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**MIGRANTS' IDENTITY: A STUDY OF SECOND GENERATION
MIGRANT LABOR IN QATAR**

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by

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Declaration

To the best of my knowledge, this thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person or institution, except where due reference is made in the text of the thesis. This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree in any university or other institution.

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Abstract

Second generation migrants who were born or grew up in Qatar and studied in the same schools and environment with their Qatari counterparts represent a different case than migrant labor workers who move to Qatar through a sponsorship agreement for temporary purposes. The identity construction of second generation of middle class migrants is an issue that requires a further research since the research on international migration in the GCC countries tends to focus on low-income migrant workers with regard to human rights issues and *kafala* (sponsorship) agreement. There is a lack of research which intends to analyze the perceptions of second generation migrants about the characteristics of their identity and, their commonalities and differences with Qatari youth. This study mainly questions the identity construction process of second generation migrants in Qatar, how they reshape their identity and to what extent they can narrow the social gap between their Qatari counterparts and themselves.

Key Words: social identity, labor migration, second generation migrants, Qatari youth and middle class.

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Chapter 1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter outlines the research questions, methodology of the thesis and aims to give an introduction to the study. It reviews the existing literature related to social identity theory, concept of middle class and migration issue in Qatar.

Rationale and Importance of the Study

Research Problem

Qatar is ranked globally as a country with the highest ratio of non-citizens in the world while the number of the economically active migrant workers is 94% (84% non-Qatari male and 10% non-Qatari female) of the total labor force (Qatar Statistics Authority, 2013). This situation is highly unusual when we look at other countries that have migrant workers. Migrant labor workers are employed under a sponsorship system *kafala* that has been heavily criticized by human rights organizations and international media. Due to this unusual system, most of the research conducted by the academicians and researchers such as in the studies of Birks, J. S. & I. J. Seccombe, C. A. Sinclair. (1986), Diop, A., Mark Tessler, Kien Trung Le, Darwish Al-Emadi & Howell, D. (2012), Gardner, A., Silvia Pessoa, Abdoulaye Diop, Kaltham Al-Ghanim, Kien Le Trung & Harkness, L. (2013) on migration mostly focuses on the labor migrants, or alternatively construction workers, and the governance of migrant workers in the State of Qatar.

Unlike other countries in the world, migrant workers do not have the possibility of ever becoming citizens, no matter how long they remain in Qatar. The segmentation of society can clearly be observed in Qatar since Qatari nationals and non-Qataris are not entitled to the same rights or living standards. Moreover, segmentation is not only between Qatari nationals and non-nationals; upper middle

class migrants and lower-income migrant workers are treated in a different way in society as well. Although there is an existing focus on the lower-income labor migration to Qatar, there is a lack of research which focuses on the second generation of migrants who were born in Qatar or immigrated to Qatar at an early age, and subsequently, grew up in the same environment with Qataris and constitute an important part of the middle class in Qatar.

Second generation middle class migrants, who were born in Qatar and studied in the same schools and grew up in the same environment with Qatari youths, constitute a different case to the other migrant laborers who moved to Qatar through a working sponsorship agreement. However, the second generation of middle class migrants has emerged as a partial segment of Qatar society that shares similar values and interpretations, and their status in the society has become similar to each other. The identity aspect of young Qataris and second generation of middle class migrants is an issue that requires further research.

Research Objective

The driving objective of this thesis is to contribute to the understanding of the changing representation of migrants' identity in the light of the identity construction process of the second generation of middle class migrants in Qatar. Since the huge amount of labor force is an important theme in Qatar, discussions need to go beyond how many foreign residents are present in the region and from which countries those migrants are immigrating. A more important factor would be how the offspring of migrants see themselves in relation to the Qatari society around them. The literature that has been written on international migration and migrant

labor in Qatar mainly focuses on the impact of globalization and relates the migration flow with the oil prices and the economic development of Qatar.

This study will analyze the identity construction process of second generation migrants in Qatar and Qatari youths by focusing on the ways and mechanisms that these young people use in order to narrow the social gap between each other. The social interaction between the young Qataris and the second generation of middle class migrants will be explored through the in depth-interviews.

Research Question

Due to the fact that there is a lack of existing literature and study on second generation of middle class migrants in Qatar, this study aims to answer several research questions that can be stated as important to understand the realities and implications of the presence of the second generation migrants in Qatar:

1. In what ways do the second generation migrants construct their identity in Qatar? How do they reshape their identity?
2. To what extent can the young Qataris and second generation migrants narrow the social gap between each other? What are the obstacles that prevent them from becoming closer to each other?
3. How does the second generation migrants interpret the issue of belonging to a country?

Since migration and labor migrants are social and economic realities of the Qatar as well as other GCC countries, a study based on the in-depth interviews with the second generation of migrants will represent a possible contribution to the migration studies on Qatar and increase awareness in other GCC countries to

conduct research on the same issue. Although there has been a poor quality of literature and data on the second generation of migrants in Qatar, recently there has been more data published in Qatar's official internet sites. The findings of this study aim to contribute to the knowledge on the migration issue in the State of Qatar.

Background of the Study

Existing Literature on Identity Theory versus Social Identity Theory

The existing literature on identity tends to focus on the foundations of how identity is formed and how it is reshaped in the light of identity theory. Identity can be defined in various terms and can mean different things to different people. Identity cannot be a static, eternal and essential object since it undergoes changes and shifts as it is being transformed over time (Alnajjar, 2013). It can mean a sense of integration of the self or can be used as a reference to identity politics which is about the political positions of the members of ethnic and nationality groups (Deaux, 2001). In contrast, Jenkins (2008) defines the identity as: "the human capacity which is rooted in language to know 'who's who' and this involves knowing who we are, knowing who others are, them knowing who we are, us knowing who they think we are" (p. 5). Burke (2004) defines the identity as: "identities are the sets of meanings people hold for themselves that define 'what it means' to be who they are as persons, as role occupants, and as group members" (p. 1). Likewise, Stryker (1987) views the identity as an internalized self-designation based on the role expectations attached to positions in social structure. On the other hand, Brooks (2011) views the notions of identity as a concept that emerged with a greater intensity due to the Enlightenment era and gained force throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Stryker and Burke (2000) underline that identity can refer to a cultural category which draws no distinction between identity and ethnicity and it can also refer to common identification with a social category as social identity theory. According to structural identity theory, identities derive from social structure and are developed from the roles that people play in social interaction with others (Leveto, 2012). In his study, Stryker (1980) discusses the role of social positions in interaction and their corresponding expectations; individuals self-definitions; situational definitions; the degree to which the social structure facilitates or constrains interaction; and how role taking and role-making facilitates stability and change, respectively, in interaction (As cited in Leveto, 2012).

Individual self-definitions cannot be described without a reference to the society's influence on the individuals' identity. According to Stets and Burke (2013), there is a reciprocal relationship between the self and society in which the self influences society by creating groups, networks and institutions. Similarly society influences the self through shared language and meanings that enable the people to engage in social interaction. In order to understand the self and identities, the society must be analyzed in which the self is acting in a social context where the other selves exist. As a result, the nature of the self and its parts which are identities depend on a larger extent on the society and social structure within where they live. As Stets and Burke (2013) emphasize, the way and arguments that actors use to identify things need to be taken into account as an attempt to fit their lines of action with others to achieve their targets. The basis for understanding the social structure arises from the actions of agents (individuals) that change themselves through the feedback that they receive from the structures. According to Stets and

Burke (2013): “the core of an identity is the that the core of an identity is the categorization of the self as an occupant of a role, and incorporating, into the self, the meanings and expectations associated with the role and its performance” (p. 11).

Korte (2007) argues that social identity is a critical factor influencing individual behavior in groups. Hogg, Terry and White (1995) emphasize role identities, identity salience and commitment as elements that account for the impact of role identities on social behavior. According Thoits (1991), the self is a multifaceted social construct that emerges from people's roles in society and role identities are self-defining roles that people apply to themselves as a consequence of the structural role positions they occupy (As cited in Burke 1980). As a result, one can argue that identity theory conceptualizes the self as a collection of identities derived from the role positions of the people (Hogg, Terry and White, 1995).

Identity theory can be traced back to George Herbert Mead who sees the self as reflecting the society. According to Mead, people live their lives in specialized networks of social relationships by pursuing the roles that support their participation in such network (As cited in Stryker and Burke, 2000). Additionally, Mead sees the society as a combination of interactions and relationships embedded in groups, communities and institutions while he considers the social structures acting as boundaries that create the probability for people to enter the social networks. Mead's theory basically stand up for the commitment shapes identity salience shapes role choice behavior. Morris (2013) believes that identity theory centers on the notion of salience. Since identities get ranked in a hierarchy which is directly related to the elements of commitment, they are higher on the salience hierarchy which proves that greater identity commitment results in greater identity salience.

Likewise, Adamsons and Pesley (2013) argue that identities guide behavior by three constructs like salience, centrality and commitment.

Tajfel (1972) defines the social identity as “the individual’s knowledge that he belongs to certain social groups together with some emotional and value significance to him of this group membership” (p. 292). According to Tajfel (1972), groups only exist in relation to other groups and they derive their social meaning in relation to these other groups. Similarly, Hogg (2001) portrays the social identity is self-evaluative and derives from social comparison between groups, evaluative properties of the in-group. Hogg underlines the importance of that question for social identity theory: what causes social identity as opposed to personal identity or one social identity rather than another, to become the contextually salient basis of perception, thought, and behavior? (Hogg, 2001). Social identity theory is rooted on the idea that an individual has “several selves that correspond to widening circles of group membership. Different social contexts may trigger an individual to think, feel and act on the basis of his personal, family or national level of self” (Turner et al, 1987).

Feitosa, Eduardo Salas and Salazar (2012) examine the social identity theory which emerged in the 1970’s and became by the 1990’s the most important theory of intergroup relations in psychology and states that it refers to an individual’s sense of belonging to a group membership. It has been also cited that a person is motivate by what defines “us” to internalize the group membership which eliminate his personal self (Chowdhury, 2012). According to social identity theory, a person may have multiple social identities and his behavior is shaped by his

current context of identity. Social identity theory people attempt to maximize their interests in favor of their “in-group” and against “out-groups” (Chowdhury, 2012).

Tapper (2013) emphasizes that social identity theory relates individuals to one another, as representatives of the specific social groups to which they belong rather than as individual examples of behavior. On the other hand, Erik Erikson (1974) portrays the three levels of identity; ego identity, personal identity and social identity. Ego identity is a kind of ego synthesis and continuity of personal character, temporally consistent and resistant to change; personal identity that differentiate an individual from the others based on his or her preferences about word choices, career goals, other aspects of self; social identity is related to the consolidation of elements that have been integrated into individuals’ sense of self from groups to which one belongs (As cited in Schwartz, 2001). Moreover, individuals have group identities that they choose, as well as group identities that are imposed on them. As a result, individuals’ behavior is shaped more by their collective identities than personal identities.

Similarly, Brewer underlines the two parts of identity at the individual level: “personal identity is the individuated self those characteristics that differentiate one individual from others while social identities are categorizations of the self into more inclusive social units that depersonalize the self-concept” (As cited in Kreiner, Hellensbe and Sheep, 2006). Social identities that consist of gender, occupational roles and membership to some organizations can clash with individuals’ personal identities and as Brewer stresses social identities can infringe upon the uniqueness of the personal identity (As cited in Kreiner, Hellensbe and Sheep, 2006). According to Brewer, personal identities reflect two basic human needs; inclusion

(“How am I similar to others?”) and uniqueness (“How am I different from others?”). Those functions work together to prevent identity dysfunction and enable healthy identity processes. (As cited in Kreiner, Hellensbe and Sheep, 2006).

Fowler and Kam (2007) attempted to explain the social identity theory with an emphasis to “Altruism” and its stress on the “selflessness” of people. Monroe agrees with Fowler and Kam and believes that individuals intend to benefit each other even when this risks possible sacrifice to the welfare of the actor (Fowler and Kam, 2007). According to Brewer (2001) social identity is a concept that has been invented and reinvented across the social and behavioral science disciplines to provide a critical link between the psychology of the individual and the structure and function of social groups. Brewer categorizes the social identity into three groups; person based social identities, relational social identities, group based social identities and collective identities.

Klandermans (2014) puts the identity into three categories; personal, social, and collective identity. Personal identity is the role and position that a person occupies; social identity defines the socially constructed cognitions of the individuals and their membership to a group or groups; collective identity collective identity is a characteristic of a group and involves more than one individual comparing to social identity. Deaux (2001) defines the social identity as a reference to the aspects of a person that are defined in terms of his or her group memberships. Additionally, the self-definition of the individuals which is shared with other people influence the social identity and their membership to a group can be meaningful in terms of how they define ourselves. According to Deaux (2001) types of social identity are ethnicity and religion (Asian American, West Indian), political

affiliation (feminist, republican, and environmentalist), vocations, and avocations (artists, athlete) relationships (mother, parent, and teenager) and stigmatized identities (homeless person, person with AIDS).

Turner (1999) defines the self-categorization theory as the distinction between social identity and personal identity which leads to self-stereotyping and the depersonalization of self-perception. According to Turner (1999), “people stereotype themselves and others in terms of salient social categorizations, leading to an enhanced perceptual identity between self and in-group members and an enhanced perceptual contrast between in-group and out-groups members. Where social identity becomes relatively more salient than personal identity, people see themselves less as differing individual persons and more as the similar, prototypical representatives of their in-group category” (p. 528). According to Padilla and Perez (2003), self-categorization theory focuses on pragmatic cognitive processes which form the basis for intergroup interaction including prejudice and conflict between group members.

Usborne and Sablonniere (2014) focus on relationship between collective identity clarity, personal identity clarity, and psychological well-being. In contrast to personal identity, collective identity involves an explicit connection to a group of people outside of the self and answers the question “who am I as a member of my group?” The shared traits, values, norms, experiences and history that are associated with one’s group are internalized by the individual to make up an essential component of his or her identity.

As a conclusion, social identity can be defined through socially constructed cognitions of the individuals and their membership to a group or groups. Through

questioning how they are similar to others and how they are different from the others, individuals define the concept of identity as sets of meanings they hold for themselves and define 'what it means' to be who they are as persons and as role occupants. Additionally, the concept of identity is based on the role expectations attached to positions in social structure as an internalized self-designation of the individuals.

Existing Literature on the Concept of Middle class

The term "middle class" has a wide usage in the disciplines of social sciences mostly in economy or sociology as it can refer to different features of the particular segment of the society. Despite it is a hard issue to define the concept of middle class from one aspect and place it in a certain way, many scholars attempted to portray it in various and distinct ways. For instance, Zogby (2007) argues that a vibrant middle class is the hallmark of a modern and growing economy. He sees the middle class of a society as a source of stability and entrepreneurial spirit. Eisenhauer (2008) underlines the lack of consensus to separate the middle class from upper and lower classes through mentioning about the meaning and measurement of the middle class depend on the boundaries separating it from the upper and lower classes. Thorstein Veblen (1899) and Karl Marx (1877) made attempts to distinguish different classes within the population and portrayed the class as being related to labor or employment (As cited in Eisenhauer, 2008). Veblen (1899) described the middle class with the term of "leisure class" to be those individuals who were exempt from industrial, or productive, employment and who are generally government leaders, soldiers, priests, or athletes. Veblen (1899) considers the leisure class' accumulation of wealth as unrelated to subsistence and

was largely related to the power and prestige it would afford. As for Marx, he distinguished the bourgeoisie, the petty bourgeoisie, and the proletariat on the basis of their control over the means of production (As cited in Eisenhauer, 2008).

Eijk and Mommaas (2010) review the ideas of Bourdieu (1984) who defined the interest of the middle class with the cultural dynamics of that society. Bourdieu defines the middle class that develops an appetite for a repositioning of cultural goods. According to Bourdieu (1984), the new middle class of the 1970s could be found in newly created private sector jobs such as sales, marketing, advertising, public relations, medical and social assistance and cultural production and organizations.

