al. (2016) signifying that focusing on migrant labour in this particular occupation was a way for street cleaners and refuse workers to express their anxiety and insecurity as a result of an increase in labour market competition rendering them powerless in having to accept undesirable changes to their work; many of the participants in this study sought to blame migrant workers for their struggles in attaining full-time contracts with the council. An influx of migrant workers from agencies elicited feelings of the workers being very easy to replace perpetuating the feeling of insecurity amongst the workers. As such, focusing on their migrant counterparts seemed to be a way for the workers to demonstrate their anxiety (Slutskaya et al. 2016). Alternatively, a less common perception, but a significant one among some workers was that acquisition of a secure full-time contract was highly dependent on the relationship with the supervisor, whereby social and cultural connections with the supervisor determined chances of being able to acquire full-time work, rather than placing the government responsible for lack of accountability in regulating the job market. Certainly, this conforms to Soni-Sinha and Yates (2013) research into industrial cleaning, whereby the participants felt that a manager of a particular ethnicity would favour a worker of the same ethnicity. Reiteratively then, the increasing precariousness of their work as a result of market changes highlighted increasing feelings of disrespect amongst these workers in the form of vocal anxiety and insecurity with regards to attaining contracts and the processes by which were hindering them from attaining equal rights to work.

As is depicted in research on aged care workers, whereby workers demonstrated that experiences of excessive supervision and surveillance elicited feelings of mistrust in the workers judgement (Banks, 2018), in this research, an increase in the use of technology in the form of trackers as a result of market changes produced feelings of being untrusted amongst the workers. Specifically, trackers fitted on the vans were deemed as a way for managers to closely monitor and supervise the drivers rather than for health and safety purposes as they were told. This not only implies that workers fail to be held equally accountable but also impacts their sense of autonomy over their work through an increasing use of technology which is perpetuating experiences of disrespect.

Certainly McCabe and Hamilton's (2015) work has highlighted that for those in unskilled worked technological changes have contributed to a decrease in autonomy at a group and individual level. Similarly, what was evident here is that an increase in the use of such technology also emphasised a loss of control over their work. A focus on autonomy afforded to those engaging in dirty work occupations has been documented as a particular mechanism used by such workers to deal with taint (Meara, 1974; Brody, 2006; Thiel, 2007). Indeed, having control over day to day routines has been a resource of pride for said workers (Brody 2006). With the increasing erosion of autonomy over their work, the workers in this study would arguably struggle to attain feelings of pride as a result of a loss of said coping mechanism (Meara, 1974) to deal with experiences of disrespect. While some dirty workers are able to compensate for loss of autonomy as a result of technological changes, for example care aides as they are able to draw on a unique caring skill set (Stacey, 2005), street cleaners and refuse workers are deemed as useless and thus fail to be recognised for their skills and abilities, therefore rendering them in a struggle for power in relation to those in non-manual working positions (Slutskaya et al., 2016), thus accentuating their struggles for respect.

6.3 Adoption of strategies to manage disrespect

Concurring with Ashforth and Kreiner (1999), a common way in which street cleaners and refuse workers tried to cope with experiences of disrespect included relationships with other colleagues and engagement with camaraderie with other workers throughout the working day. Indeed, working with colleagues seemed to create a shared sense of community and responsibility whereby they could support each other based on shared belief systems. Similar findings have been proposed with reference to prisoners whereby they were able to experience social support and a supportive community (Tokyoki and Brown, 2014). Thus despite experiences of disrespect, a mutual acknowledgement between workers that each and everyone one of them is valuable in the sense of feeling a strong connection with each other was present. Certainly, the lack of support from external communities may have in fact contributed to a development of strong group legitimation (Dick, 2005), incorporating shared values which help to shape their work as meaningful (Lofstrand et al., 2016). As such a collective sense of 'we are all in this together' seems to

provide the workers with a strong sense of belonging with those that they work with, which ultimately reinforces a mutual understanding of the value each individual has as part of the overall team. This is further supported by Simpson et al., (2014b) arguing that lack of recognition afforded to street cleaners on a daily basis can be turned into strong occupational cultures that aid in perceiving their work as meaningful. Here, in accordance with Simpson et al., (2016) camaraderie was deemed an essential element to which aided the bonding of colleagues, respectively enforcing a coping mechanism to deal with the disrespect they faced on a daily basis. Engaging in banter enabled them to enforce value by conforming to working class masculinity norms (Simpson et al., 2014).

However, in a similar vein to Ashforth and Kreiner (1999) division of work groups was also clear in this research through a breakdown of work relationships between colleagues due to physical isolation, high turnover and increased competition; thus inhibiting the formation of work groups. Indeed, market changes had rendered physical divisions through the now solitary nature of the work as well as socio-cultural divisions due to an increase in migrant workers. Certainly, as in Slutskaya et al., (2016), British workers in this study deemed their disrespect as a result of an influx in migrant workers. Arguably such divide between British and migrant workers would weaken the collective culture of work groups (Simpson et al,. 2014b), and perpetuate a psychological boundary of 'us versus them' increasing difference and isolation (Ashforth and Kreiner, 1999), thus hindering the use of work groups to manage experiences of disrespect.

In accordance with Ashforth and Kreiner, (1999), the street cleaners and refuse workers within this particular study engaged in recalibrating strategies such as repeatedly expressing their favouritism for working outside and the variety of the work tasks resulting in decreased monotony. While, others seemed to experience a sense of autonomy through being able to be in charge of your own work, in spite of contradictory findings demonstrating that as a result of market changes, attaining autonomy over the work is difficult. This concurs with existing literature demonstrating that dirty workers have been able to manage stigma as a result of autonomy afforded to them in their daily work routines (Brody, 2006; Stacey, 2005; Thiel, 2007, Thompson, 1983). Indeed, as documented by Brody (2006), cleaners in

a Bangkok shopping mall would seek autonomy through certain practices, such as eating their lunch amongst the general public, despite the expectation in the new neoliberal order for them to an invisible entity, hired to clean but not be seen. Similarly, in this case some of the street cleaners and refuse workers would emphasise their own forms of 'rule-breaking' with respect to being in a position to create their own rules for their daily work routines.

