UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

Faculty of Humanities

English

I Cast no Shadow:

A Creative and Critical Exploration of Dubai's South Asian Denizen TCK Experience

by

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ABSTRACT

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES

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Dubai Calling and other Stories (Part 1) is a collection of twelve fictional short stories inspired by the experience of growing up as non-Emirati in Dubai, United Arab Emirates (UAE). It features both male and female protagonists, all of whom hail from the countries of South Asia. The stories portray the everyday lives of these individuals, emphasising the impact of living long term in a place they cannot legally call a permanent home.

The accompanying Critical Review (Part 2) provides an understanding of the Dubai non-Emirati experience. The children of families that reside temporarily outside their passport countries have been defined as Third Culture Kids (TCKs). Research detailing the benefits and challenges of growing up in a dynamic third culture has grown over the years. With its 202 nationalities, Dubai is a unique environment. While the term TCK is increasingly being used to describe the children who grow up in Dubai, it does not fully describe the non-Emiratis who live there long term, but do not have the legal right to naturalise. Although these individuals experience many of the benefits and challenges of a TCK lifestyle, they are more akin to migrants, and live in Dubai in a state of enforced unbelonging. In this thesis, it is argued that these individuals are better described by the term 'denizen TCK', as the word 'denizen' reflects the nature of living in a place long term, while also connoting the secondary status of such individuals.

The research conducted for this project studied the impact of growing up as a denizen TCK, utilising a sequential mixed methods approach. A survey was conducted which was answered by eighty-three respondents who hail from nineteen countries, a majority of whom hold South Asian passports. Analysis of the results highlighted a number of themes: Dubai as home, identity confusion, the advantages of Dubai's multicultural environment, and the disadvantages of the lack of a route to naturalisation and racism. Further research was conducted, in the form of semi-structured interviews. Four female TCKs who grew up in Dubai were interviewed. The themes that recurred were that of the impact of Dubai on identity and belonging, and the effect of repatriation to one's passport country. This critical exploration of the Dubai TCK experience informed the redrafting of the creative project, its recurring themes guiding the process and sharpening the stories.

Contents

Academic Thesis: Declaration of Authorship

I, AIYSHA JAHAN,
declare that this thesis and the work presented in it are my own and has been generated by me as the result of my own original research.

I Cast no Shadow: A Creative and Critical Exploration of Dubai's South Asian Denizen TCK Experience

I confirm that:

1. This work was done wholly or mainly while in candidature for a research degree at this University;
2. Where any part of this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree or any other qualification at this University or any other institution, this has been clearly stated;
3. Where I have consulted the published work of others, this is always clearly attributed;
4. Where I have quoted from the work of others, the source is always given. With the exception of such quotations, this thesis is entirely my own work;
5. I have acknowledged all main sources of help;
6. Where the thesis is based on work done by myself jointly with others, I have made clear exactly what was done by others and what I have contributed myself;
7. Either none of this work has been published before submission, or parts of this work have been published as: earlier versions of 'The Pitch' in *Bengal Lights,* Spring 2014 and 'The Ladies' Beach' in *Critical Muslim,* 13.

Signed:

Date: 29 September 2016

Dedicated to Papa

I am me because of you. I wish you could have been here to read this.

Acknowledgements

I have received a great deal of personal and academic support over the last three years, without which I could not have got to a stage that warrants the writing of acknowledgements.

I would like to thank my supervisors, Carole Burns, Aamer Hussein and Will May. Carole, I brought you a collection you enjoyed, but you always believed that my stories could do so much more. Thank you for all your advice and for never allowing me to settle. My stories are so much better for it! Aamer, thank you for encouraging me to write short stories and for helping me realise that when I wrote about Dubai, during the MA, it was my best work. I am grateful for your efforts to get 'The Pitch' and 'The Ladies' Beach' published. It was very encouraging to see my name in print. Will, you supported me through the Critical Review and allowed me to follow my passion to do a social sciences research project. Your insightful comments guided my research, and you always helped me find ways to strike a balance between my social sciences and creative research aims. Thank you!

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The research project was made possible because of the eighty-three fellow Dubai TCKs who responded to my survey. They took care to answer every question in detail and were willing to share their experiences with me and the readers of this thesis. I would also like to thank the four amazing women who allowed me to interview them. They spoke openly about their time in Dubai and the impact it has had on them. Their love for the city

in which they grew up is evident in their answers. This research is for my participants and other Dubai TCKs who have so far not had a chance to be heard.

I would like to end by thanking the people who have seen me through this project and believed in my ability to complete it all along. Ayesha, Anhaar and Dalia – I am grateful for your friendship and love. My life is so much richer with you in it. Amma, Atique, Asaad, Sadaf and Baby, we've been through a great deal in the last year. I am grateful to Allah that we've got through it and I am grateful for your unwavering belief in me, even when I haven't believed in myself. With you, I am home. Thank you, Dad, for always listening to my ramblings about the project, and Mom for helping me understand social sciences research and for reading drafts despite your schedule. And both of you, thank you for always having the spare room and some peace from my chaotic life available when I've needed it. Martin. I could not have done this project without your support, encouragement and faith in me, particularly in the last few months, when I only left my table to eat, and sometimes not even then. You've read and reread my work and you've listened when I've needed to figure things out – it's safe to say we've had a fair few coffees and cakes at Lime Tree over the last three years. Thank you for everything. I look forward to giving you your 'years off' soon.

Alhamdulillah, I'm so grateful I've got here!

Introduction

I was born in Dubai in 1977, the daughter of Indian nationals who had moved to the United Arab Emirates (UAE) in the early 70s. The Dubai of my childhood was a lively centre on the banks of the creek, low-rise housing, the Trade Centre and sand dunes stretching into the distance. On weekends my father would take us to the desert and my brother and I rolled down dunes and dug tunnels in the sand until sunset. An outing to a park in Sharjah or to the garden city, Al Ain, was a highlight. My father was educated and hardworking, and he and my mother moved to Dubai to provide us a better future. A return was never on the cards. Unlike diasporic Indians in other parts of the world, they did not foster nostalgia for the home they had left behind, perhaps because it was never more than a short plane ride away – its economic realities too close to be glossed over. My mother, siblings and I spent most summer breaks in India, but my mother did not refer to it as home, and my father, who would take us on holidays to other parts of the world, rarely felt the need to return there. Dubai was home before I was old enough to unpick the dynamics of my status in the city. To all intents and purposes, families like ours that resided long term in the UAE had immigrated there; however, we were officially temporary residents, our tenure in the country governed by the renewable visas that were pasted into our passports every two years, as long as the family's sponsor – my father – continued to be employed.

Over the years, as Dubai grew, Western media featured the labouring men who built the city and reported stories of tourists or expatriates who got in trouble with the law. Dubai also became known for the glamorous lifestyle that its high-earning residents and citizens enjoy. However, there are a substantial number of Dubai residents, particularly those from South Asia, who do not feature in popular or academic literature. Many of these first, second and, in some cases, third and fourth-generation residents live in the city long term, yet they do not have the legal right to naturalise and must contend with the threat of repatriation to their passport countries. Despite this possibility, these families continue to reside in the UAE, enjoying comfort, security and the opportunity to live alongside other nationalities in a place which is a gateway to the rest of the world, while also having access to many of the trappings of their passport countries. For an individual who claims Dubai as her home, this project provides the opportunity to explore how living in a state of enforced unbelonging can impact an individual's sense of identity. While this project aims to offer an insight into the effect that growing up in Dubai has on the lives of its non-Emirati

residents, in general, I look specifically at how its South Asians are impacted. Although I draw on personal insights and creative reflection, my critical component also turns to social sciences research in order to study fellow South Asian's views on growing up as a non-Emirati in Dubai.

Outline of Thesis Contents

Part 1: A Creative Exploration of Dubai's South Asian Denizen TCK Experience

- *Dubai Calling and other Stories* is a collection of twelve fictional short stories inspired by the experience of growing up as non-Emirati in Dubai. Although not all the stories are set in Dubai, each features a South Asian protagonist who has been impacted by the city. The stories portray the everyday lives of these individuals, emphasising the impact of living long term in a place they cannot legally call a permanent home.

Part 2: A Critical Exploration of Dubai's South Asian Denizen TCK Experience

This Critical Review is set out in three chapters.

- In Chapter 1, I present a summary of literature available on Third Culture Kids (TCKs) and discuss the impact that growing up as a TCK in Dubai has on an individual's sense of identity and belonging, particularly from the perspective of a South Asian TCK. I establish that the term TCK, while enlightening, does not adequately describe those individuals who live long term in a country where they do not have the legal right to naturalise and suggest an addition to the term TCK which allows such individuals to be more effectively defined.
- In Chapter 2, I present the primary research I conducted in order to explore the impact that growing up as a TCK in Dubai has on an individual's sense of identity and belonging. I review my choice of research methods, and the benefits and limitations of these methods. This is followed by the findings of the research and an analysis of these findings to highlight the themes that surface.
- In Chapter 3, I discuss the motivations behind the creative project and the interplay between it and the primary research. I detail the redrafting process, explaining how it was influenced by both the research and a drive to make the stories accessible to people overseas without alienating fellow Dubai readers.

Part 2:

A Critical Exploration of Dubai's South Asian Denizen TCK Experience

Critical Review

Chapter 1:
Understanding the Dubai TCK Experience

1. The Third Culture Kid (TCK) and Identity

I first encountered the term Third Culture Kid (TCK) when I began to research this project, searching for articles that highlighted keywords, such as 'expatriate children', 'living abroad', 'identity' and 'belonging'. In the revised edition of Pollock and Van Reken's seminal text on TCKs, Van Reken writes that the TCK profile they first presented in 1999, generated 'countless "a-ha!" moments', with the authors receiving many letters over the years thanking them 'for giving language and understanding to an experience lived but, to that point, unnamed for them'.[1] What I felt was no different. It was liberating to know that others around the world share aspects of my experience and that the lives of such children are being studied and discussed. While it was clear that growing up in Dubai gives rise to a unique TCK, the title, nevertheless, provided a vital starting point.

A General Overview of the Third Culture and TCKs

The term third culture was coined by Professors John and Ruth Hill Useem while they were living in India in the 1950s. Trained as sociologists and anthropologists, they spent two one-year periods in the country, the first of which was in order to research the roles of Indians who had studied abroad, while the second was to study Americans who were living and working in the country.[2] Defining the culture that adults come from as the first culture and the host culture in which they reside as the second, Useem, Useem and Donoghue define the third culture as 'the behaviour patterns created, shared, and learned by men of different societies who are in the process of relating their societies, or sections thereof, to each other'.[3] While she was in India, Ruth Useem also took an interest in the children of American expatriates working there. She first used the phrase Third Culture Kid (TCK) in

[1] David C. Pollock and Ruth E. Van Reken, *Third Culture Kids: Growing up Among Worlds*, rev. edn (London: Nicholas Brealey Publishing, 2009), p. xii.
[2] Ruth Hill Useem, *Third Culture Kids: Focus of Major Study* ([n.p.]: TCK World: The official Home of Third Culture Kids, 1999) < http://www.tckworld.com/useem/art1.html> [accessed June 2013] (paragraph 5).
[3] John Useem, Ruth Hill Useem and John Donoghue, 'Men in the middle of the third culture: The roles of American and non-Western people in cross-cultural administration', *Human Organization*, 22 (1963), 169-79 (p. 169).

1958 to describe children who accompany their parents into another society. As originally defined, the term represents the children of parents who work abroad in sponsored roles, such as the military, Foreign Service or other home country based organisations. Over the last few decades, rapid globalisation has seen a substantial rise in the number of families moving overseas, many of them not in representative roles, and a TCK is now any child 'who has spent a significant part of his or her developmental years outside the parents' culture'[4]. Regardless of whether parents move to a foreign culture for international careers or in pursuit of better pay and opportunities, TCKs grow up between worlds, forming a dynamic 'interstitial'[5] or third culture. They juggle multiple influences, such as their parents' cultural affiliations, previous expatriate experiences and the host culture, in order to create, learn and share this third culture.

As explained by Pollock and Van Reken, the third culture experience is a paradoxical one, with every benefit of the cross-cultural lifestyle presenting a corresponding challenge.[6] For example, while living in a culture between cultures enriches children by imparting an expanded three-dimensional view of the world, it also gives rise to confusion about identity and where their loyalties should lie.[7] TCKs are often 'cultural chameleons'[8] who can adapt to their surroundings; however, this adaptability can also mean that they do not identify with any particular culture. A TCK may be knowledgeable about many different cultures, while also being ignorant about practices in his/her home country/ies. This lack of familiarity with the passport culture/s can hinder adjustment if the TCK is repatriated, with many feeling like outsiders in their home countries.