Power & Whitty (2010) reviews Durkheim's and Bernstein's ideas on the labor and middle class. Durkheim focused on the changing division of labor and modes of social solidarity. Bernstein applies Durkheim's theory to the middle class by arguing that changes in the division of labor within the middle class. While the structure of old middle class families were based upon unambiguous definitions of the status of the member of the family, new middle-class families tend to be person-centered where the differentiation between members and the authority relationships are less on the basis of position.

Althusser & Balibar (1986) emphasizes that social classes are formed within the modes of production as "occupants" of the fundamental relations insofar as they are "carriers" of these relations. Breen (2005) discusses about the life chances citing the ideas of Anthony Giddens (1973) who sees the chances an individual has for sharing in the socially created economic or cultural "goods" that typically exist in any given society' and Weber (1978) who believes that members of a class share

common life chances. According to Weber, class is the only one aspect of the distribution of power in society. The distinction between the status groups, classes can bring to influence the distribution of life chances.

Hanieh (2011) argues that GCC cannot be understood through a narrow focus on the internal developments such as the development of oil revenues. That is, class formation in the Gulf countries evolved within the development of a global capitalist system, more broadly it is the reflection of the capitalist world market as a whole. On the other hand, he does not underestimate the impact of oil revenues on the evolution of the society and class relations as: “but one of the main arguments of this book is that oil is not a ‘thing’ but a commodity embedded in a set of (globally determined) social relations” (p. 16).

Moreover, Hanieh (2011) takes the class and state configuration of the Gulf countries back to the colonial era. Colonial era was dominated by the rentier state theory which was introduced by Iranian economist Hossein Mahdavy to the literature prior to the Iranian Revolution in 1979. Hanieh (2011) explains the rentier state theory based on the arguments of Beblawi and Luciani who portray three key political and economic characteristics of the state: a link between the rentier-states and autocratic regimes, a degree of autonomy in decision-making and a bias in rentier-economies towards the service sector rather than value-added production. Therefore, according to Mahdavy (1979), due to the oil rents government started to possess a large capacity and became a dominant actor in the economy of the GCC countries (As cited in Hanieh, 2011).

Overall, middle class can be defined as an important component of a modern and growing economy. It has been described as the source of stability and

entrepreneurial spirit in a country. While middle class is a part of the society that enjoys an 'above average per capita share of the total supply of benefits and services' of the welfare state, its members also have a common life style and act as the carriers of the cultural goods of the society.

Existing Literature on the Migration Issue in Qatar

The existing literature on the migration in Qatar has emerged from the fact that Qatar is a country that rapidly grows in the world in terms of urbanization, citizen wealth and its integration to global economy. As GCC countries (Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia and UAE) share many similarities in terms of the development of their socio-economic and political structures, immigration issues have caused similar effects on their economy and policy decisions. Khaalaf and Alkobaisi (1999) emphasize that after the occurrence of oil in GCC countries, their economies have been identified as petrodollar economies and prosperity of those countries rapidly rose. As Gardner, Pessoa, Diop, Al-Ghanim, Le Trung, Harkness (2013) mentions, the discovery of petroleum had a transformative impact on GCC countries' economies. A flush of oil earnings rapidly paved the way for modernization and changed the region's sheikdoms into modern nation states. Farsoun (1988) describes the collection of vast oil revenues and the rapid economic growth of constituent states of the region has led to significant class transformation and social change.

Khalaf and Alkobaisi (1999) use the term of "dialectical paradox" to explain difference of Qatar as a small oil exporting society from developed capitalist industrial societies' difference. Wealth and prosperity which came with the oil resources, have paved the way for the dual characteristic of rapid economic

modernization. Prosperity level of the country has increased but traditional elements in the political-legal and cultural branches have remained. This affects how society react the scopes of international labor migration. Seshan (2012) argues that Qatar has a few sources apart from the oil and gas has experienced the deepest impact of the migration with the Kuwait and UAE. Due to the dual characteristics of rapid economic development, since the 1970s, skilled and professional migrant workers have increased but the foreign labor force is still dominated by workers who are employed in the construction sector.

Attiya (2012) states that since labor is a predominant theme in Qatar, discussions need to go beyond how many foreign residents are present in the region. Moreover, migrant workers cannot be treated as possessing similar motivations. According to Babar (2013) since civil society in Qatar is extremely limited, there are quasi-governmental organizations such as The Doha International Family Institute (DIFI), Qatar Foundation for Education, Science, and Community Development that are engaging with the labor migration and addressing the migrants' rights and workers' rights in Qatar. The Qatar National Human Rights Committee (NHRC) can be seen as the prominent quasi-governmental organization which was established in 2002 in order to demonstrate Qatar's commitment to prioritizing rights for all residents, and to engage with human rights as a good global citizen. The NHRC is mainly engaged with assisting the complainants and preparing annual reports every year.

Malecki and Ewers (2007) argues that in the GCC countries, the segmentation and polarization of the labor force has been drawing sharp divisions between the national workers and foreign workers. The vast majority of national

workers are employed in governmental jobs and do not prefer to work in private companies. Similarly, private companies tend to recruit foreign workers because they accept working in flexible hours with a lower salary than the nationals demand.

Babar (2013) believes that as stated in Qatar's National Vision 2030 plan, rapid economic and population growth causes serious problems in every aspects of life in Qatar. Recruiting that large number of migrant workers motivated the Qatari government to take steps to weigh up the potential consequences of migrant labor. Therefore, Qatar like other GCC countries, avoided seeing itself as a destination for permanent settlement, and aimed to build a citizen workforce by alleviating ongoing dependency on foreign labor.

Gardner, Pessoa, Diop, Al-Ghanim, Le Trung & Harkness (2013) in recent years due to the international criticism for the management of migrant labor issue in Qatar, the *kafala* system has been the focal point of discussions about the global human rights. Qatar as the other GCC states has long been trying to alter the aspects of this system in response to these human rights-based critiques. The critiques are mainly concerning the passport confiscation, lack of documentation, job switching, salary withholding, and problems related to labor camps and living conditions common to low-income foreign workers in Qatar and the neighboring states.

Kamrava & Babar (2012) argues that migrant workers can be brought easier and quickly for project-basis jobs and can be sent back to their country when there is no more need, cultural and political costs of the migrant workers are seen as potential threats to Qatar society which declares itself as conservative and family-oriented. Migrant workers are threats to national heritage of Qatar and cultural values of Qatar and even to political stability of Qatar. Policymaking has been made

by a small group of men; pan-Arab sentiments that are tempered by the elite anxieties over the intrusion of political ideologies from other Arab countries. These factors pave the way for the government to restrict the migrant workers' access to specific areas such as they are incorporated into the economic structure, but excluded from the social structure of Qatar, they are separated from the social life without integration or assimilation.

Sharon (2006) emphasizes that political factors cannot be underestimated for their role in shaping and developing migration policy of Qatar the role of economic forces and actors in the management of migration. Migration policy in Qatar is mainly identified in a broader state discourse and the anxiety of the government because of the 'demographic imbalance' present in the national labor markets and population structure. Additionally, Sharon (2006) portrays the nationality as a significant indicator for the fragmentation and social diversification of the society economically and ideologically in a negative way. Babar (2011) describes the regional migration management in Qatar today is shaped by the discussions based on the concept of a single homogenous Gulf Arab identity. The preservation of a culturally authentic state has been associated with the argument to restrict entry of alien "foreigners" or "others". This argument for the migration management has been explained as the consequence of the fear of losing common cultural ground in Qatar.

Qatar World Values Survey conducted by Social & Economic Survey Research in 2010 can be seen as an important contributor to the social science and survey research in the Gulf region. The survey illustrates the attitudes and values of GCC citizens. The survey argues that social and political change in Qatar and other

GCC countries is related in decisive ways to the values and attitudes held by individual citizens. Questions that were asked to the participants related to the national and individual priorities, work-related attitudes, political attitudes, institutional confidence and trust in others (SESRI, 2010). According to the results of the survey, economic growth is the national priority for the next 10 years for the national priority of Qatar citizens. In terms of the individual priorities, the survey reveals that maintaining order and stability are the major individual priority of Qatari citizens (SESRI, 2010).

Lastly, as Shah (2012) argues, the GCC states are facing similar concerns around migration and they are at the center of the international criticism for their policies related to the migrant workers. As long as the GCC countries continue to be lack of human capital in their national labor market, population growth of nationals will continue to provide a growing number of entrants to the labor force.

Chapter 2. METHODOLOGY

This chapter outlines the research methodology, data collection instruments, data analysis of the study and grounded theory. It explains the reasons for choosing the qualitative method and in-depth interviews in this study. It also gives information about the background of the participants and coding.

Qualitative Research

This thesis is based on the results of a qualitative research. Since the main focus in qualitative research is to understand and explore the values, beliefs and experiences of a group of people, the elements that have contributed to the identity of second generation of migrants in Qatar can be best examined through using this approach of. In addition to that, qualitative research is less straightforward and more nuanced as the analysis of the data is an ongoing process and takes place alongside data collection (Carey, 2012).

The study design of this thesis is based on inductive logic which is not linear and sequential in their operationalization (Kumar, 2012). The starting point of this research is the review of the existing literature on the issue and earlier empirical findings. The study design of this thesis involves people from whom the information can be gathered as Denzin and Lincoln (2011) attempt to define the qualitative research: “qualitative research is a situated activity that locates the observer in the world. Qualitative research is consist of a set of interpretive, material practices that make the world visible. These practices transform the world. They turn the world into a series of representations, including field notes, interviews, conversations, photographs, recordings and memos to itself” (p. 4-5).

Greener (2011) expects the qualitative research to provide additional detail and depth in order to generate descriptive research questions such as “what, when, which, where” and more analytical questions such as “how and why”. Moreover, Hesse-Biber and Leavy (2011) define the qualitative research through underlying its focus on the subjective meaning that individuals bring to the research process and affect the social construction of the reality. Additionally, they stress the dynamic interaction between the research problem and the literature review and also between data collection, data analysis and hypothesis formulation (Hesse-Biber and Leavy, 2011).

Data Collection Instrument: In-Depth Interview

The aim of the in-depth interview with the participants is to have a clear understanding of the identity instruments of the participants and give the participants the chance to clarify their answers by using their own words. In-depth interviews help researchers to explore experiences, motives and opinions of others and see the world from the others’ perspective (J. Rubin & S. Rubin, 2012). It can help researchers to portray ongoing processes and explore complex, contradictory or counterintuitive matters as well as exploring the personal and sensitive issues (J. Rubin & S. Rubin, 2012).

The in-depth interviews are “issue-oriented” and appropriate for the researchers who are looking for “thick descriptions” of social life surrounded by their participants (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2011). The interview questions were prepared to cover the following issues:

- Aspects of second generation of migrants’ identity

- Changes in the identity of first generation and second generation of migrants
- Common characteristics of the identity of Qatari youth and second generation of migrants
- Level of interaction between the Qatari youth and second generation \ migrants
- Future aspects of second generation of migrants' issue in Qatar.

Underlying attitudes and identity construction of second generation migrants in Qatar can be best understood by conducting face to face in-depth interviews. Through conducting in-depth interviews, this study has have an access to the context of participants' attitudes and behavior while they are answering the questions; and hence the method has paved the way for the understanding of the meaning underlying the attitudes and behaviors. The interview allows the researcher to prepare the participants before asking a question and explain the complex questions to the participants since the identity issues can be interpreted in the category of sensitive issues. It also allows this study to collect in-depth information since the major objective of this study is to explore and analyze the identity formation of second generation of migrants in Qatar. According to Kumar (2012): "an interview is able to supplement information obtained from the responses with those gained from observation of non-verbal reactions" (p. 144-145).

The interview questions have been designed as open-ended questions. In other words, the participants could answer any way he/she chooses and elaborates upon the answers (J. Rubin and S. Rubin, 2012). Semi-structured format has been used to prepare the interview questions as it allowed the researcher to have a kind of flexibility that is enough to allow the participants to talk in detail about their

answers that reflect the aspects of their identity. The interview questions rely on semi-structured nature which allows the conversation to flow more naturally and; hence pave the way for the conversation to go in unexpected directions and this can enable the researcher to explore new topics relevant to the research (Hesse-Biber and Leavy, 2011). This format also allows the researcher to leave out some questions that do not apply to all of the participants.

The interviews were conducted both with Qatari youth and second generation of migrants in order to comprehend the difference and similarities in their identities. In addition to that, the interviews aim to explore the ways that they reshape their identity and the features that can be interpreted as narrowing the gap between their identities. These open ended questions were applied to the participants since they provide the participants a wealth of information and enable them to feel comfortable about expressing their opinions freely (Kumar, 2012).

Data collection was based on non-random/probability sample design (snowball sampling and judgmental sampling) as the researchers who conduct qualitative research are guided by their judgement to choose the participants who are likely to provide them with the “best” information (Kumar, 2012). However, the interviews were conducted in English and at the participants’ convenience, mostly on campus or at the participants’ home. The ethical side of the in-depth interview was accomplished with the informed consent from the participants who had been informed about the confidentiality of their answers before the interview.

Participants

This research includes 31 participants based in Doha. The participants consist of 15 Qataris and 16 second generation migrants. Second generation migrants consist of 9 male and 7 female participants while Qatari participants consist of 5 male and 10 female participants. The age limit of all participants is 18-25.

Table 1

Nationalities of Second Generation Migrant Participants

Nationalities of Second Generation Immigrant Participants	Number
Pakistani	2
Sudanese	2
Egyptian	3
Yemeni	2
Palestinian	2
Moroccan	1
Lebanese	1
Indian	1
From a Qatari mother-Iranian father	1
From a Qatari mother-Omani father	1

Table 2

Education Status of the Participants

Education Status of the Participants	(%)
Undergraduate student	56%
Graduate student	31%
Graduated and Employed (not student)	13%

Limitations

This study is limited with its access to the society. It has been observed that second generation migrants and Qatari females are enthusiastic to participate in this research while Qatari males tend to reject to be involved in this research.

Data Analysis Issues

Interviews and Coding

The raw data was analyzed through the thematic categorization and key-word coding. In the first step of the analysis, a number of micro thematic codes were determined and then macro themes were assigned to each network of codes which has reduced the number of codes in total. Afterwards, key-word coding was applied through gathering the word frequencies and co-occurrences from the participants' own words. Coding process started with initial coding or descriptive codes that include the words appear within the text. Afterwards, the initial codes have been transformed into analytical (more focused) codes that could allow the researcher to generate theoretical constructs (Hesse-Biber and Leavy, 2011). At the end, a network of theoretical constructs were produced to define the categories of identity, values and shared concepts.

Coding the topics that had been discussed during the interviews has allowed this study to identify the range of issues raised in the data and understand the meanings behind these issues as well (Hennink, Hutter and Bailey, 2011). Inductive codes that essentially involve seeing the issues raised by the participants themselves have been developed through reading and rereading the data to find out the underlying codes (Hennink, Hutter and Bailey, 2011). The researcher has engaged with the data by questioning the whole data in order to fully understand the issues and their relations with other issues. Inductive codes have been gathered by moving back and forth within and between transcripts. In addition to the inductive coding, deductive codes have been originated from the researcher and the aspects of research considered during the research process (Hennink, Hutter & Bailey, 2011).

