

# Impacts of Foreigners on the Gulf Arab Vernacular: The Case of Indian Immigrants in the United Arab Emirates

Mohammed Salisu  
Qatar University, Doha, Qatar

Activities of Indians in the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) States continue to be a major area of attention by the government and citizens of the sub-region. The GCC States have had to contend with varied numbers of foreign nationals who continue to troop into their territories in search of economic opportunities. The United Arab Emirates (UAE), which is a federation of seven emirates, has over the years, been a major destination for foreigners. This article identifies various categories of Indian immigrants in the UAE, their areas of activities, and how they have impacted the vernacular of the citizens of the federal monarchical state. It begins by highlighting India-UAE relation prior to the independence of what is now the United Arab Emirates in 1971. Second, it describes the characterization of the relation between Indians and Emiratis after 1971. With some selected examples, the article reveals the impacts Hindi/Urdu languages have made on the vernacular of Emiratis.

*Keywords:* Indians, vernacular, United Arab Emirates, locals, Impact, Hindi/Urdu

## Introduction

Academic discourse of Indians in the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) States of Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates (UAE), Qatar, Kuwait, Bahrain, and Oman often consider how economic factors have shaped their relationship with the people in the region. Related works have thus, focused on trade between the two peoples, processes and procedures of recruiting Indian labor force to the sub-region, their population strength and the outflow of remittances back to their homeland, India. Notable authors on the subject are Syed Ali, Neha Vora, Andrew Gardner, Fatma, Deffner, and Carmella Pfaffenbach. Fatma Al-Sayegh's (1998) *Merchants' Role in a Changing Society: The Case of Dubai, 1900-1990* examined the contribution of merchants in the development of the Emirate of Dubai. The work recounts key roles played by Persians, Indians, and non-Emirati Arabmerchants in the socio-economic development of Dubai. According to the author, the immediate adoption of progressive socio-economic reforms, its swift implementations and establishments of formal schools in the early stages signifies the hallmark of the merchants' contribution. In the same strand, Syed Ali's (2010) *Dubai: Gilded Cage* examined the plight of menial and middle-class Indian workers in Dubai, and how they have navigated within the socio-economic ladder of the Emirate City. Similarly, Neha Vora's (2013) *Impossible Citizens: Dubai's Indian Diaspora* investigated identity and belongingness amongst Indian middle class living in Dubai, and reveals how Indians have mostly considered Dubai as a second home or an extension of India proper. Andrew M. Gardner's (2010) *City of Strangers: Gulf Migration and the Indian Community in Bahrain* explored the onslaught of the *kafāla*/sponsorship visa system on middle class Indians in

Bahrain, and how they mediate and perk up their daily experiences within Bahrain's state institutions and social organizations. Among these few studies is the work of Veronica Deffner and Carmella Pfaffenbach (2011), which examines the structural space negotiated by Indians living in Oman. Their work, *The Indian Diaspora in Muscat*, explores how majority of Indians trudge up the stairs in Oman, and have always had a plan of returning to [homeland] India.

These works considered multiple ways Indians have related with the GCC member states, albeit, none discussed how their varied activities have affected the local Arabic dialect (in Arabic, *Āmiyya* or *Dārījīyya*) of any of the state. Using a case study of the United Arab Emirates (UAE), this paper reveals how the vernacular of the monarchical federal state has been impacted through the activities of Indian immigrants. Using secondary data sources with a limited interview project<sup>1</sup>, the article begins by outlining theoretical issues upon which the article is premised. The second section models India-UAE relation prior to independence of the latter in 1971. The third section recounts the trajectory of the relationship between Indians and Emiratis since 1971. The penultimate section highlights the impacts of Hindi/Urdu languages on the colloquial Arabic of the locals. The article focuses on the UAE because it has the largest population of Indian immigrants among the GCC States (Ali, 2010; Vora, 2013). Further, the UAE is gifted with a strategic geographical location within the Gulf Arab sub-region, making it the epicenter of commercial activities connecting India, Iran, the Levant, and Africa.