Mobility is another key feature that defines the TCK experience. As with the cross-cultural aspect of their lives, TCKs both profit and suffer because of high mobility. While any life is formed of a 'series of transitions',[9] mobility plays a far larger role in the TCK experience. Even if some TCKs live fairly static lives, the expatriate community itself is a fluid one, presenting a TCK with the opportunity to make new friends, but also the prospect of losing old ones. Both the children who leave and those who are left behind

[4] Pollock and Van Reken, p. xi.
[5] Ruth H. Useem and Richard D. Downie, 'Third Culture Kids', in *Writing out of Limbo: International Childhoods, Global Nomads and Third Culture Kids*, ed. by Gene H. Bell-Villada and others (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2011), pp. 18-24 (p. 18).
[6] Pollock and Van Reken, p. 87.
[7] Ibid., pp. 88-93.
[8] Norma McCaig, 'Understanding Global Nomads', in *Strangers at Home: Essays on the Effects of Living Overseas and Coming "Home" to a Strange Land*, ed. by Carolyn D. Smith (New York: Aletheia Publications, 1996), pp. 99-120 (p. 99).
[9] Pollock and Van Reken, p. 65.

have to deal with transition and loss, and every change to their environment requires them to alter how they share and live in it. On the other hand, high mobility also enriches the lives of TCKs, giving them a wealth of experiences that those who never leave their passport culture cannot enjoy.

Each TCK experience is distinct as it is influenced by factors such as nationality, age at expatriation, parents' employment, host culture/s and the number of years spent abroad;[10] however, TCKs – or Global Nomads (GN), as the founder of Global Nomads International, Norma McCaig, describes them – often feel a connection to others who have lived among cultures, even if they have grown up thousands of miles apart.[11] Schaetti and Ramsey believe that 'change, relationships, world view, and cultural identity' are four themes that are common to all GNs.[12] These similarities, which centre on spending one's developmental years in a multicultural and highly-mobile world, outweigh the differences, drawing TCKs to each other. Overall, the rising number of Adult Third Culture Kids (ATCKs) has resulted in a greater understanding of both the benefits and challenges of the expatriate experience, while also giving TCKs a vocabulary with which they can express themselves to each other and the world, in general.

Identity and Belonging within the TCK Context

As a young child, it was easy to tell people where I was from. In Dubai, I was Indian, because the question was an inquiry about my passport nationality. Abroad, I was from Dubai, because that was the place I called home. To a child's mind, the answers made complete sense. However, as I got older, the duality of these answers made me question who I truly was and why where I belonged and where I was expected to belong were two different places.

Although cultures have influenced one another through trade, immigration and the exchange of information and ideas for centuries, more recent advances in telecommunications and travel have allowed connections between cultures to develop at a dramatic pace.[13] One of the psychological consequences of a globalising world is the

[10] Barbara F. Schaetti and Sheila J. Ramsey, *The Global Nomad Experience: Living in Liminality* (Washington D.C. and Crestone: Crestone Institute, 1999) < http://www.transition-dynamics.com/crestone/globalnomad.html> [accessed May 2014] (paragraph 3).
[11] Pollock and Van Reken, pp. 25-26.
[12] Schaetti and Ramsey (paragraph 4).
[13] Jeffrey J. Arnett, 'The Psychology of Globalization', *American Psychologist*, 57, (2002) 774-83 (p. 774).

impact it has on one's identity. A key focus of TCK research is the impact that an expatriate lifestyle has on an individual's sense of identity and belonging.

Erik H. Erikson's influential writings on identity formation provide a starting point to understand the impact an expatriate life may have on an individual's sense of self. Erikson's theory of identity centres on the psychosocial development of an individual. He studied how social interactions have an impact on a person's identity. Erikson viewed identity as an attribute of the ego and described ego identity as the awareness that there is an inner 'self-sameness and continuity' which 'coincides with the sameness and continuity of one's meaning for significant others in the immediate community'.[14] According to Melles, Erikson believed that identity is influenced by one's biological characteristics, psychological needs and the culture in which one lives.[15] This indicates that a person's identity is impacted by his/her surroundings and interactions with others. Erikson presented the development of a sense of self as an on-going process, with multiple self-representations developing throughout childhood, which are formed as a result of interactions with others and the way these significant others view the individual. The process of identity formation is, therefore, conceptualised as a series of stages, each characterised by psychosocial crisis. In adolescence, the crisis arises from the conflict between ego identity – the individual – and role confusion – the social. Erikson considered this stage to be the most essential in developing a sense of personal identity, with the result being identity formation or identity confusion.[16]

Erikson's concept of identity formation, therefore, provides the understanding that an individual's childhood interactions with the world around him/her are critical to his/her sense of self. And although 'as with any child, the life TCKs experienced while living overseas feels normal to them',[17] it is the fifth psychosocial stage, that of adolescence, in which a TCK will begin to unpick his/her sense of self and belonging, and this unpicking can fuel identity confusion. Mercer states that 'identity only becomes a problem when it is in crisis'.[18] While it seems impossible for identity to be fixed and stable in the modern

[14] Erik H. Erikson, *Identity: Youth and Crisis* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company), p. 50.
[15] Elizabeth A. Melles, 'No one can Place me in a Box: Exploring the Identity Status of Adult Third Culture Kids' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Oklahoma, 2014), p. 5.
[16] Erikson, pp. 128-34.
[17] Kathleen R. Gilbert, 'Loss and Grief Between and Among Cultures: The Experience of Third Culture Kids', *Illness, Crisis & Loss*, 16 (2008), 93-109 (p. 104).
[18] Kobena Mercer, 'Welcome to the Jungle: Identity and Diversity in Postmodern Politics', in *Identity: Community, Culture, Difference*, ed. by Jonathan Rutherford (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1990), pp. 43-71 (p. 43).

world, and Arnett argues that most people worldwide have developed a 'bicultural identity' that combines aspects of a fluid global culture with their local culture, [19] the question of identity becomes even more acute in the case of TCKs as they not only experience a global culture, but also the local cultures of others first hand.

Building on Erikson's writings, Edwards suggests that while personal identity is essentially the sum of all of one's individual traits, characteristics and dispositions,[20] the elements of any personality come from 'building blocks drawn from a common human store'; in other words, our characteristics are drawn from and reflect our socialisation within the groups to which we belong.[21] Therefore, it becomes clear again that an individual's community plays an essential role in developing his/her identity. Even within the contemporary context of globalisation, a child who grows up in his/her parents' home culture is more likely to develop a confident sense of personal and group identity than a TCK, whose cultural world is far less stable, and, in many cases, can change quite dramatically when personal mobility occurs.

Although Brubaker and Cooper propose that the term 'identity' is too ambiguous and its overuse is problematic as it burdens a researcher with blunt, undifferentiated vocabulary,[22] it is this very overuse that makes it suitable to a study of TCKs, as people's familiarity with the word, and its many connotations, allows them the freedom to respond to it, often in telling ways. While agreeing with Brubaker and Cooper, Jones and Krzyzanowski acknowledge that in the study of increased mobility, there is still a need for developments and debate in the area of identity. However, they feel that the notion of belonging is now increasingly being included in such discussions. They contend that the concept of belonging allows a foundation for the analysis of identity.[23]

The suggestion is, therefore, that identity is intrinsically linked to belonging. TCK researchers are interested in studying the factors that impact both TCKs' struggle to define themselves and to find their place in a cross-cultural and highly-mobile world. At a superficial level, belonging connotes being at home.[24] For TCKs, the feeling of being at

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[19] Arnett, pp. 774-83 (p. 777).
[20] John Edwards, *Language and Identity: An Introduction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 19.
[21] Ibid., p. 20.
[22] Rogers Brubaker and Cooper Fredrick, 'Beyond "Identity"', *Theory and Society*, 29 (2000), 1-47 (p. 2).
[23] Paul Jones and Michal Krzyzanowski, 'Identity, Belonging and Migration: Beyond Constructing 'Others'', in *Identity, Belonging and Migration*, ed. by Gerard Delanty, Ruth Wodak and Paul Jones (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2008), pp. 38-53 (p. 41).
[24] Ibid.

home is sometimes not easily attached to a geographical location on a map; often 'the sense of belonging is in relationship[s] to others of similar background'[25]. Even so, home and being able to identify where one belongs are issues that loom large in a TCK's thoughts, often because the place/s one calls home and where one is from may not be the same. Triebel discusses Marc Augé's concept of non-place in relation to TCKs, stating that while the passport country a TCK comes from and the one in which he/she lives can be 'anthropological places' for its local inhabitants, providing them 'with a stable and continuous identity and community', these very places can be considered as 'non-places' for TCKs, as their lives are marked by transience.[26] A TCK may feel culturally marginal in what is considered his/her country/ies of origin. Bennett gives this marginality two dimensions: an encapsulated form, which describes individuals who are at home nowhere because they feel different; and a constructive form, which describes someone who utilises his/her differences to feel at home anywhere.[27]

Moreover, although asking a person where he/she is from may seem like a fairly benign question that is often used to make casual conversation, it can, in fact, be quite intrusive.[28] Some TCKs may simply state their passport nationality/ies in order to provide a succinct answer. However, others may want to qualify this by adding that they grew up in a place/s other than their home country. For TCKs from multiple backgrounds or who have grown up in more than one place, answering the question may mean revealing more about themselves than they would be comfortable doing, particularly if the person asking the question is one they are just getting to know. In addition, as where a person is from is considered an essential aspect of his/her identity, a TCK may not want to be labelled as belonging to any particular country or culture. Conversely, other TCKs may choose a culture that they find suits them best or with which they most identify, even if it is not their passport country. To complicate matters further, this affiliation can change over the years depending on the TCK's mobility. These complexities of the TCK experience make the

[25] Pollock and Van Reken, p. 23.
[26] Christian Triebel, 'Non-Place Kids? Marc Augé's Non-Place and Third Culture Kids', in *Migration, Diversity and Education: Beyond Third Culture Kids*, ed. by Saija Benjamin and Fred Dervin, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), pp. 87-101 (pp. 88-89).
[27] Janet M. Bennett, 'Cultural Marginality: Identity Issues in Intercultural Training', in *Education for the Intercultural Experience*, ed. by R. Michael Paige (Yarmouth, ME: Intercultural Press, 1993), pp. 109-35 (p. 113).
[28] Elizabeth D. Sellers, 'Exploring the Themes Evolving from the Experiences of Third Culture Kids' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Ball State University, 2011), p. 6.

study of belonging and identity interesting and worthwhile, particularly when considered within the context of a specific host environment: Dubai.

2. Understanding Context: Dubai

Eponymously named after the state, Dubai is a city of superlatives. It is described in guidebooks and reports as 'one of the most progressive, cosmopolitan and open-minded'[29] cities in the region, one of the most important economic centres in the Middle East,[30] and 'one of the most inspirational, exciting and successful cities in the world'[31]. Although the aim here is in not to discuss the validity of these statements, it is necessary to provide a profile of the city that will help place it within the context of the expatriate experience.

In the late 1800s, Dubai began to grow into a centre for trade in the region due to its strategic position and the tax incentives that the ruler, Sheikh Maktoum bin Hasher Al Maktoum, offered traders to lure them away from ports in Iran and Sharjah. Along with a number of other local sheikhdoms, the city signed a treaty with the British Government and the region became known as the Trucial States, a title it held until seven of these states joined together to form the UAE in 1971. For over a century, Dubai's wealth was drawn chiefly from trade as it continued to serve as a hub for foreign traders. In 1966, oil was discovered in the emirate. Although it only had 4 per cent of the total reserves of the UAE,[32] oil fuelled development and construction began to draw foreign workers to the emirate, a phenomenon that has not subsided despite the state's depleting oil reserves. Bennett believes that as Dubai's oil find was modest, its leaders worked to create an economy that would endure in a post-oil city, and in only a few decades Dubai became a hub for global trade and finance.[33] Dubai is considered the region's first post-oil economy, with oil sectors accounting for only 2 per cent of Dubai's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in 2015.[34] While many industries sustained substantial losses during the global economic

[29] Explorer Publishing, *Explorer: Dubai Residents' Guide*, 16th edn (Dubai: Explorer Publishing and Distribution, 2012), p. 6.
[30] *The Report: Dubai 2013*, ed. by Andrew Jeffreys (Dubai: Oxford Business Group, 2013), p. 14.
[31] Foreign Direct Investment Office, *Why Dubai* (Dubai: Government of Dubai, 2012), p. 2.
[32] Jim Krane, *Dubai: The Story of the World's Fastest City* (New York: St Martin's Press, 2009), p. 49.
[33] Joe Bennett, *Hello Dubai: Skiing, Sand and Shopping in the World's Weirdest City*, (London: Simon & Schuster, 2010), p. 2.
[34] WAM Emirates News Agency, 'Dubai Chamber CEO Highlights Emirate's Economic Diversity at Jeddah Economic Forum', *WAM Emirates News Agency*, 3 March 2016 <https://www.wam.ae/en/news/economics/1395292353736.html> [accessed 21 July 2016] (paragraph 4).

downturn, Dubai was widely considered to be making a recovery, with tourism and the retail sector aiding this revitalisation.[35] However, the drop in global oil prices since 2014 has had an impact on the economy of the UAE, in general. Dubai's population has continued to grow despite the recent crisis and according to the Dubai Statistics Centre, the population of the city in July, 2016, was estimated to be just over 2.5 million[36]. Recent estimates of the number of Emirati nationals in Dubai range from 11.5 per cent[37] in one publication to 16 per cent[38] in another; therefore, the number of non-Emiratis in the city may be nearly as high as 9 out of every 10 people. This statistic plays an essential part in the way both Emiratis and non-Emiratis view themselves and their city.

One aspect about which literature on Dubai, both journalistic and academic, tends to agree is the relative peace that the UAE enjoys, particularly when viewed in light of the tumultuous region where it is situated. It is relevant here to state that since 2013, alleged members of an Emirati society, Al-Islah, which is considered to have ties to Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood, have been arrested and jailed on charges related to national security.[39] Yet, overall, the everyday workings of Dubai are largely unaffected by these or the greater political instability that the Middle East has suffered since the Second World War.

