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*Twice* Migrated | *Twice* Displaced

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# Introduction

As a teenager, I accompanied my family to Toronto from Kolkata in 1972. We intended to settle as immigrants for about five years, after which we would return to India. Since then, we have visited India many times but never contemplated returning permanently. In those days, the Air India flights made several stops, in the Middle East, Europe, and North America. One vivid memory from that first journey to Canada is the sight of hundreds of men who were travelling to the Middle East. Their manners were different from those of us urbanites. Many squatted on the floors of waiting rooms at the airport and carried unusual hand luggage, commonly seen on railway platforms in India, such as bedding and shiny new buckets and cooking utensils. It was explained to me that they were migrants travelling from villages in India to the Persian Gulf countries to take on labouring jobs. Their excitement and animated faces were etched in my mind. These migrants did not have their family members with them. I saw no women and children accompanying them, whereas we, future immigrants to Canada, were travelling as a family, although my mother had preceded my father, my brother, and me a few months earlier and was staying first with her brother and later her sister. Today, I am aware that migrants, many from semi-rural areas, to various Middle Eastern and Gulf countries spend years working in a variety of jobs, mostly living in crowded quarters provided by their employers near their workplaces, saving up most of their earnings and sending it home to their families, whom they see only infrequently. The money earned in these destination countries goes toward paying for weddings and children's education, buying land, and building big homes. The memory of this airport encounter was buried in my mind until I began writing this book.

Fast forward to 2004. I began to encounter people in the Indian community in Toronto who had arrived in Canada via Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates (UAE), collectively referred to as the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) countries (henceforth referred to in this book as “GCC,” “Gulf countries,” or “Gulf”). I wondered why they had followed the route that they had in coming to Canada. Is this what was being referred to as transnationalism? Thus began my exploratory study of this newer group of South Asians, whom I refer to in this book as “Gulf South Asians,” or “twice migrated Gulf South Asians,” or “twice migrated Gulf Indians and Gulf Pakistanis,” borrowing the phrase “twice migrated” from Parminder Bhachu (1985), who had written about East African Sikh settlers in Britain. Although I initially focused on those originating in India, my later exploration included talking to some Gulf Pakistani Canadians as they followed the same trajectory. The term “South Asians” in the context of Canada is commonly understood to encompass those originating in India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, and other nations in the region, but my primary focus in this book is on those coming from India and Pakistan.<sup>1</sup> I eventually realized, after having done this research, that many of the twice migrated subsequently engage in a variety of recursive and circular migrations between India/Pakistan, the Gulf countries, and Canada, and are more aptly described as “multiple” or “serial” migrants.

Sandeep Kumar Agrawal (2016, 676) shows through the analysis of census data that between 1980 and 2005, 12.7 percent of all immigrants entering Canada were twice migrants, with 1996 being one of the peak years, when the proportion was 15.7 percent. A significant minority of immigrants to Canada from South Asia are twice migrants, also described as “step migrants,” that is, having arrived through a second country, chiefly from the Gulf. Agrawal shows that Indian twice migrants peaked in 1982 at 20 percent, and hovered around 10 percent in the subsequent fifteen years. Pakistani twice migrants peaked in 1982 also at 30 percent, with 20 percent in 1995–96 and settling at less than 20 percent in the next fifteen years (*ibid.*, 677–78). Note that Agrawal’s numbers include twice migrant South Asians who arrived via the United Kingdom and India (for Pakistanis who were born there prior to Partition), cohorts that are not included in my study. Nonetheless, the peaks in twice migrant flows into Canada indicate political upheaval in South Asia and/or other countries of residence prior to the migrants’ arrival in Canada, such as the Gulf War in 1991. Agrawal (2016) notes that the largest

numbers of step migrant Indians arrived via the UAE, while those from Pakistan arrived via Saudi Arabia and the UAE.