Examining the effects of migrants on a local dialect of a society is highly relevant, as powerful states have historically resorted to such tactics to subvert local language(s) of weak states. These tactics closely reflect those of the French colonizers who consciously enervated the vernaculars of the *Maghrib* and the *Levant* sub-regions causing discordant in their current linguistic structure. It is, therefore, unsurprising that the colloquial Arabic of these two sub-regions is convoluted in structure and form from the *Khalījis*, albeit both people communicate with a not inconsiderable level of difficulties.

### **Migration and Social Change—The Theoretical Issues**

The presence of foreigners in all countries naturally initiates a process of transformation of the society no matter how it is structured. The infusion of new ideas, cultural practices and different ways of doing things by foreigners over a long period eventually affect the socio-cultural setting of the host country. Consequently, the under populated UAE<sup>2</sup> has had to contend with growing numbers of Indians with its concomitant social impacts. Murdock (1961) defined change as “[T]he emergence and identification of visible or tangible difference in a set of things or variables and its effects on the variables that hitherto was not visible” (p. 250). This occurs within a space over a period and ascertained by the comparison of the past characteristics of the members of the society with their present characteristics. According to Murdock (1961), the influence or availability of new information, or elements and the interaction of these elements within the society occasion the differences in the past characteristics leads to the creation and existence of new characteristics of the members within the society and its subsequent effect. The essence of this difference or change could be positive

---

<sup>1</sup> The interview was conducted with ten Emiratis who the author got to know during his short study at the American University of Sharjah.

<sup>2</sup> Like the other GCC States, the United Arab Emirates has attracted extremely high proportion of migrant workers. The sub-region is the third largest host of foreign migrants in the world after the European Union and North America. For more on this, see Hanieh (2010) and Diop, Le, & Ewers (2016).

or negative. Murdock (1961) further explained the process of change by emphasizing on the cultural organization of society. He looks at the culture of man as the nerve center to determine change in every sphere of the life of the society. Socialization, as an activity, from the generation of man, determines the nature of the society. Murdock (1961) indicated that culture is a system of collective habits. And “collective habits may be habits of actions such as customs or habits of thoughts such as collective ideas, these habits are learned collectively” (p. 250). Societies develop under different geographical and social conditions; hence the collective habits of each society differ from the other. Consequently, a change in the social behavior or culture generally has its origin in some significant alteration in the life condition of the society. Therefore, if the situation of the society changes, old behavioral patterns may be discouraged and new patterns encouraged. Murdock (1961) indicated how “some of the typical events, among others, that result in change include changes in the population of the society and contact with people with different cultures” (p. 250). He postulates that any event that produces change in a society is historical. This is because, such an event had to occur at a certain time and place and the consequent changes would depend on the context.

Murdock (1961) further outlined four processes of an event that result in change. First, there should be an innovation, which is the development or formation of a new idea or habit by a single individual. Second, there should be a social acceptance of the innovation, practiced by members of the society and subsequently becomes part of the culture. The third process is selective elimination stage where those existing traditions that are no more rewarding are eliminated by the society. The final process of change is integration. This is when the shared habits accepted by the members of the society consolidate with other shared habits such that they all form more or less completely, and the result is a complete change. Murdock (1961) argued that any occurrence of change brings some form of transformation (modernization) to the society in which it occurs.

Corroborating Murdock’s position, Shackman, Wang, and Liu (2002) considered the clash of wills as the historical harbinger to the emergence of the present. Thus, for a change to occur there is the need for the emergence and existence of wills. “These wills as a matter of cause emanate from all the systems (economic, social and political) of the society and the entire components or constituents of the society”. In explaining the historical situation and context as a crucial factor of change, Gene Shackman et al. (2002) indicated that change is not a single path or pattern, but depends on many factors such as how a society is organized, its relation with neighbors or its previous level of development. Put differently, the general disposition of a country vis-à-vis its relationship with neighbors, level of peace and stability and its economic potentials are determinants of the level of change that takes place in the country.