It is useful to understand the political landscape of the city, and the UAE as a whole, in order to get a fuller picture of the forces that impact Dubai's non-Emirati population. The highest authority in the UAE is the Supreme Council of Rulers, which comprises of the hereditary rulers of the seven emirates. The council's members elect the president and vice president of the country, who are, at present, the rulers of Abu Dhabi and Dubai respectively.[40]

Dubai's ruling family, Al Maktoums, migrated to the coast from the Liwa Oasis in 1833, taking control of the area and settling there. The Maktoums have since governed Dubai, and while the family had to contend with a reformist movement which began in the 1930s, following the collapse of the pearl trade, and continued to simmer after it was suppressed in 1938, the discovery of oil brought an end to the opposition as many of these

[35] *The Report: Dubai 2013*, p. 15.
[36] Government of Dubai, *Dubai Population Clock* (Dubai: Dubai Statistics Centre, 2016) <https://www.dsc.gov.ae/en-us> [accessed 25 July, 2016] (Population Clock).
[37] Explorer Publishing, *Explorer: Dubai Residents' Guide*, p. 6.
[38] *The Report: Dubai 2013*, p. 15.
[39] BBC News Middle East, 'UAE Jails 30 over 'Muslim Brotherhood Ties', *BBC News*, 21 January 2014 <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-25824395> [accessed May 2014] (sub-heading).
[40] Explorer Publishing, *Explorer: Dubai Residents' Guide*, p. 4.

merchant reformists were granted exclusive licences in the import and construction sectors.[41] The ruler at the time, Sheikh Rashid bin Saeed Al Maktoum, is widely considered as the founder of modern Dubai. He took away taxation and his decision to dredge Dubai Creek, drew more trade to the region. Sheikh Mohammed bin Rashid Al Maktoum, the current leader, is seen to share his father's vision of a modern Dubai and is the driving force behind many of the city's iconic projects.

It is important to understand the place of the foreigner in Dubai within this economic and political landscape. With the discovery of oil and the resultant influx of foreign workers to the city, it became essential for its rulers to define who belonged. Although gulf rulers are often referred to as autocrats in the West, Longva argues that they practice ethnocracy.[42] Longva bases her discussion on observations in Kuwait; however, her writing can be applied to the UAE context as she suggests that ethnocracies develop in societies with a 'pronounced degree of perceived cultural variation'[43]. She states that while racial ethnocracies attract attention and condemnation, civic ethnocracies are not viewed in the same way. Kanna also expands on this idea of ethnocentrism with a look at the history of Dubai. Describing Dubai as being ruled by a family-state, he suggests that while the pre-oil reformists vied with the state for more ethnically pluralistic and participatory citizenship, after the discovery of oil, the family-state began to employ ethno-nationalism, presenting itself as a protector of its existing citizens in the face of an increasingly globalising city. The reformists' goal of achieving rights-based citizenship was replaced by the state ideology of the dependent citizen.[44] As Davidson puts it, stability was gained, in part, by an unwritten 'ruling bargain', where the state distributed oil wealth amongst the national population.[45] This strategy required the state to distinguish clearly between those who belonged to the state, and thus were entitled to protection and reward, and those who did not.

This 'inflexible boundary'[46] resulted in a large number of non-citizens living in the country long term, without being given the option to naturalise. Longva states that 'jus

[41] Ahmed Kanna, *Dubai, the City as Corporation* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011), pp. 61-62.
[42] Anh Nga Longva, 'Neither Autocracy nor Democracy but Ethnocracy: Citizens, Expatriates and the Socio-Political System in Kuwait', in *Monarchies and Nations: Globalisation and Identity in the Arab States of the Gulf*, ed. by Paul Dresch and James Piscatori (London: I.B. Tauris, 2005) pp. 114-35 (p. 114).
[43] Ibid., p. 120.
[44] Kanna, p. 45, pp. 52-61.
[45] Christopher M. Davidson, *Dubai: The Vulnerability of Success*, (London: Hurst & Company, 2009), pp. 137-38.
[46] Kanna, p. 62.

sanguinis (nationality based on parentage)' is a characteristic feature of ethnocratic regimes.[47] In the past merchants were invited by Dubai's rulers to stay in the city indefinitely; a large number of Persians and South Asians, Indian merchant families and Baluchis, in particular, made the city their permanent home. The end of the reformist movement and the discovery of oil signalled the start of a much more homogeneous definition of nationality,[48] with those from other nations no longer given a path to naturalisation. Despite the knowledge that their time in Dubai was limited to the length of their work contracts, people poured into the city in large numbers. The marked imbalance that resulted is viewed by many Emiratis as a national threat, with a loss of their culture and way of life the key concern. As a result, Emiratis are often wary of the country's foreign population, while many expatriates view the national community as insular.

In 2013, Sultan Sooud Al Qassemi, a Dubai based commentator on Arab affairs, wrote an op-ed in a UAE newspaper which suggests that expatriates should be given an opportunity to earn citizenship. He cites the benefits that countries like the United States of America (USA) have enjoyed as a result of immigration and subsequent naturalisation, and suggests that the UAE should consider opening the door to foreign 'entrepreneurs, scientists, academics and other hardworking individuals who have come to support and care for the country as though it was their own'.[49] Emirati reaction to the op-ed was overwhelmingly negative, generating a twitter hashtag in Arabic 'this writer doesn't represent me'.[50] In response to the article, Jalal Bin Thaneya wrote in the same newspaper that Al Qassemi makes no mention of the fate of the USA's indigenous populations or that Saudi Arabia, a country the former mentions as having a clearly defined path to citizenship, has a large national population.[51] Thaneya believes that naturalisation would result in a loss of Emirati identity and that the UAE's current formula of coexistence is far more suitable than a Western-style solution.

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[47] Longva, p. 121.
[48] Kanna, pp. 179-80.
[49] Sultan S. Al Qassemi, 'Give Expats and Opportunity to Earn UAE Citizenship', *Gulf News* [on-line], 22 September 2013 <http://gulfnews.com/opinions/columnists/give-expats-an-opportunity-to-earn-uae-citizenship-1.1234167> [accessed 10 May 2014] (last paragraph).
[50] Mahmoud Habboush, 'Call to naturalise some expats stirs anxiety in the UAE ', *Reuters*, 10 October 2013 <http://uk.reuters.com/article/2013/10/10/uk-emirates-citizenship-feature-idUKBRE99904J20131010> [accessed 10 May 2014] (paragraph 6).
[51] Jalal Bin Thaneya, 'Citizenship to Expats Presents Challenges', *Gulf News* [on-line], 29 September 2013 <http://gulfnews.com/opinions/columnists/citizenship-to-expats-presents-challenges-1.1237072> [accessed 10 May 2014] (paragraph 2).

Thaneya presents the classic argument that the foreigners who opt to work in the UAE do so voluntarily, aware of the temporary nature of their contracts. However, this argument breaks down when one considers those non-Emirati residents who do not volunteer to do so, many of whom do not, in fact, go to the country at all, but are born there. Their emotional attachments are formed in the UAE and they accept it as home before they understand the political forces that govern their status. Many such individuals have remained in the UAE into adulthood, away from countries that they often struggle to accept as anything other than a title on the passports they carry. Although the first generation of middle-class expatriates are likely to choose Dubai for factors such as safety and a higher standard of living, subsequent generations' motivations for remaining in the city are far more complex.

3. Dubai's South Asian Residents

Kanna writes that the Dubai family-state does not view all non-Emiratis through the same lens. When the city transitioned into the oil period, a largely Western, middle and upper-middle class elite was awarded privileged access to jobs and benefits. 'On the other end of the class system, workers from South and Southeast Asia (and, to some extent, the Middle East) were increasingly represented as absolute outsiders'. Kanna explains that this was not simply a manifestation of racism or globalisation, but the complex articulation of the 'ideology of the ruling bargain'.[52] This is particularly interesting in light of the fact that while Dubai is home to 202 nationalities,[53] South Asians make up the largest percentage of expatriates in the city.

People from these labour-surplus Asian countries have migrated in large numbers to Dubai since the discovery of oil in order to 'assist in the process of development and modernisation'[54]. Approximately 1 in 2 people in the city is from South Asia,[55] with a majority of them Indians[56]. While unskilled and semiskilled workers make up the greater part of Dubai's South Asian population, there are a growing number of skilled, middle-

[52] Kanna, p. 62.
[53] Foreign Direct Investment Office, *Why Dubai*, p. 12.
[54] Yogesh Atal, 'Asians in the Middle East: A New Dimension to International Migration', in *Middle East Interlude: Asian Workers Abroad: A Comparative Study of Four Countries*, ed. by Manolo I. Abella and Yogesh Atal (Bangkok: Unesco Regional Office, 1986), pp. 3-12 (p. 4).
[55] Kanna, p. 172.
[56] *The Report: Dubai 2007*, ed. by Andrew Jeffreys (Dubai: Oxford Business Group, 2007), p. 8.

class individuals; for example, about '15-20 per cent'[57] of Indians in the UAE are classified by the Indian Embassy in Abu Dhabi as professionals and businesspeople. Kanna notes that an 'economically and culturally diverse South Asian community straddles the contours' of Dubai's political-cultural landscape.[58] While the conditions that working class South Asians face are more palpable and thus more commonly discussed in literature and the media, middle-class South Asians face a more subtle form of discrimination. Vora states that it is this population of middle-class migrants to gulf countries that is mostly absent from literature on South Asian diasporas.[59] These middle-class South Asians play two contrasting roles in Dubai society, both as neoliberal participants in the economy and also as a 'systematically oppressed and disenfranchised racial group'.[60] While neoliberal Emiratis view cultural pluralism, albeit a politically docile form of it, a goal to aspire to, they do not afford this view to middle-class South Asians who may see themselves as deserving of such economic incorporation.[61] It is the impact of the distinctions that are made on the basis of ethno-nationalism, first, and the hierarchy that is assigned to foreign cultures in the city, as a close second, that makes Dubai's TCK experience even more layered and complex.

Furthermore, as nationality is a common determiner of income in the UAE, with salary packages reflecting each nationality's perceived worth, certain groups, such as South Asians, are disproportionately impacted by this discrimination. An Emirati social commentator, Taryam Al Subaihi, writes about the widespread nationality-based discrimination in private sector companies (the public sector in the UAE is mostly staffed by Emiratis, another incarnation of nationality-based inequities) in the UAE: 'regardless of how much people have achieved in terms of education and experience, they are still judged by the type of passport they possess'.[62] This discrimination is practised openly in job advertisements on websites such as Dubizzle.com, with one listing for a receptionist reading, 'only attractive women from the Philippines, Russia or Arab countries need

[57] Embassy of India, *Indian Community in UAE* (Abu Dhabi: Embassy of India, 2014) <https://www.indembassyuae.org/indian-community-in-uae/> [accessed 10 July 2016] (paragraph 3).
[58] Kanna, p. 174.
[59] Neha Vora, 'Producing Diasporas and Globalizations: Indian Middle-Class Migrants', *Anthropological Quarterly,* 81 (2008), 377-406 (p. 378).
[60] Ibid., p. 392.
[61] Kanna, p. 177.
[62] Taryam Al Subaihi, 'Nationality-based Discrimination is still Widespread', *The National* [on-line], 20 May 2012 <http://www.thenational.ae/thenationalconversation/comment/nationality-based-discrimination-is-still-widespread> [accessed 10 May 2014] (paragraph 1).

apply'.[63] In this particular case, when contacted by the newspaper that ran the story, the company stated that they are specific about requirements as the salary available for the position advertised may not suit the expectations of all nationalities;[64] this can also be taken to imply that the position, and its associated pay package, is not available to less desirable nationalities.

Vora quotes middle-class South Asians in Dubai who believe that because of the large number of unskilled and semiskilled compatriots in the city, all people from the region are relegated to the lowest strata of society.[65] Although this attitude reveals the discrimination that exists even within national groups in people's bid to distinguish themselves from those whom they consider as belonging to a lower social class, it does reveal that South Asians are likely to be in a more vulnerable position than counterparts from favoured nationalities. This, in turn, impacts the third culture that the children of these expatriates create, learn and share.

4. Defining the Dubai TCK

Critics of the term TCK highlight that it obscures the specific context of a child's experience, which is impacted by both the home and host country.[66] While the concept of a TCK helped explain much of what I felt about growing up in a dynamic world between worlds, it was clear from the outset that this was a unique experience as many who live in Dubai consider the city their home although it does not afford them the legal right to do so. While discussing Dubai's Indian diaspora, Vora refers to them as 'impossible citizens', with the deliberate irony coming from the fact that although these Indians can stake 'historical, cultural and geographical claims' to the city, their legal status places them squarely outside the nation.[67] This longstanding relationship with the city and the impact it has on the children who grow up in this 'impossible' home away from a home country they often only identify with through a passport, creates a kind of TCK who needs a specific title.