There are other groups of twice and thrice migrated South Asian immigrants in Canada that are not part of this study, such as those whose ancestors had settled in the Caribbean, East Africa, Fiji, or the United Kingdom. Unlike these cohorts, what made the Gulf South Asian twice migrants in Canada distinctive was their double displacement, that is, two migrations within their lifetime. This was different from the generations who had been transported to the Caribbean, Fiji, and various African countries predominantly as indentured labourers in colonial times, and who subsequently made these destinations their homes, settling there for two or more generations. In contemporary times, many of these same people have migrated to Canada, Australia, the United Kingdom, and other countries. Norman Buchignani's (1980, 1983) studies of Indo-Fijians are among those dealing with these groups in Canada. Parin Dossa's (2006) Ismaili Muslim East African South Asians are also among this group. Some of Bhachu's (1985) twice and thrice migrated East African Sikhs in the United Kingdom subsequently migrated to the United States and Canada and thus are also part of this contingent. The people I am referring to as twice migrated people via the Gulf are professionals or knowledge workers who had originally moved there predominantly in the 1980s and 1990s in the context of its oil boom and associated industrial development, and who subsequently migrated to Canada during the late 1980s up to the present. There is continuity among these different migrant cohorts, however, since migrations of professional workers from South Asia to the Gulf are still under "unfree" conditions set up by a system known as *kafala*. This book explores the experiences of Gulf South Asian twice migrant professionals and asks the following questions: How do their racialization, gender, and class positions in India/Pakistan, the Gulf, and Canada impact on their transnational lives? How do migration and settlement decisions within each household relate to an assessment of anticipated advantages, disadvantages, and priorities at each step of their migration trajectory? How do they surmount or minimize the disadvantages while pursuing what they have prioritized in making a migration decision? Finally, how do these decisions and practices impact on their sense of identity and belonging in Canada?

Through in-depth interviews, I found that the Gulf South Asian twice migrants use transnationalism strategically to maximize what appears to them as the advantages of Canadian "passport security" (Ley 2010),

universal primary and secondary education and health care, multiculturalism and relative equality, relatively low-cost post-secondary education, and their desire for belonging and legal security, all the while minimizing or managing what appears to them as the disadvantages of moving from one place to another, most importantly the downward mobility experienced in Canada. The household emerged as a crucial cross-border space in which migration, employment, and household strategies were made, involving transnational living. Family migratory plans and decisions were made within gendered parameters set by each household embedded within each nation-state, for example, through its national (im)migration and citizenship policies, and concomitant regulation of its labour market to fuel a global capitalist system generated within dominant ideologies and discourses of gender, colonialism, and race. Their decision to migrate for the second time to Canada required them to sacrifice their high tax-free salaries in the Gulf, which had enabled them to accumulate savings in the first place, enabling them to move to Canada as well as to compensate for the anticipated unemployment and underemployment due to discrimination in the labour market. In addition, some households were split up and intimate relationships sacrificed for different periods of time, ranging from a year to several years, and in some cases indefinitely, to make up for the lack of adequate incomes and employment security due to devaluation of professional qualifications, the effects of racial discrimination in the labour market, and resultant underemployment. Flexible, transnational households enabled transgenerational class mobility, averting temporarily or permanently systemic racial discrimination in the labour market, and fulfilled social reproductive activities, such as caring for and rearing of young children and ensuring their education and careers, while maintaining traditional gender relations in their households. This study illustrates that neo-liberal and racially discriminatory labour markets in both the Gulf and Canada create conditions not only for flexible labour but also for flexible families/households. Although this has been discussed by other authors in relation to migrant workers, such as caregivers (Arat-Koc 2001; Bakan and Stasiulis 1997; Jakubowski 1997), it has not been shown among highly skilled professional immigrant workers. This book suggests a widening and deepening of global capitalism's influence on social reproduction and family formation among middle-class skilled migrants. Children, fathers, and mothers among Gulf South Asians traverse Canadian, Gulf, Indian, and Pakistani borders for social production and reproduction, particularly children's schooling.