Coding the Interview Data

A total of seventy hours were spent interviewing with thirty one participants. The data has been analyzed through thematic categorization (coding). Axial coding was used to sort the large number of codes into order or groups. Before coding the raw data, interviews and memos were read several times to extract the maximum number of micro thematic codes including:

Table 3

Micro thematic Codes

Admiring at intellectual figures	Importance of family
Aspects of Qatari identity	Gender and dependence
Attending weddings	Gender awareness of Qatari women
Attitudes towards foreigner labor	High living standards
Book and movie preferences	High school education
Celebration of the Eid	Hobbies and special interest of second generation migrants
Celebration of Qatar National Day	Hobbies and special interest of Qataris
Changes in socio-economic context of Qatar	Identity crisis
Changes in the second generations' life throughout their life in Qatar	Issues that they speak with their friends
Close friends of Qatari young generation	Marriage with foreigners
Nationality vs citizenship	Nationality effect on being close friends
Neighborhood	Job occupations of migrants
Opinion of second generation migrants on the restrictions about marriage with foreigners	Opinion of Qataris on the restrictions about marriage with foreigners
Opinion of second generation migrants on raising their children in Qatar	Opinion of Qataris on raising their children in Qatar
Places that second generation of migrants visit in Qatar	Places that Qatari youth visit in Qatar
Reading newspaper	Watching the news
Relation with other nationalities	Relation with social media
Residential separation	Responsibilities to the family
Qatari youth' purpose in life	Second generation's purpose in life
Second generation's approach towards first generation	Sharing activities with the opposite sex
Social and economic class factor on relations	Spending future life in Qatar
Summer holiday activities	Travelling abroad
University education of second generation	Influence of families on their choice of university major
University education of Qataris	Background of families
Expenditures of family	Book and film preferences
Advantages of being Qatari	Interaction of second generation migrants with their community in Qatar

Afterwards, macro themes were created in accordance with the micro themes and hierarchical links were applied between the codes in each micro theme category. Networks of thematic codes in hierarchical order as a macro theme as:

Table 4

Macro Themes

Macro Themes
Influence of nationality on the interaction with Qataris
Belonging issues and identity crisis of second generation of migrants
A comparison on the social life of second generatio migrants and Qatari youth
Family and identity
Attitude of second generation migrants towards Qatar and Qataris
The perceptions of Qatari youth on local identity and the second generation migrants' encounter with the society

After creating the macro themes, micro themes were categorized for each macro theme. The data related to the each macro theme was color-coded. Some parts of the data were colored in two or more colors if they were relevant to more than one category. Then, examples of the raw data for each of the thematic codes were extracted from the interviews.

Table 5

Macro Thematic Codes versus Micro Thematic Codes

Macro Thematic Codes	Micro Thematic Codes
Influence of nationality on the interaction with Qataris	Close friends of Qatari young generation and second generation of migrants Marriage with foreigners Issues that they speak with their friends Nationality effect on being close friends Relation with other nationalities
Belonging Issues and Identity crisis of Second Generation Migrants	Importance of family Admiring at intellectual figures Attending weddings Interaction of second generation of migrants with their community in Qatar Travelling abroad Residential separation Nationality vs citizenship Spending future life in Qatar

	Travelling abroad Sharing activities with the opposite sex Reading newspaper Watching the news Occupations of migrants Relation with social media Second generation's purpose in life
A Comparison on the Social Life of Second Generation Migrants and Qatari Youth	Working status Hobbies and special interests Places that they visit often Historical figures that they admire Watching news, movies, reading newspaper
Family and Identity	Expenditures of family Nationality vs citizenship Influence of families on their choice of university major Background of families
Attitude of Second Generation Migrants towards Qatar and Qataris	Changes in socio-economic context of Qatar Advantages of being Qatari Occupations of migrants Occupations of Qatari youth Spending future life in Qatar
The Perceptions of Qatari Youth on Local Identity and the Second Generation Migrants' Encounter with the Society	Places that Qatari youth visit in Qatar Sharing activities with the opposite sex Social and economic class factor on relations Marriage with foreigners Spending future life in Qatar Raising children in Qatar

“Memo-ing”

Memo writing as an integral part of the grounded theory has been used within the analysis process of this thesis. It has helped the researcher to elaborate more on the responses of the participants regarding the collected data and code categories. Writing memos after the each interview has also helped the researcher to bring up with new ideas and relationships within the data (Hennink, Hutter and Bailey, 2011). Memo writing as an initial impression of the researcher was implemented from the very first interview. This process enabled this study to

integrate the themes with the data which paved the way for the emerging themes and coding categories.

Grounded Theory

The analysis of this study is based on the grounded theory which was first introduced to the research methodology by Barney Glaser and Anslem Strauss (1967). The Grounded Theory appeared as an attempt to close the gap between theory and empirical research in the social sciences. As Sbaraini, Carter, Evans and Blinkhorn (2011) attempted to define the grounded theory as studies that are generally focused on social processes or actions such as they ask about what happens and how people interact, this study aims to ask research questions that are open-ended and focused on identity construction processes of second generation of migrants in Qatar.

The Grounded Theory suggests methods for data collection interviews, observations and documents obtained during the observation process, among others. Data wasn't collected to verify or disconfirm any hypothesis or theories rather data was analyzed through the interviews to explore whether any hypothesis or theory can be developed from the patterns emerged so far. Since data was analyzed with a neutral approach without generating any theory or hypothesis, it was assumed that data is grounded in the theory. This has led this study to collect and analyze the data at the same time in constant alternation (Bitsch, 2005) and therefore has enabled the researcher to explore new concepts and theories relevant to the subject of the study. Jamarani (2012) cites from the study by Silverman (1993) in order to identify the key features of the grounded theory:

- an initial attempt to develop categories which illuminate the

data,

- an attempt to ‘saturate’ these categories with many appropriate cases in order to demonstrate their relevance,
- developing these categories into more general analytic frameworks with relevance outside the setting.

Overall, grounded theory has allowed this study to link the data collection and the analysis interlinked as some analytic tasks began during the data collection process (Hennink, Hutter and Bailey, 2011). Analysis of this study has been designed to go beyond the description of the phenomena rather to develop an explanatory theory. Additionally, codes, concepts and theories have been inducted from the collected data.

Chapter 3. THEORIES AND CONCEPTS

This chapter discusses the social identity theory, the self-categorization theory, and the concept of middle class from a theoretical view. It aims to highlight the legal context of citizenship and the *kafala* system in the case of Qatar as well as the dynamics, political and economic context of international migration to Qatar.

Legal Context of Nationality, Citizenship and “Kafala (Sponsorship System)” in Qatar

The concept of citizenship tends to be defined with a reference to the relations between the individual and the state that are shaped by the ideas of authority, legitimacy and allegiance that are viewed as cultural constructs subject to social circumstances and historical narratives (Longva, 1999). For the case of Qatar and other Gulf countries, historical and socio-cultural specificity of those countries need to be underlined as important factors for their conceptualization of citizenship (Longva, 1999). History, tradition and cultural narratives are all contributors to the Gulf countries' approach to citizenship.

In Qatar, there are no legal provisions that allow migrant workers and expatriates to apply for citizenship or become permanent residents. According to Babar (2014), this reflects the state's approach to protect the citizenship against negotiations around existing pressures. Additionally, citizenship is something that one can acquire only through their fathers; if a Qatari female gets married to a non-Qatari male, the children would directly lose their claim to be a Qatari citizen (Kovessy, 2014). All these practices of the Qatar government have been interpreted as connected with the absence of political rights and active civic participation in Qatar.

Qatar is a sensitive country in terms of the well-being of its citizens and implementing the welfare state principles for the citizens such as access to public sector employment, food and energy subsidies, housing allowances and free education (Kovessy, 2014). Since Qatar is aware of its role in the global community and is faced with international scrutiny due to the 2022 World Cup and the low-income construction workers' situation, it also pays special attention to create broader social justice for all citizens of the state (Babar, 2014).

One can argue that the young states like Qatar tend to be more concerned about preserving the ethnic legitimacy of their populations and adopt *jus sanguinis* type of citizenship. To illustrate the type of *jus sanguinis* citizenship, Article 1 of the Law no. 38 of 2005 on the acquisition of Qatari nationality, which is the most recent legal instrument, portrays Qatari citizenship as limited to the people who have been resident in the country since 1930. Additionally, those who maintained regular legal residence in the country until the enforcement date of the aforementioned Law no. 2 of 1961 (which “any person born in Qatar or in a foreign country to a Qatari father shall be deemed to be a Qatari National”) or any person who is proved to be of Qatari descent and is a Qatari citizen (as cited in Qatar Constitution). In broader terms, nationality and citizenship issue is defined in Article 41 of the Constitution as “Qatari nationality and the rules governing it shall be prescribed by law, and the same shall have the similar power as that of the constitution” (as cited in Qatar Constitution).

On the other hand, *kafala system* is the central institution in Qatar that defines the rights and obligations of the migrant workers. This system also creates a structural dependence by binding the migrant workers to the employer rather than

the state. Qatar authorities prefer individual, informal policies to broader legal policy and consider the issue of workers as economic and contractual matters rather than one of civil and political rights (Mednicoff, 2012). Migrant workers are required to obtain their current employer's permission before changing jobs (known as a 'no objection certificate'), they are required to have their employer's permission before leaving the country (exit permit), and they are not allowed to form or join trade unions. Furthermore, the Labor Law excludes certain categories of workers, including domestic workers. This means that under Qatari law there are no limits on working hours and these workers cannot complain to the Ministry of Labor if their rights are being breached. Moreover, the *kefeel* has the ability to confiscate migrant workers' passport, so there is tremendous power in the hands of initial sponsors (Amnesty International, 2013). In the case of GCC countries, foreign workers are employed with local contracts, which might function differently from their home country's economic system. With time, these practices and attitudes towards migrant workers have been normalized in the socio-cultural context of Qatar and other GCC countries (Gardner, 2014). This fact shapes the long standing norms concerning the ill-relations between migrant workers and employers.

In the GCC countries, the segmentation and polarization of the labor force has drawn sharp divisions between the national workers and foreign workers (Malecki and Michael C. Ewers, 2007). The vast majority of national workers are employed in governmental jobs and do not wish to work in private companies. Similarly, private companies tend to recruit foreign workers because they accept working longer flexible hours with a lower salary than the nationals demand. In

recent years, GCC governments have attempted to implement some strategies, such as raising employment quotas for the companies to force them to recruit national employees for the nationalization of the labor force. These strategies are actually named as Saudization, Omanization, Bahrainization, Emiratization, Kuwaitization and Qatarization in the region.

As stated in Qatar's National Vision 2030 plan, rapid economic and population growth causes serious problems in every aspects of life in Qatar. Recruiting these large numbers of migrant workers motivated the Qatari government to take steps to weigh up the potential consequences of migrant labor. Therefore, Qatar like other GCC countries, avoided seeing itself as a destination for permanent settlement, and aimed to build a citizen workforce by alleviating ongoing dependency on foreign labor (Babar, 2011). Despite the labor nationalization strategies of the Gulf countries, the national labor market is still dominated by foreign workers. Therefore, *the kafala system* can be interpreted as a GCC process to manage the intake of large numbers of migrant workers that are an essential component of the national labor market. *The kafala system* is used to protect the national identity, and it is also a result of the great demographic imbalance in the fabric of Qatar society and in the national labor environment.

Dynamics of International Labor Migration in Qatar: Political and Economic Context

Today, one can clearly see that development projects of Qatar have gone beyond the actual needs of the local population. Since the state has decided to create huge infrastructures to accommodate world events (World Cup 2022), vast numbers of migrant workers are needed to build and maintain these constructions. In Qatar,

the non-national population accounts for 86 per cent (Gulf Labor Markets and Migration, 2013) of the total population. Economically active and employed population (15 years and above) was 1,340,582 people in 2012 while non-Qatari employed population accounted for 1,257,981 people (Qatar Ministry of Development and Statistics, 2015). The ratio of non-native workers to Qatari nationals is 1:6.

International labor migration in the world context has emerged as an important labor-supply system due to the consolidation of the world capitalist economy (Sassen-Koob, 1981). Similarly, the dynamics of international migrant flows are explained with the internationalization of capitalist relations (Halliday, 1984). However, international labor migration to Qatar and other Gulf countries has dominantly been described with the shifted dynamics that had come out of the export of oil on a commercial scale since the early 1950s. It has been argued by the researchers that this new structure of the economy of the Gulf countries has generated a silent revolution in the Gulf Arab societies through bringing socio-economic transformation (Khalaf and AlKobaisi, 1999).

On the other hand, the pre-oil economy of the Gulf Sheikhdoms were described as weak since the pearling industry was the only income source of the Gulf that determined the political, cultural and social institutions of the Gulf region (Niblock, 1980). The tribal structure of the region also shaped the conduct of those economic activities based on trust, loyalty and discipline. This economic structure of the region was followed by the economic dependency on the oil sources which produced importance of capital and manpower, extensive social services and a new life style of the Gulf societies. Over several decades, oil and natural gas provided a

fundamental source of capital for Qatar that has developed its economy rapidly and required large numbers of labor forces with the rise of oil prices in 1973-74 and in 1978-1979. This development resulted in large transfers of capital from oil importing countries to oil exporting countries (Birks and Sinclair, 1982). The expansion in demand for labor and the lack of local trained workers forced labor importers to look for additional manpower, especially in the Indian sub-continent (Schoorman and Raouf Samir, 1990).

International labor migration has been redefined through the temporary nature of the workforce in the Qatar context. It has been argued by most of the researchers that preventing permanent immigration is a consequence of fear of the Gulf countries from political erosion that can overthrow their monarchies or politically overrun by their neighbors if they allow foreigners to become citizens or permanently stay (Weiner, 1982). Regarding the nature of this strategy of Gulf countries, Weiner (1982) underlines that policies and fundamental decisions related to the future of the international labor is all about politics, not about the free market direction.

It has always been underlined by the researchers that the main reason behind the importation of international labor to Gulf countries is the lack of technical skills of the local population. However, those laborers quickly outnumbered the local populations in Gulf countries; Kuwait, Qatar and UAE local populations have become minorities in their own countries (Khalaf and AlKobaisi, 1999). This unusual situation is interpreted as contributing to the potential for cultural conflict in Gulf societies as well as creating an enormous reliance on migrant labor and has

meant that the development of an indigenous labor force has been retarded (Migrant Workers in the Arab Middle East, 1982).

Under the conditions of labor scarcity, technological dependence and a high incidence of imports, rapid modernization and industrialization can construct the conditions for the international labor flows as it did in Qatar (Sassen-Koob, 1981). Additionally, it is linked to the country's place in the international division of labor and the particular mode of specialization prevalent at the time in the world system (Sassen-Koob, 1981). However, referring to push and pull factors, one cannot ignore the impact of economic disparity between exporting and importing countries as a motivation for the labor worker

In its contemporary manifestation, Qatar and all the GCC countries deeply rely on the international labor migration. Present-day migration in Qatar today is highly exposed to the critics from international human rights organizations, non-governmental institutions, academicians and researchers who are interested in Qatar's place in the global flow migrants (Gardner, Pessoa and Harkness, 2014). Presently, Qatar is reviewing its *kafala system* and has promised to enact new laws over the coming year, 2015 in order to give more rights to migrant workers of all classes, manual or professional workers.

Chapter 4. MIDDLE CLASS MIGRANTS COMMUNITY IN QATAR

This chapter aims to illustrate the nature of the middle class migrant labor in Qatar by focusing on their economic, social and political status in Qatar society. It will also analyze the relation between the nationality and labor market in the context of Qatar.

Middle Class Migrants to Qatar

Middle class, as discussed in the previous chapter, isn't a concept that researchers have reached a consensus on its characteristics. Nevertheless, the middle classes of all countries are important to their economies as they balance the social structure. They are also the worst affected strata of the society during a financial crisis (Al Asoomi, 2012). In the context of Qatar, middle class refers to the foreign-born laborers that are paid middle range salaries; they are professionals who earn considerably more than fellow production and service workers; and they also have better working conditions, with health and other benefits (Johnson, 2010). In addition, Al Asoomi (2012) emphasizes the concept of middle class in Qatar to refer to the foreign workers who contribute to the development and progress of the country by being the most dynamic strata of the society. Income, education, occupation, job sector, life style choices, family and cultural baggage and even residential areas of the foreign workers are significant indicators of the middle class segment of Qatari society.