[63] Martin Croucher, 'Job Advert Discrimination not Illegal in UAE', *The National* [on-line], 5 January 2013 <http://www.thenational.ae/news/uae-news/job-advert-discrimination-not-illegal-in-uae> [accessed 10 May 2014] (paragraph 1).
[64] Ibid. (paragraph 6).
[65] Vora, 'Producing Diasporas and Globalizations: Indian Middle-Class Migrants', 377-406 (pp. 392-93).
[66] Madeleine E. Hatfield, 'Children Moving 'Home'? Everyday Experiences of Return Migration in Highly Skilled Households', *Childhood*, 17 (2010), 243-57, (p. 245).
[67] Neha Vora, *Impossible Citizens: Dubai's Indian Diaspora* (London: Duke University Press, 2013), p. 3.

To understand this further, a study of the idea of citizenship and what it means to be one is useful. In a traditional sense, Marshall describes citizenship as 'full' membership of a community, with this membership consisting of three elements, civil, social and political.[68] Through such a definition, it becomes clear that full participation on all three levels can only be granted by a state. Therefore, the traditional idea of citizenship cannot easily be viewed without the granting power which confers the right to citizenship on members of its community. However, Cho explains that in a globalising world, there has been much interest in trying to understand citizenship away from the confines of that which is conferred by a state, as this idea can no longer describe the 'multiple modes of belonging' that are now practiced around the world.[69] In a transnational world, contemporary citizenship challenges the exclusions that are placed upon it by the nature of the word as it is traditionally defined. Ong explains that scholars have moved away from a 'tight focus' on citizenship to a consideration of 'membership'.[70] When considered in this way, non-Emiratis from all backgrounds can be considered as members of UAE society, although the extent of their membership is impacted by factors such as their cultural, racial and economic backgrounds.

However, citizenship is a much more 'confounding concept' than people who use the word recognise.[71] While the freedom to describe and explain citizenship in terms of a 'post-national' or 'denationalized citizenship',[72] in which individuals look past the nation-state, is refreshing, it becomes clear that political, social and civil rights are all ultimately necessary to use the word citizenship in the form that provides the freedom necessary to reside in a place free of the fears that accompany temporary and limited membership. While discussing the USA, Bosniak explains that it is important to then consider those who do not receive this right; here she refers to the class of people 'residing and working who are neither accorded the status of citizen nor granted essential rights ordinarily associated with citizenship'. In legal terms they are considered 'aliens' and she states that this subject

[68] T. H. Marshall, *Citizenship and Social Class: And Other Essays* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1950), pp. 8-10.
[69] Lily Cho, 'Diasporic Citizenship: Inhabiting Contradictions and Challenging Exclusions', *American Quarterly*, 59 (2007), 467-78 (p. 468).
[70] Aihwa Ong, 'Latitudes of Citizenship: Membership, Meaning and Multiculturalism', in *People out of Place: Globalization, Human Rights and the Citizenship Gap*, ed. by Alison Brysk and Gershon Shafir (London: Routledge, 2004), pp. 53-70 (p. 53).
[71] Linda Bosniak, *The Citizen and the Alien: Dilemmas of Contemporary Membership* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006), p. 1.
[72] Saskia Sassen, 'Towards Post-National and Denationalized Citizenship', in *Handbook of Citizenship Studies*, ed. by Engin F. Isin and Bryan S. Turner (London: Sage, 2002), pp. 277-91 (p. 277).

of 'alienage' is not discussed in political theory.[73] Although members of the expatriate community in the UAE are not bereft of rights, they do not have the membership status afforded Emiratis, hence allowing a comparison between them and the 'aliens' that Bosniak discusses. And while many first-generation non-Emiratis 'disavow' belonging to the city/country,[74] even if they reside there long term, it is clear that the same cannot be said for the TCKs who are born and grow up in places like Dubai. These second-generation residents, who have not made the conscious decision to move to Dubai and have spent their formative years in the city, are much more likely to feel a 'sense of "at-homeness"'[75]in the city rather than in their passport countries. While studies have been conducted on the lives of second-generation immigrants, and there are also studies of the phenomenon of growing up in a third culture, there is little to name or explain the impact of growing up in a state of imposed unbelonging in a place one considers home.

Further research led to the term 'denizen'. It is useful as it does not share the degree of negativity that the concept of alienage connotes, yet it delivers the relatively inferior status that is associated with being resident in a place but lacking the civil, social and political rights that are afforded to citizens. There is a dearth of research into the life of denizens and in her PhD thesis, Benton states that 'the scrutiny and idealisation of citizenship has not been matched by scrutiny of its absence'[76] – denizenship. Although the term denizen was used by Tomas Hammar to 'designate long-term or permanent resident non-citizens' with many of the rights of citizens, Benton is interested in the 'tensions' associated with the status of denizenship as it is, essentially, a less favourable status than citizenship.[77]

Although Dubai's expatriate population does not have the legal right to become permanent residents, and there is much mobility of expatriates in the city, many reside there long term. These denizens, particularly second-generation denizens, stake a claim on the city regardless of their legal status as non-citizens. On the other hand, non-Emirati members of the UAE can also be called denizens because while they do not have many of the juridico-legal rights that are afforded to citizens, they do not also have the same

[73] Linda Bosniak, 'Universal Citizenship and the Problem of Alienage', *Northwestern Law Review*, 94 (2000), 963-84 (p. 972).
[74] Vora, *Impossible Citizens: Dubai's Indian Diaspora*, p. 3.
[75] Pollock and Van Reken, p. 125.
[76] Meghan Benton, 'A Theory of Denizenship' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University College London, 2010), p. 10.
[77] Ibid., pp. 11-12.

responsibilities. For example, in 2014, a law was passed introducing mandatory military service for all Emirati men aged 18 – 30 years old.[78] While the citizens of the country are impacted by this new rule, non-Emiratis are exempt from the service. In many ways, the state of denizenship also affords people the opportunity to leave or remain in a country depending on the favourability of the situation. For example, in May, 2016, *Gulf News* reported that a 'slowdown in the realty sector' meant that more people (20 per cent more than a 2015 survey) were looking to buy property and live more long term in the UAE than the previous year.[79]

Based on this research the word 'denizen' appeared to be an appropriate way to describe Dubai's long-term non-Emirati residents. Developing this idea, I believe that TCKs who grow up in a country where they do not have the legal right to naturalise are more clearly defined as denizen TCKs. The addition of the word 'denizen' allows for an expression of the unique situation in which TCKs who live in countries like the UAE find themselves. While they experience many of the benefits and challenges of the TCK lifestyle, instead of grappling with the impact of personal mobility, denizen TCKs contend with the effect of living long term in a place which they cannot legally call a permanent home.

It is worth noting here that critics of the term TCK avoid its usage altogether, with Knörr stating that the essential definition of a 'third culture' as a culture which incorporates both host and parents' home culture is not often valid as a definition for the 'expatriate culture', as it is 'often socially and culturally isolated' from the local host environment.[80] While this is particularly interesting within the context of Dubai, where the host Emirati influence is limited, the phrase third culture is still useful as the 'expatriate culture' the children live within varies so greatly based on socio-economic factors. Therefore, the term 'third culture' can encompass any number of experiences, yet also

[78] Abu Dhabi Government, *Mandatory National Service in UAE Approved* (Abu Dhabi: Abu Dhabi e-Government, 2014) <https://www.abudhabi.ae/portal/public/en/abu_dhabi_emirate/government/news/news_detail?docName=AD_DF_127226_EN&_adf.ctrl-state=11y2m72aik_4&_afrLoop=1745363901210891#!> [accessed 12 July 2016] (paragraph 1).

[79] Cleofe Maceda, 'Are UAE Expats Opting to Stay Longer?', *Gulf News* [on-line], 9 May 2016 <http://gulfnews.com/business/money/are-uae-expats-opting-to-stay-longer-1.1822453> [accessed 12 July, 2016] (paragraph 2).

[80] Jacqueline Knörr, 'When German Children come "Home." Experiences of (Re-)Migration to Germany – and some Remarks about the "TCK"-Issue', in *Childhood and Migration: From Experience to Agency*, ed. by Jacqueline Knörr (Bielefeld: Verlag, 2005), pp. 51-76 (p. 55).

allow the freedom for each culture to be unique, based on the child and his/her circumstances.

5. Going 'Home': The Fear of Repatriation

Once I had established a potential title – denizen TCK – that describes Dubai's unique TCK experience more specifically, the aspect that came to the fore was the impact of repatriation to a denizen TCK's passport country/ies. The starting point for analysing this impact is a study of return in TCK literature, in general. One of the hallmarks of GNs or TCKs is that their families are not considered as migrant families. In research available on TCKs, it is generally considered that they are likely to return to their passport countries either at the end of their parents' sojourn abroad or in order to attend higher education. They may also return as adults in order to settle down. Although one can consider this move as no different to a TCK acculturising to a new place in his/her mobile life, this is not the case. Whereas it is logical for most people to think that an individual needs time and help to acclimatise to a new place, even the vocabulary used to describe the process of going to a person's passport country/ies – re-entry, reacculturation, repatriation – seems to indicate that the person is returning to where he/she belongs. This can be problematic as while such individuals are likely to look like they fit in, they are often quite unfamiliar with the customs and everyday workings of life in their passport countries. This leads to culture shock which is harder for fellow members of the place to understand. Returnees are likely to think and behave in a 'manner that is foreign to their home country', which makes it harder for them to be accepted by their local peers.[81]

While some of the stresses are those that come up in any move, there are particular issues that relate to re-entering one's passport culture.[82] Gaw reports that returnees can suffer from problems ranging from cultural identity conflict and social withdrawal to, in more severe cases, alienation and a feeling of helplessness.[83] In her guide for parents and children returning home for university education, Quick explains that many returnees feel

[81]Virginia M. Jennison Smith, 'Third Culture Kids: Transition and Persistence when Repatriating to Attend University' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Oklahoma State University, 2011), p. 26.
[82] Pollock and Van Reken, p. 226.
[83] Kevin F. Gaw, 'Reverse culture shock in students returning from overseas', *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 24 (2000), 83-104 (p. 84).

like ‘misfits’ in the very place that they have imagined they should belong.[84] Although these individuals have returned to their passport countries during holidays, these are often exciting periods in which TCKs enjoy vacationing with extended family, rather than learning to deal with everyday realities. When returnees begin to experience their home countries, many feel keenly how different they are from fellow home country nationals. As they try to reacculturate, they often feel ‘peripheral’[85] in the social worlds they should, technically, inhabit. Many TCKs try to adjust their behaviour in order to become less obviously different, as they find it ‘fatiguing to be unusual’.[86]

In the course of my research, as my focus is on denizen TCKs, I have found that it is useful to look not only at literature that focuses on TCKs returning home but also second-generation migrants returning to their parents’ home countries, either as children accompanying their parents or as adults who choose to return, in a search for ‘ethnic belongingness’[87]. It is worthwhile to look at the impact of both childhood and adult return migration as children returning home do not make the decision to do so. Wessendorf discusses the return of second-generation Italians from Switzerland. She found that while older ‘roots migrants’ in their 30s, who had planned their move carefully and had realistic ideas about Italy, were happy with their move, younger female adults in their early 20s were mostly ‘surprised and disappointed’ by the conditions they encountered.[88] This research is interesting because Wessendorf highlights that along with professional struggles in a country their parents had left due to the harsh conditions after the Second World War, these Swiss-Italian women were also subjected to ‘strong social control’.[89] The latter is of particular relevance when discussing denizen TCKs returning to countries in South Asia, as many women who repatriate find the social environment in these countries quite restrictive and very different to their home abroad. Christou, in her studies of Greek-American returnees, talks about the ‘in-between spaces’ that surface while an individual adjusts to their new home, constantly reinventing himself/herself and his/her

[84] Tina L. Quick, *The Global Nomad's Guide to University Transition* (Norwich: Summertime Publishing, 2010), Introduction. Kindle ebook.
[85] Gilbert, 93-109 (p. 105).
[86] Ibid.
[87] Anastasia Christou, ‘Deciphering Diaspora – Translating Transnationalism: Family Dynamics, Identity Constructions and the Legacy of ‘home’ in Second-generation Greek-American Return Migration’, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 29 (2006), 1040-56 (p. 1042).
[88] Susanne Wessendorf, ‘‘Roots Migrants’: Transnationalism and ‘Return’ among Second-Generation Italians in Switzerland’, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 33 (2007), 1083-1102 (p. 1095).
[89] Ibid.

notion of home and belonging.[90] It is clear here that even when returning home is a conscious choice, it is a difficult and confusing process; therefore, it is even more complicated when the individuals involved have not made that choice.

Other than this being relevant to children who move when their parents do, in countries like the UAE, denizen TCKs may have to return to their passport country due to loss of their own job, that of their sponsor – with wives and children mostly being sponsored by a male head of the household – or the loss of residency status at the age of eighteen for young men, who can no longer be sponsored by their fathers and must look for alternative sponsorship. In such cases, the adjustment process is even more fraught as the individual has not chosen to return. While such individuals feel out of place in their passport countries and struggle to adjust, Knörr says that their home compatriots, and even families, do not expect them to have much trouble adjusting. They are not considered as 're-migrants but homecomers' and so are expected to fit in much more easily than they do.[91] Knörr discusses that feeling at home is not about being where 'one's ethnic or national roots are' but where one's 'personal and emotional attachments' lie.[92] This is particularly pertinent in the case of denizen TCKs as their personal and emotional attachments are in the country where they have grown up and not likely to be in the place to which they are repatriated.