Although members of a few households in which one or both spouses found employment commensurate with their educational and professional qualifications identified as “Canadians,” most adult individuals interviewed were ambivalent in terms of their identities and sense of belonging in Canada. Youth interviewed were flexible but also ambivalent in their identities; a few expressed hybridity, while some adults and youth who experienced multiple setbacks expressed reactive ethnic identities and extreme ambivalence to the point of wanting to return to the Gulf. This contrasts with an earlier survey that showed a strong sense of belonging among South Asians in Canada, although that survey also showed a strong sense of belonging to their ethnic/cultural group (Statistics Canada 2003; Tran, Kaddatz, and Allard 2005). My findings of ambivalence and reactive ethnic identities in some youths also contrast with more qualitative research findings by Baljit Nagra (2017), who interviewed Muslim youth in post-9/11 Canada.

This book illuminates different trajectories of migration in that it departs from the “two-country framework” of transnationalism studies, which involves a sending country and a receiving country. I show that some migrants may return temporarily or maintain intimate relations across borders, while living away from each other for significant periods of time for schooling or for paid work. Their stories are similar to those found in studies of transnational middle-class and business families from Hong Kong, Taiwan, Mainland China, and India conducted by David Ley (2010), Lan-Hung Nora Chiang (2008), Guida Man (2015), and Amrita Hari (2015) in Canada, and Indian IT families in Australia as described by Xiang Biao (2004) and G. Hugo (2008).

A word should be said about the term “middle class” to provide more clarity to its usage in the context of this study. In recent years, it seems to have become a catch-all for people, whether they are part of the precarious working class or part of the more privileged segments of professional workers, also known as knowledge workers. In terms of the everyday use of this nebulous descriptor, it is important to note that Gulf South Asian professionals are privileged workers by dint of their cultural and economic capital. However, as displaced racialized workers in Canada, their privilege is often made invisible in the context of the devaluation of professional credentials. There is a whole literature on different definitions of class location, most significantly the Marxist one, which structurally locates individuals in relation to the capitalist mode of production within a social formation. We will not get into the intricacies of this literature here; suffice it to say that within a Marxist



framework, Gulf South Asians would be part of the working classes, albeit among its privileged segments, and a minority would be newly minted small entrepreneurs with home-based businesses in Canada.<sup>2</sup> It is important to note that migrants and immigrants, by dint of their transnational experience, embody two or three different social locations as they move across borders and coexist within national and transnational social fields. The migration of bodies is accompanied by the transportation of their class locations and their associated dispositions (Bourdieu 1987, 2001), while also being mediated by intersecting social locations of gender, religion, and race (Das Gupta et al. 2014). According to the 2016 Canadian census (Griffith 2018), South Asian men in Ontario aged 25–34 with university degrees had a 6.3 percent unemployment rate, compared with 4.1 percent for “non-visible minority” men.<sup>3</sup> The unemployment rate for South Asian women in Ontario was 12.4 percent, compared with 4.9 percent for non-visible minority women. Average annual employment income for South Asian men was \$44,793, while South Asian women earned \$33,054 in Ontario, compared with \$59,103 for those who identified as non-racialized men<sup>4</sup> and \$40,811 for non-racialized women (Block and Galabuzi 2018). While these numbers clearly demonstrate the subordination of South Asians by race and gender vis-à-vis whites in the labour market, it is also notable that they are in a better position vis-à-vis Indigenous Peoples and other racialized groups such as Blacks, Arabs, West Asians, and South Americans (Griffith 2018; Block and Galabuzi 2018).