In considering the dynamics of social change, North (1996) saw institutions as the causer of the processes of change. Institutions, according to North, are society’s formal rules, such as constitutions, statutes and common laws and regulations as well as informal constraints, such as norms of behaviors, conventions and internally imposed codes of conduct and the enforcements characteristics of each. Thus, “institutions are created in order to reduce uncertainties in the pursuit of goals in economic, social and political exchanges” (p. 12). Existing literature show the UAE has had a national policy that sought to attract foreigners to its soil, and the country’s cordial relations with its neighbors and level of development in relation to its social, economic, and political development explains the large inflow of Indians and other foreigners to its soil and the impacts it so makes. The objective of the government of the UAE has been the expression of the will to effect changes in all spheres of life in the Emirate City. The socio-economic policies implemented by the government have

encouraged the inflow of Indians and other foreigners into the federal monarchical state and have enhanced their stay. In effect, the UAE has, for decades, pursued varying policies to enhance social and economic development of foreigners living on its soil.

Giving a systematic explanation of change, Eisenstadt (1983) used a comparative approach to lay out conditions of social growth and development. Eisenstadt (1983) considered change as a manifestation of modernization or social development that occurs under certain conditions. He points out that social development requires the development of a base level of certain factors which includes, among others, social mobilization and structural differentiation. Eisenstadt (1983) further explained that achieving a certain level of these factors is a *sin qua non* for social change and development. Put differently, for a society to continue to modernize (change), it needs to develop an institutional framework capable of continuous absorption of change. That is, as a society modernizes, new demands arise, new constituencies come to power, and the social sphere needs to adapt to these changes and maintain some level of continuity. Eisenstadt (1983) saw social modernization as partially systematic, and, partially indeterminate. Thus, while there are certain factors required for modernization, there is also a great variety in the specific forms society may take and how the modernization process occurs. According to Eisenstadt (1983), the differences in the modernization process may be partially explained by the previous level of a society's development, the temporal sequence, and the actions of the modernizing group.

The applicability of these theories signifies the level of impacts Indians have made on the vernacular of Emiratis. In particular, Murdock's theoretical framework defines change as constant phenomenon that takes time to be visible and becomes durable once it does. Indeed, the fact that there have been Indians living in the UAE—comprising Abu Dhabi, Dubai, Sharjah, Al Ain, Fujairah, Ras Al Khaimah and Ummu Al-Quwain—for more than a century with distinct social and cultural values, their activities would naturally make an impact on the host country, and thereby influence the overall cultural development of the locals. These theories of change give a base for this article, for majority of UAE's foreign inhabitants being Indians, is experiencing some structural and linguistic changes in its Arabic vernacular. Hindi/Urdu words have so much melted in the colloquial Arabic of Emiratis that most of them have forged in the crucible of the local dialect. Consequently, the naming trait of certain places in the individual emirates and many words in the colloquial Arabic remain of Indian origin.

### **Historical Contexts of Indians in the UAE**

Reports on Indians in the Persian Gulf are diverse and scattered across wide variety of sources. Thus, it is impossible to indicate an exact date for the start of contacts between Indians and Gulfees. According to James Onley (2014),

while there may well have been an Indian mercantile presence in the Gulf since the Bronze Age; the earliest account we have of an Indian community there comes from a book written in 916 AD by the Arab historian, Abu Zayd Hasan, referring to over 100 Hindu merchants at the southern port of Siraf, Iran. (p. 232)

Trade linkages between India and the Persian Gulf traced back to ancient times when people across the Arabian Sea had established bilateral economic contacts. As James Onley (2014) indicated, “[T]he Indian communities in the port towns of the Gulf were a physical manifestation of these ports’ intimate connection with, and heavy dependence on India in virtually every aspect of daily life” (p. 259). It suggests the degree to

which Indians shaped and defined the characters of the local populations in significant ways, yet, with varying extents. In the narratives of the past, Indians and Arab traders would sail across the Arabian Sea, buy and sell different commodities. For example, India has long remained the second trade partner for Bahrain and the Trucial States [now the UAE] since 1873, and it was only in 1903 that India surpassed Iran, which has long held the first place because of its expansive ports (Jerome Saldanha, 1906).