Furthermore, as this research seeks to highlight how denizen TCKs who hail from South Asia are more acutely impacted by their TCK lives in Dubai, a discussion of repatriation becomes even more relevant. Although all returnee TCKs must deal with the issues that arise from moving to their passport countries, the children who hail from developing nations are more likely to return to economically unfavourable conditions than those who repatriate to developed nations. International migration is 'typically from low-income to higher-income economies'.[93] This is evident in the UAE, where a majority of the country's denizens hail from developing countries, with India, Pakistan and Bangladesh being the top three origin countries.[94] As these international moves are motivated by better

[90] Christou, 1040-56 (p. 1041).
[91] Jacqueline Knörr, pp. 51-76, (p. 57).
[92] Ibid. p. 58.
[93] Jackline Wahba, *Who Benefits from Return Migration to Developing Countries?*, (Bonn: IZA World of Labor, 2015) < http://wol.iza.org/articles/who-benefits-from-return-migration-to-developing-countries-1.pdf> [accessed 25 July 2016] (p. 2).
[94] Francoise De Bel-Air, 'Demography, Migration and the Labour Market in the UAE', *Gulf Labour Markets and Migration*, 7 (2015), 3-32 (p. 9).

employment opportunities and a higher standard of living,[95] South Asian denizen TCKs in Dubai are likely to experience a very different childhood to that of their passport country peers. Therefore, even if families repatriate voluntarily, returning to a comparatively lower-income economy is likely to complicate the process of reacculturation.

[95] Froilan T. Malit Jr. and Ali Al Youha, *Labour Migration in the UAE: Challenges and Responses*, (Washington DC: Migration Policy Institute, 2013) <http://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/labor-migration-united-arab-emirates-challenges-and-responses> [accessed 25 July 2016] (paragraph 1).

Chapter 2:
Studying the Dubai Denizen TCK Experience

1. Purpose of the Study

My primary motivation for doing this PhD project has always been to write a collection of short stories that feature the lives of Dubai's denizen TCKs. When I planned the project, I proposed to conduct a series of interviews and focus group sessions, in order to take inspiration from the stories of others who had grown up in the city. However, once I began working towards the PhD, I found that that there were ideas that I wanted to explore which were drawn from my childhood and the everyday workings of the city around me as an adult. I spent time on the collection, writing the first drafts of many of the stories before I revisited my research goals. At this stage, I understood that my initial research plan had been drafted at a point when I thought that it was necessary to first listen to others' voices in order to write in the multiple voices that populate a collection of stories. Exploring my own ideas, though, allowed me to free my research aims from a need to draw inspiration for the content of my stories from others' personal accounts. I no longer simply wanted to listen to their stories; I wanted to learn about the impact that growing up as a fellow denizen TCK had on my participants, and analyse these experiences in light of the literature that was already available on TCKs. I also wanted to highlight how aspects of the lived experience in Dubai was different to those of TCKs who do not live long term in one non-passport country. Furthermore, by discovering and analysing themes that surfaced in the primary research, I would be able to develop further drafts of my own story collection. Although I had not written my first drafts with particular themes in mind, it was important to be aware of these themes during the redrafting process. As I was writing a collection of short stories that featured the lives of Dubai's TCKs, I wanted to know if I was focused on a genuine shared experience or simply one that I perceived existed outside my own life. It was imperative for me to feel that my stories would ring true for my local readers and, potentially, give them a voice.

Furthermore, while a social sciences approach to a creative writing project is not conventional, academic research is the 'hallmark' of a discipline, [96] and not outside the interests and concerns of those studying or writing creatively. While creative writers go to great lengths to research for their creative projects, there is a lack of 'recognizable academic research' in the field of creative writing.[97] Kerry Spencer discusses using 'alternative' or 'non-traditional' modes of research when conducting academic studies in the field of creative writing – her example, a statistical inquiry into the creative writing market – as she believes that it is productive to consider creative work within the context of other fields. [98] Conducting research into the lives of denizen TCKs not only goes towards understanding the lives of such individuals, it also compliments my creative project, directing and enriching it, rather than standing alone as a research project. Moreover, creative writing research 'adapts or responds' to other research fields;[99] hence using a social sciences approach would allow me to adapt my creative processes, while the stories themselves and the process of writing and redrafting them would influence my research project.

Therefore, the purpose of this interdisciplinary research study is to explore the impact that growing up as a denizen TCK in Dubai has on an individual's sense of identity and belonging, utilising a sequential mixed methods approach, which is explained in greater detail in the following sections. Overall, Chapter 2 serves to present and analyse my research findings, in order to highlight the themes that surface, thus informing the discussion in Chapter 3, where I examine how my research findings stimulated, bolstered and encouraged my creative writing.

[96] Trent Hergenrader, 'Making Space for Creative Writing Research in the Academy', *Journal of Creative Writing Studies*, 1 (2016), 1-7 (p. 1).
[97] Ibid.
[98] Kerry Spencer, 'New Modes of Creative Writing Research', in *Research Methods in Creative Writing*, ed. by Jeri Kroll and Graeme Harper (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan), pp.78-101 (pp. 79, 81).
[99] Jeri Kroll and Graeme Harper, 'Introduction', in *Research Methods in Creative Writing*, ed. by Jeri Kroll and Graeme Harper (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan), pp. 1-13 (p. 1).

2. Research Questions

1. Does growing up in a country other than your passport country have an impact on your sense of identity?
2. Does growing up in a country where you do not have the legal right to remain indefinitely have an impact on your sense of identity and belonging?
3. What are the advantages and disadvantages of growing up in a place like Dubai?

3. Overview of Study Design and Research Methods

Embarking on the research element of my PhD project was both a daunting and exciting prospect. Until that point, I had worked on my stories in isolation – the stories were my interpretation of what I believed was the Dubai denizen experience. While I wanted to share these stories with other Dubai TCKs, I also wanted to give some of them a chance to share their experiences. This was challenging because I had never conducted such research before and I wanted to do my project justice. To better prepare for conducting this research, I studied research approaches. In order to examine and understand aspects of Dubai's denizen TCK experience, the exploratory and open-ended nature of qualitative research seemed to lend the most suitable research methodology. However, one of the methods that I wanted to adopt, the survey, is traditionally considered more quantitative in nature. I also knew that the survey would yield some interesting quantitative data which would be worthwhile to analyse to see if it supported my own ideas about the Dubai TCK experience. While I was initially confused about which approach to adopt, Ridenour and Newman believe that there is a 'false dichotomy' between qualitative and quantitative research methodologies, and that it is not productive to think about the two approaches in this manner; it is far more useful to view them on different ends of an 'interactive continuum'.[100] Creswell states that mixed methods research can be seen to reside 'in the middle of this continuum because it incorporates elements of both'.[101] A mixed methods approach allowed me the freedom to incorporate aspects of both quantitative and qualitative methodologies in order to study Dubai's resident TCKs.

[100] Carolyn S. Ridenour and Isadore Newman, *Mixed Methods Research: Exploring the Interactive Continuum* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2008), p. 9.
[101] John W. Creswell, *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches*, 3rd edn (Los Angeles: Sage Publications), p. 3.

Creswell also writes that in planning the study it is important for researchers to consider the following:

a. The philosophical worldview they bring to the research
b. The strategy of inquiry that relates to this worldview
c. The methods or procedures that they adopt to fulfil research goals[102]

a. Philosophical Worldview

A philosophical worldview, or paradigm, as Guba refers to it, can be described as 'a basic set of beliefs that guides action'.[103] Considering one's beliefs gives one the confidence that is needed to make research decisions. Of the four types of worldview Creswell presents – postpositivism, constructivism, advocacy/participatory and pragmatism – his description of pragmatism is closest to the worldview that I espouse. According to Cherryholmes, in pragmatism the 'values and visions' of human interactions precede a search for descriptions and theories.[104] Teddlie states that pragmatists' research decisions are based on their 'personal value systems' and they study the aspects they think are important in a way that works with this value system.[105] These definitions of pragmatism correspond well with an individual's passions and interests and start with the researcher and his/her desire to understand and share the world around him/her. Furthermore, instead of focusing on research methods, pragmatic researchers focus on the research problem. Pragmatism gives researchers the freedom to choose any methods that they believe will aid and fulfil their research goals, drawing from both quantitative and qualitative research methods. As the research is driven by 'anticipated consequences',[106] it allows the researcher to choose methods that will best take him/her where he/she wants to go.

b. Strategies of Inquiry

Creswell states that strategies of inquiry provide direction.[107] In keeping with a mixed methods approach, I intended to adopt sequential design. This involved conducting initial

[102] Ibid., p. 5.
[103] Egon G. Guba, 'The Alternative Paradigm Dialog', in *The Paradigm Dialog*, ed. by Egon G. Guba (Newbury Park, CA: Sage), pp. 17-30 (p. 17).
[104] Cleo H. Cherryholmes, 'Notes on Pragmatism and Scientific Realism', *Educational Researcher*, 21 (1992), 13-17 (p. 13).
[105] Charles Teddlie, 'Methodological Issues Related to Casual Studies of Leadership: A Mixed Methods Perspective from the USA', *Educational Management Administration Leadership*, 33 (2005), 211-27 (p. 215).
[106] Cherryholmes, p. 13.
[107] Creswell, *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches*, p. 11.

research through a survey, followed by interviews with a small number of denizen TCKs to discuss some of the ideas that surfaced in the survey. While I was certain that I wanted to conduct a survey which had the potential to yield both quantitative and qualitative data, I was unsure about how the interviews would fit into the research picture, how I would organise them and what I would include in them. Thus, while I had one pre-determined research method, I intended to use the data from the survey to inform the design and analysis of the interviews. Adopting this phased approach allows a researcher to first consider patterns and themes that come out of findings and then 'develop a detailed view' of a concept or phenomenon.[108]

c. Research Methods

I adopted two methods that I believed would help address the research questions: a survey and semi-structured interviews. These two methods are discussed in detail in the following sections.

4. The Survey: Findings and Analysis

Surveys are a frequently-used tool in social research to collect data for 'descriptive, explanatory and exploratory purposes'[109]. They are an ideal method to use when a researcher is interested in understanding and, potentially, making inferences about certain characteristics or attitudes in a population.[110] Surveys have become a ubiquitous method of data collection in the modern world, with both large and small-scale ventures being conducted to learn more about societies.[111] While researchers' opinions on the survey range from seeing it as the 'central real world strategy' to a method which produces large amounts of data of 'dubious value',[112] this method was one that would allow me, as an individual researcher, to access a much larger number of Dubai's TCKs than only adopting interviewing as a research method. Therefore, conducting a survey would provide the opportunity to hear many more voices, which, I hoped, would give me the confidence and motivation to continue both my creative and research projects.

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[108] Creswell, *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches*, p. 18.
[109] Earl Babbie, *The Practice of Social Research*, 11th edn (Belmont, CA: Thomson Wadsworth, 2007), p. 244.
[110] Creswell, *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches*, p. 146.
[111] Colin Robson, *Real World Research: A Resource for Users of Social Research Methods in Applied Settings*, 3rd edn (Chichester: Wiley, 2011), p. 236.
[112] Ibid., p. 239.

A questionnaire was designed in order to study the impact that growing up as TCK in Dubai has on an individual's sense of identity and belonging. The questionnaire was created online using Google Forms, and advertised through my personal, and other, closed-group Facebook pages. While internet-based surveys have become increasingly popular because they are low cost and typically yield results quickly,[113] I chose to conduct an online survey because of the nature of the TCK lifestyle. As many of the TCKs who were eligible for this survey may no longer be living in Dubai, giving them the opportunity to participate via the internet was ideal. Furthermore, by allowing current and previous residents of Dubai to participate, I could analyse any similarities and differences between their responses. I decided to use the social-media website, Facebook, to inform people about my survey. It was a suitable channel for this survey as knowing the researcher, either personally, or through friends, would inspire confidence in the respondents, who may be wary of discussing matters that relate to their time in the UAE. There are strict laws in the UAE about content that may be deemed as defaming the country or others.[114] Although the survey or this research does not intend either, individuals who live/have lived in the UAE may find it hard to trust a survey asking them about their lived experiences in the country from an unknown or little-known source. Although using this form of non-probability sampling is not representative of Dubai's denizen population, it is, nevertheless, a sample of TCKs who live/have lived in and participated in creating and, in turn, been impacted by its dynamic third culture. Furthermore, I posted a link to the blog I had developed at the beginning of my PhD project (https://aiyshajahan.wordpress.com/), which features detailed posts explaining the concept of TCKs and Dubai as a unique third culture experience. The blog was tailored to explain my research and to provide visitors with some of the language that I had found so liberating when I had begun my research. All of this was done in a bid to help potential respondents feel a sense of confidence in the research study.

[113] Ibid., p. 249.

[114] There are a large number of articles online. One such example: Nick O'Connell and Anita Siassios, *Legal Risks for Social Media Users in the UAE* ([n.p.]: Al Tamimi & Co., 2013) <http://www.tamimi.com/en/magazine/law-update/section-5/october-3/legal-risks-for-social-media-users-in-the-uae.html> [accessed 1 August 2016] (paragraphs 4-5).

Survey Questions

The survey included both closed and open-ended questions. The closed-ended questions were limited to Section One, in which respondents were asked for demographical details that would help shed light on whether variables such as nationality, age and gender were associated with specific responses.