Wealth, status and power pave the way for people to determine the conditions of the environment in which they live. Therefore, becoming the subject of a class emerges as an important step for people to internalize their life chances

and differentiate themselves from the other classes owing to their life style. In the context of Qatar, the proximity of middle class professionals to the social and material worlds and circumstances of their working class compatriots maintain the distinctions between them (Johnson, 2010). Visible material markers of their status also differentiate the foreign-born middle class from the lower strata through possessing luxury cars and housings.

Ethnic, Economic Roles, Social and Political Settings of Migrants in Qatar

The terms of nationality and labor market are interrelated to each other in a strong sense in the context of Qatar society. Qatar as a small migration destination country is sharing many commonalities with other Gulf countries. This is expressed in terms of its demographic, ethnic, social and economic structures together with the political situation in the country. Due to the increases in the demand for oil in the world, each GCC state and Qatar strived to adopt a modernization plan and develop industrialization and infrastructure. While Qatar was changing the infrastructure of the country by building new highways, universities, museums and mosques, the profile of the migrants has changed. In the past, the type of labor migrants was mostly merchants, entrepreneurs or skilled professionals; whereas in the recent years, the typical migrant has been an unskilled labor worker although the flow of skilled and professional migration continued and formed the middle class of the country (Gardner, 2012).

According to a survey titled, “A survey of life in Qatar 2012” conducted by Social and Economic Research Institute (SESRI), the majority of migrant laborers in Qatar are less than 40 years old; (48%) aged 26-37 and less than one quarter (17%) aged 18-25 years (SESRI, 2012). As well as their young populations, non-

nationals also present a diverse ethnic nature that prevents them to unite or dominate the society. This diverse nature has helped Qatari nationals to maintain their dominance in the society despite their small number in the population (Kapiszweski, 2007). As it is known, diversity emphasizes difference and difference can be a cause of political instability in a country. However, because the economic needs of these migrant workers are met, they have been able to live in the country peacefully in spite of their diversity.

Generally, the lower socioeconomic class and unskilled labor come almost entirely from South Asia as well as Sub-Saharan Africa. Moreover, this group includes Arabs mostly Egyptians (Gardner, 2012). Social and spatial segregation of labor migrants in Qatar has been a significant feature of the labor migration since it is mostly portrayed as necessary for the preservation of the Qatari social and cultural identity. Due to the interplay between the globalization and migration, dynamics of international migration have changed and affected the patterns of international mobility giving migrants the flexibility to move across geographical, national and cultural boundaries (Scurry, K. Rodriguez and Bailouni, 2013).

It can clearly be stated that the majority of immigrants to Qatar mostly originate from developing countries, with a significant proportion from South and East Asia (Seshan, 2012). As figure 3 illustrates, Indians have the largest share that counts 31.2 per cent in 2013 in Qatar while Nepalis follow them with 23.5 per cent. Regarding the Arab countries, Egyptians have the largest percentage with 5% and the rest of the Arab migrant workers are mostly from Syria, Sudan, Lebanon, Jordan and Palestine.

Table 6

Foreign Workers in Qatar by Country of Citizenship in 2013

Country of Citizenship	Workers	%
India	452,578	31.2
Nepal	339,901	23.5
Philippines	165,447	11.4
Bangladesh	130,630	9.0
Arab Countries	146,577	10.1
Of which Egypt	72,487	5.0
Syria	18,474	1.3
Sudan	14,147	1.0
Lebanon	10,222	0.7
Jordan	8,341	0.6
Palestine	4,312	0.3
Total employed population (2013)	1,449,234	100

Note. Retrieved from De Bel-Air (2014), Qatar National Human Rights Committee (NHRC), Qatar Ministry of Labor Data, QSA Labor Force Survey 2013, Fourth Quarter.

One can clearly argue that Qatar is a cultural and ethnic mosaic since its non-national population has a heterogeneous structure ethnically, culturally and religiously (Al-Najjar, 2013). The diverse nature of the non-national populations in Qatar has paved the way for the country to draw from the experiences of the cultures of the world (Kapiszewski, 2007). On the other hand, it has raised the threat perception of Qatar and according to the survey “Qataris’ Attitudes towards Foreign Workers” conducted by the Social and Economic Research Institute in 2012, this threat is thought to be more associated with the growing number of non-Arab white-collar (83%) and blue collar workers (82%) than with Arab white-collar workers (43%) and blue-collar workers (47%) (SESRI, 2012). On the other hand, almost half of the respondents in the white-collar group (42%) and one-third of the respondents in the blue-collar group (32%) believed that the growing number of white-collar and blue-collar workers strengthens the Qatari society (SESRI, 2012).

Table 7

Average Monthly Wage and Working Hours (2011)

	Average Working Hours	Average Monthly Wage
Qatari Males	39	20,721 QR
Qatari Females	38	15,313 QR
Non-Qatari Males	53	5,588 QR
Non-Qatari Females	56	3,634 QR

Note. Retrieved from Labor Force Sample Survey (2011) by Qatar Statistics Authority.

In comparison to the 2011 Labor Force Survey illustrated in table 7, Salary Survey of 2015 conducted by Gulf Business Journal has showed that salaries for the average Western and Asian white-collar workers are declining in the Gulf region (Kovessy, 2014). Ian Giulianotti, the director at Nadia Recruitment & Training, explains the dynamics for the decline of average salaries: “over the last two to three years, as (Western employees) are leaving, companies are taking the opportunity to hire the same standard of worker but at slightly lower salaries” (Kovessy, 2014). While white-collar Arab expats earned an average monthly salary of \$12,518, the average salary stated for Western workers is \$12,332 in the same occupations. In 2013, Western expats made an average of \$13,117 per month in Qatar 13 percent more than the Arab workers who were earning \$11,595 (Kovessy, 2014). On the other hand, Asian laborers’ average salary dropped from \$9,878 per month in 2013 to \$9,571 in 2015 in the Gulf region (Kovessy, 2014).

Table 8

Relative Distribution of Labor Force by Economic Activity, Nationality and Sex (2011)

	Qatari males %	Qatari females %	Non-Qatari males %	Non-Qatari females %
Transportation and storage	1.0	0.3	2.7	3.0
Administrative services activities	0.7	0.9	3.4	1.8
Education and health	6.8	35.1	1.7	14.3
Public administration	65.1	46.7	2.9	1.5
Mining	9.2	3.3	7.0	1.4
Manufacturing	1.5	0.2	9.3	0.4
Household activities	0.0	0.0	4.5	65.4
Trade	3.1	1.4	12.6	4.0
Construction	1.2	0.6	46.3	2.1
Other activities	11.4	11.5	9.6	6.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Note. Retrieved from the Labor Force Sample Survey (2011) conducted by Qatar Statistics Authority.

All the migrants have various expectations, professions, roles and socio-economic levels in the Qatari society and labor market (Al-Najjar, 2013). As table 8 illustrates, Qatari males and Qatari females tend to be employed in public administration while non-Qatari males are mostly concentrated in the construction sector and trade. Nationality of the non-Qataris also is a significant factor on the occupational separation in Qatar. For instance, Asian migrants are mostly employed in low-paying occupations such as construction, car wash and homecare. European migrants enjoy higher incomes and tend to work in administrative positions, public-private sector, real estate and the banking sector. Low and middle-paying jobs in the construction, sewing and garment sector are dominated by Indians, Bangladeshi and Pakistanis. On the other hand, Egyptians, Palestinian and Arab nationalities are

concentrated in bureaucratic, educational and medical sector as well as the governmental positions.

As well as the occupational separation, non-nationals are also divided by residential separations. European laborers, highly-trained and educated Arab and Asian laborers reside in the neighborhoods that include swimming pools, tennis courts and clubs (Al-Najjar, 2013). Residential concentration can also be based on the ethnic origin, sectarian or religious background of the migrants that they identify themselves with. Those identities also can be a means of psychological, social and economic support; for instance, an Arab migrant can put forward his Arab identity to reinforce his position vis-a-vis other nationalities at work (Al-Najjar, 2013).

Alnajjar (2013) portrays the language, religion, sects, class, residence and workplace as the factors that separate the foreign labor from the local population in the Gulf countries. It can clearly be observed that the core of the social, economic and cultural life of Qatar are dominated and represented by middle-income professionals with all their ethnic differences. Most of these professionals, who tend to occupy the positions in the commercial sector and government service sector such as education and health, enjoy high incomes that help them to establish their own social practices and they remain closed and ethnically exclusive (Al-Najjar, 2013). On the other hand, low-income migrant workers who are mostly from the Indian subcontinent like India, Bangladesh, Pakistan and Sri Lanka and some Arab countries are faced with difficult circumstances to establish and maintain their own social practices and customs beside the economic struggles.

As a conclusion, one can argue that nationality is a determinant factor for the non-nationals who occupy the labor market. Their social, economic and cultural

characteristics are based on their background and ethnicity. For instance, while Indians and Filipinos are proficient in English, many Pakistanis have the Arabic knowledge or many Indians, Pakistanis, Indonesians and Bangladeshis get advantage of acceptability by being Muslim (Kapiszweski, 2007). In addition to the nationality, place of work, residential area, ethnicity, language, religion, class and sometimes sects can be stated as the dominant factor that led the separation of non-national laborers from the Qatari nationals and also one migrant community from another. Ethnic, religious and sectarian identities play a dominant role in the residential separation among the migrant communities through social and economic networks.

Chapter 5. LEVEL OF SOCIAL INTERACTION BETWEEN THE SECOND GENERATION MIGRANTS AND QATARIS

This chapter aims to present and analyze the results of these research questions: To what extent can the young Qataris and second generation migrants narrow the social gap between each other? What are the obstacles that prevent them from becoming closer to each other?

Influence of Nationality on the Interaction with Qataris

One of the question asked to the second generation migrants in the context of interaction between the Qataris and them was whether they would marry with a Qatari citizen or not. Thirteenth percent has answered that they would prefer to marry with someone who is Qatari. One of the respondent that prefer to marry with a Qatari is from Iranian-Omani background said that:

I prefer to marry with a Qatari because of the culture and family issues. We share the same cultural features with Qataris. Yemenis and Iranians have similar culture to Qataris but no other Arab nationals like Syrians, Palestinians, and Egyptians. (Case 14)

The answer of one of the respondents coming from Yemeni background who prefer to marry with someone who is Qatari has revealed the fact that second generation migrants especially from the Gulf region tend to make their marriage choice in the favor of Qatari national. Cultural similarities and characteristics of the families are observed as the major themes in their discourse:

I can't imagine myself with a non-Qatari. I am not ready to be involved in another culture. I even cannot be with a GCC national, I believe that they are different than Qataris. (Case 13)

Table 9

Second Generation Migrants' Answers to the Question, "Would you prefer to marry with someone who is Qatari?"

Answers	(%)
Yes	13%
No	31%
Nationality is not important	38%
From my home country	31%

Note. Data has been gathered based on the in-depth interviews with the second generation migrants. Please note that participants selected more than one category.

As table 9 illustrates, thirty-eight percent of the respondents answered the same question by saying that nationality is not a determinant factor for their marriage choice. This statement actually was very dominant both in the discourse of second generation migrants and forty percent of Qatari participants. Nevertheless, cultural issues, ethnic and family backgrounds were the major factors influencing their decisions. For instance, thirty-one percent of the second generation migrants stated that they would prefer to marry with someone from their home country or someone has the same nationality with them:

I prefer to marry with a Palestinian. We share the same culture and background. It is easier to develop a family with someone who has the same cultural background with you. (Case 7)

I prefer to marry with a Sudanese or other expatriates. I would never marry with a Qatari because they discriminate a lot. My first choice is a Sudanese because we share the same culture and communication will be easier. For marrying with other nationalities, I would hesitate in the beginning but personality is more important than the nationality at the end. (Case 4)

Qatari respondents' answers for the question of whether they would like to marry with a non-Qatari migrant are in accordance with the second generation

migrants. Forty percent of the Qatari respondents stated that nationality is not important for them while thirty-four percent of them said that they would prefer to marry with a Qatari. The reasons for deciding to get marry with a Qatari national mostly were related to their family acceptances, cultural differences and the consequences of a marriage with a non-Qatari in Qatar, especially for the female respondents. One of the female Qatari respondent's answer illustrates the influence of marriage regulations and social costs in the future:

I don't have any problem to get marry with any nationality. But when you have babies, you will have problems. I prefer to marry with a Qatari because I want my children to have a Qatari citizenship. You may not see the problem in the first years after the marriage, but after 5 years when your kids are getting older they will feel the difference between them and the Qatari citizens. This difference will cause problems. (Case 28)

Qatari of course. If I marry with a non-Qatari, I would lose almost everything for one man. Even if my family allows me I won't do that. I don't want my children to be discriminated in the future. (Case 23)

However, some female participants were not concerned about citizenship issue like case 27. The main criticism of case 27 was the materialistic mentality of the Qataris and their families; hence she stated that she would prefer to marry with someone who is not Qatari and whose mentality is far from the acceptances of Qatari society:

I would prefer to marry with a non-Qatari. Here, society and traditions control people's way of thinking. I just feel that they are so pathetic. They don't try to think. I don't fit in this society. If I marry with a Qatari, I would feel myself stuck in a bubble. In Qatar, girls cannot do anything if they don't get marry...

Also, it is rare to find someone who understands the meaning of marriage. Parents and the society are also materialistic. The Qatari men's way of thinking is superficial. I can't deal with that. He should appreciate a woman and understand what the marriage is. (Case 27)

I don't mind about the nationality. But he should be a Muslim. I prefer to get marry with a Qatari man comparing to other GCC countries. If he is not Qatari, I can marry with a Jordanian. I love Jordan. (Case 30)

As second generation migrants, Qatari respondents started their arguments by underlining that nationality is not important factor for their marriage decisions. Nevertheless, family acceptances and cultural issues were observed as the determinant factors on their decision like case 19 mentions:

I prefer to marry with a Qatari. My family wouldn't like it if I say that I want to marry with a non-Qatari man. For me, it depends on the character not nationality. Nevertheless, I wouldn't marry with someone from another culture. He can be from GCC countries as well. (Case 19)

He can be from the GCC countries. I have extended family in Oman and UAE for example he can be from these countries. (Case 22)

Among the Qatari male respondents, it was observed that their choices of marriage is not related to the nationality. It is because of the less tight marriage regulations towards the male citizens in Qatar. Moreover, some Qatari male respondents who said that they would prefer to marry with a non-Qatari mostly was complaining about the Qatar women's high expectancies and the cost of the marriage with a Qatari women:

I want to get marry with a non-Qatari woman... I prefer a Syrian woman actually. My uncle got married with a Syrian woman and he is very happy now. It is really expensive to get marry with a Qatari woman. They want to travel a lot, they do shopping a lot and they like luxury things. A non-Qatari woman wouldn't ask for those things. (Case 26)

I can marry with a non-Qatari woman. She can even be a Christian because Islam allows me to marry with a Christian woman. Qatari girls are problem, they ask so many things for the marriage. They make the marriage difficult. My cousin got married with a Turkish woman and my uncle with a Bahraini woman. (Case 25)

When the second generation migrants were asked about if they have close friends from Qataris, thirty-eight percent of the respondents said that they have close friends from Qataris. On the other hand, majority of the respondents (62%) emphasized that they do not have close Qatari friends. Respondents who have close friends from Qataris underlined the closeness of their residences and the temporary nature of their migrant friends in Qatar:

My friends are all Qataris. I don't have any close friends from migrants. I have migrant friends as well, I go out with them but I see them as temporary friends to me. I see my Qatari friends almost every day and some of them once in a week. (Case 14)

Respondents who do not have close friends from Qataris emphasized the differences between the past and present of their interaction with Qataris. They considered the self-awareness which they have gained as they get older as an important factor to understand the difference between themselves and Qataris. This

difference can be interpreted as an influential element in their closeness with Qataris as close friends:

I don't have close friends from Qataris. When I was in high school, things were different. I was going to the cinema with Qatari friends and we were visiting each other's homes. Now I rarely interact with them. I just know their names because we are in the same class. Actually, I feel more comfortable with other nationalities. (Case 4)

Table 10

Second Generation Migrants' Close friends from Qataris

Close friends from Qataris	(%)
Yes I do have	38%
No I don't have	62%

Note. Data has been gathered based on the in-depth interviews with the second generation migrants.