In line with this, Lawrence Potter (2009) explained that any consideration of what distinguishes the *Khalijis* from other Middle Easterners must highlight their historic ties with India (countries in North Africa and the Levant, in contrast, were more closely tied to the Mediterranean and Europe). Since the first recorded trading voyages thousands of years ago, India has always been the primary trading partner with the Gulf and indeed the source of supplies, such as foodstuffs and wood critical to the survival and prosperity of the *Khalijis* (Potter, 2009).

The aridity nature of the Emirate of Dubai with scanty rainfall made India the source of major agrarian products including variety of spices. The need for agricultural produce opened Dubai's borders to Indians. This does manifest in the existence of thousands of Indians who import into the emirate city foodstuffs until date. Thus, the presence of Indians with trade and working motives set the stage for the role of Indians in Dubai that continues to have phenomenal impacts.

The simultaneous inflow of Indians in Dubai began mainly with the British control of the Emirate in the year 1844. The Emirate between 1700 and 1821 was a shifting set of alliances, and enmities carried out of the mercantile location of European powers. Britain's intention in the Arabian Gulf had always been "security" and "stability" for free flow of commerce. Thus,

[T]he Pax Britannica in the Gulf was established through a series of maritime defense treaties, collectively known as the Maritime Truce, which Britain signed with the rulers of the Trucial States (now United Arab Emirates) in 1835, Bahrain in 1861, Kuwait in 1899 (de facto), and Qatar in 1916. (Onley, 2009, p. 3)

By the integration of the UAE as Trucial States, and the need for protection of the vulnerable ruling [*Sheikh*] families led to the formation of "royal defense unit" dominated by Indians. This marked the arrival of two main categories of Indians into the Trucial States: clerks and administrators for the British colonial authorities and soldiers for the defense of the vulnerable [ruling] *Sheikhs* and the general British interests. The rulers of the Trucial States, consequentially, signed the *Perpetual Maritime Truce* with the British in 1853, effectively bringing the region under Britain's sphere of influence. Through this, the Urdu/Hindi language gained prominence throughout the United Arab Emirates. The language developed as the role of the Indian soldiers began to attain prominence in the social spheres of the Emirate. The Indian soldiers, who could speak only Hindi/Urdu, spoke the language to anybody they met during discharge of their duties as agents of British control. The inhabitants were somewhat obliged to learn to understand the language or face the force of colonial brutalities. This made the Hindi/Urdu languages, besides Arabic, the second most spoken language in the UAE.

Further, the UAE had been at the center of a smuggling route for gold via small boats to India where the importation of gold was illegal (Onley, 2014, p. 4). The hub of these transactions was Dubai that had traditionally served as a "center of commerce" in the Persian Gulf with Indians dominating sales of gold and textiles. Such historical interactions continued and have deepened the trade links until date. Both the volume and nature of trade expanded especially when large number of Indians started working in the Gulf after the discovery of oil.

### Post Independence Contexts of Indians in the UAE

The phenomenon of Indian immigrants in the UAE after independence is explained in the context of “Pull-Push” factors of migration.<sup>3</sup> These migrants are those attracted by the expected benefits in the country and those pushed away by the socio-political circumstances in India. The development of oil fields from the mid-1960s onwards brought with it an influx of different caliber of Indian migrants. Indians in the UAE constitute the largest part of the population of the country. Over 3,420,000 Indian migrants live in the UAE,<sup>4</sup> which is over 27 percent of the total population of the country.<sup>5</sup> Consequently, population of Indian migrants in the UAE, which stood at just around 150,000 in 1975 (Parekh, Singh, & Vertovec, 2003) is closed to 3,500,000 as at 2019.<sup>6</sup> In the Emirate of Dubai alone, “[T]he total number of Indians stood at 1,600 in 1975, which rose to over 65,000 by 1985, and 80,000 by 1999, and close to one million by 2018”.<sup>7</sup> Many came via sea, a trip of about three days from Bombay (now Mumbai) to Dubai. Most of the traders and shopkeepers were from the State of Kerala, were Indian Arabs, descendants of Arabs who had previously immigrated to India lived. The social impact of Indians on Dubai could, therefore, be seen in the context of the foreigner-state relation.