Section One: About You

1. Gender: *Male / Female*
2. Age group: *18 – 25 / 26 – 30 / 31 – 35 / 36 – 40 / 41 – 45*
3. Nationality/ies
4. Current country of residence
5. Status in country of residence: *Temporary resident (work) / Temporary resident (student) / Temporary resident (dependent) / Permanent resident or holder of citizenship of the country of current residence*
6. When did you move to Dubai? *I was born there / I moved there when I was __ years old*
7. How long have you lived / did you live there? *All my life / For __ years*

The questions in Section Two were mostly open-ended, as I wanted to obtain rich data which reflected the range of experiences that the respondent denizen TCKs may have had, while enabling me to find patterns in content that was not necessarily elicited, but given more organically in response to questions.

Section Two: About your Experiences

1. Write the first word that comes to your mind when you read the following: Dubai.
2. Respond in one word or sentence to the following: What does Dubai mean to you?
3. Write the first word that comes to your mind when you read the following: Identity.
4. When asked where you're from, what do you usually say?
5. Why do you choose to say the above?
6. Would your answer be different depending on whom you speak to and where you meet them (for example: a work colleague / someone you meet in a country where you are a tourist / people in your passport country / at university)? *Yes / No*

7. If you've answered 'Yes' to the above question, please answer the following:
    a. Why would your answer be different?
    b. Please give an example of a situation where you would adjust your answer based on the people you are speaking to and/or the place you meet.
8. What has been the greatest advantage of growing up in the UAE?
   What has been the greatest disadvantage of growing up in the UAE?

Furthermore, although the survey could be answered anonymously, respondents were given the opportunity to leave contact details if they were interested in participating in further research I intended to conduct.

Survey Results and Discussion

During a two month period, 83 respondents[115] who agreed that they fulfilled the following criteria completed the questionnaire:

- They were not a UAE national
- They had spent a part (at least a year) or all of their childhood in the UAE
- They were between 18 – 45 years old

Demographic Details of respondents:

- Of the 83 respondents, 55 (66 per cent) are women and 28 (34 per cent) are men.
- The majority of them (57 per cent) were aged between 18 – 25 years at the time of the survey.
- The survey participants hail from 19 different countries, with South Asian passport holders (Pakistanis, Indians, Bangladeshis and Sri Lankans – not including dual nationals) making up 55 per cent of the number.
- Of the participants, 15 per cent are dual nationals, with the majority of this number being a UK/US/Canadian and South Asian citizen.
- Of the respondents, 98 per cent have lived in the UAE for at least 5 years and 83 per cent for at least 10.

[115] **A copy of the consent page is included as Appendix A.**

- At the time of answering the survey, 43 per cent of the participants were resident in the UAE, with the others residing in North America (23 per cent), Europe (17 per cent), South Asia (10 per cent), Africa (6 per cent) and Australia (1 per cent).
- Just over half the number of participants (54 per cent) stated that they are permanent residents or citizens of the country in which they are residing.

Notes on demographics and resultant biases

As stated previously, these participants are those who responded to my Facebook posts about the survey; there are also Friends of Friends who completed the survey when it was shared by Friends. I also posted the survey on the Alumni page of the secondary school I attended;[116] although it is not possible to know how many alumni answered the anonymous survey, there were a few who took interest in the post on the Alumni page. Another aspect that is of interest here is the comparatively larger number of women and 18 – 25 year olds who answered the survey. Although researchers have found that traditionally women and younger people are more likely to answer surveys,[117] this bias may also be a reflection of my Facebook Friends' list. Overall, the demographics of my sample are restricted to the people I could access through personal social media. Although this is not a representative sample and one cannot, therefore, 'generalize' from the 'sample to a population',[118] it was useful for a small-scale project such as mine, particularly as it would help me learn how those around me felt about our shared experiences.

Finally, it is also important to note that a majority of my participants (70 per cent) claim a connection to South Asia; therefore, the findings here are more likely to reflect the way South Asian denizen TCKs may respond. Although the participants of this survey do not neatly fit into one income category, they can be considered to populate the general group that I am interested in studying: TCKs who have grown up in Dubai. In order to have lived here as children, their primary sponsor would have earned at least the minimum salary required to sponsor a family.[119] When considering my Facebook Friends' list, it is

[116] Arab Unity School Alumni, *Arab Unity School (AUS) Alumni Association Facebook Group* (Dubai: AUS, 2016) <https://www.facebook.com/groups/AUS.Alumni.Association/> [last accessed for this project August 2016].
[117] William G. Smith, *Does Gender Influence Online Survey Participation?: A Record-linkage Analysis of University Faculty Online Survey Response Behavior* ([n.p.]: Education Resources Information Centre, 2008) <http://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED501717.pdf> [accessed 1 August 2016] (p. 3).
[118] Creswell, *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches*, p. 146.
[119] Government of Dubai, *Get a Dubai Residency Visa for your Family* (Dubai: Dubai.ae, 2013) <http://www.dubai.ae/en/Lists/HowToGuide/DispForm.aspx?ID=44> [accessed 1 August 2016] (paragraph 2).

likely that most respondents hail from families that earn much more than the four thousand dirhams per month required for family reunification, but this income category can be considered as the baseline here. The other aspect that unifies these respondents is that all of them have spent some of their childhood years in Dubai. Although not all schools are as multicultural as others, these participants are likely to have shared experiences; for example, access to common public areas in Dubai, such as its malls and beaches, where people experience the multiculturalism of Dubai.

Survey Results Analysed

The responses to the open-ended questions in Section Two yielded a large amount of rich data. I organised and prepared this data for analysis by printing out the raw results and summaries Google Forms had produced. I then read through all the data to get a 'general sense' of its overall meaning.[120] This was followed up by colour coding the responses in order to highlight recurring thoughts and ideas that would be valuable to discuss. Three key themes that surfaced during this process are analysed below.[121]

Dubai as 'home'

I first analysed participants' responses to the word 'Dubai' and what it means to them. With the word Dubai as a stimulus, the answers were overwhelmingly positive. Only two participants responded unfavourably, with one writing the word 'racist' and the other 'expensive'. The other aspect that drew my attention was that 37 participants replied with the word 'home'. This response was not limited to those who were still in the city, nor did its occurrence seem to be influenced by the age group of the participants. Pollock and Van Reken state that home 'connotes an emotional place – somewhere you truly belong'.[122] By eliciting the word 'home', Dubai appears to be that 'emotional place' for these participants. Furthermore, while Pollock and Van Reken write that for some TCKs, where home lies 'is the hardest question of all'[123], many of the survey participants associate Dubai with home.

When participants were asked to explain in 'a word or sentence' what Dubai means to them, the responses were again largely positive, with some examples being: 'a place I can relate to', the 'city that made me' and 'People of different cultures living in harmony'.

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[120] Creswell, *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches*, p. 186.
[121] ***No spelling or grammatical changes have been made to participants' responses quoted in the analysis.***
[122] Pollock and Van Reken, p. 125.
[123] Ibid.

The word ‘home’ also featured in 31 responses. However, it was accompanied by a modifier in a few cases: two respondents called it a ‘temporary home’, another a ‘second home’ and one called it ‘the home that doesn’t want me’. The last response is particularly moving, revealing the respondent’s desire to call Dubai home, while also being aware of the temporary nature of her status in the country. At the time of the survey, she had lived in the city for 34 years and responded to the word ‘Dubai’, in the first question, with ‘home’. She also wrote later in the survey, ‘I will never be a citizen in this country and have to live with the fear of not having a visa’. This response represents the fear of repatriation to a place that she does not consider home. Gilbert states that some TCKs dissociate themselves from their passport countries and identify with the place where they reside instead.[124] This can particularly be said for denizen TCKs as they live in one non-passport country long term. Many of the responses to the questionnaire reflect this relationship with Dubai.

A question of identity: …but…

When the participants were asked to respond to the word ‘identity’, there were a number of different answers, two aspects of which proved fascinating upon analysis. The first is that only 10 individuals responded with a passport country. This builds on the findings in the previous section. As many of the participants associated Dubai with home, they were less likely to respond with their passport identity. The second interesting aspect of this section is the number of people who used words that related to a sense of confusion about identity. Over a third of the respondents used words such as, ‘question mark’, ‘confused’, ‘undefined’, ‘different’, ‘complicated’ and ‘mixed’, among others. Identity confusion is one of the key struggles of TCKs, as they live in and among cultures; both multiple local and even global influences cause identity confusion.[125] It becomes even more profound in the case of denizen TCKs as they struggle to define themselves in a home where they may not be allowed to remain indefinitely.

Aspects of this struggle to define one’s self in a place like Dubai are also apparent in respondents’ answers to, ‘When asked where you’re from, what do you usually say?’ When I coded this answer, I found that the word ‘but’ repeated itself in 22 responses, with each respondent using ‘but’ to state that he/she had links to both his/her passport country and Dubai; for example, ‘from Dubai but originally from india’ and ‘South Africa but I

[124] Gilbert, 93-109 (p. 94).
[125] Arnett, 774-83 (p. 777).

grew up in Dubai'. The fact that some respondents begin with the passport country while others begin with Dubai is also telling as it may reveal the place to which the individual feels a greater connection. In all cases, the use of the word 'but' allows respondents to tell people that they have ties to both passport and host countries. When the reasons given behind some of these responses are analysed, identity confusion becomes more apparent. An Indian respondent who had lived in Dubai all her life answered that she is 'Indian but lived in Dubai'. When asked in the next question why she chose to give this answer, her response was, 'Because it's true! I can't call myself a local citizen of either country'. Another participant, a Canadian national who had lived in Dubai for 10 years wrote, she 'was born in canada, grew up in middle east, saudi them[n] dubai but parents from india'. This extended response reflects the fact that many TCKs find it very hard to define themselves. Questions about where one is from are hard to answer, as is apparent when she responded to 'Why did you choose to say the above?' with, 'nothing else makes sense'.

In contrast to this confusion, 32 participants chose to state a passport country when they were asked where they are from. I was interested to analyse their motivations behind these answers in order to learn why they seemed more confident about a singular identity. In response to 'Why do you choose to say the above [Where are you from]?' 7 expressed a sense of patriotism, with answers such as 'I'm born Pakistani and will always be', 'Because even if I have lived most of my life here, India is where my roots are' and 'because my roots and I belong to my land'. However, a majority of the others who replied with a passport country expressed reasons such as these: 'If you say you are from Dubai, it just cannot be proved', 'Because they don't consider me an Emirati even though I was born there' and 'Cause i am actually sri lankan, but I'd be lying if i didn't point out that dubai is actually the first word that comes to mind when answering the above'. This reveals that stating a passport country does not necessarily represent a sense of confidence in one's identity; it may simply portray participants' reluctance to state that they are from Dubai when they do not have the legal recourse to do so.

Overall, the motivations of these individuals, along with those of 18 respondents who stated that they are from 'Dubai', reveal that there is no easy answer to the question of identity. Gilbert states that some TCKs may identify with the culture they live in but 'maintain psychological ties to their home country', while others may 'disassociate themselves from their home country'. Some may feel ownership of both without feeling

like they completely belong in either.[126] This helps explain the wide range of responses that I received from the TCKs who completed the survey.

Dubai, the paradox: Multiculturalism and tolerance versus racism and exclusion

A TCK experiences both benefits and challenges because of his/her third culture lifestyle. In order to gauge the benefits the survey respondents had enjoyed and the challenges they had faced, I asked them to provide both the greatest advantage and disadvantage of growing up in Dubai. The city's multicultural environment was the most popular advantage cited by respondents. TCKs benefit from a three-dimensional view of the world. They are able to experience the world in a 'tangible' way that is not possible to do through media.[127] Even if the TCKs who live in Dubai never move to another host culture, they reside in a city populated by 202 nationalities, hence they are exposed to and interact with people from different passport cultures on a daily basis. Respondents talked about 'Living in a multi-cultural society' and 'Appreciating different cultures'. They highlighted the benefits of a multicultural environment, stating that it helped them learn 'tolerance', become 'respectful of others' cultures and backgrounds' and that 'the mix of various nationalities helped understand at an early age that the world doesn't revolve around one culture'.

There is a paradox that becomes apparent when one reads the disadvantages presented by the participants. Racism and exclusion are highlighted repeatedly in the survey. For example, a respondent who identified herself as 'Pakistani British' and had lived in Dubai for 25 years before she moved to the UK, stated that Dubai is a 'Multicultural place', but then added, 'It's a racist country [city]' and that you are 'always an outsider'. Another respondent echoed these sentiments. A Pakistani who had lived in Dubai all her life said that by growing up in the city you become 'Global citizens having tolerance and understanding of many nationalities', which seems to contrast with the disadvantage she presents: 'Second class citizens who are aliens to their homeland'. While these statements appear paradoxical in nature, they are common aspects of the Dubai experience. Racism is experienced on some level by all non-Emiratis, with discrimination being practised openly, as stated in Chapter 1. However, as at least 55 per cent of my respondents are of South Asian origin (if dual nationals are included, 70 per cent of

[126] Gilbert, 93-109 (p. 94).
[127] Pollock and Van Reken, p. 93.

respondents claim a link to a South Asian country), it is difficult to gauge if racism would have been highlighted as often as a disadvantaging factor if there were more equal numbers of different nationalities. Ultimately, the survey results do provide an insight into how these particular individuals see their Dubai experience. Many felt excluded and frustrated about not being able to obtain citizenship despite living in the city long term, while also accessing and enjoying Dubai's multicultural environment . Vora discusses Indians who inhabit this liminal space in the city: people who, she explains, do not fit easily under the title 'expat', as 'this category privileges the experiences, skin color, and supposed cosmopolitanism' of Western nationals, and who are also not part of the working class 'migrant' group who have built 'Brand Dubai'. They are at once disadvantaged and are also able to move 'between Dubai's many worlds'.[128]

Conclusion

Overall, although the participants hail from 19 countries, a majority of them are South Asian passport holders. More women than men answered the survey and over half of the respondents were from the 18 – 25 age bracket. An analysis of the survey results revealed that a large number of the respondents considered Dubai as home. While this was the case, it was harder to pin point identity and many were confused about how they should describe themselves. While some identified themselves using their passport nationalities, this was not necessarily because they felt a sense of patriotism towards it, with some respondents doing so as they felt they could not legally describe themselves as citizens of Dubai. Furthermore, living in a multicultural city was highlighted as a key advantage. On the other hand, the lack of a route to citizenship and the racism faced in the city were highlighted as disadvantages.