For the twice migrated from India to Canada, on the basis of his statistical analysis of available data from 1985–89, 1990–95, 1996–2000, and 2001–03, the most recent found, Agrawal concluded that for the Indian group, twice migrants experienced less poverty (i.e., earning less than \$15,000 annually) than direct immigrants, 29.4 and 39.9 percent, respectively, meaning that roughly 10 percent more of the direct migrants from India experienced poverty. However, these poverty figures are not insignificant for a highly skilled professional group. The lower proportion of poverty found among twice migrated Indian immigrants compared with direct Indian immigrants reflects the pattern found by Bhachu (1985) in the United Kingdom in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Agrawal’s and Bhachu’s findings confirm those of other studies of twice migrated peoples (Greenwood and Trabka 1991; Greenwood and Young 1997).

The picture was different for the twice migrated Pakistani cohort: 48.6 percent of direct immigrants experienced poverty versus 50.3 percent for the twice migrated – that is, roughly 1 percent more of the latter

experienced poverty. On the other hand, a greater proportion of twice migrated Pakistanis than direct immigrants earned over \$100,000; most came through the United Kingdom, followed by Saudi Arabia and (very close behind) the UAE. A slightly higher percentage of twice migrated Indians compared with twice migrated Pakistanis earned more than \$100,000 when they came through the United Kingdom, but significantly higher percentages (compared with percentages of Pakistanis) of those Indians who came through Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, and the UAE earned over \$100,000. One thing these numbers show is that significant proportions of twice migrated South Asians (from the Gulf and elsewhere) experience poverty in Canada (albeit Pakistanis more than Indians) despite having higher levels of education, skills, and language fluency than direct immigrants.

In another sense, South Asian immigrants in Canada today are indeed in the middle class since their location transnationally in their countries of origin is privileged and their orientation, tastes and consciousness, and class habitus (Bourdieu 1987), have been transported as part of their baggage even though they may be underemployed or earning low incomes in Canada. Many Gulf South Asians are in this contradictory situation. Before landing in Canada, they were employed in occupations where they managed and supervised workers on behalf of business owners, earning high salaries and enjoying luxurious lives, with some also being self-employed. They possess high levels of education and skills, which, however, are devalued upon their landing in Canada. They are in a middle-class location employed as highly skilled professional workers but some could be devalued and underemployed workers, as Agrawal's (2016) study shows. Indeed, 21.3 percent of South Asians in Ontario faced poverty despite having university degrees, according to 2016 census data, compared with 11.5 percent of their non-racialized counterparts (Block and Galabuzi 2018).

A final word on the use of the term "South Asian." I use this term for convenience while recognizing its ambiguity, internal diversity, and inequities (Ashutosh 2008, 2015; Ameeriar 2017). The different labour market experiences of Indian and Pakistani migrants found by Agrawal's (2016) research discussed earlier show the importance of disaggregating diasporic categories such as South Asian.

## **Methods**

The present study is based on exploratory in-depth interviews initiated with individual acquaintances, which later snowballed into a purposive

sample (Strauss and Corbin 1990). Each interviewee has been assigned a pseudonym and their identities therefore remain confidential. Two interviewees turned out to be key informants because they provided a more in-depth, reflective, and analytical perspective on their experiences, which enabled me to better understand them within the larger socio-economic, political, and cultural context. Moreover, my continued association and friendship with them provided me with an ethnographic and longitudinal window into the lived experiences of Gulf South Asians in Canada over time.

One of my key interviewees was Zakia, who had been referred to me by a friend. After engaging in conversation with her, I learned that not only was she a part of the twice migrated Gulf South Asian group but she was also in a split-family situation. She was articulate and insightful, and we immediately developed a rapport. I ended up interviewing her on multiple occasions in her home. She was extremely receptive to my research and, since she had an academic background herself, volunteered to help me with it and provided several contacts for future interviews. Her referrals were invaluable. Zakia fed me a delicious meal each time I interviewed her, and eventually became a friend.