Indian migration to the UAE surges drastically after independence in 1971 when the country embarked on rigorous economic programs and projects, snowballing it into the “commercial capital” of the entire Gulf Arab sub-region. The country’s cordial relations with India explain the large inflow of Indians and the impact they have made. It is pertinent to state that successive ruler(s) of the individual emirates have since independence pursued varying policies to attract foreigners in general and Indians in particular. The objective of this “open door policy” has been the expression of desire of the will to effect changes in all spheres of life within the social setting of the country. The political, economic, and social policies adopted by the various ruler(s) made possible for the inflow of Indians into the country as well as enhancing their activities. The onslaught of globalization in contemporary geo-regional politics has also influenced decisions of ruler(s) of the various emirates and ultimately made relations and cooperation between Emiratis and Indians more imperative. Further, opportunities in the financial and industrial sectors made the UAE to continue experiencing inflow of Indians. While most Indian migrants are found in the financial, manufacturing, and transport industries, a sizeable minority of them engage in the provision of professional and specialized services.<sup>8</sup>

### Adaptation of Hindi/Urdu Words in the UAE Vernacular

Contact between people of different origin is not only documented in historiographical, but it is constantly demonstrated by the peoples concern through interactions and expressions. As mentioned in the introductory paragraph of this article, Arabs in general and the *Khalījis* in particular have had strong trade relationship with India. Gulf Arabs travelled to the coastal cities of India including places in Kerala, which boasts of the first mosque in India built in 629 AD. As contact between Indians and *Khalījis* became stronger and their transactions

<sup>3</sup> For more on the theoretical perspective of “Pull-Push” factors of migration, see Massey et al. (1993; 1999).

<sup>4</sup> For more on this, see, “India is a Top Source and Destination for World’s Migrants”. Pew Research Center. 3 March 2017. Retrieved 7 June 2020.

<sup>5</sup> Profile-Embassy of India, Abu Dhabi, UAE, available at <https://www.embassyuae.gov.in/index.php>, retrieved 10 June 2020.

<sup>6</sup> United Arab Emirates Population Statistics 2019 (Infographic), available at: <https://www.themedialab.me-uae-population-statistics-2019> Retrieved 10 June 2020.

<sup>7</sup> Profile-Embassy of India, Abu Dhabi, UAE, available at <https://www.embassyuae.gov.in/index.php>, retrieved 10 June 2020.

<sup>8</sup> Many Indian immigrants in the UAE are into profession such as medicine, nursing, engineering, school proprietors, junior and senior high school instructors, university professors, etc. For details, see Rukmi (2017).

were no longer confined to goods alone, they started to learn each other's languages. As a result, Arabic words found their way into Indian languages, and similarly, Indian words became part of Gulf Arabic languages. The linguistic influence flows in two ways syndrome, making Indian languages to impact phenomenally on the Gulf Arabic dialects—The UAE Arabic vernacular in particular. For example, one of the most widely used words in the UAE is *seedaa* (straight), which is a borrowed word from Urdu/Hindi. When asking for directions, you will hear people say “*Ruh seeda* (go straight)” or “This word is also used in a metaphorical sense”, Emiratis might say, “*Anā insān seeda* (I am a straight-forward person)” (Mizwan, 2018).

Table 1 shows lists of names of things in the Emirate vernacular of Indian origin.