Unsurprisingly, as depicted in previous research (Johnston and Hodge, 2014; Simpson et al., 2014; Slutskaya et al., 2012; Soni-Sinha and Yates, 2013), many of the participants also focused on the benefits of working in this occupation with regards to the physical strength required to do such work and the resultant fitness levels they attain by doing so. Arguably, in concurrence with previous scholars by doing so, they were able to attain some form of respect by identifying with working class masculinity norms (Simpson et al., 2014; Simpson et al., 2011; Soni-Sinha and Yates, 2013). For example, Simpson et al. (2014) suggested that street cleaners are able to draw on physical strength required to complete the work which helps to re-construct a positive identity through reinforcing working class masculinity norms. Additionally, in accordance with previous literature demonstrating dirty workers seek pride in engaging with work others would struggle to do, therefore facilitating the construction of a positive identity through pride of doing work others would shy away from (Meara, 1974; Stacey, 2005); one could argue that focusing on physical strength required to do the work in this case, emphasises their ability to carry strenuous tasks, which other social groups would struggle to do, thus drawing some form of respect through adherence to working class norms.

For the workers in this study, reframing techniques (Ashforth and Kreiner, 1999) were also used to manage experiences of disrespect. This is unsurprising considering how previous research has documented that those in low skilled physically tainted occupations mitigate experiences of taint through focusing on providing a better life for their families (Bosmans et al., 2015; Simpson et al., 2014, Brody, 2006), as well as the previous indication that the workers in this study draw on working class masculinity to attain respect. For example, in this case much emphasis was placed on having a job by the street cleaners and refuse workers. Indeed, focusing on the fact that they have a job regardless of its negative connotations due to physical and

social taint, may reinforce attempts to manage disrespectful experiences for this particular group.

Conforming to research on morticians and funeral directors, whereby the workers shift focus of their work away from handling dead bodies towards positive connotations of providing an essential service at work that aides the families at a vulnerable time (Thompson, 1991), street cleaners and refuse workers in this study focused on the essentiality of the service they provide through completion of their work for the environment. Similarly, despite the tainted nature of the work of correctional officers, they are able to draw on the essentiality of the service they provide for the public, which is also recognised by the public (Rivera and Tracy, 2014). Nevertheless, in the case of the street cleaners and refuse workers in this study, the public fail to recognise the essentiality of the work they do. Certainly, this has been previously highlighted by Hughes et al., (2017) arguing that although refuse workers and street cleaners feel pride from being able to keep social spaces clean and engage in an essential service for communities, they also have to contend with "…embedded social hierarchies which see workers as 'out of place' within middle class domains" (Hughes et al., 2017, p119). As such then, those in low skilled physically tainted work may still struggle for respect despite drawing on this particular resource.

In addition, as postulated by Ashforth and Kreiner, (1999), the street cleaners and refuse workers in this study draw on a number of social weighting techniques, in order to attempt to manage experiences of disrespect. One such example whereby the workers would engage in said techniques included condemning the condemners (Ashforth and Kreiner, 1999). Whereas previous dirty work literature has demonstrated how some dirty workers, namely exotic dancers engage in this technique by feeling disgust towards the people using their services (Grady and Mavin, 2014), in this case, the workers would compare the importance of their work in providing an essential contribution to society in comparison to the work of bankers. Certainly, there was a common consensus of 'us versus them' (Ashforth and Kreiner, 1999) in this study with reference to perceptions of equating affluent areas with rudeness and belittlement. Arguably, street cleaners and refuse workers may be able to attain respect in this way based on previous strategies, whereby they attempt to

seek value by conforming to working class habitus, as was the case in Thiel's (2007) research demonstrating how builders unknowingly engage in reiterating aspects of working class masculinity to protect themselves from experiences of disrespect posed by outsider groups.

Indeed, the workers in this study would also engage in behaviours such as supporting the supporters (Ashforth and Kreiner, 1999) whereby they would align themselves with particular deprived areas within which they worked and attain a sense of community and acceptance, with the consensus that those in these particular areas would value their work more, while also being more likely to engage in work of a similar calibre. Certainly, this supports previous literature which has demonstrated that domestic cleaners seek to enhance their self-esteem through identification with their own group relative to comparison groups (Bosman et al., 2015).

On many occasions, in concurrence with Ashforth and Kreiner (1999), the workers in this study would make selective social comparisons with the unemployed to reinforce their own value despite experiences of disrespect. This has been reiterated in research on builders, whereby they selectively compare themselves to the unemployed, often referring to the unemployed as 'scroungers', as well as comparing themselves to immigrants and criminals to reinforce their own elevated status (Thiel, 2007). Similarly, domestic cleaners have also engaged in such downward comparisons (Bosman et al., 2015). Arguably then, by engaging in such a strategy not only does this allow these workers to attain respect with regards to acquiring and maintaining work, something of which the unemployed have failed to do, but they are also able to tap in to collective values which are present in their work groups and are also valued by working class communities.

In a similar vein to Tyler (2011) the street cleaners and refuse workers in this study also feel a strong connection to less affluent areas and estates that they worked in through an affective sense of community which emanated during their working practices. Indeed, Tyler (2011) has demonstrated that those working in sex shops in Soho, despite the location of the shop perpetuating negative connotations, the location also infuses a sense of community and belonging whereby everybody has each other's backs (Tyler, 2011). Certainly, in opposition to research on cleaners

(Bosmans et al., 2015), many of the street cleaners in this study opted to work in areas close to where they lived, with a consensus that the locality focus on the value of going out to work, rather than the type of occupation one engages in. As such then, despite negative connotations associated with the work and the projection of a hierarchy, whereby those occupying positions in the lower rungs of the social hierarchy, the workers here were able to construct some positive experiences through a focus on place in respect to working class communities.