I was intrigued by the split families among the twice migrated Gulf South Asians, and I continued trying to reach more of them. This became quite a challenge. I decided to explore a region of the city of Toronto that I had been told had an enclave of many twice migrated people, a fact later confirmed by Agrawal (2016). I contacted community organizations that operated in the area, and one of them agreed to help. At the organization's suggestion, I designed a flier to reach out to the twice migrated group, particularly split families, promising an honorarium of \$20 each for their participation in an interview. As a result of this outreach, I was referred to a woman living in the area who, on her own initiative, arranged seven hour-long interviews scheduled back to back in her home on the same day. Although this was extremely exhausting and not an ideal time allocation for the in-depth interviews I had been conducting so far, I did not want to pass up this opportunity, and interviewed seven women there. I was able to use only four interviews, however. Two of the other interviewees were not twice migrated in the way I had been focusing on, while the third's split-family situation did not involve a Gulf country.

I next reached out to a long-time community worker in the city, hoping that he would know of twice migrated Gulf South Asians, particularly since there was a concentration of South Asian newcomers in his area.

He put me in touch with Kishwar Jahan, a twice migrated Gulf South Asian woman who is also a community worker and educator, and who had lived in a split-family situation in the past. In my initial email, I inquired whether she knew of other twice migrated individuals whom I could interview. She replied that she knew of many such people, but they were apprehensive about talking to strangers regarding their situation. She was my second key interviewee.

Like Zakia, Kishwar Jahan offered to conduct the interviews herself on my behalf. The \$20 honorarium turned out to be a great incentive. Apparently, she had already floated the idea at a social gathering and several people had agreed to participate. She became my *de facto* research assistant. Fortunately, she had experience in this type of work and understood ethical considerations in research. I briefed her on the interview guide and consent form, and she conducted eight interviews, including several couples. Three of the eight spoke of living in split-family arrangements, including one who was in such an arrangement during the interview. The interviews conducted by Kishwar were not as detailed as I had wanted them to be, as she made them very structured and apparently did not allow her interviewees to elaborate on their answers. I probed her for further details to understand the contexts from which interviewees responded, and she patiently obliged me with the information. Overall, however, they were much less detailed than the earlier interviews I had conducted.

Thirty-four interviews were conducted over a ten-year period from 2004 to 2014.<sup>5</sup> Twelve interviewees were men and 22 were women (Table 1). Ten were Hindus, 20 were Muslims, and 4 were Christians. Their ages varied from 21 to 50s. I interviewed some youth, the youngest of whom was 16 at the time of the interview, as it had become clear that their perspectives and identities were quite different from those of their parents. I did not inquire about the exact ages of earlier interviewees as it was awkward to request such information of acquaintances and friends; their ages were therefore derived from their stories and from calculations based on years of departure and/or arrival. Often, interviewees would voluntarily mention their age to elucidate their migration story. This vagueness around age was rectified in later interviews.

In Table 1, the column titled “Gulf country” lists the GCC country from which these migrants came to Canada. Three came from Bahrain (Dibyendu, Sheila, and Dr. X); 7 from Saudi Arabia (Imran, Uzma, Shireen, Saima, Sana, Saleem, and Haya); 1 each from Oman (Razia), Qatar (Kishwar Jahan), and Kuwait (Masood); and 21 through UAE/Dubai (John, Teresa,