Frequency of the second generation migrants to see their Qatari friends is twice a week (38%) and mostly in the university. Other thirty-eight percent of the respondents stated that they do not see their Qatari friends during the week. Thirteen percent of the respondents consider themselves as a mixed group with Qataris and thirteen percent also said that they meet with their Qatari friends at the weekends. These results illustrate the fact that the frequency to see their Qatari friends is not frequent but steady due to their connection through the university.

Table 11

Frequency of the Second Generation Migrants to See Their Qatari Friends

Frequency to see Qatari friends	(%)
Twice a week	38%
I don't see them	38%
We are a mixed group	13%
At the weekends	13%

Note. Data has been gathered based on the in-depth interviews with the second generation migrants.

When the Qatari respondents were asked about if they have close friends from migrants, fifty percent of the Qatari respondents said that their close friends are both Qataris and non-Qatari migrants. While thirty-three percent stated that they do not have close friend from non-Qatari migrants. This percentage is in accordance with the second generation migrants' responses for the same question. Nineteen percent of them said that their close friends are from non-Qatari migrants as Case 20. For the same question, none of the second generation migrants mentioned that they have close friends only from Qataris. Case 20's answer is an example for the Qatari respondents who stated that their close friends are non-Qatari migrants:

My best friends are from non-Qatari migrants. One of them is Qatari, the others are Yemeni and Iranian. But I see them as Qatari as well. They deserve citizenship but the government will never give them. (Case 20)

When the Qatari respondents were asked whether they prefer to spend their time with their Qatari friends or non-Qatari migrants seventy-four percent of the respondents said that they don't have any preference. It is a common observation among the second generation migrants and Qatari participants that they do not stress the importance of the nationality in their answers as case 25:

I don't mind the nationality of my friends. We are all mixed with my Qatari and non-Qatari friends. They are the same for me. (Case 25)

Twenty percent of the Qatari participants stated that they prefer to spend time with their Qatari friends. The answer of case 21 shows the importance of the citizenship for some Qataris on their preference to spend their time:

I prefer to spend time with Qatari friends. We know each other and we can understand each other better. We can speak about personal things. With non-Qatari migrants I can only speak about general things like classes, university etc. (Case 21)

When respondents were asked to describe their neighborhoods, fifty-six percent of them replied that they have neighbors both from Qataris and migrants. Twenty-five percent of the respondents said that they have neighbors from migrants only while nineteenth percent of the participants have neighbors only from Qataris. Case 5 compared the present and past in terms of their relation with their Qatari neighbors:

In the past, neighbors were very helpful. We were living in Al Duhaail and there was solidarity among us. Now there is no communication with the Qatari neighbors and with other nationalities as well. (Case 5)

Table 12

Nationality of Second Generation Migrants' Neighbors

Nationality of the neighbors	(%)
Both Qataris and non-Qataris	56%
Non-Qataris	25%
Only Qataris	19%

Note. Data has been gathered based on the in-depth interviews with the second generation migrants.

In terms of their communication with their Qatari neighbors, it has been observed that majority of the second generation migrants (62%) do not have an actual communication with their Qatari neighbors except in gatherings in the mosque as case 6 mentions:

My father speaks with the Qataris in the meetings in the mosque but in our neighborhood we don't have any communication, we don't visit each other.

(Case 6)

Table 13

Second Generation Migrants' Communication Level with Their Neighbors Who is Qatari

Communication level	(%)
We do have communication	38%
We do not have any communication	62%

Note. Data has been gathered based on the in-depth interviews with the second generation migrants.

Table 14

Nationality of the Neighbors of the Qatari Participants

Nationality	(%)
Qatari	46%
Family members	21%
Both	33%

Note. Data has been gathered based on the in-depth interviews with the second generation migrants.

Majority of the Qatari respondents (46%) said that their neighbors are from Qatari families while thirty-three of the respondents stated that their neighborhood is consist of both Qataris and non-Qatari migrants. Comparing to the responses of the second generation migrants who described their neighborhood is consist of both Qataris and non-Qatari migrants, Qatari participants stated that their neighbors are mainly Qataris. For their communication level, the responses were not different than the second generation migrants; main interaction point is the mosque or in Ramadan or in Eid.

A Comparison of the Social Life of Second Generation Migrants and Qatari Youth

Through a sociological perspective, one can argue that individuals perceive themselves belonging to a particular class by a virtue of their social characteristics. Thus, concept of middle class as a social category has been defined in this study as individuals who have completed their secondary education as a minimum and are employed in white collar occupations, including as administrators, government officials and senior technicians (ESCWA, 2014). In the case of Qatar, second generation migrants are belonging to the middle class owing to the reason that their families as first generation has a comfortable life in terms of economic means and enjoying growing living standards secured through white collar jobs. In that sense, social life opportunities of second generation migrants and Qatari youths become less different than each other.

To illustrate, it has been observed that choices of the second generation migrants and Qataris in their social life are similar to each other especially in terms of their hobbies, special interests, following the news and leisure time activities. On the other hand, they also had some differences especially in terms of working activities. For instance, when the second generation migrants were asked whether they worked or are working while they are studying at the same time, sixty-three percent said they are/were working. In contrary, the percentage of Qatari participants for the same question was thirty-three percent. Majority of the Qatari respondents with sixty-six percent stated that they are/were not working when they were at the university. While most of the second generation migrants said that they are/were working at the Qatar University as part-time, Qatari respondents mostly

mentioned about the volunteer activities they do/did and internship or part-time working at Qatari companies. This situation can be explained by the lack of the opportunities of second generation migrants comparing to the Qatari youth. Second generation migrants tend to feel themselves to have work experiences before they graduate in order to get a good job and bargaining position in the labor market.

Table 15

Second Generation Migrants' Answer to the Question, "What are your hobbies and special interests?"

Hobbies	(%)
Sports (cricket, riding rhymes, ice-skating, walking, running, football, basketball, athletics, swimming)	81%
Special interests (collecting stamps, drawing manga, cooking, Arabic calligraphy, learning languages, dancing)	37%
Reading, listening to music and watching TV and videos	63%

Note. Data has been gathered based on the in-depth interviews with the second generation migrants. Please note that participants selected more than one category.

In terms of their hobbies, second generation migrants and Qatari respondents showed similarities with each other. Sport activities such as football, running and swimming were the major activities that both Qatari participants and second generation migrants prefer to be involved in. Apart from that, both Qatari respondents and second generation migrants mentioned about different kind of special interests that show their active social life. Both sides have been observed to be active in their social life and involved in similar social activities with the similar percentages.

Table 16

Qatari Participants' Answers to the Question, "What are your hobbies and special interests if you have any?"

Hobbies	(%)
Sports (boxing, football, gym, swimming, walking, running, tennis, riding bicycle)	66%
Special interests (programming, graphic design, horse riding, learning languages, online learning programs, drawing)	34%

Note. Data has been gathered based on the in-depth interviews with the second generation migrants.

When the respondents were asked whether and how often they watch the news, ninety-four percent replied that they are watching the news with eighty-one percent said they are following the news every day. Eighty-two percent of the respondents stated that they are following the news on internet. Al-Jazeera and Skynews were the main news channels that the respondents mentioned about. In addition to that, sixty-nine percent of the respondents said that they are reading the newspapers regularly with seventy-five percent reads it only online. The Guardian, Al-Watan, Ar-Rayyan, Al-Quds and New York Times were the newspapers that the respondents mentioned about. Twenty-five percent mentioned about the 9/11 event as the biggest news that they have ever heard while thirty-two percent of the respondents stated that 2011 Arab Spring along with Cairo Square Events and Syria conflict were the biggest news that they have ever heard on news.

Table 17

Second Generation Migrants Answers to the Question, "What was the biggest news that you have ever heard on TV?"

News	(%)
9/11	25%
Arab Spring (Cairo Square Events and Syria conflict)	32%
Palestinian Issue (Intifada, UN Membership and Gaza Strip)	19%
GCC Events (Bahraini events, Seyh Tamim's arrival to the power, discussions on Jordan and Morocco's membership to the GCC)	19%
Iranian Revolution	6%

Invasion of Iraq in 2003	6%
Division of Sudan in 2011	6%
Death of Hugo Chavez	6%
Charlie Hebdo event in France	6%

Note. Data has been gathered based on the in-depth interviews with the second generation migrants. Please note that participants selected more than one category.

When Qatari respondents were asked whether they watch the news or not, eighty-six percent said that they watch the news while fifty-three percent stated that they watch the news on TV, thirty-three of them watched the news online and fourteen percent of them listened the news on radio. Sixty-six percent of the respondents stated that they follow the news every day while thirty-three of them said that they follow the news once in a week. Eighty percent of the participants said that they read newspaper online and twenty of them stated that they read the news both online and from the newspaper. In terms of the newspapers, Qatari respondents prefer to read the newspapers such as Al-Sark, Ar-Rayyan, The Gulf Times, Laha Magazine, Ahlan, OK and Hello. Majority of the respondents (27%) stated that Seyh Tamim's arrival to power was the biggest news that they have ever heard on the news. News about the ISIS and Arab Spring were the other two biggest news that the respondents mentioned about.

As a comparison, it can be emphasized that Arab Spring and 9/11 events have been the two common biggest news that affected both the Qatari participants and second generation migrants. Seyh Tamim's arrival to the power has been observed as the biggest news that affected the Qatari respondents while it was the Arab Spring for the second generation migrants.

Table 18

Qatari Participants' Answers to the Question, "What was the biggest news that you have ever heard on TV?"

News	(%)
Qatar World Cup	7%
Qatar-Bahraini Dispute (Hawar Island)	7%
Arab Spring (Zeynel Abidin-Tunisa, Mohammed Morsi's arrival to the power in Egypt)	20%
2003 Invasion of Iraq	7%
Seyh Tamim's arrival to power in Qatar	27%
Capture of Osama Bin Laden	7%
ISIS	20%
9/11 event	7%
Villaggio Fire in Qatar	7%
Death of Saudi King Abdullah	7%
Syria war	20%

Note. Data has been gathered based on the in-depth interviews with the second generation migrants. Please note that participants selected more than one category.

When the second generation migrants were asked about what kind of places they usually visit in Qatar, sixty-three of them mentioned about the malls. Vilaggio, Landmark, Hyatt Plaza, Laguna, City Center were the main malls that the respondents mentioned about. Restaurants and coffee shops have the second share in second generation migrants' social life with fifty-six percent while fifty percent stated that they prefer to go to the sealine and desert.

Table 19

Second Generation Migrants' Answers to the Question, "Which places do you usually visit in Doha?"

Places	(%)
Malls	63%
Sealine, desert	56%
Restaurants, coffee shops	50%
Hotels	12%
Sport Clubs	12%

Note. Data has been gathered based on the in-depth interviews with the second generation migrants. Please note that participants selected more than one category.

Table 20

Qatari Participants' Answers to the Question, "Which places do you usually visit in Doha?"

Places	(%)
Malls	66%
Katara	33%
Pearl	53%
Coffee shops, restaurants	40%
Beach	13%
Souqs	20%
Hotels	13%

Note. Data has been gathered based on the in-depth interviews with the second generation migrants. Please note that participants selected more than one category.

Majority of the Qatari respondents stated that they usually go to the malls in Qatar as second generation migrants. This fact is mostly related to the lack of social activities and consumer mentality in Qatar that direct the people to spend their time in the malls. In terms of the name of the malls, Vilagio, Landmark, Laguna and City Center were the popular malls among the participants. Different than the second generation migrants, fifty-three percent of the Qatari respondents said that they like visiting the Pearl which is considered as one of the luxury places in Qatar. Coffees shops, restaurants and beaches were the other places that both sides like spending their time at.

When the second generation migrants were asked whether they use the social media or not, ninety-four percent answered that they use it. The main reasons to use the social media that the participants mentioned were to socialize, getting news, having fun, knowing what is happening in the world, get to know new people, to feel themselves as a part of something bigger than Qatar and hear about their friends and others. Likewise, eighty-seven percent of the Qatari respondents stated that they use the social media. Reasons to use the social media were the same as the second generation migrants.

Table 21

Second Generation Migrants' Answers to the Question, "Are there any historical figures that you admire at? Why?"

Type of the Figures	(%)
Political figures	50%
Religious figures	31%
Historical/Philosophical figures	31%
Celebrities	12%
Writers	6%
No one	13%

Note. Data has been gathered based on the in-depth interviews with the second generation migrants. Please note that participants selected more than one category.

When the second generation migrants were asked which historical figures or people they admire, political figures were in the first place. Religious figures and philosophers with thirty-one percent were in the second place. Only thirteen percent stated that they do not have anyone whom they admire or to see as a role model. Qatari participants' answers are observed as in accordance with the second generation migrants. For instance, political figures were in the first place for Qatari participants, historical and philosophical figures were in the second place. Religious figures and Qatari politicians were other categories that Qatari respondents are influenced by.

Table 22

Qatari Participants' Answers to the Question, "Are there any historical figures that you admire at? Why?"

Type of figures	(%)
Political figures	60%
Religious figures	20%
Historical/Philosophical figures	33%
Family members	13%
Qatari politicians	20%
Writers	6%

Note. Data has been gathered based on the in-depth interviews with the second generation migrants. Please note that participants selected more than one category.

When the respondents were asked whether they like watching movies at home or at the cinema, fifty-nine percent preferred to watch at home. Sixty-eight percent said that they prefer to go to the cinema with their friends rather than their families and fifty percent stated that they prefer to go to the cinema with the same gender. Likewise, sixty percent of the Qatari respondents stated that they prefer to watch movies at home while eighty-eight percent said that they don't go to the cinema with their opposite gender or as a mixed group. In terms of going to the cinema with the opposite gender, Qatari respondents and second generation migrants exposed different attitudes. It has been observed that comparing to the second generation migrants, Qatari participants do not prefer to go to the cinema with the opposite gender. For the Qatari female respondents, the reason was the traditional issues and family structure. For those who stated that they can go to the cinema with the opposite gender was mostly the Qatari male participants.

Table 23

Second Generation Migrants' Answers to the Question, "Would you mind going to the cinema with the opposite gender?"

Answers	(%)
I can go to the cinema with the same gender	50%
I don't go to the cinema with the opposite gender	50%

Note. Data has been gathered based on the in-depth interviews with the second generation migrants.

The results of this chapter have revealed that social interaction among the second generation and their Qatar counterparts has changed its direction with the self-awareness of both sides. As they grow up, second generation migrants had an awareness about the impact of their nationality on their lives in Qatar. Therefore, social interaction between two sides has been observed as limited to the public

sphere in most cases and limited due to the traditions, cultural acceptances, family structures and citizenship issue. On the other hand, social life practices, social media usage, intellectual figures that they admire and biggest news that have had an influence on both sides are observed as similar to each other. According to the findings of this chapter, life style and social life practices of second generation migrants cannot be seen more different than the life style of their Qatari counterparts. Yet, those commonalties are not enough to pave the way for this study to interpret their identities as similar to each other.

Chapter 6. BELONGING ISSUE AMONG THE SECOND GENERATION MIGRANTS

This chapter aims to present and analyze the results of the research questions, “in what ways do the second generation migrants construct their identity in Qatar?” and “how does the second generation migrants interpret the issue of belonging to a country or a society?”. It seeks to describe the characteristics of the identity of second generation migrants as well as their linkages to their home country and Qatari society.