[128] Vora, *Impossible Citizens: Dubai's Indian Diaspora*, pp. 63-64.

5. Interviews: Findings and Analysis

Once I had conducted the survey and had begun to analyse the results, I found key links to the stories I had written. As a denizen TCK who hails from South Asia, my protagonists are South Asians who have grown up in Dubai, and the themes of identity and enforced unbelonging are explored in the stories. When I realised that a large percentage of the survey respondents were also of South Asian origin, many of whom were concerned with the question of 'home', I began to sharpen the overall focus of my research. Instead of looking at denizen TCKs of all nationalities, I decided to concentrate on those who hail from South Asian countries, as they are some of the most disenfranchised members of Dubai's denizen society. Although I no longer planned to use interviews to inspire the content of my stories, I wanted to use them to discuss themes that had surfaced in the survey. I also wanted to learn if there were any marked differences between participants who had remained in the UAE and those who had moved away. Moreover, I was interested in learning whether the place they had moved to had an impact on their responses.

Qualitative interviews are 'one of the most widespread knowledge-producing practices' in social science research.[129] They are often semi-structured as this permits the researcher to focus on his/her study interests, while also giving both interviewer and interviewee the freedom to let the conversation develop. A semi-structured interview was appropriate for this study as it would ensure that I covered the general research questions I had devised earlier, while also giving my interviewees the opportunity to elaborate and diverge if they wanted, which would make the conversation more worthwhile for both parties.

Participant Selection

In order to select my participants I adopted purposeful sampling, which involves the researcher choosing individuals who can 'purposefully inform an understanding of the research problem or phenomenon in the study'[130]. While this initially seemed like a straightforward task, there were multiple factors that I was concerned would impact the data I collected. I considered whether to include: both men and women in the sample,

[129] *The Sage Encyclopedia of Qualitative Research Methods*, ed. by Lisa M. Given, 2 vols (Los Angeles: Sage, 2008), I, vii-483 (p. 470).
[130] John W. Creswell, *Qualitative Inquiry & Research Design: Choosing among Five Approaches*, 2nd edn (Los Angeles: Sage, 2007), p. 125.

representatives from pre-determined age categories, and, of those who had travelled abroad, candidates who had moved to both South Asia and to more economically affluent countries of the West. Furthermore, I was also uncertain about the number of people to interview.

I began to realise that my approach was becoming too scientific, which risked losing the rich data that would reveal the stories my participants wanted to share. Therefore, I revisited the research questions and considered in greater detail what I hoped to achieve from these interviews. Overall, I wanted to speak to individuals from the following categories:

- Those who had grown up in Dubai and still lived there
- Those who had grown up in Dubai and had moved to the West
- Those who had grown up in Dubai and had moved to South Asia

As with the surveys, I wanted the interviewees to feel confident about sharing their experiences; therefore, I selected candidates from the pool of contact details provided by survey respondents who had expressed an interest in participating in further research. Armed with these criteria, I contacted 7 potential candidates, 6 of whom fulfilled the above criteria, and 1 who had lived in both South Asia and the West. All of them were interested in being interviewed; however, due to differences in time zones and interviewees' work schedules, I ultimately interviewed 4 individuals[131], all of whom were women. Due to the fact that 3 of the 4 interviewees lived abroad, I conducted a face-to-face interview with the participant who lived in Dubai and telephone / audio Skype interviews with those in other countries.

Participants

A brief description of each participant at the time of the interview is provided below. The participants' names have been changed in order to maintain confidentiality.

Interview 1

Name of interviewee: Mehr

Country of residence: UAE

Mehr is a 29-year-old Indian with a UAE Residence Visa. She was born in Dubai and has lived there all her life. She is unmarried and in full-time employment.

[131] **A copy of the consent form is included as Appendix B.**

Interview 2

Name of interviewee: Hira

Country of residence: Canada

Hira is a 39-year-old dual national (Canadian and Pakistani) who lives in Canada. She was born in Dubai and had lived there until she was 26. She left Dubai upon marrying a man who lived in the USA. She lived in the USA for 5 years before moving to Canada. She is employed part time.

Interview 3

Name of interviewee: Sidra

Country of residence: Pakistan

Sidra is a 40-year-old Pakistani national who lives in Pakistan. She was born in Dubai and had lived there until she was 17. She left Dubai for Pakistan in order to marry a man who lived there. She was married at the age of 18. She is in full-time employment.

Interview 4

Name of interviewee: Fatima

Country of residence: USA

Fatima is a 22-year-old Bangladeshi with a Student Visa for the USA. She was born in Dubai and had lived there until she was 17, when she and her family moved to Bangladesh. She lived in Bangladesh until the age of 21. She then moved to the USA to attend university. She is a full-time student.

Interview Questions

In order to conduct a semi-structured interview, I created a list of questions that I would use as a guide when talking to interviewees.

1. What impact do you think growing up in Dubai has had on your sense of identity?
2. Where do you feel you belong?
3. How do you react/respond when people ask you where you're from?
4. If you had the choice, where would you live indefinitely and why?
5. Overall, do you think growing up in Dubai has been more of an advantage or a disadvantage?

Analysing the Interviews

Creswell urges researchers to view qualitative data analysis 'as involving multiple levels'.[132] Before transcribing the interviews, I listened to them, making notes about each participant's tone and how she responded to my questions. This was quite revelatory as Hira, for example, sounded relaxed and confident, while Sidra was more earnest and took longer to respond to each question. After transcribing[133] and printing out the interviews, I began to analyse the content of each one by underlining anything of interest and adding memos to the margins of each transcript. I then drew up a set of codes that I could use to label aspects of what interviewees were trying to share. Some of the codes are as follows:

- IC (identity confusion)
- IF (identity formation)
- M (multiculturalism)
- Re (issues related to re-entry)

These codes were helpful as they facilitated identifying recurring themes, while also allowing me to see if any themes were absent from an interview and if other themes appeared in that interview. By clustering material in this way, it was easier to establish similarities and differences. Furthermore, it was insightful to see if the themes that recurred tied in with literature that is already present in the field, and whether any of these themes represented the Dubai TCK experience, in particular.

The key themes that I highlighted through the coding process are as follows:

- Benefits of a multicultural environment
- Identity and belonging: confusion versus confidence
- Challenges of re-entry

All the interviewees highlighted the benefits of Dubai's multicultural environment. As the theme of multiculturalism has been discussed in the survey section, I will not analyse it in greater detail here. Instead, I will provide an analysis of the other two themes that recur in these interviews, as they are not shared and experienced in the same way by all interviewees.

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[132] Creswell, *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches*, p. 184.

[133] **The interviews were transcribed in true verbatim, with pauses and utterances, such as 'umm' and 'hmm', transcribed to add meaning. Any use of dashes within the quotes presents a pause by the participant. No grammatical errors were corrected and are presented as transcribed.**

Identity and belonging

As studying the Dubai TCK's sense of identity and belonging is key to my research, I asked each interviewee about the impact she thought Dubai had on her identity. Mehr, an Indian who lives in Dubai, answered:

> *It's caused a lot of confusion, um, people ask where I'm from and I don't know if I'm meant to say I'm from here or from India, so it's caused a lot of confusion. I consider myself an Indian, but because I've lived here all my life, I consider this as home.*

The repetition of the word 'confusion' was the first aspect that I noticed. As she had grown up in Dubai while still holding an Indian passport, she found it hard to define herself. Fatima, a Bangladeshi who is studying in the USA expressed similar confusion:

> *It's complicated. My birth certificate says Dubai. Now if it were like the European countries, I would be considered as one of them. But my passport says Bangladeshi. I am confused as to what I should identify myself as – by roots that I probably didn't have much experience with, or birth place? Identifying is even harder now that I am studying in the States.*

Both Mehr and Fatima expressed frustration at the inability to describe themselves to others easily. Fail et al. argue that while the title TCK may help offer such children a means to identify themselves, it is not a concept of which children may be aware and it is likely that most people growing up internationally will have to develop their own sense of identity.[134] This rings true for both Mehr and Fatima, as neither had heard of the concept of a TCK before they answered the survey. Furthermore, it was apparent from their answers that both participants could not settle on a fixed sense of identity, particularly because of their long-term affiliation with Dubai.

In contrast to Mehr and Fatima, Hira, a dual national living in Canada, expressed a much clearer sense of identity:

> *The Pakistani passport so to speak, was, you know, just a passport and whenever people ask me, even now: Where are you from? It's really that I'm from Dubai… That sense of belonging to Dubai, I didn't even need to be called an Emirati for that or any other nationality…Dubai was home and that really is my identity. That's how I take it even now. I don't know if I appreciate that even more now that I'm*

[134] Helen Fail, Jeff Thompson and George Walker, 'Belonging, Identity and Third Culture Kids: Life Histories of Former International Students', *Journal of Research in International Education*, 3 (2004), 319-338 (p. 326).

away from Dubai, because I seem to have grown, you know, closer to the place than ever, since I moved away.

Throughout the interview, Hira expressed a very secure sense of identity, with Dubai being referred to as 'home' repeatedly. During the discussion she cited her father's 'business background' as leading to a stable childhood: 'The 3 year visas, you know, being at the mercy of your employer and all of that, I never grew up with that feeling, because we had – my dad had a business'. This lack of a fear of repatriation to her passport country may be a source of the development of a more certain connection to the place she grew up, instead of her passport country. Fail et al. state that 'a sense of belonging is a subjective, emotional response'[135] and in Hira's case, one of the factors that may have impacted her sense of stability was the relative lack of a fear of repatriation.

Another aspect that may have caused Hira to reiterate her connection to Dubai could be the fact that she no longer lives in the city. When asked if she could live anywhere in the world, she laughed and answered, 'Surprise, surprise, I would love to come back to Dubai. That would be divine'. Sidra, who has lived in Pakistan for over 22 years shared Hira's sentiments for most of her time there: 'wherever I was, they recognised me from this name: She's from Dubai, she's from Dubai. Because I'd never taken the identity of Pakistan'. Sidra stated that whenever she visited Dubai she felt as though she had come home: 'The moment you land over there, I feel it's my place. It's my place. I'm here'. By ensuring that others around her knew that she had grown up in Dubai, she maintained that distinction between herself and the people in her passport country, even years after she had returned to it. In both Sidra and Hira's interviews, there is a nostalgia that permeates their answers, which is reminiscent of a diasporic community's nostalgia for their homeland. There is a sense of pride in the tone of Sidra's answers, which may indicate that by distinguishing herself from others in her passport country, she continued to maintain her link to Dubai, a place in which she could no longer live long term.

Although Sidra maintained this sense of identity for 20 years, she stated in the interview that she no longer felt the same way. She had, in the last 2 years, found a sense of belonging in Pakistan. When asked what had brought about this change, she said that she had begun teaching at a school for children from disadvantaged backgrounds:

Now I feel like my life is complete, like I'm here to teach them… throughout the years I kept on thinking that, you know, where I came from I should go there,

[135] Fail, Thompson and Walker, 319-338 (p. 326).

rather than dragging myself in a place that I'm not comfortable, but then finally I see that I'm in a place that I'm supposed to be.

This sense of completeness and the formation of an identity that allowed Sidra to accept her passport country seemed to come only when she felt that living in Pakistan was worthwhile.

Here it is interesting to return to Fatima, who did not exhibit nostalgia for Dubai during the interview. She also did not express as strong a connection to Dubai as Hira or Sidra. This may be because she did not leave Dubai voluntarily. She and her family were forced to repatriate to Bangladesh, her passport country, when her father lost his job. When asked where she would live if given a chance, Fatima said, 'USA. Because of the opportunities…Unlike Dubai, because of the experience I went through'. Frustration and anger crept into her tone upon being questioned how she responds when people ask her where she is from:

I find it rude, personally, when someone asks me that on the first go – In the States when people ask me where I'm from, I play around between Dubai and Bangladesh as an answer. When I would say Dubai people would compliment my speaking skill and ask me more about Dubai and how lavish it is. But when I say Bangladesh they have an opposite reaction. They ask me questions about arranged marriages, about how different my accent is. If people wouldn't have such opposite reactions perhaps identifying myself would be a little easier – I'm not sure if I make sense!

As explained in Chapter 1, while a question about belonging may seem fairly benign, TCKs often find it intrusive, as the answer is unlikely to be simple. As Fatima receives a positive reaction towards one aspect of her identity and the opposite towards her Bangladeshi identity, it heightens that confusion and the inability to settle on any one answer to who she is and where she belongs.