6.4 Continuous struggles for self-realisation
While current dirty work literature would suggest that adoption of the aforementioned discursive strategies to affirm a positive identity would in fact provide resources to gain respect for those occupying tainted positions, by drawing on Honneth's (1996) understanding of disrespect and self-realisation, what is evident is that despite using certain strategies to manage disrespect, the street cleaners and refuse workers in this study still struggle to achieve respect, and as such fail to achieve self-realisation.

By incorporating Honneth's (1996) understanding of the solidarity sphere of recognition, evidently the street cleaners and refuse workers in this study fail to be seen as useful or contributive; which would provoke struggles for recognition and thus hinder the opportunity for these workers to relate their abilities to attaining any social value. There seems to be a clear divide between set values and goals which equate to social contribution to everyone's lives with respect to the work of the street cleaners and what is seen as respectful by society (Honneth, 1996). Indeed, here common consensus among the street cleaners was that societal assumptions that connote what is a respectful occupation were infiltrated through the education system. The workers here commonly felt that the education system degraded street cleaning and any work that involved manual labour, placing value on office work. Resultantly, a lack of shared understanding of cultural values regarding what is deemed a respectful occupation, including skills and attributes which are contributive to society, would result in struggles for self-esteem among these workers (Honneth, 1996).

Additionally, concurring to Honneth's (1996) stipulation whereby what is deemed as culturally accepted and normalised in the case of skills and attributes changes due to

historical context, other reasoning proposed by the workers in this study for such disrespectful treatment included generational differences, whereby the street cleaners and refuse workers felt that the older generation respect the work they do, while the younger generation fail to value their work. Nevertheless, this consensus was opposed by other workers that suggested that school children were more likely to respect the work and challenge the demeaning actions of their elders. Thus, generational differences alone did not seem to be the basis of these experiences of disrespect but rather societal filtrated ideologies of what is a respectful occupation. Within the solidarity sphere, whereby an individual is degraded based on a particular way of life (Honneth, 1996), what comes to light is that such disrespectful experiences as a result of the working positions that these participants occupy, projects hindrance towards a positive relation to self for these workers through degradation and denigration. As such, this emphasises the perceived uselessness of street cleaners on behalf of members of the public, rendering their skills and attributes deficient in society and as such presenting struggles for these workers to attain self-realisation (Honneth, 1996).

Certainly, through encompassing Honneth's (1996) theory, one is able to understand that the street cleaners and refuse workers' particular struggle for recognition also fails to be seen as valid by members of the public (Honneth, 1996) due to a public perception of uselessness. While Honneth (1996) does acknowledge the impossibility to mutually recognise one another on a level footing, he argues that to be recognised equates to an individual being exempt from being collectively tainted or denigrated based on being a street cleaner or refuse worker. In this case, street cleaners and refuse workers fail to be afforded respect due to a lack of individual recognition of their skills and abilities, and their autonomous contribution to society. Indeed, concurring with Honneth (2007), this demonstrates the significance of labour with regards to opportunity to afford social recognition and therefore respect, as manual work and in this case street cleaning and refuse collection, is culturally ranked as low, therefore hindering the amount of social esteem afforded to these workers as their skills and attributes are deemed as useless.

Previous scholars (Simpson et al., 2014; Simpson et al., 2011; Soni-Sinha and Yates, 2013) argue that by engaging in certain strategies such as focusing on

physical strength required to carry out the work would provide a way for these workers to attain some form of respect by identifying with working class masculinity norms. However, due to being denied their claim for recognition in the solidarity sphere (Honneth, 1996), and the importance of how those we engage with regularly treat us in relation to acquisition of self-respect (Sayer, 2007), the workers in this study will struggle to experience collective feelings of pride (Honneth, 1996), and thus impede on maintaining their dignity (Sayer, 2007).

Additionally, while previous research has argued that the use of social weighting techniques (Ashforth and Kreiner, 1999) may provide strategies for these workers to gain some respect by being able to construct their own positive identity; the perception of uselessness equated to manual work which is filtrated through society renders the use of these particular strategies as problematic. Indeed, despite the use of these strategies by the workers in this study, the street cleaners and refuse workers still experience disrespect in the solidarity sphere of recognition, thus hindering their opportunity of self-esteem and self-realisation.

Furthermore, through further understanding of disrespect and self-realisation of these workers, this study has been able to reiterate Hughes et al., (2017) stipulation that although refuse workers and street cleaners feel pride from being able to keep social spaces clean and engage in an essential service for communities, they also have to contend with being rendered as 'out of place' perpetuated by embedded social hierarchies. Indeed, through incorporating Honneth's (1996) recognition theory, what is apparent is that drawing on the essentiality of work as a strategy to attain some form of respect perpetuates struggles for recognition due to a public perception of uselessness of which impedes on acquisition of self-esteem and thus extenuates struggles for realisation of the self.

In relation to Honneth's (1996) legal sphere of recognition, lack of economic security as a result of market changes which are perpetuating struggles to attain full time contracts for these workers demonstrates a lack of equal rights afforded to the street cleaners and refuse workers in this study. As such, this perpetuates a continuous struggle to attain respect from this sphere as they fail to be treated as equal

autonomous and accountable individuals, therefore hindering realisation of self-respect (Honneth, 1996). Additionally, the participants in this study struggle to attain equal rights to participate in discussions of the organisation. As such, they also struggle to acquire self-respect as their judgements as autonomous individuals are failed to be recognised (Honneth, 1997). Evidently then, the street cleaners and refuse workers in this study experience social disrespect (Honneth, 2007) through a lack of economic security and loss of autonomy at work as a result of market changes.

Previous scholars in the dirty work literature (Brody, 2006; Stacey, 2005; Thiel, 2007, Thompson, 1983) have argued that workers engaging in certain practices such as horse play and setting specific rules in their day to day activities facilitate creation of their own autonomy and meaning. However, by incorporating an understanding of Honneth's recognition theory as well as market changes such as an increase in the use of technology, in this study what is apparent is loss of autonomy due to the use of trackers and increased surveillance. As such, these workers struggle to acquire self-respect as they fail to be recognised as accountable, autonomous individuals (Honneth, 1997).