Family and Identity

In this section, discussion turns to the relation between the background of their family and linkages between their family and home country and between their relationships with the home country. In terms of job occupations of the families of second generation migrants, it has been observed that seventy-five percent of the second generation migrants’ fathers tend to work in private sector jobs mostly engineers, pharmacists, banker and teachers while twenty-five percent occupy the public jobs dominantly in military and Divan. Seventy-five percent of second generation migrants’ mothers is housewife while twenty-five percent occupy the jobs in private sectors mainly as pharmacist, teacher and administrator.

Table 24

Job Occupations of Second Generation Migrants’ Families

Father’s occupation	(%)
Public sector (Military and Divan)	25%
Private sector (engineer, teacher, pharmacist, banker)	75%
Mother’s occupation	(%)
Housewife	75%
Private sector (pharmacist, teacher, administrative)	25%

Note. Data has been gathered based on the in-depth interviews with the second generation migrants.

In contrast to the migrants who dominantly occupy the private sector, Qatari respondents stated that their families dominantly occupy the jobs in public sectors. The other difference between the Qatari and second generation participants is regarding the retirement of their families. Due to the visa and citizenship system in Qatar, migrants have to be employed in a sector in order to continue staying in Qatar. As a result, none of the second generation migrants' families are retired while twenty percent of the Qatari respondents' fathers and twenty-five percent of their mothers were recognized as retired.

Table 25

Job Occupations of Qatari Participants' Families

Father's Occupation	(%)
Public sector (Qatar Media Corporate, Teacher, Assistant Manager at Qatar Petroleum, Manager at Municipal Ministry, Diplomat, Director at Qatar TV)	46%
Retired	20%
Private business	13%
Private sector (CEO)	6%
Army	6%

Mother's Occupation	(%)
Housewife	50%
Public sector (Administrator, Qatar University Financial Department, Director of a School, Customs Officer)	25%
Retired	25%

Note. Data has been gathered based on the in-depth interviews with the second generation migrants.

Quantity and quality of household consumption are determinant factor in defining the concept of middle class. For instance, non-food expenditure choices and non-essential ones such as traveling abroad, changing the furniture or going to the restaurants are indicators of better off households (ESCWA, 2014). To illustrate

this point, when the second generation of migrants were asked about the family expenditure, all of them stated that their family spend their money on glossary, clothes and home necessities. Fifty percent of the participants said that their family spend their money on cars, restaurants and entertainment activities while forty-four percent emphasized that they spend their money on educational purposes. While twenty-five of the participants underlined the fact that they tend to spend money on luxury things and shopping a lot, twenty-five percent of them stated that their family is sending money back to their home country to help their relatives living there:

We have contact with our relatives in Sudan and my father send money to Sudan to help our relatives there. (Case 3)

Thirteen percent of the non-Qatari participants said that their family is sending money to the female members of their relatives in the home country as case 6:

My father has been sending money to his sisters in Pakistan. It is very important for him. (Case 6)

Another example that illustrates another aspect of family linkages with the home country; buying a property in the home country after working for many years in Qatar:

My father was a Math teacher in Qatar. After getting retired, they decided to move back to Morocco. My family bought a land in Morocco and now they are living there and I am living in the hostel in Qatar. (Case 1)

Table 26

Second Generation Migrants' Family Expenditure

Family Expenditure	(%)
Shopping (glossary, clothes etc.)	100 %
Cars, restaurants, entertainment	50%
Education	44%
Luxury	25%

Travelling	19%
Furniture	19%
Buying a home in home country	13%
Sending money to home country	25%

Note. Data has been gathered based on the in-depth interviews with the second generation migrants. Please note that participants selected more than one category.

Similar to the second generation migrants, all of the Qatari respondents said that their family is highly spending money on shopping (glossary, clothes and personal expenses). Forty percent of the respondents stated that their family send money on cars, thirty-three percent of them spend money on school equipment, twenty-six percent of them spend money on furniture and twenty percent spend on buying a land or home.

When the second generation migrants were asked whether they travel abroad in the summer or prefer to stay in Qatar, eighty-three percent of them said that they rarely travel but usually stay in Qatar in the summer because of the summer courses, work or financial reasons. Fifty percent of the participants said that they usually travel to their home country in the summer holidays. For instance, case 1 was born in Morocco but has been living in Qatar since 1 years old. When he was asked about his travels in the summer, he stated that he goes to Morocco to see his family. However, when he was asked whether he would prefer to spend his life in Morocco or Qatar, his answer showed that family linkages with the home country are not an efficient factor that motivate the second generation to leave Qatar and live in their home country with family members. Case 1's response illustrates the importance of the wealth, services and working conditions in Qatar on middle class migrants' decisions:

I grew up in Qatar and I like Qatar. I know that Europe or Us can be better chances for me to study and work. Of course, Morocco is my country but Qatar is my first choice to work and live. (Case 1)

In contrary to the second generation migrants, eighty percent of the Qatari respondents said that they refer to travel abroad in the summer, mostly to European countries, Malaysia, Thailand, Singapore and other GCC countries. Twelve percent of them preferred to go abroad to work as a volunteer or an intern while four percent of them said that they prefer to stay in Qatar and hang out with their friends and do family gatherings.

Thirty-eight percent of the participants stated that they would like to spend the rest of their life in Qatar, mainly because of the educational purposes, better working conditions than their home country and wealth of the country. Additionally, due to the reason that Qatar is the country where they were born and their family is living in Qatar:

I want to spend my life in Qatar definetely. If I go anywhere else, I am sure that I will miss Qatar. All my memories are in Qatar and my friends are here. Even if I go to live in somewhere else, I will always want to come to qatar. I believe that I dont belong to Pakistani society. (Case 16)

Table 27

Second Generation Migrants' Answers to the Question, "Would you like to spend your life in Qatar? Why or why not?"

Country Name	(%)
Qatar	38%
In home country	25%
Other countries (Europe, Us etc)	37%

Note. Data has been gathered based on the in-depth interviews with the second generation migrants.

Thirty-eight percent of them said that they want to move to other countries such as Western countries like Canada, Us, UK, Australia or African countries rather than staying in Qatar or moving to their home country because of the work opportunities and educational purposes. It can also be argued that citizenship opportunities in those countries and treatment of the government towards the migrants are the reasons behind the second generation migrants' decisions to move to the West countries such as Canada, Us and Uk. Case 9 stated that he wants to go abroad for master and then come back to Qatar. Twenty-five percent of the participants preferred to spend their life in their home country although they said that they see the Qatar as the only place like a home. Their motivation to move from Qatar is to serve to their home country through their education they got in Qatar:

Living in Qatar made me more patriaotic. I strongly feel to move to Pakistan. You should also benefit your own country. I would like to go to Pakistan to give benefit to Pakistani people. (Case 6)

I definetely want to go back home, Sudan, and share my knowledge with Sudanese people. I want to work in the political science department at Khartoom University. Khartoom University was the second university in the university rankings before the British intervention. I wish I can be a Dean there. I want people to say that I could do this. (Case 4).

Majority of the Qatari respondents with eighty-three percent said that they want to spend the rest of their life in Qatar while eleven percent of them stated that they don't want to spend their life in Qatar. Some of the respondents explained the reasons that they want to live in Qatar with the privileges they have here as well as the family issues:

I want to spend my life in Qatar. I can go abroad to study or work for a while but I want to live my life in Qatar because my family is here. (Case 21)

I prefer to stay in Qatar. If I live in anywhere else, I won't have privileges. Also, I grew up here and my family is living here. (Case 29)

Some of the respondents underlined the fact that they got many benefits from the State of Qatar during their life and they feel themselves to stay in Qatar to work for their country:

I want to stay in Qatar. I was born here and I have my citizenship. Qatar paid for my education during my life and I have to pay it back to my country. (Case 20)

Some of the respondents mentioned about the obligations and stated that if the decision was dependent on them, they would choose to live anywhere else than Qatar:

No, I don't want to stay in Qatar. I want to live in US but my parents wouldn't allow me. I can live in Jordan, Turkey or Greece. (Case 30)

In terms of the family effect on choosing their majors to study, it was seen that only twelveth percent of the participants was effected by their family. They mainly mentioned that their family did not allow them to study abroad and they had to change their mind and find a major that they were interested in Qatar. Similarly, seventy-four percent of the Qatari respondents said that the major that they studied/study was their choice. Comparing to the second generation of migrants, family effect on the major choice of Qatari respondents was a bit higher with twenty-six percent.

Table 28

Second Generation Migrants' Answers to the Question, "Did you decide to study your major by yourself?"

Decision made by	(%)
Personal choice	88
Family effect	12

Note. Data has been gathered based on the in-depth interviews with the second generation migrants.

When the second generation migrants were asked about their responsibilities relates to the home and family, forty-three percent of the participants said that they help their mothers and sisters: taking them to shopping, cleaning their rooms, and helping for glossary. While thirty-one percent emphasized that they do only their studies, other thirty-one percent said that they do not have any responsibilities at home. Similarly to the second generation migrants, fifty-three percent of the Qatari respondents said that they are responsible to help their younger sisters, brothers and mothers. Forty percent of the participants stated that they do not have any responsibility at home while only six percent of them was responsible for the shopping.

Table 29

Second Generation Migrants' Responsibilities at Home

Responsibilities	(%)
Helping their mothers, sisters	43%
Only studies	31%
Nothing	31%
Shopping	18%

Note. Data has been gathered based on the in-depth interviews with the second generation migrants.

Only three percent of the second generation migrants said that they are not allowed to go out alone without their husband, sister or mother. Sixty-two percent of the participants do not have a certain time to go back home at night. When Qatari

participants were asked about if there is any certain time to arrive at home at night, sixty percent stated that they have to be home around 9:00pm to 10:00pm. All of the twenty-eight percent who said that there is no certain time to arrive at home were male respondents. Comparing to the second generation migrants and Qatari male participants, it has been observed that Qatari female participants have more restrictions on this issue owing to the role of traditions and conservative structure of the Qatari families.

Table 30

Second Generation Migrants' Answers to the Question, "Is there any time that you have to be at home at night?"

Time	(%)
No certain time	62%
Before 10:30 pm	25%
Not allowed go out alone	13%

Note. Data has been gathered based on the in-depth interviews with the second generation migrants.

Identity Crisis of Second Generation Migrants?

In order to explore the cultural, territorial, political, economic and social sources of the identity of the participants, questions related to their relations with the Qataris, their attendance to the National Day celebrations, the place that they would like to spend the rest of their life and raise their children were posed to them. Second generation migrants inherited their identities from their families who were the first generation in Qatar. Due to the combination of language, blood relations and ethnicity with the new identities constituted through their interaction with the host society, Qatar, second generation migrants have found themselves in identity crisis but identity differences within the host country have not prevented second

generation to create close links to the Qatar. When respondents were asked if they feel themselves different than someone who is Qatari, thirty-three of them stated that they feel themselves similar to Qataris.

Table 31

Second Generation Migrants' Answers to the Question, "Do you feel yourself different than someone who is Qatari?"

Answers	(%)
I feel myself different than a Qatari	63%
I feel myself like a Qatari	31%
Both	6%

Note. Data has been gathered based on the in-depth interviews with the second generation migrants.

Respondents who do not consider themselves different than a Qatari mostly mentioned about the importance of the religion, language, cultural acceptances and being an Arab. According to them, speaking the same language with Qataris influences their relation and closeness with the Qataris in a positive way. Being Muslim is observed as another important element that makes second generation migrants to feel like a Qatari. In addition to that, participants from Yemeni and Iranian background stated that their culture is closer to the Qatari culture than the other Arab communities' culture; hence cultural closeness is observed as an influential element that paves the way for them to consider themselves not different than a Qatari.

Table 32

Second Generation Migrants' Answers to the Question, "Do you feel yourself different than someone who is Qatari?"

Key word	Raw Data
Language	With my close Qatari friends I dont feel myself different. Most of the Qataris are thinking negative about India because Indians are not

	speaking Arabic. They were telling me that I spoke broken Arabic. But now they see that I speak good Arabic. Language has brought me respect and I could make friends. (Case 10)
Humanity	I believe in humanity. I don't feel myself different than a Qatari. People see themselves different than non-Qataris. It is because of the society not the government. Royal family's friends are mostly from non-Qataris. (Case 13)
Being Arab and language	I don't feel different than a Qatari. Being Arab and speaking the same language make us similar to each other. (Case 5)
Culture	I am not different than a Qatari. I believe that the people from GCC, Iranians and Yemenis have the same culture. People from other Arab countries have different culture and non-Arabs are totally different. (Case 14)
Religion and language	We are living in the same place and studying in the same place. We are Muslim and we speak the same language. I don't feel myself different than Qataris. (Case 11)

Note. Data has been gathered based on the in-depth interviews with the second generation migrants.

Culture, family structures, life opportunities, citizenship issues and material mentality in the country have been the leading elements that second generation migrants who consider themselves different than someone who is Qatari applied in their responses. Financial differences and different life opportunities have been observed as the major factors that affect the second generation migrants' feelings. Most of them mentioned about the fact that as non-Qatari migrants they have to work harder than someone who is Qatari in order to get a job and have a bargaining position in the labor market. Apart from the financial issues, citizenship regulations against the non-Qatari migrants in Qatar have been observed as an important indicator that affect the second generation migrants' feelings about this question. Case 16 who is coming from an Omani-Qatari background argued that he doesn't feel himself as a Qatari although his mother is a Qatari. Owing to the citizenship

regulations in Qatar where Qatari females cannot pass their citizenship to their children if they marry with a non-Qatari male. As case 16 illustrates, second generation migrants whose mothers are Qatari but fathers are non-Qatari are not awarded with the Qatari citizenship.

On the other hand, sixty-three percent of the participants was thinking that they felt themselves different than someone who is Qatari:

Table 33

Second Generation Migrants' Answers to the Question, "Do you feel yourself different than someone who is Qatari?"

Key word	Raw Data
Culture Family structure	It depends on your family actually. I grow up at a home with Palestenian culture. (Case 8)
Ethic origin Life opportunities	I feel myself very different than a Qatari. They are very conservative, they perceive the life differently. I have to spend time on studying and working hard but they don't need to. Qataris don't consider Sudanese as Arabs. Me too... I don't feel myself as an Arab. (Case 4)
Citizenship issues	I was born in Qatar and I feel belonging to here. I am one of the second generations here but I am still like a foreigner who just landed to Qatar. (Case 3)
Life opportunities Traditional-Modernity Materiality	A lot. Qataris tend to be very traditional and I am modern and open-minded. I do't meant to generalize but Qatari youth have less apprepiation, they are spoiled and they get what they want. They care about cars, football. I like philisopohy and thinking about the purpose of my life... I dont feel comfortable with them. I cant be myself with them. I am from the middle class and I don't see a friendship possible with them. (Case 9)
Materiality	A lot. We are similar human beings but when it comes to be open to other cultures they are really different. I know what dollar means, they know what money means. I feel bad for them. They don't have different colours. They consume a lot. I feel sorry for them. (Case 12)
Citizenship issue Life opportunities	Before I was feeling same as a Qatari. Before it was GCC and Qatari. Now it is Qatari and the foreigners. If you go to a hospital, they ask you

	if you are qatari or not. In secondary school I couldnt say my friends that I am not a Qatari. I worked on my personality to change it. I feel myself more like an Omani. (Case 16)
Culture Family structure	Yes, I feel myself different than a Qatari. I think family structures are different. If you are not Qatari, you dont need to have a Qatari persona. As a Palestenian, my culture is different than a Qatari. (Case 7)

Note. Data has been gathered based on the in-depth interviews with the second generation migrants.