Table 1

*Sample of Words in Gulf Arabic Vernacular of Hindi/Urdu Origin*

The words in English transliteration	The words in Arabic transliteration	Meaning of the words in English
Karak	كرك	(A strong) tea
Jāwal	جاول	Steamed rice
Bīmah	بيمه	Insurance
Jūla	جولة	A traditional stove
Jūti	جوتي	Shoes
Dūbī	دوبي	Laundry man
Al Bardah	البردة	Curtains
Bankāh	بنكة	Fan
Gāri	قاري	Car (or a bicycle)
Rasta	رستا	Street
Tījūri	تجوري	A safe box
Ajār	أجار	Pickles
Kajjah	كجة	Inexperience: Lit. “A permit to drive”.

Note. Source: Ahmed Mizwan, “The Print”, December 2 edition.

This widespread adoption of Hindi/Urdu words in the UAE Arabic dialect is, however, fraught with some inconsiderable phonological and semantical variations. During the adaptation process, words that sound “*cha*” in the source language metamorphosized into “*ja*” in the borrowing (Emirati Arabic) dialect. Consequently, words, like “*Tijūri*”, “*Jāwal*”, “*Jūti*”, and “*Kajjah*” are pronounced “*Tichuuri*”, “*Chaawal*”, “*Chuuti*”, and “*Kach-chah*” in Hindi/Urdu. Discussing this subject with Ten Emiratis via *Skype*, one explains that “although we have ‘*arabized*’ these words, we use them slightly different from the original source”.<sup>9</sup> She demonstrated, “whiles my Indian friends use *Kajjah* to denote any ‘inexperienced person’, we use it specifically for ‘a newly licensed driver’, which, albeit, suggest some form of ‘inexperienced’ driver”.<sup>10</sup> Her position was corroborated by another respondent who opines that “whereas Indians use the word ‘*karak*’ to denote ‘*hard*’ or ‘*strong*’ in general, it is specifically communicated as ‘*hard tea*’ by us, Emiratis”.<sup>11</sup> For the rest of the other respondents, they have no knowledge those demonstrable words are of Hindi/Urdu origin, although they have been communicating with them since childhood.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Author’s interview with an anonymous Emirati citizen on June 5, 2020 via *Skype*.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>11</sup> Author’s interview with two an anonymous Emiratation June 6, 2020 via *Skype*.

<sup>12</sup> All my Emirati respondents hold a minimum qualification of university first degree and are still living and working within the UAE.

### Concluding Remarks

For decades, the GCC States have contended with varied numbers of foreign nationals who continue to troop into its territories for economic reasons. More than 70% of people living in the sub-region are foreigners; and majority of them Indians, a development that has a concomitant consequence on the language of the locals. The UAE remains an immediate neighbor for the overpopulated India, making it a vital stakeholder in the provision of foreign migrants. As a migrant State, The UAE has a durable historical link connecting its socioeconomic development to impact of Indians who lived and continue to live in the federal monarchical Gulf State. Unlike the other GCC member states, the UAE has comparatively continued to experience tremendous commercial prosperity and unprecedented industrial development. With the absolute advantage, it wields in the tourism and hospitality industry, manufacturing sector and real estate development, the UAE over the years continue to attract all categories of Indians including but not limited to technocrats, middle-level administrators, traders, menial and domestic worker. The socio-economic growth being experienced by UAE particularly since independence has attracted large inflows of Indians. Indians currently comprise 27% of UAE labor force, many of whom are descendants of relations who have been living in the country for generations. Consequentially, Indians occupy every sector of the economy of the UAE.

The main interest in this paper has been to examine the structural changes in the vernacular of Emiratis through their contacts with Indians. There has been a durable encounter between Indians and Emiratis in pre and post-independence. The author has, thus, argued that Indians were not merely passive “residents” in Dubai; they took active part in forming their future in the conservative federal Gulf State by making a considerable impact on the vernacular of the locals.