Nevertheless, the street cleaners and refuse workers in this study were able to experience social respect as a result of intersubjective recognition (Honneth, 1996) with family and the working class communities within which they worked. Identification as a family member was a significant way in which participants in this study could experience respect. Indeed, family not only aided in acquisition of their work but were at the heart of leisure time for these workers. Consequently then, they were able to attain basic self-confidence and thus fulfil relation to self with respect to the love sphere of recognition (Honneth, 1996). Therefore, in agreement with previous scholars, the use of work groups as a strategy to create a shared sense of community and responsibility whereby they could support each other based on shared belief systems (Ashforth and Kreiner, 1999), which can then be turned into strong occupational cultures that aid in perceiving work as meaningful (Simpson et al,. 2014b), is demonstrated as a way to attain limited respect despite lack of recognition afforded to street cleaners and refuse workers. Regardless of such, Honneth (1996) would argue that due to experiences of social disrespect in the

solidarity sphere and the legal sphere, street cleaners and refuse workers would struggle to attain self-actualisation (Honneth, 1996), despite engagement with discursive resources.

6.5 Power, subjectivity and coping with disrespect

While Honneth (1996) would argue that struggles for recognition amongst these workers in both the legal and solidarity sphere may fuel a social uprising in order to diffuse negative emotions, such as shame in the search for self-realisation and social inclusion, the strategies adopted by workers in this research and acknowledgement of the power structures within which these workers operate prove to align with limitations of Honneth's (1996) theory.

In line with Fraser's (2001) critique of Honneth's (1996) recognition theory, the findings in this study have highlighted an oversight with regards to social institutions and social interactions in relation to managing experiences of disrespect. Certainly, in this case, the workers were acutely aware of differences between themselves and those in higher positions of the hierarchy. They were conscious of how the education system seems to perpetuate experiences of disrespect by deterring individuals away from any form of manual work, and using manual work as a scare tactic to force students to engage with studies. In seeking to mitigate the impact of disrespectful experiences, these workers engaged in numerous strategies whereby social interaction with their own social institution of individuals affiliated to working class positions, such as: work groups, condemning the condemners and supporting the supporters, in spite of their acknowledgement of their degraded position in the social hierarchy.

Additionally, Fraser (2000) criticises Honneth by suggesting that focusing on recognition fuels group stigmatisation, othering and separatism. While one could argue that in accordance with Fraser (2000), the strategies used by these workers to manage disrespect including othering of those in higher or lower socially ranked positions, as well as alignment with working class community can in fact fuel stigmatisation. By taking into account how the workers struggle for respect in relation to recognition of their skills and attributes, and perpetuation of disrespect towards these workers as a result of embedded social structures, thus hindering power afforded to these workers to seek respect with regards to new market demands, the

use of othering techniques as demonstrated by this research arguably seeks to provide them with limited resources to cope with experiences of disrespect. Thus, though Fraser (2001) argues dual solutions with respect to ensuring 'participatory parity' through the distribution of resources to ensure independence and a revamp of "…institutionalised patterns of cultural value" (Fraser, 2001, p.29) to ensure equal opportunity to attain social esteem. Here what is demonstrated is that, in accordance with McNay (2008b), Fraser fails to wholly depict the connection between subjective and objective forms of oppression, and as such is unsuccessful in explaining agency.

Moreover, in light of the powerlessness afforded to this group with regards to meeting new market demands to acquire respect in all recognition spheres, what is revealed here is that conceptualising agency as expression for recognition, as Honneth does, ignores how power influences subjectivity and identity (Allen, 2010; McNay, 2008b). This also coincides with Kalyvas' (2003) stipulation that by overlooking the role of power with regards to attainment of recognition presents an over optimistic view that social struggles will result in drastic political movements on behalf of groups unrecognised by failing to account for the significance of certain structural factors such as class, gender and history. Certainly, in line with McNay (2008b) this study has demonstrated how, by incorporating habitus, a holistic understanding of agency can submerge through consideration of how power structures are embodied to influence subjectivity. What is highlighted then is despite continuous struggles for respect, these workers continue to use the aforementioned strategies as they have limited coping mechanisms to deal with disrespect.

Regardless of experiences of disrespect as a result of being rendered useless, as well as struggles for economic security and autonomy, these workers were able to draw on primary class habitus; that is, internalised beliefs based on parental behaviours, thinking and feeling which are shaped by existing structures (Bourdieu and Passeron, 2000) which links to one's place in the society hierarchy (Bourdieu, 1977). Such internalised beliefs included the importance of hard work and providing for one's family which are legitimately recognised as part of working class culture. Accordingly, the workers here are able to acquire some limited resources to draw on in the struggle for recognition as they are able to draw on symbolic capital in their working class social field (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992).

Certainly, through the usage of work groups as a way to cope with disrespect, the workers draw on symbolic capital (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992) in their position as a member of the working class by adhering to strongly embedded presuppositions Bourdieu and Passeron, 2000) surrounding the importance of hard work and the importance of a collective community, whereby those in a similar position support and value each other. Adherence to such norms feeds into their only form of respect from the love sphere of recognition (Honneth, 1996). Engaging in camaraderie helps to foster the process of strong collective work groups. Indeed engaging in specific forms of banter such as sexual innuendos, enables reinforcement of connections with work groups asserting a strong sense of community, whilst also drawing on underlying working class masculine norms (Simpson et al., 2011; Simpson et al., 2014; Ashforth and Kreiner,1999). Thus taken together, renders a limited form of power by which the street cleaners and refuse workers are able to cope with disrespectful experiences by affirming their subjectivity. Indeed, this concurs with Van Leeuwen's (2007) argument that specific groups may acquire respect through social attachments which render a sense of belonging.

Reiteratively, with regards to usage of recalibrating techniques, focusing on physicality of the work not only provides symbolic capital (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992) for street cleaners and refuse workers to draw on in relation to their working class position, but also provides symbolic capital in the sense of engagement in manual work. Therefore, not only are they able to draw on such in conjunction with adhering to working class norms which are shaped by social structures and family, whereby they receive respect, they are also able to cope with experiences of disrespect through a sense of power and recognition in their field of manual work. Additionally by focusing on the variety of work and working outside, again street cleaners and refuse workers can affirm their relation to self, due to the underlying belief of importance of work itself in accordance with working class habitus, which is strongly supported and recognised by family, in adherence with the respect they are afforded within the love sphere of recognition (Honneth, 1996).