When the participants were asked if they would like to raise their children in Qatar, eighty-one percent of the respondents stated that they would like their children to live in Qatar. Main motivations for the respondents to say this were mainly security reasons, safety of Qatar, education, family-oriented nature of Qatar and cultural norms. Nineteen percent of the respondents replied this question by stating that they would like to raise their children in their home country:

Qatar is a family-oriented place and t is safe as well as it is open. It is where I grew up. I like the conservative aspects as well. I would like my children to grow up here. (Case 7)

For educational purposes maybe I would like them to raise here. After that I would like to move them to Oman. (Case 16)

Yes. I want my children to have the same life style with me. (Case 15)

Qatari participants' responses were similar to the second generation migrants' responses but they were stressing the importance of Qatari culture and family linkages more than the second generation migrants:

Yes, I want to raise my children here. I want them to know our culture and traditions. I want them to learn how to behave properly and communicate with the family and respect to father and mother. (Case 23)

Yes, it is good raise them in a Muslim country. Qatar is my country and I am used to living here. (Case 22)

When the second generation migrants were asked if they attend the Qatar National Day Celebrations, eighty-two percent of the participants said that they do not attend. The main reason behind this answers was because of the crowd. Fifty percent of the respondents believed that non-Qataris tend to celebrate the Qatar National Day while twenty-five percent of the respondents argued that Qataris celebrate it more and other twenty-five percent of the respondents said the non-Qataris celebrate it more than Qataris. They argued that migrants celebrate the National Day more than Qataris do because they feel themselves a part of the society and they tend to celebrate the events in Qatar.

On the other hand, when the Qatari respondents were asked about what they do in the Qatar National Day, whether they celebrate it or not, fifty-three percent said that they prefer to stay at home and celebrate it with their family by preparing sweets and traditional foods. Twenty-seven percent of them stated that they do not celebrate it in the outside because of the crowd while twenty percent said that they like attending events in the outside such as in Corniche. Fifty-three percent of the respondents believed that mostly Qataris celebrate the National Day while twenty percent said that the non-Qataris tend to celebrate it more.

Yes, we bring prepare traditional food, breakfast and lunch for the family. We do traditional Qatari dance at home, we invite people and celebrate together. (Case 18)

On that day, I only put Seyh Tamim's picture to our home. I try my best to be successful at my job and give benefit to my country where I could have a free

education. I think this is more than the celebrations. I don't believe in celebrations. (Case 22)

This chapter has demonstrated the first generation migrants' linkages with their family members in the home country through sending money and visiting in the summer vacations. Buying property in the home country has been considered as the signs of the first generation migrants' intention to go back to their country one day. In contrary, second generation migrants don't have serious intentions or motivations to spend the rest of their life in their home country, rather they stated that they would prefer to stay in Qatar owing to the wealth, services, educational purposes and work opportunities. This fact has shown the second generation migrants' close and emotional links to Qatar where they were born or grew up but it doesn't show that their identity is closer to the Qatari identity. The findings of this chapter have indicated that second generation migrants' identities are on the move and cannot be easily defined as an identity crisis between the identity inherited from the family and the identity that they gained through their lives in Qatar.

Chapter 7. PERCEPTIONS OF SECOND GENERATION MIGRANTS AND QATARIS TOWARDS EACH OTHER

This chapter aims to present the findings and analysis of these research questions of the thesis: “in what ways do the second generation migrants construct their identity in Qatar?”, “how do they reshape their identity?” and “what are the obstacles that prevent second generation migrants and their Qatari counterparts from becoming closer to each other?”.

Attitude of Second Generation Migrants towards Qatar and Qataris

When the second generation migrants were asked about how they see the changes in Qatar and how they have changed the way that they look at people over time in Qatar, most of the respondents mentioned about the inequality, exclusion of non-nationals from the social life, material mentality, consumer society, discrimination against the migrants and job opportunities in the favor of Qatari citizens. On the other hand, economic and infrastructural developments in the country have been identified as positive changes for the future of Qatar. Some of the respondents had a positive approach towards the Qataris; they did not mention about discrimination against migrants, materialism of the society or different treatment to different nationalities. They argued that they changed their minds about the Qataris once they get to know them. Nevertheless, majority of the respondents had more critical approach to the society and treatment of the government especially about the citizenship regulations and nationality issue in Qatar.

Table 34

Second Generation Migrants' Answers to the Question, "How have you changed the way you look at people over time in Qatar?"

Key words	Raw Data
Appreciation	I grow up here in Qatar. I am more appreciating other nationalities. I have a strong Palestinian identity but I accept the other. My interaction with people are more than someone who studied in segregated school. (Case 7)
Materialistic structure of the society	People in Qatar have changed a lot. Respecting the other changed here. People become more materialistic. When someone gets a luxury car, their behavior change suddenly. (Case 16)
Appropriation of the different cultures	I grew up in an Islamic school. At first I was very judgmental but now I see different cultures and opinions. I have become less judgmental. (Case 12)
Positive approach towards Qataris	Before I thought that Qatari people are bad guys. When I was a kid, I saw them in the school and I saw the reality that they have better chances than me. Now, I see that they are good guys. (Case 11)
Limitations of the Qataris	When I travel outside of Qatar I am very proud of Qatar. When I went to Turkey, I wore a Qatari shirt... There are some negative things also; Qataris are very limited. They have to go abroad and see the real life. ... Also high standards here made me less appreciate the small things. When I go to Lebanon, I compare the infrastructure with Qatar. (Case 9)
Less conservative Qatari society	Qataris changed; they were more conservative, now they became more open to the world. Girls have become different than their mothers, they don't have responsibilities. They only study, they don't suffer economically, and they have housemates to do everything for them. (Case 14)
Engagement with the different cultures	I become more interested in knowing different cultures here. There are large communities but I don't know them. I want to know how and why they came here. (Case 3)
Consumer society	People have started consuming a lot here. (Case 5)
No major changes	People here didn't change much. Foreign people came here to work and they dedicate their time for working. (Case 1)
Stereotypes in the society	When I was young I don't even remember thinking about people. Now I see people and I judge them also. There are stereotypes of different nationalities. I do my best not to judge people but those stereotypes come to my mind...I see that young people do not have a vision in Qatar. When I go to Pakistani schools here, I speak with young people and I want them to change the way that they look at life. (Case 6)
Materialistic structure of the society	I can see that people have become materialistic. I more care about humanity. If people treat badly to the workers, I cannot stand this even if these people are my friends. I don't like racist people here. (Case 13)
Discrimination Importance of the nationality	Society is weird here. It has circles; Qataris, Asians and Indians whom you never have interaction with, Arabs and European expatriates... Our most interaction with Qataris was at school. When you start working, you cannot find friends from other nationalities. It is weird to talk to people in the street here...Discrimination between nationals and non-

	nationals make you feel unsecured. I feel of anger as well. People work and leave from here, they cannot handle living here. (Case 4)
Importance of nationality	When I was in high school, I didn't concentrate on different identities. When I came to the university, I had a strong relation with Qataris. I look at them as someone who is very similar to me but they look at me as someone different than them. Although the situation bothers me, I became more understanding. I was more critical before. (Case 15)
Discrimination	In secondary school I started seeing people as Qataris and non-Qataris. Some people are really racist here but some Qataris are not. (Case 8)
Materialistic structure of the society	I started to see that people are slave for dollar here. (Case 2)
Positive approach towards Qataris	Before I was thinking that Qataris are not nice and friendly. They weren't speaking English much but now they learn. When I grow up in interaction with them, I understood that they are nice and helpful. (Case 10)

Note. Data has been gathered based on the in-depth interviews with the second generation migrants.

Perceptions of Qatari Youth on Local Identity and the Second Generation Migrants' Encounter with the Society

When the Qatari respondents were asked whether they feel themselves different than the migrants or not, fifty-three percent answered that they don't feel different than the migrants while forty percent stated that they feel different. Seven percent of the participants did not answer this question while seventeenth percent answered as both yes and no.

Table 35

Qatari Participants' Answers to the Question, "Do you feel yourself different than someone who is a second generation migrant in Qatar?"

Key words	Raw Data
Life opportunities Living standards	Yes, we have different lives. As Qataris, everything is provided to us by the government. Everything is easy for us to get but non-Qataris needs to fight to get the things they need. We have different living standards. I don't say I feel different but financially we are not the same. (Case 22)
Culture	A little... in terms of mentality. Some cultural things are not negotiable. There are some cultural things that are normal to non-Qataris

	but not to us. Here you cannot take off your abaya for example, it is a part of your culture. (Case 23)
Culture Some similarities	I see that cultural habits are different but we have many similarities as well. I don't mind the religion or language to be friend with someone. (Case 19)
Job occupation	Yes. In the construction for example we don't see Qataris. (Case 26)

Note. Data has been gathered based on the in-depth interviews with the Qatari participants.

Qatari participants who stated that they feel themselves different than the migrants mostly based their arguments on the financial issues, cultural acceptances and job opportunities in the favor of them. On the other hand, respondents who said that they don't feel themselves different than the migrants mostly emphasized that they don't consider the nationality as a determinant factor to classify the people different than each other. Some of the participants argued that they do have the similar cultural practices, similar dress choices and even have the same treatment by the State.

Table 36

Qatari Participants' Answers to the Question, "Do you feel yourself different than someone who is a second generation migrant in Qatar?"

Key words	Raw Data
Talking about same issues	We talk about the same things. I don't see myself different than a non-Qatari migrant. In the high school we were all the same for instance, there were Egyptians, Palestinians etc. We weren't feeling ourselves different than each other. (Case 29)
Nationality is not determinant	I was born here and I lived with many nationalities. My teachers were from Syria, Lebanon etc. I don't see any difference between us. (Case 25)
Criticism of the Qataris	Here some Qataris treat other nationalities on a different way. In rare situations I feel that I am Qatari but I believe that we are all the same in Qatar. (Case 30)
Cultural practices Appearance	I don't think that I am different than a migrant. I think people who were born here are the same. Some of my non-Qatari friends wear

	abaya and have the same cultural practices. (Case 18)
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Note. Data has been gathered based on the in-depth interviews with the Qatari participants.

In order to understand the Qatari youth's perceptions about the Qatari society that is consist of different nationalities, the following question was asked to the participants: "over time in Qatar, how have you changed the way you look at people?". Eighty percent of the respondents mentioned about the changes in their mentality while thirteen percent stated that nothing has changed for them. Seven percent of the participants preferred not to answer this question:

Table 37

Qatari Participants' Answers to the Question, "How have you changed the way you look at people over time in Qatar?"

Key words	Raw Data
Criticism of the Qatari society	I grew up in a very racist community. They basically fed us with the racist words. Even my mother says we are coming from Prophet's family, we are Arab, we are Muslim etc... When I grew up I understood that we are not better than others. I have no difference than the non-Qatari migrants. (Case 27)
Changing perceptions about the friendship Criticism of the Qatari society	My personality started to develop after I joined the Qatar University. Now I have a different perspective. Our parents don't teach us what is going on in the outside. We only sit at home, have dinner and spend time together. When you go out of your home and have education, you come across different cultures and people. (Case 21)
Criticism of the Qatar society and tribal structure Necessity for the equality	In the Gulf region, you raise up in a tribal environment. If you are not from a certain tribe, you are nothing. Sometimes people don't make friends with you if you are not from a well-known tribe. As I grow up, I realize that things shouldn't be like this, it is even contradictory with Islam. Everyone is equal. (Case 22)
Criticism of the Qatar society Criticism of material mentality	Qatar itself changes a lot... There wasn't much foreigners before, life was normal. Now I feel that people are competing with each other a lot through their life styles, clothes and other material things. (Case 30)

Criticism of the Qatari society	I believe that people need more education here to change the way they look at other people. (Case 24)
Changes in the vision of new generation Financial differences Cultural practices	People were very strict before but now new generation has become more open-minded. Non-Qataris who were born here are like us. Yes, we have more benefits but we are the same. Qatar is giving many benefits to people to come here and work. Non-Qatari migrants are raised here in the same environment with us. They speak the Qatari dialect, they know our culture and everything... They are not different. They are our neighbors. (Case 18)

Note. Data has been gathered based on the in-depth interviews with the Qatari participants.

It has been observed that Qatari participants are divided into groups when it comes to analyze the differences between themselves and the migrants, and to describe the characteristics of the Qatar society they are living in. Respondents who adopted a critical approach to the Qatar society mostly underlined the fact of discrimination against the migrants. Criticism of the material mentality and consumer behavior of the Qataris were recognized as the other dominant themes in Qatari respondents' discourses who believed that people in Qatar tend to compete with each other through their life styles, brands and material items. Some of the Qatari respondents underlined the lack of equality in the society. Majority of the Qatari participants have been observed as positive to the different cultures, nationalities and migrants in the society although they stated their priorities in the favor Qataris when it comes to the marriage and being close friends with the migrants.

Chapter 8. DISCUSSION

Various studies have revealed that foreign labor in Qatar today consist of distinct ethnicities and communities that are less attached to their cultural, political and social surroundings (Al-Najjar, 2013). In addition to that, foreign labor workers that are larger than the entire native population in Qatar today possess distinct cultural norms, habits and social practices. It is a fact that these communities and migrants retain their links to their home country rather than the local society in Qatar and their contribution to the cultural, social and economic life of Qatar cannot be ignored. In contrary to the first generation migrants whose identity is closely linked to their home country, second generation migrants' identities are socially, culturally and economically closer to the host country. While the first generation migrants preserve their links to their home country trough sending cash, making annual visits or owning real estate, second generation migrants feel their identity far from the home country and tend to form their life in the host country where they were born and raised.

As the findings of this study suggest, second generation migrants adopt some components of their identity such as ethnicity and language from their families who are the first generation migrants in Qatar. On the other hand, the identity related to the values of the home country that they inherited from their family enters into conflict with the host country that consists of distinct economic, social, cultural practices and sometimes distinct religious contexts. According to the findings of this study, this conflict paves the way for the identity crisis of the second generation migrants while they tend to attach themselves more and more to

the host country rather than their home country where most of them have never been.

Beside the fact that these second generation migrants have found themselves in identity crisis between their inherited identity from the family and the one they gained through their interaction with the host community, the findings of this study revealed the fragility and fluidity of their identities that are on the move rather than belonging either to the home or host country. They are experiencing a process of articulation, enactment and reconstruction of their identities (Scurry, Rodriquez & Bailouni, 2013). Discourse of the participants of this thesis have shown a strong articulation of the identity that is inherited from their family and identity that they gained in the context of Qatar society.

However, identity can mean different things to different people. It can consist of religious and historical references, ethnic origins and it can also refer to the class relations and geographical features. The components of individuals' identity form the circle of their identity that relate an individual to another individual or groups. The components of their identity can come as a result of a racial, national, religious framework or a shared language as well as it can also unite individuals from distinct ethnicities or languages if they have any component in common (Al-Najjar, 2013).

The concept of identity has been understood in this study as a complex process shaped by the impact of the context (place) and a definition of the self that is produced by the society. Identity has been considered as related to who the individuals are and who they are seen to be. The importance of the relationship between the identity and the context have shaped the framework of this study

through arguing that identity of the second generation migrants has emerged as responses to the dynamics of this link and also as a part of interaction with the native society. Additionally, this thesis gave more credits to the role of individual agency in order to understand the identity of the second generation migrants about the way that they have articulated the discourses of the self, how they reconcile the identities surrounding them and how they operate the distinctions relevant to achieving identification in the given context, Qatar (Scurry, Rodriguez & Bailouni, 2013).

This study has revealed that the role of individual agency and the role of the context have a strong impact on the construction of the second generation migrants' identity. Different social expectations, different cultural values and patterns of the interaction with the Qatari nationals have been observed through the in-depth interviews. For instance, sixty-three percent of the second generation migrants stated that they were/are working part-time as well as continuing their education. The percentage of Qatari respondents was thirty-three for the same question where they mostly said that they were/are working as a volunteer or as an intern in some companies as well as studying at university. While the majority of the second generation migrants were/are working for financial purposes, Qatari participants' purposes were more related to getting experience and voluntary activities. This fact can be explained with the weakness of bargaining capability of the second generation migrants in the labor market of Qatar.