*Table 1***Overview of interviewees in the study**

Name	Sex	Age (est.)	Religion	Origin	Arrival in Gulf	Gulf country	Arrival in Canada	Interview date
Dibyendu	M	40s	Hindu	India	1991	Bahrain	1999	May 25, 2005
Sheila	F	40s	Hindu	India	1991	Bahrain	1999	May 25, 2005
John	M	40s	Christian	India	1995	UAE/Dubai	2001	June 3, 2005
Teresa	F	30s	Christian	India	1995	UAE/Dubai	2001	June 3, 2005
Savitri	F	30s	Hindu	India	1993	UAE/Dubai	2004	June 29, 2005
Mahesh	M	40s	Hindu	India	1993	UAE/Dubai	2004	June 29, 2005
Krishna	F	40s	Hindu	India	1989	UAE/Dubai	1998	June 30, 2005
Hemant	M	49	Hindu	India	1991	UAE/Dubai	2004	June 6, 2005
Kakoli	F	30s	Hindu	India	1998	UAE/Dubai	2001	July 12, 2005
Imran	M	24	Muslim	Pakistan	1983	Saudi Arabia	2001	July 20, 2007
Uzma	F	21	Muslim	Pakistan	1983	Saudi Arabia	2001	April 19, 2008
Zakia	F	55	Muslim	India	1988	UAE/Dubai	2006	April 20, 2009; March 6, 2013
Sushma	F	23	Hindu	India	1988	UAE/Dubai	2001	November 5, 2009
Mariam	F	23	Muslim	India	2000	UAE/Dubai	2003	August 4, 2010
Jaffer	M	23	Muslim	India/Africa	1977	UAE/Dubai	2005	April 15, 2010
Sabiha	F	22	Muslim	India	1988	UAE/Dubai	2006	August 5, 2010
Arif	M	16	Muslim	India	1988	UAE/Dubai	2006	August 5, 2010

Mohamed	M	23	Muslim	India	1987	UAE/Dubai	2004	August 17, 2010
Shireen	F	36	Muslim	India/Nigeria	1993	Saudi Arabia	2007	April 23, 2011
Devika	F	40s	Hindu	India	1989	UAE/Dubai	2001	June 9, 2011
Nandita	F	50s	Hindu	India	2000	UAE/Dubai	2008	June 22, 2011
Razia	F	30s	Muslim	Pakistan	2004	Oman	2008	November 15, 2013
Bilquis	F	40s	Muslim	India	1998	UAE/Dubai	2005	January 27, 2014
Tayaba	F	50s	Muslim	India	1996	UAE/Dubai	2009	January 27, 2014
Salma	F	50s	Muslim	Pakistan	1997	UAE/Dubai	2002	January 27, 2014
Kishwar Jahan	F	50s	Muslim	Pakistan	2002	Qatar	2002	September 8, 2014
Samantha	F	46	Christian	India	1968	UAE/Dubai	2005	September 27, 2014
Dr.X	M	50	Muslim	Pakistan	1996	Bahrain	2010	September 24, 2014
Saima	F	34	Muslim	Pakistan	1994	Saudi Arabia	2013	September 29, 2014
Sana	F	36	Muslim	Pakistan	2004	Saudi Arabia	2014	October 3, 2014
James	M	53	Christian	India	1983	UAE/Dubai	2005	September 26, 2014
Saleem	M	38	Muslim	Pakistan	2003	Saudi Arabia	2013	September 21, 2014
Haya	F	30	Muslim	Pakistan	1983	Saudi Arabia	1996	October 18, 2014
Masood	M	50	Muslim	Pakistan	1964	Kuwait	2004	October 21, 2014

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Savitri, Mahesh, Krishna, Hemant, Kakoli, Zakia, Sushma, Mariam, Jaffer, Sabiha, Arif, Mohamed, Devika, Nandita, Bilquis, Tayaba, Salma, Samantha, James). Although I have noted only their last point of residence in the Gulf before they came to Canada, it is important to remember that many of them moved around among different GCC states, different cities within the same state, and different countries, according to shifts in their employment situation or that of their spouse or father. For instance, Zakia lived in three different cities in Saudi Arabia before moving to Dubai (UAE), following her husband's employment trajectory. From Dubai, she and her family ultimately moved to Toronto. Similarly, Samantha said that she was taken as an infant by her parents from India to Abu Dhabi, was raised and completed her early schooling in Dubai, obtained her higher education in Europe, lived in Sharjah, Ras al Khaima, and Al Ain, and finally returned to Dubai after getting married. It was from Dubai that she came to Canada.