In concurrence with criticisms of Honneth's (1996) recognition theory with respect to an oversight with regards to how different social communities may value different factors as achievements, rendering respect (Owen, 2007, Zurn, 2005); familial

support with regards to seeking out the current work of the participants in this study, accompanied by a strongly embedded working class belief in the value of any type of work can explain how engaging in reframing techniques such as 'it's a job' may aid these workers in coping with experiences of disrespect. Arguably, by engaging in this particular strategy, street cleaners and refuse workers are able to draw some form of respect due to recognition afforded to them by family and friends, as well as the working class community due to acquiring work. Whilst additionally, they are able to conform to embedded values and beliefs which are of high importance to themselves and others in this particular social group in the form of symbolic capital (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992).

Furthermore, despite, perceived lack of usefulness that is equated to street cleaners and refuse workers by members of the public (Honneth, 1996), through understanding the relationship between structural relations of power and respect afforded to these workers in the love sphere, continuous engagement with condemning the condemners as a strategy to cope with disrespect can be explained. By condemning those outside of a close knit working class community and aligning with those similar to them, these workers draw on symbolic capital (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992) by adhering to deeply embedded beliefs from class habitus. Such beliefs are strongly recognised by family and the working class communities in which they serve, thus again feeding into the self-confidence they are afforded through respect in the love sphere of recognition (Honneth, 1996). Certainly considering simultaneous engagement in supporting those that they deem as similar to them, they are further able to draw on and reiterate their own experiences of symbolic respect in relation to symbolic capital attained by conforming to working class habitus, such as the importance of hard work and feeling accepted by those seen as legitimate others for their contribution to society. While such strategies perpetuate stigma through normalising the divide between inside groups and outside groups (Ashforth and Kreiner, 2014b), thus rendering these workers in continuous struggles for disrespect, drawing on habitus and recognition in the love sphere seeks to provide an understanding of why these workers continue to engage with strategies in a social structure that renders them powerless through perceived uselessness (Honneth, 1996). Indeed, although adherence to working class norms by these

workers aids in reproduction of social structures (Bourdieu and Passeron, 2000), thus setting boundaries which limit capacity to mobilise (Bourdieu, 1977), consequently limiting attainment of respect through such strategies as placing value on physical labour (Simpson et al., 2016). What is evident from this study is that street cleaners and refuse workers are limited to drawing on working class habitus and familial/community recognition to affirm a restricted sense of agency and subjectivity.

Engaging in selective social comparisons such as to those that are unemployed can provides a limited resource to cope with experiences of disrespect for these workers by being able to claim their usefulness. Once more, by considering the primary habitus (Bourdieu, 1984) of these workers filtrating embedded beliefs such as the importance of work and the importance of providing for one's family, by being able to compare to the employed, they can reassert their own usefulness through attainment of symbolic capital (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). This form of symbolic capital, through attaining work and retrieving money to support their families certainly feeds in with the respect that they are able to attain with regards to familial and class group recognition (Honneth 1996), thus providing limited mobilisation towards a positive relation to self for these workers.

Conclusively then, despite the lack of self-esteem and self-respect afforded to these workers as a result of constraints such as being perceived as useless and economic insecurity and lack of autonomy, these workers struggle to attain symbolic and material resources required for a social uprising. Indeed, by taking into account critiques of Honneth's (1996) recognition theory, this study has been able to demonstrate an oversight with regards to lack of acknowledgement of social interactions and social institutions. Here, the workers were highly conscious of how social institutions such as the education system perpetuate the disrespectful experiences they face as a result of a deterrence away from manual work rendering their skills and abilities as useless. However, this study has also demonstrated, in accordance with McNay (2008, 2008b) , that by overlooking the relationship between power and subjectivity, both Fraser and Honneth are unable to holistically account for the strategies adopted by street cleaners and refuse workers to cope with experiences of disrespect. By incorporating an understanding of Bourdieu's (1984) habitus, this study highlights that these workers draw on internalised beliefs such as

the importance of hard work and providing for one's family which are legitimately recognised as part of working class culture, thus providing the workers with symbolic capital (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). By drawing and adhering to internalised beliefs with respect to primary class habitus (Bourdieu, 1984) in conjunction with the attainment of recognition and resultant respect these workers achieve from the love sphere of recognition (Honneth, 1996), this study provides explanation as to why street cleaners and refuse workers continue to engage in certain strategies in order to cope with disrespect and attempt to affirm a restricted positive relation to self. As such, while positioned within social structures which limit respect afforded to these workers, by drawing on symbolic capital these workers are able to draw more heavily on the respect afforded to them by family and community through engagement with strategies that align with the aforementioned internalised beliefs. Thus, while engagement with said strategies reinforces social structures which perpetuate experiences of disrespect for these workers, they can also provide limited mechanisms to cope with experiences of disrespect in the field of manual work by providing foundations to attain some form of self-actualisation.

6.6 Contributions and recommendations

6.6.1 Theoretical Contributions

In the first instance, to further understand the manifestation and experience of disrespect amongst these workers, the current research has shifted away from focusing on the ability of dirty workers to affirm a positive identity through the use of discursive strategies, towards an exploration of the relationship between disrespect and self-realisation. As such, Honneth's (1996) recognition theory was drawn on to provide further insights regarding the perpetuation of struggles for recognition amongst these workers.

By drawing on Honneth's (1996) recognition theory to explore the relationship between disrespect and self-realisation, what came to light was that despite the continual adoption of discursive strategies by these dirty workers, attainment of respect remains limited. Certainly, what is evident is that these workers struggle to attain relation to self in two spheres of recognition, the solidarity sphere and the legal sphere. With regards to the former, they are rendered as useless due to infiltrated societal ideologies, accompanied with new market demands which they are

powerless to achieve, solidifying them as such. Resultantly, they face struggles for self-esteem. While, in relation to the latter, economic insecurity and decreasing autonomy at work as a result of vast budget cuts and technological advancements confirm their struggles for self-respect. As such, contrary to the current understandings in the dirty work literature, experiences of disrespect fail to shape the use of discursive strategies, but rather perpetuate struggles for disrespect amongst these workers.