Challenges of re-entry

Quick states that the most difficult transition for TCKs 'is when they repatriate long term to the country which their passport declares as home but in which they may not have lived for much or all of their childhood'.[136] Sidra's answers displayed the challenges of repatriation to a TCK's passport country very clearly:

[136] Tina L. Quick, *The Global Nomad's Guide to University Transition* (Norwich: Summertime Publishing, 2010), Foreword. Kindle ebook.

From the time I shifted here it took me years to settle down in Pakistan. It took me years…it was a very big change in my life, leaving Dubai and living over here in Pakistan. And then, you know all the things, the life and the childhood spent over there was awesome and life is completely different over here…In the start I felt like I was in a maze. And I couldn't get out.

Sidra's struggle to accept her passport country as home was further complicated by the fact that her family still resided in Dubai, but she had been repatriated in order to marry. Although there are no easily available statistics on the number of women who return to South Asia to marry men who live there, it was not uncommon in the 1990s, when Sidra got married. Sidra cited the differences between her third culture in Dubai and the culture of Pakistan, as a reason she struggled to adjust: 'Living, you know, in a joint family system and all the things which I never had seen there in Dubai. Dubai was a place where we lived independently but Pakistan…We are not independent at all.' Sidra's answers display much of the grief she felt at having to leave Dubai:

Because the childhood was spent over there [Dubai], my golden time was spent over there. Over here [Pakistan] I only got married and then the life changed. Basically, I always felt that my childhood place is Dubai and that was my home place.

Gilbert states that TCKs' 'socially ambiguous losses are not or cannot be openly mourned or socially supported'.[137] While Sidra looked like her Pakistani compatriots, she could not fit in, and much of that grief and struggle was evident in the interview.

Fatima also expressed that she found it hard to adjust to life in her passport country upon her return to Bangladesh at 17. When asked if she struggled to fit in, she said, 'Definitely! Till today…It was never easy and it still isn't'. Fatima compared herself to her sister who, she said, was much more adept at transitioning between cultures, expressing frustration at her own difficulties. While her sister may display a constructive form of marginality, where an individual utilises his/her differences to feel at home anywhere,[138] Fatima felt the stresses of transition more keenly, such as loss of a home she loved and the fear of starting over again.

In contrast to Sidra and Fatima, Hira did not talk about struggling to adjust to life in Canada. Although, as her conversation was very nostalgic, there is a sense that in missing

[137] Gilbert, 93-109 (p. 96).
[138] Janet M. Bennett, pp. 109-135 (p. 113).

Dubai, there is a manifestation of the challenge of re-entry. Like Sidra, Hira compared Canadian society to her experiences in Dubai:

> *I noticed the difference between Dubai and Canada was that in Canada there are these distinct pockets of different cultures that don't necessarily mix and in Dubai we never had that. I remember celebrating Diwali with people. There were Christmas parties and them joining us for Eid. There was just a great sense of unity in those days.*

It is this nostalgia that betrays a measure of the loss she felt for a place that she had left behind, which is one of the hallmarks of TCK transitions.

While Mehr still resides in Dubai, analysing the interview revealed a fear of repatriation. When asked where she would want to live indefinitely if she were not limited by passport or visa rules, she stated:

> *If that was the case. And if I had a stable job, I would want to continue living in Dubai. Coz apart from the problems with equal job opportunities, I think I've had a very safe, a very comfortable life here. And I would want to continue living here. It's a place where I feel comfortable in. So, yeah, if I had equal jo – equal or at least decent job opportunities and a stable-ish visa status, I'd want to continue living here.*

Mehr's comments are quite telling. The pause between 'equal jo –' and 'equal or at least decent' reveals her willingness to compromise if it meant she could remain in Dubai. This is also evident in the addition of the suffix 'ish' to 'stable'. Although she did not believe that she would have access to equal job opportunities, as is apparent in the repetition of this theme, she still preferred to remain in the city.

Conclusion

Overall, an analysis of the interviews reveals that although all 4 participants grew up in Dubai, their responses to the interview questions were influenced by aspects such as their geographical location and the stability of their lives growing up. All of them expressed an attachment to Dubai and believed that it had shaped their sense of self. Not all interviewees displayed identity confusion, with the older participants more stable in their view of themselves than the younger. Furthermore, all interviewees were affected by the challenges of leaving a place they had grown to love and accept as home. While Hira expressed this in her desire to return to the city long term, Fatima and Sidra had experienced more

difficulties because of the transition. A reluctance to repatriate is apparent in Mehr's willingness to settle for a professional situation that was not entirely ideal if it meant that she could remain in Dubai.

6. Limitations of Research Approach and Methods

Creative writing research is a developing area and, by its nature, a field open to innovation. It allows the freedom to choose methods that fit purpose. The approach I adopted for this project was drawn from a desire to learn about and share the Dubai TCK experience, while also developing my creative work. However, although the survey and interviews have shed light on the lives of Dubai's South Asian TCKs, these methods have limitations.

As with any survey, there is a chance that some respondents may not have expressed their beliefs and attitudes accurately – there might be a 'social desirability response bias', with the respondent answering questions in a manner that shows him/her in a positive light.[139] There is also a possibility that participants may not take an internet based survey seriously.[140] This, however, is not evident from any of the survey responses, as the TCKs who participated in the survey answered each question about their Dubai experiences in detail. Another reason I chose to conduct a survey was to access the experiences of a larger number of TCKs. I also wanted participants to feel confident that what they were sharing was important. Therefore, a formal approach would make them feel that their experiences were worthy of research; they could also feel that they were sharing their views privately. Furthermore, I could hear individual voices which were not influenced by others. Over all, the limitations of the survey method were outweighed by the advantages.

There are also factors that limit the usefulness of interviews. A participant may respond differently in an interview compared to engaging in a regular conversation. When I first set out to conduct this research I imagined meeting friends over coffee to talk about home and a sense of belonging. Such conversations are not limited by a set of questions or as short a time frame as that of a telephone/Skype interview. The conversation ebbs and flows as it unfolds, resulting in a more natural and spontaneous communication of ideas. Although this appealed to me, I did not want to limit my conversations to TCKs who were

[139] Robson, p. 240.
[140] Ibid.

resident in Dubai, as it would be more valuable to compare current residents' responses to those of TCKs who had moved away. Furthermore, as I did not restrict my questions to those I had scripted, allowing interviewees to steer the conversation, the interviews were more organic. Overall, the survey and interviews yielded rich and insightful data, and serve as a starting point for any research I conduct in the future.

7. Conclusion

Dubai is a city which is home to 202 nationalities. Benedict Anderson proposed that a nation is 'an imagined community'.[141] Dubai is a community imagined differently by the diverse people who live in it. As a city with a non-Emirati majority, the ideas of nationhood and nationality vary based on the different members Dubai society. Emiratis who live in Dubai view the city as home and a place from which they draw their identity; they regard themselves as members of a Dubai and UAE which is essentially Emirati, and feel a sense of solidarity towards each other. However, there are others who also consider Dubai as home: those who grow up there and live there long term. These individuals may hail from different parts of the world, but it is the place they consider home, the multicultural Dubai of their imaginings, that draws them together in a community. While there are political constraints on who may remain in Dubai indefinitely, it does not prevent those who have grown up there to call it home. These individuals are TCKs by view of the fact that they have grown up outside their passport countries; however, they are also denizens, as they have lived most of their lives in one place – Dubai. A majority of these denizen TCKs hold passport affiliations to South Asia and despite their number, they are more disadvantaged than their Emirati and non-South Asian peers. *Dubai Calling* is a collection of short stories which attempts to give expression to this community of people, the 'impossible citizens'[142] who have, thus far, cast no shadow.

[141] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, rev. edn (London: Verso, 2006) p. 6.
[142] Vora, *Impossible Citizens: Dubai's Indian Diaspora*, p. 3.

Appendix A

Survey Participant Information and Consent Sheet

Study Title: I Cast no Shadow: Dubai and the Third Culture Kid Experience
Researcher: Aiysha Jahan
Ethics number: 19931

Thank you for your interest in my research!

I am a PhD research student at the University of Southampton* who grew up in Dubai and has travelled, studied and lived around the world. I have returned to Dubai to study the city's unique Third Culture Kid (TCK) experience. David Pollock, co-author of 'Third Culture Kids: Growing up Among Worlds', has described a TCK as 'a person who has spent a significant part of his or her developmental years outside the parents' culture'. My research focuses on the impact that growing up in the UAE as the child of an expatriate has on an individual's sense of identity.

This survey forms part of my research into the topic and its results will influence the direction of my study. Please answer this questionnaire if
a) you are not a UAE national;
b) you have spent a part (at least a year) or all of your childhood in the UAE;
c) you are between 18 - 45 years old.

It should take about 10 minutes to complete.

The first part of the questionnaire asks you for some basic demographic details (you are not required to provide your name or contact details) in order for me to establish the context of the answers you provide in the second section, which focuses on the impact of your TCK experience.

If you require any further information about this survey or the research topic, please contact me at aj4g11@soton.ac.uk.

The survey results will be kept confidential and my published research will maintain this confidentiality. If you have any questions about your rights as a participant in this research, you may contact the Administrator of the Ethics Committee, Humanities, at the University of Southampton (Phone: +44 (0)23 8059 4663, Email: C.Cooke@soton.ac.uk).

Thanks again for your support,

Aiysha Jahan

*My profile, which includes further details of my research, can be viewed at http://www.southampton.ac.uk/english/postgraduate/research_students/aj4g11.page

By answering this questionnaire, you are granting permission for your responses to be used in my research. In order to proceed, please check the box below to indicate that you are 18 or older and have read and understood the information I have provided above.

☐ **I agree**

NEXT

Appendix B

Interview Participant Information and Consent Sheet

Study Title: I Cast no Shadow: Dubai and the Third Culture Kid Experience
Researcher: Aiysha Jahan
Ethics number: 19931

Participant Information

Please read the following information carefully before deciding to take part in this research. If you are happy to participate, you will need to sign the consent form on the last page of this document.

Dear Participant,

Thank you for taking an interest in my research! I am a PhD research student at the University of Southampton, who grew up in Dubai and has travelled, studied and lived around the world. I have returned to Dubai to study the city's unique Third Culture Kid (TCK) experience. David Pollock, co-author of 'Third Culture Kids: Growing up Among Worlds', has described a TCK as 'a person who has spent a significant part of his or her developmental years outside the parents' culture'. My research focuses on the impact that growing up in the UAE as the child of an expatriate has on an individual's sense of identity.

Why you have been chosen:
You have been chosen for this interview because you:

- are originally from a country in South Asia (India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka);
- spent your childhood in Dubai;
- still reside in Dubai/now reside in a country other than your original passport country and the UAE/have now returned to your passport country.

What will happen to you if you take part:
If you agree to be interviewed, I will conduct a telephone/Skype/face to face interview. I will begin with asking you a few demographical questions (age, nationality, number of years spent in Dubai, etc.) in order to establish your background, and will follow this by asking you about how your experience of growing up in Dubai has impacted your sense of identity and belonging. This interview will take about 10 to 15 minutes. The interview will be audio recorded, and will later be transcribed and analysed. You can be provided with a copy of the transcript if you would like it.

The benefits of participating in this research:
This interview will give you the opportunity to think about your experience of growing up in Dubai and the impact it has had on your sense of identity and belonging. This may give you a better understanding of how living in a culture other than your passport culture has impacted your life. Also, there is very little research that presents the lives of South Asian TCKs, particularly those who have grown up in places like the UAE, where many South Asians live long term. By talking about your experiences, you will potentially be helping to inform research in this area.

Are there any risks involved?
You will not be asked about, or be required to discuss or comment upon, any political aspects of life in Dubai or the UAE. You will only be asked to discuss the impact that living as a TCK in Dubai has had on your sense of identity and belonging. If at any stage you do not want to answer a question posed to you, you may choose not to answer it.

Confidentiality:
Your participation is entirely confidential and my published research will maintain this confidentiality. No identifying information will be included in my published work. You will not be asked to state your name during the interview and the interview transcripts will not include any names. I will replace any names you may mention with initials. The audio recording, transcripts and consent forms will be saved on my password-protected computer and will only be accessed by me for the purposes of this research project.

What happens if you change your mind:
You have the right to withdraw your participation in this research at any time and for any reason without fear of penalty or prejudice, or without your legal rights being affected.

Where to get further information:
If you would like any further information about the research or the interview itself, please contact me on aj4g11@soton.ac.uk If you have any concerns about this interview process or have any questions about your rights as a participant, please contact the Chair of the Faculty Ethics Committee, Prof Chris Janaway (+44 (0)23 80593424, c.janaway@soton.ac.uk).

Thank you,

Aiysha Jahan

Participant Consent

Please initial the box(es) if you agree with the statement(s):

I have read and understood the information provided in this Participant Information and Consent Sheet and have had the opportunity to ask questions about the study.	☐
I agree to take part in this research project and agree for my data to be used for the purpose of this study.	☐
I understand my participation is voluntary and I may withdraw at any time without my legal rights being affected.	☐

Data Protection
I understand that information collected about me during my participation in this study will be stored on a password-protected computer and that this information will only be used for the purpose of this study. All files containing any personal data will be made anonymous.

Name of participant (print name).....

Signature of participant.....

Date.....

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