It is imperative and apparent to say that since the independence of the UAE in 1971 and the inception of the modern state, the impact of Indians on the social and economic life of Emiratis has been phenomenal. Therefore, it is a fact that Indians have been part of the socioeconomic development of the UAE and have generally co-existed peacefully with Emiratis all these years. Last, it is natural that Indians who migrated to the UAE settled there with their language which has impacted on the local dialect of Emiratis.

The activities of Indians in the UAE and its impact on the local dialect of the city have been phenomenal. Indians could be found in almost all sectors of the society long before independence. In fact, as far back as the 10th century or before that, some Indians were already settled in the country. They were into trading, farming and professional vocations such as policing and military defense. Indeed, the nature of the indigenous Emirati people is described as hospitable, a situation that made it easy for Indians to mingle with them. These Indians eventually got integrated into the country so much so that their languages have impacted the vernacular of the locals.

### References

- Ali, S. (2010). *Dubai, gilded cage*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.
- Al-Sayegh, F. (1998). Merchants’ role in a changing society: The case of Dubai, 1900-1990. *Middle Eastern Studies*, 34(1), 87-102.
- Diop, A., Le, K. T., & Ewers, M. C. (2016). Working and living conditions of migrant workers in the GCC. *India Migration Report*, Taylor and Francis Group. Retrieved from <https://www.taylorfrancis.com/books/e/9781315443409/chapters/10.4324%2F9781315443409-15>
- Eisenstadt, S. N. (1983). *Tradition, change and modernity*. Malabar, FL: Krieger Publishing Company.
- Gardner, A. M. (2010). *City of strangers: Gulf migration and the Indian community in Bahrain*. Ithaca: ILR Press.

- Hanieh, A. (2010). Khalijis-capital: Class-formation and regional integration in the Middle East Gulf. *Historical Materialism*, 18(2), 35-76.
- Massey, D. S., Arango, J., Hugo, G., Kouaouci, A., Pellegrino, A., & Taylor, J. E. (1993). Theories of international migration: A review and appraisal. *Population and Development Review*, 19(3), 431-466.
- Massey, D. S., Arango, J., Hugo, G., Kouaouci, A., Pellegrino, A., & Taylor, J. E. (1999). *World in motion: Understanding international migration at the end of the millennium*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- McGuire, M. B. (2002). *Religion: The social context*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.
- Mizwan, A. (2018). *Waqt, Chaawal and Bollyhood: The deep relationship between Indians and Arabs*. Retrieved from <https://theprint.in/opinion/waqt-chaawal-and-bollywood-the-deep-relationship-between-indians-and-arabs/157481/>
- Murdock, G. P. (1961). How culture changes? In H. L. Shapiro (Ed.), *Man, culture and society* (4th ed.). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- North, D. C. (1996). *Where have we been and where are we going?* Retrieved March 15, 2020, from <https://conwpa.wustl.edu/eprints/eli/papers/961262001.abs>
- Onley, J. (2009). Britain and the Gulf Shaikhdoms, 1820-1971: The politics of protection. *Occasional Paper No. 4*, Center for International and Regional Studies: Georgetown University School of Foreign Service.
- Onley, J. (2014). Indian Communities in the Persian Gulf, c. 1500-1947. In L. G. Potter (Eds.), *The Persian Gulf in modern times*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan
- Parekh, B., Singh, G., & Vertovec, S. (2003). *Culture and economy in the Indian Diaspora*. London: Routledge.
- Potter, L. (2009). *Introduction: The Persian Gulf in history*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Rukmi, S. (2017). *The 2.8 million workers and \$13bn: The story of Indian migrants to the UAE*. Retrieved June 13, 2020, from <https://www.thehindu.com/data/2.8-million-workers-and-13-billion-the-story-of-indian=migrants-to-theuae/article/7550756.ece>
- Shackman, G., Wang, X., & Liu, Y. L. (2002). *Brief review of world demography trend*. Retrieved March 15, 2020, from <http://gsociology.icaap.org/report/demsum.html>
- Vora, N. (2013). *Impossible citizens: Dubai's Indian Diaspora*. Durham: Duke University Press.