While Honneth (1996) would argue that experiences of disrespect equated to these workers in both the solidarity and legal sphere would fuel struggles for recognition in the form of social revolt for these workers, this study has highlighted why dirty workers continue to engage in particular strategies to cope with disrespect. Indeed, in light of calls to account for the role of power relations with regards to subjectivity and agency, the current research has explored not only experiences and manifestation of disrespect in accordance with Honneth's (1996) theory, but also incorporated understanding of Bourdieu's (1984) habitus to reveal how embedded presuppositions of these workers shape the ways in which they cope with disrespect. In so doing, what is evident is that in accordance with Honneth (1996), the workers in this study are afforded respect in the love sphere of recognition through intersubjective recognition with family, friends and working class communities within which they work. Therefore they are able to attain a basic self-confidence in light of respect afforded in said sphere. Additionally, these workers inhabit working class habitus whereby embedded presuppositions such as the importance of work and providing for family are internalised as legitimate. Resultantly, this study highlights that these workers draw on internalised beliefs which adhere to working class norms embedded as part of working class habitus, thus providing the workers with symbolic capital. By drawing on this symbolic capital which is legitimately recognised by their families, friends and the working class communities in which they serve, complemented by their restricted attainment of recognition and resultant respect these workers achieve from the love sphere of recognition, this study demonstrates that street cleaners and refuse workers continue to engage in discursive strategies as this provides a limited form of subjectivity and agency to cope with disrespect and affirm some social value.

6.6.2 Empirical Contributions

The current study has provided empirical contribution twofold. Firstly, following Honneth's (2007) calls, this research has further explored the recognition struggles of a group of workers occupying positions within a manual occupation. As such, this has provided further understanding of how those in manual work experience disrespect, as well as how these workers respond to struggles for recognition in light of processes of social exclusion. As such, this research has provided further insights into the experiences of an underexplored research group, that of street cleaners and refuse workers (Slutskaya et al., 2016), a group which is unseen and unheard in society. In so doing, this study has contributed in enhancing the voice of an overlooked occupational/social group.

Secondly, the current study has been able to provide empirical grounding for previous claims suggesting that in order to enhance understandings of moral struggles for recognition, there is a need to incorporate how power relations and embedded presuppositions shape relation to self. As such, in line with calls from McNay (2008, 2008b), the current research has explored not only experiences of recognition in accordance with Honneth's (1996) theory, but also embedded presuppositions of these workers in line with Bourdieu's (1984) habitus in order to further the understanding of management of disrespect amongst dirty workers.

6.6.3 Managerial contributions

From a managerial perspective, this study can aid managers of waste operatives in understanding how street cleaners and refuse workers struggle for respect, and how such struggles may be perpetuated through current working practices. Indeed, what is evident here for example is that with the introduction of increased technology, such as trackers in work vans, waste management operatives are experiencing a decline in autonomy at work due to perceived mistrust which is perpetuating further divides between management and frontline workers. Subsequently, the waste management operatives are also experiencing a decrease in autonomy to work as a result of vast budget cuts leading to an increase in staff redundancies, rendering the work as precarious. As such, this fuels feelings of insecurity and anxiety amongst these workers, which can also be perpetuating conflict within the organisation between colleagues. Taken hand in hand, both increased perceptions of mistrust and

decreasing job security amongst waste management operatives can be instigating a negative affective organisational culture whereby the quality and commitment to the work is impacted.

Additionally, the current research may help further manager's awareness of how experiences of disrespect for street cleaners and refuse workers are perpetuated as a result of being rendered as useless by members of the public. As such, this provides managers with further understanding as to how negative treatment by the public in the form of physical and verbal abuse, as well as negative stereotyping in reference to their affiliation with the council and the work that they engage with, illicit a deeper impact on self-realisation of the workers. Indeed, struggles for respect amongst these workers perpetuated through working practices and public perceptions of being useless can also highlight a possible impact on motivation of these workers. To improve the struggles for recognition amongst this group, as well as to mitigate the negative impact flailing motivation amongst these workers could have on society, this study outlines recommendations for practice and policy

6.6.4 Recommendations for practice and policy

In practice, managers of waste operatives could aim to be more aware of how underlying socio-cultural alliances may be impacting attainment of full-time contracts in a current market of economic insecurity and uncertainty. For example, managers of waste operatives could adapt and implement rigorous recruitment processes which ensure fair provision of a full-time contract. Additionally, said processes should be clearly conveyed and discussed with street cleaners and refuse workers to ensure they are aware that underlying socio-cultural processes are not determining attainment of full-time contracts. Indeed, facilitating more time and space for dialogue between frontline workers and operatives can also help mitigate the symbolic loss of representation felt amongst the street cleaners and refuse workers in light in decreasing trade union power. Such spaces can create opportunities for the workers to gain recognition through having a voice in the organisation, thus increasing their motivation and cultivating an open and progressive organisational culture.

Also, through this research highlighting the importance of work groups with relation to aiding how these workers cope with experiences of disrespect, managers could seek to reframe working practices by decreasing the solitary nature of this work. For

example they could seek to encourage more teamwork on each beat, rather than assigning workers to beats on a solitary basis.

Moreover, in order to increase the autonomy waste management operatives have within their work, managers could ensure that they are inclusive of the workers when determining the routes of the beat. Not only would this ensure that the workers themselves feel more respected as an autonomous individual by including them in discussions to shape their daily routines. This may also increase the efficiency of the work due to the on the ground knowledge the frontline workers will have with regards to the quickest and most effective routes to take when cleaning the streets, for example by knowing which roads are more or less busy at different times. This may also help better relations with the public as the workers could ensure they were less of an 'inconvenience' during busy periods.

