

**Mothers and Daughters in Historical Perspective: Home,  
Identity and Double Consciousness in British Pakistanis'  
Migration and Return**

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**Abstract**

Scholarly interest has increasingly focused on the predicament of second-generation counter-diasporic return migration to an ancestral homeland. The present paper portrays two generations of Pakistani middle class women migrants: two mothers, who arrived in Manchester in the 1970s, and their daughters, who both returned to live in Pakistan, one at the age of 11 and the other in her twenties, to marry. The latter in particular experienced Pakistan as culturally alien and unhomely. In Britain one mother has become extremely pious after 9/11. The paper starts from the fact that migration initiates an irreversible process in which everyday, taken-for granted intimacies and socialities of home and identity are subverted. Refuting simplistic theories of a continuous 'transnational field', it argues that migrants experience 'double consciousness', an awareness of competing rules, expectations and a doubling up of a subject's sense of belonging and alienation, which no return home can reverse.

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