Samantha was not the only one who was in the Gulf as an infant and then returned there as an adult after marriage. Saima was also taken as an infant to Qatar by her parents. At age 20, she and her sisters were taken back to Pakistan by her mother, to live there while her father continued working in Qatar. She returned to Saudi Arabia after marriage. Kishwar Jahan said she was in Qatar with her parents and sister till grade three. Like Saima, she and her sister were taken back to Pakistan by her mother while her father continued to work in Qatar. She obtained her higher education in the United States. After her arranged marriage, her husband commuted between Dubai and Pakistan as a country manager of an IT company in Dubai while she continued to live in Pakistan. She was the principal applicant to Canada owing to her American education. What we see in all these narratives is the prevalence of the "twice migrated" and "multiple migrant" phenomenon between Pakistan/India and the Gulf. The trajectories of circular migration, sometimes three or four times in a lifetime, reflects gender, family tradition, and social reproduction strategies, and is recursive, ongoing, and geared to key life stages such as birth, school completion, marriage, childbirth, children's schooling, and so on.

As mentioned earlier, a few of my informants were from the same family (i.e., spouses, children), which revealed different perspectives based on gender and generation. For example, Dibyendu and Sheila, John and Teresa, Mahesh and Krishna, James and Samantha, Saima and Saleem, and Kishwar Jahan and Masood are married couples. Imran/

Uzma and Sabiha/Arif are pairs of siblings. Interviews with the couples proved to be very helpful because, as mentioned earlier, they enabled me to understand decision making and strategizing in which gendered divisions of labour around employment and social reproduction were central. These were negotiated between spouses, rather than decided singly by individuals. Thus, for interviews where only one member of the married couple was available, I made sure to ask questions about the activities of the absent spouse to derive a more gendered understanding of strategies that had been adopted by the household. Out of the thirty-four interviewees, fourteen had lived or were living in split-family formations at the time of interview.

### **Structure of This Book**

**Chapter 1** will provide a framework of the larger political economy of a globalized capitalist world system within which migrations of South Asians have been taking place through a corridor spanning India, Pakistan, the Gulf countries, and Canada. Transnational ways of being and belonging, gender, racialization, neo-racism, class, and coloniality are concepts that will be discussed.

In **Chapter 2**, I explore circumstances in the original sending countries, India and Pakistan, that caused the research participants to undertake the first migration out to the Gulf, and their transnational practices in the Gulf. I also outline the participants' experiences in Gulf countries to provide an understanding of their main reasons for undertaking the second migration to Canada. This is done through personal narratives as well as references to secondary literature.

**Chapter 3** describes life in Canada through personal narratives, including that of transnational living between the Gulf states, Canada, and South Asia. The focus is on the process of settling down in Toronto, in which finding a job is a central component and a challenge given a neo-liberal global capitalist labour market, devaluation of credentials, and discrimination in the labour market. The experiences of post-9/11 racism and cultural alienation on the part of Muslims are also discussed, as well as the effect of these processes on the emergence of a range of immigrant household formations. Using interview material of women and children whose significant others work in the Gulf, **Chapter 3** also discusses what is involved in being transnational mothers, wives, and children.

**Chapter 4** demarcates the identities felt, lived, and expressed by twice migrated Gulf South Asian transnationals. Through examination of their



narratives contextualized within secondary literature, ways of belonging of the twice migrated are traced through their social practices in Canada as well as transnationally, beyond Canadian borders.

Chapter 5 presents an analysis of the findings discussed in Chapters 2, 3, and 4, with a particular focus on race, gender, religion, and class dynamics in the transnational field. I discuss how middle-class Indian and Pakistani professional transmigrants on the move through at least three countries in their lifetime develop their subjectivities, using their agency to cope with the pressures of being racialized first as non-citizens in the Gulf countries and then as internationally educated and non-white in Canada, all positions subjecting them to racial discrimination in the labour market. Many strategize to navigate around these experiences through diverse forms of gendered transnational living, including “splitting” their households, which in turn shape their identity and sense of attachment and belonging in Canada.

In the Conclusion, the main contributions of this study are summarized, the larger implications of the findings are indicated, and areas of future research are suggested.

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