An additional practical recommendation stemming from this study is for managers of waste operatives to further engage with and educate the public with regards to the significance of the work they do. Engagement with the public could involve entering schools to provide talks with children about the importance of waste collection, the day to day working schedule of these workers, as well as encouraging the students to work with the workers to clean the school grounds.

Furthermore, in light of the knowledge that the skills and attributes of these workers, and of manual workers in general are seen as redundant, better efforts could be made in order to ensure that provisions to alternative training are made more readily available for these workers. In the both the case of street cleaners and refuse workers, as well as those that engage in other forms of manual work, better access to education and training could not only increase the chance of self-realisation for the individual worker, but also better the credentials and performances of organisations.

Finally, in light of research indicating a continuing increase in the number of unskilled jobs, particularly cleaning work within the UK (Goos and Manning, 2007), adjacent to the increase of precarious employment as a result of market changes which is perpetuating struggles for disrespect amongst those engaging in this type of work; this study recommends an alteration to current regulation and policy in order to increase the job security for individuals working in unskilled work.

6.7 Limitations

While best efforts were made to make the sample in this study as large and as representative as possible, negotiating access with councils was problematic. Indeed it became very clear that as a result of redundancies and restructuring, many councils felt they had to decline participation in this study. In other cases, while initial contact with councils seemed to be successful in that they had agreed to participate in the research, I was sent on a wild goose chase whereby I was provided with the challenging task of trying to meet street cleaning operatives on their 'beat'. This proved to be a near impossibility considering the ever moving nature of the work and the lack of provision of a direct point of contact for the street cleaner in question. Despite follow up efforts to contact the operations manager, they came to no avail. Certainly, this demonstrated their lack of willingness to participate in the research and rendered this contact redundant. Nevertheless, the study still incorporated 32 interviews with 128 hours of participant observation with one council from North, South, East and West London. So while ideally, data from more councils would have been preferred, the current dataset still provides a representative sample.

Throughout the data collection process, when initially making face to face contact with those that had agreed to take part in the research, my presence was met with strong suspicion. Again, what came to light was that this initial suspicion arose from recent restructuring changes reinforcing the perception that I may have been planted there as a spy for the council. While conducting participant observation allowed the construction of good rapport between myself and the workers, which certainly bettered the quality of responses, a longitudinal study may have better sufficed in this case. Indeed, due to time restrictions, my time with the workers was limited and as such, while I was able to engage well with them, a longitudinal study may provide enhanced responses or indeed built trust with other workers at the council, thus increasing the number of participants willing to participate. Adoption of a longitudinal approach, due to its lengthy nature may have also mitigated difficulties faced in talking to the workers as a result of the increasing pressure placed on their work routines.

In concurrence with previous research with working class males, workers in this study struggled to express themselves in interviews (Slutskaya et al., 2012)

somewhat out of fear of saying the wrong thing. In some instances this was in relation to fear of losing their jobs due to a sudden 'cleansing' of the workforce through a high number of redundancies. While this was mitigated somewhat through the use of participant observation and the building of rapport, reiteratively the use of a longitudinal study may have increased said trust. In other cases however, fear of saying the wrong thing related to anxious feelings of not being good enough and not being able to provide quality data for the research. In addition, some street cleaners were migrant workers, of which many struggled to speak English. As such, the employment of a visual methodology may have mitigated this anxiety and provided unseen valuable insights. For example, the use of collaborative ethnographic documentary would have provided a visual depiction of the daily lives of the street cleaners (Morgan et al., 2018), thus reducing anxiety amongst the street cleaners and refuse workers with respect to saying the wrong thing as well as producing richer insights. Unfortunately, funding and time constraints (Parr, 2007) were stumbling blocks regarding the adoption of such a method. Nevertheless, the current study used field notes to mitigate this limitation. Moreover, considering the initial difficulties faced in acquiring willing councils to participate in this research during a challenging climate of restructuring, the use of a documentary may have further deterred participation and significantly reduced the sample size.

6.8 Future research

Suggestively then, in light of limitations in this study, future research should seek to adopt a dataset that not only includes street cleaners and refuse workers across London, but across a wider geographical area such as across the UK. In doing so, further insights may be sought with respect to the recognition struggles of street cleaners and refuse workers and an understanding of how place may affect struggles for recognition of these workers could be explored. Additionally, in order to further demonstrate struggles for recognition amongst those in physically tainted occupations, other low skilled manual occupational contexts could be explored.

While the current study has already depicted the benefits and possible limitations in adopting a longitudinal study in this context, future research could seek to adopt both a longitudinal study and a collaborative ethnographic documentary in conjunction. Not only would this serve to build a strong foundation with regards to trust and

rapport amongst this group of workers, it may also mitigate their struggles to speak, thus potentially providing further valuable insights into the worker's struggle for recognition. Adoption of this dual method may also aid in further exploration of a key research finding in this study in that struggles for recognition amongst this group have intensified in light of market changes.

Moreover, further research may seek to provide a comparison of the recognition experiences of migrant workers and British workers in this particular context. As such, this may help shed further light on how individuals from different countries draw on personalised embedded beliefs to cope with experiences of disrespect. Certainly, while the class system is arguably ingrained within British society, and in this research embedded class beliefs played a significant influence into how workers cope with experiences of disrespect, the same may not be the case for individuals from different cultures. As such, comparing the experiences of migrant workers and British workers may provide fresh understandings in this respect.

6.9 Summary
This chapter has provided a discussion of the findings in relation to existing literature. In so doing, this chapter has addressed the research aim and objectives of this study, that is, to shed light on how dirty workers draw on certain strategies to manage disrespect. As such, this has highlighted contributions to research on dirty work and struggles for respect.

Firstly, through a shift of focus away from positive identity affirmation towards a focus on self-actualisation in line with Honneth's (1996) recognition theory, this research has provided a contribution with respect to further understanding of how those in physically tainted occupations experience disrespect. Indeed, what is revealed here is that contrary to previous dirty work literature arguing that struggles for respect mobilise the use of discursive strategies, subsequently providing resources to construct a positive identity; despite the use of these strategies, those is physically tainted occupations still struggle with respect due to hindrance to self-realisation.

Secondly, by complementing these findings with an understanding of structural power relations in line with Bourdieu's (1984) habitus, this study provides explanation as to why those in physically tainted occupations may continue to engage in certain

strategies in order to cope with disrespect. As such, this study argues that street cleaners and refuse workers are restricted to drawing on these discursive resources due to the limited respect with which they are afforded. Indeed, by drawing on symbolic capital (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992) which is legitimately recognised by families, friends and the working class communities in which they serve, complemented by the attainment of recognition and respect in Honneth's (1996) love sphere of recognition workers; adjacent to struggles for respect in the solidarity sphere and legal sphere renders those in physically tainted occupations with a limited form of agency and subjectivity through engagement with discursive strategies.

In conclusion, this chapter has presented further insights, both of a theoretical and practical nature. In reference to the former, this study has contributed to current dirty work literature with respect to how dirty workers cope with disrespect through a more holistic understanding regarding how struggles for disrespect amongst those in physically tainted occupations is presented. While in reference to the latter, this chapter has provided insights to managers of cleaning operatives with regards to the experiences of disrespect faced by those in physically tainted occupations, whilst also providing recommendations for improving the experiences for these workers. Additionally, this study has provided a recommendation for alternation to regulation and policy regarding precarious employment of low skilled jobs. Finally, this chapter has addressed the limitations of this research and provided recommendations for future research in the field.

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Appendix

Appendix A – Field notes table

Date	Time	Location/situation	Details of operations	Sights/sounds/textures/smells	Dialogue/insider language	Questions arisen from site
North Council						

Appendix B – Interview guide

Job title/duration of work

What made you go for the job

Likes and dislikes of current work – how could you change dislikes? Why not?

Any changes in work tasks – everyday routines – general norms of the work

Motivation

Interactions with public

Previous work (as above)

Educational past

Cuts to council services

How have cuts affected the work

Changes in management?

Changes in pay?

Pressure?

Changes in motivation?

Changes in public reaction?

Changes in pride of the job?
 Parents work and educational past

Where you live and have lived

Future plans – what? why or why not? How?

What would you like to do/be? Work, live, interests and why not do it?

Social networks - where do friends work/come from

Do you talk about work with them – who else do you talk to about work – what do they think

Where do you socialise

What interests do you have?

Holidays?

Brunel Business School
Research Ethics

Participant Information Sheet

Title of Research

"After neoliberalism: waste collectors, equality and recognition"

You are being invited to take part in a research study. Before you decide whether or not to take part, it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will be involved in the research. Please take time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. Ask me/us if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information. Take your time to decide whether or not you wish to take part. Thank you.

What is the purpose of the study?
Within my research, I am looking to explore the work experiences of waste collectors across London. I intend to find out about participants' job histories, what they like and dislike about their job roles as well as changes in work routines that they may have faced.

Why have I been chosen?
In order to be eligible to participate in this study, you must be 18 years and over and working within the waste collection industry in London. You have been selected because you meet the criteria set for this study, based on the information you have given to me during our conversation/correspondence.

Do I have to take part?
Participation is entirely voluntary; therefore it is up to you to decide whether or not you want to take part in this research. If you do decide to take part, you will be given this information sheet to keep. If you decide to take part, you are still free to withdraw at any time, without providing a reason for withdrawal.

What will happen to me if I take part?
The researcher will work alongside participants for a full working day. During this time participants will take part in a semi-structured interview. The interview will be based on the experiences of participants within their workplace, job histories and social background. The interview will be recorded and typed up, ready for analysis and conclusions. Approximate duration of the interview will be 20 – 30 minutes. Also, the researcher will take notes about the above topics throughout the working day. Notes will be typed up at the end of each day.

What do I have to do?
You are requested to take part in an observation study, where the researcher will take notes; as well as a 20-30 minute interview.

What are the possible disadvantages and risks of taking part?
There are unlikely to be any risks, the only disadvantage would be giving up some of your valuable time to take part in an interview (circa 20-30 minutes).

What are the possible benefits of taking part?
For participants, there are no direct benefits as such. This study will help advance current understanding of recognition research while also potentially increasing general understanding of class inequalities within the UK.

What if something goes wrong?
If you would like to submit a complaint, please contact the Chair of the College of Business, Arts and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee at Brunel University London.

Will my taking part in this study be kept confidential?
Feedback will remain anonymous (your answers cannot be traced back to you) through separation of contact details from the main dataset and by using participant codes, rather than names. Data collected will be stored safely on secure servers and files will be password protected. Also, data will remain confidential and shall not be used other than for the purpose of this study.

What will happen to the results of the research study?
The responses gathered from this project will be transcribed and coded (using Nvivo software). Thereafter, coded data will be analysed using thematic analysis (the researcher will search for themes and recognise relationships) to modify current recognition theory in order to increase understanding of recognition. The results are likely to be published by August 2017. You will not be identified in any report/publication. If you are interested about the findings of this study, please contact me using the details given at the bottom of this page.

Who is organising/funding the research?
The research has been organised by Rachel Bethan Morgan, in conjunction with Brunel University

What are the indemnity arrangements?
Brunel provides appropriate insurance cover for research which has received ethical approval

Who has reviewed the study?
This study has been reviewed by Brunel University London's Research Ethics Committee.

Research Integrity at Brunel University London
"Brunel University is committed to compliance with the Universities UK [Research Integrity Concordat](). You are entitled to expect the highest level of integrity from our researchers during the course of their research" - Brunel University London, Research Ethics Committee

Contact for Further Information and Complaints
Researcher: Rachel Bethan Morgan, studying for a Doctor of Philosophy (Management) at Brunel University London**.** Email: [rachel.morgan@brunel.ac.uk]() , please feel free to contact me, should you have any queries/suggestions or if you would like to find out about the results of the study.

PhD Supervisor: Dr. Raffaella Valsecchi, Brunel University London. Email: [raffaella.valsecchi@brunel.ac.uk]()

Thank you for taking part in this study! Your responses are very valuable to us ☺