On the other hand, similarities in terms of the social life practices, responsibilities to their families, type of the places they visit, newspapers they follow, hobbies, social media usage and habits among the second generation migrants and Qatari participants have been found out through the in-depth

interviews. Since both participants have been sharing the same social and cultural environment and in some cases same religion and language, it is inevitable for the second generation migrants to adopt social life practices of the social environment where they grew up with their Qatari counterparts. It is also inevitable that these second generation migrants who were born in Qatar as children of the first generation migrants tend to link themselves to Qatar rather than to their home country.

However, this study has shown the fact that the second generation migrants consider their identity both different from the Qatari identity and the identity inherited from their family. Nevertheless, it cannot be ignored that they combine the elements from their family identity and the one that they have gained in Qatar society. Despite the fact that second generation immigrants have closer links to the society that were born in and grew up in, they also include some components of their home country's identity to their constructed identity such as religion, language, cuisine and the names that they will give to their children (Al-Najjar, 2013).

Their situation cannot basically be defined as being in between those identities. In that sense, the situation of the second generation migrants in Qatar differs from the second generation migrants in Europe where they can be recognized as citizens and can be included to both the economic and social structure of the country to some extent depending on their level of education, occupation etc. This study tends to define the identity crisis of the second generation migrants as a conflict emerging from the articulation of the ideas of the self, articulation of the structural and institutional frameworks within the context of Qatar and the self-construction process that contains both the individual diversity and similarities with

the Qatari counterparts. In other words, this study has revealed that the role of individual agency with its relation to the context is central to understand the way that the second generation immigrants choose how to articulate their sense of self and what sources they have found in the context of Qatar to construct their identities.

Owing to the fact that migration has a strong impact on the physiology of the individuals, it brings the dynamics of alienation, fragmentation and reconfiguration to the center of the identity of the immigrants (Scurry, Rodriquez & Bailouni, 2013). In the case of Qatar, second generation migrants are not the ones who emigrated from their home country to Qatar. They were born and raised in Qatar due to the fact that their families had immigrated to Qatar mostly with the motivation to work. Second generation migrants are the ones who found themselves living in a country where they were born but not recognized as citizens. They are not awarded with residence visa, rather they are required to renew their visa as the other migrant workers who come to the country with temporary working purposes. In spite of this fact, second generation migrants—who differ from the first generation, who immigrated to Qatar in order to work, raise their children and then mostly return to their home country—perceive themselves as a part of Qatari society and consider Qatar as their country. As the data gathered from the in-depth interviews suggest, majority of the second generation migrants would like to spend the rest of their life in Qatar due to their memories that they have gained through their life in Qatar. Some others also stated that they do not feel themselves belonging to the society of their home country. These arguments of the participants have demonstrated their attachment to Qatar owing to the fact that Qatar is the

country where they were born, raised and where interacted with the society and their Qatari counterparts.

This study also argues that the aim of the second generation migrants is not basically to become a Qatari citizen although they raised their complaints in the interviews about the citizenship and migration regulations in Qatar where they are treated as someone who just landed in the country. As a result, Qatar is a country where they were born but remained as a foreigner and also where they have learnt how to deal with the binary oppositions such as native-foreigner, global-local etc. As the result of this study suggests, sixty-three percent of the second generation migrants tend to feel different from their Qatari counterparts. Their reasons mostly derive from the financial differences, cultural practices, different family structures, job opportunities and citizenship issue. However, when they were younger the second generation migrants felt they were the same as their Qatari and non-Qatari counterparts. Over time, as they gained a sense of awareness and maturity, they saw the difference between themselves and their Qatari friends in various fields and they have become aware of the fact that they are non-Qataris. This self-awareness has paved the way for the second generation migrants to question about where they are belonging to and how they should position themselves in the society where class fragmentation and alienation are the major characteristics.

The conflict that they encounter as a result of the clashes between the inherited family identity and the gained identity through interaction with the individuals in the context, forces the second generation migrants to reconstruct their identity and articulate the ideas of their self. It can be argued that the identity of second generation migrants have transformed over time, undergone changes but

remained dynamic and still on the move. Their network of social relations in Qatar shapes various components of their identity and represents different frames of reference that can be contradictory sometimes (Al-Najjar, 2013).

The findings of this study have demonstrated that the nationality of the second generation migrants is not an exclusive factor that determines their social status in the society; it is the hierarchical system of Qatari society that classifies the individuals as Qatari and non-Qatari and that has been applied to all migrant laborers and the second generation migrants born in Qatar regardless of the length of their stay in Qatar. Undoubtedly, the existence of migrants is the reality of Qatar that will remain as an essential element for development and production. The question of how the migrants who were born and raised in Qatar will be socially integrated or how the second generation migrants will socially integrate themselves in a society where they are not recognized as a citizen remains unanswered and requires further research.

Chapter 9. CONCLUSION

This study has attempted to identify the concept of middle class in the case of second generation migrants in Qatar by combining economic and social measures. The interview questions that were directed to the participants were revolving around the concept of a comfortable life which was gained through white collar jobs, having a good salary and enjoying growing living standards. This thesis aimed to answer the following questions: “in what ways do the second generation migrants construct their identity in Qatar?”, “what are the mechanisms that narrow the gap between the Qatari youth and second generation migrants?”, “how does the second generation of migrants in Qatar reshape their identity?”, “to what extent can the young Qataris and second generation migrants narrow the gap between each other?”, “what are the obstacles that prevent them from becoming closer to each other?” and “how does the second generation migrants interpret the issue of belonging to a country?

It has been discovered that individual self-definitions cannot be described without a reference to the society’s influence on the individuals’ identity. The reciprocal relationship between the self and society has been found out in the case of second generation migrants in Qatar. It has also been understood that Qatar society as a social context where the selves and others exist influences the second generation migrants consisting of different nationalities through shared language, religion, habits, life style or meanings. Hence, this influence enables the people to engage in social interaction.

Brewer’s argument about the personal identities have been observed in the identity construction process of the second generation migrants. This process has

been shaped by how they portray themselves and others through questioning “how am I similar to others?” and “how am I different from others?”. Additionally, Tajfel’s definition of social identity has been observed in the case of second generation migrants. Second generation migrants’ knowledge, emotions and value significance about where they belong and which social group they are engaged in has been found out in this study. In addition to that, Tapper’s social identity theory which relates the individuals to one another as representatives of the specific social groups to which they belong has been observed to some extent in this study. It cannot be overestimated that second generation migrants find themselves engaged in the community of their nationality due to their families’ engagement with those communities. On the other hand, second generation migrants have been observed far more engaged in the Qatari society rather than their ethnic communities.

As it has been discussed in the study, it can clearly be observed that nationality is a determinant factor for the non-nationals who occupy the labor market in Qatar. Their social, economic and cultural characteristics are based on their background and ethnicity. It can also be argued that the core of the social, economic and cultural life of Qatar are dominated and represented by middle-income professionals with all their ethnic differences. Second generation migrants as the children of the middle-income professionals have established their own social practices, values and elements of their identity.

The results of this study have showed that both second generation migrants and Qataris tend to avoid identifying the nationality as a determinant factor on their decisions to get marry or to have friends. On the other hand, when participants were asked whether they would prefer to marry with someone from different nationality

or not, majority of them stated that they would prefer to marry with someone from same ethnic and cultural background. For the case of female Qatari respondents, family acceptances, traditions and citizenship issue were the main drivers for their decision to ignore marrying with someone who is not Qatari. When it comes to the friendship issue, it has been observed that majority of the second generation migrants has close friends from Qataris and they do not tend to make friends only from their community.

The findings of this study have revealed that social life choices of second generation migrants and Qataris such as their hobbies, leisure activities and places they like to visit are similar to each other. Second generation migrants and their Qatari counterparts' choices in their social life have been considered as an indicator of the commonalities in their identity. Another example that shows the commonalities in their identity is the historical figures that they admire at. For instance, both second generation migrants and Qatari youth gave their examples firstly from political figures and secondly religious and philosophical figures both from the Arab region and the world. Last example that has been found out as an indicator of the commonalities in their identity is the news that they consider as big events in the world. 9/11 event in Us and Arab Spring were the major news that influenced the second generation migrants and their Qatari counterparts. These news choice of the respondents have illustrated the similar intellectual level of the second generation migrants and Qatari youth and also their interest in same political events happening around the world and in the Arab region. Additionally, it has proved that they are not apathetic towards the regional developments.

The results of this study have also explained the frequency of the second generation migrants to see their Qatari friends. It has been found out that communication between the second generation migrants and Qataris mostly limited to the university. The topics that they speak with each other mostly related to the classes or university issues. Especially Qatari respondents underlined the fact that they do not prefer to speak about their personal life and family issues with second generation migrants rather they prefer to speak about the personal issues with their Qatari friends whom are seen as close friends of them. In addition to that, a small percentage of the male respondents consider themselves as a mixed group with Qataris and meet with their Qatari friends at the weekends. These results illustrate the fact that the frequency to see their Qatari friends is not frequent but steady due to their connection through the university. In terms of the neighborhood relations, majority of the second generation migrant respondents stated that they have both neighbors from Qataris and migrants, Qatari respondents described their neighborhood consists of both Qataris and migrants. For both Qatari and second generation migrant respondents, main interaction point is the mosque or gatherings in Ramadan or in Eid.

Despite it has been observed that choices of the second generation migrants and Qataris in their social life are similar to each other especially in terms of their hobbies, special interests, following the news and leisure time activities, they also had some differences especially in terms of working activities. It has been found out that second generation migrants tend to work and study at the same time while Qatari participants do not prefer to work at the same time with their or they tend to join volunteer activities, internship or part-time working at Qatari companies. This

result has been explained by the lack of the opportunities that second generation migrants have comparing to the Qatari youth. That is, second generation migrants tend to feel themselves to have work experiences before they graduate in order to get a good job and bargaining position in the labor market.

In terms of the relation between the family and identity, the case of second generation migrants illustrated that the family linkages with their home country that they have through their parents who are the first generation are not efficient in constructing their identity. Second generation migrants do not have a motivation that can be seen as serious to go back their home country and continue the rest of their life there. For instance, majority of the respondents underlined the fact that they consider the Qatar as their home. This shows the emotional linkage between the Qatar as a home country and the second generation migrants who were born or grew up in Qatar. However, the treatment of the State with regard to the citizenship regulations transform this emotional linkage into an identity crisis in the second generation migrant's life. Although they feel themselves close to the Qatar, the state and society don't award them with citizenship or socially integrate them to the Qatari society. This fact is in accordance with the answers that have been gathered through the in-depth interviews where the majority of the participants has stated that they feel themselves different than someone who is Qatari in spite of the fact that they were born and grew up in Qatar.

In terms of Qatari participants' perceptions about the differences between themselves and the migrants, and their descriptions about the characteristics of the Qatar society they are living in, it has been observed that Qatari participants are divided into groups. The fact of discrimination against the migrants, criticism of the

material mentality and consumer behavior of Qataris have been observed as the dominant theme in their answers. In addition to that, some of Qatari respondents underlined the lack of equality in the society. Overall, majority of the Qatari participants have been observed as positive to the different cultures, nationalities and migrants in the society despite they tend to set their priorities in the favor Qataris when it comes to the marriage and being close friends with the migrants.

Last of all, this study has found out that the identities of second generation migrants are fragile, fluid and on the move rather than belonging either to the home or host country. The second generation migrants who find themselves in identity crisis between the identity they inherited from their family and the identity that they gain from the Qatar society are experiencing a process of articulation, enactment and reconstruction of their identities. This thesis has revealed the important link between the individual agency and the role of the context on the identity construction process of the second generation migrants. It has been observed that the second generation migrants consider their identity both different from the Qatari identity and the identity inherited from their family. As they gain self-awareness, they question more about where they are belonging to and how they should position themselves in the Qatari society where class fragmentation and alienation are the major characteristics of it.

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Appendix A: Interview Questions

1. How old are you? Where were you born?
2. Can you describe the neighborhood you grew up in?
3. Tell me about your parents. Where were they born? When were they born?
4. How did/do your family earn money? How did your family compare to others in the neighborhood – richer, poorer, the same? How did your family compare to Qataris in your neighborhood – richer, poorer, the same?
5. What kinds of things did/do your family spend money on?
6. How many brothers and sisters do you have? When were they born?
7. What responsibilities did/do you have at home when you were younger?
8. How did/do you spend your summer holidays? Did you travel abroad? Where is your best place for a holiday? What were /are your favorite summer activities?
9. How did/do your family celebrate national holidays, eids etc.?
10. How were/are you spending your lessiuere time?
11. What time do you have to be home at night?
12. How was your graduation from high school? (public, int schools etc.)
13. What dreams and goals did you have for your life when you graduated from high school?
14. Did you go to university or college? How did you decide what you wanted to study?
15. Did you work when you are in the university?
16. Are you a student? Which university or college are you studying at? If you are working, which sector are you employed?
17. What do you think are your three best qualities? Your three worst?
18. Do you read books? What kind of books do you like reading?
19. What's your favorite book and why?
20. Do you watch movie? Do you like watching at home or do you prefer to go to the cinema? Do you prefer going to the conema with your friends (male or female) or family? What's your favorite movie and why?
21. Who are three people in history you admire most and why?
22. Do you watch the news? How many times? What have been the three biggest news events during your lifetime and why?
23. Do you read newspaper? Do you prefer buying it or reading on internet?

24. What things frighten you now? What frightened you when you were a child?
25. What's the one thing you've always wanted but still don't have?
26. In Qatar do you feel differently about yourself now from how you felt when you were younger?
27. What do you think has stayed the same about you throughout life? What do you think has changed?
28. Do you have any hobbies or special interests? Do you enjoy any particular sports?
29. What's your typical day like now? How is it different from your daily routines in the past?
30. How have your goals changed through your life in Qatar?
31. What's the most difficult thing that ever happened to you in Qatar? How did you deal with it?
32. What have been the most influential experiences in your life in Qatar?
33. Over time in Qatar, how have you changed the way you look at life/people?
34. What do you see as your place or purpose in life? How did you come to that conclusion?
35. Do you have close friends from Qataris? (Do you have close friends from non-Qataris?)
36. Do you feel yourself different than someone who is Qatari? (Do you feel yourself different than someone who is a migrant?) Why or why not?
37. How many times do you see your Qatari or non-Qatari friends? Do you prefer spending time with a Qatari or non-Qatari friend?
38. What do you think about spending your life in Qatar? Do you have any other place in your mind to live beside Qatar?
39. What kind of places do you usually go in Qatar? And outside of Qatar? Do you like meeting with new people when you travel?
40. Do you use social media sources like facebook, twitter, instagram? If so, What makes you to spend time on social media?
41. What kind of issues do you discuss when you are with your friends?
42. Would you prefer to marry with someone who is Qatari or a migrant ? Do you prefer any particular nationality? Why?
43. What do you think of the regulations about the marriage in Qatar?
44. Would you like to raise your children in Qatar? Where would you like to raise them?
45. Have you ever been in a Qatari wedding/a migrant's wedding?
46. Do you attend the National Day celebrations in Qatar? What do you think about the people who participate those celebrations? Do you observe the majority of migrants or Qataris? Do you think that the tribes encourage the National Day celebrations?

Appendix B: Informed Consent Form

Introduction and Purpose

My name is Hazal Muslu. I am a graduate student at the Qatar University, working with my faculty advisor, Dr. Baqer Alnajjar in the College of Arts and Sciences in the Master of Arts in Gulf Studies. I would like to invite you to take part in my research study for my thesis, which concerns the identity construction process of second generation migrants in Qatar and Qatari youth by focusing on the ways and mechanisms that they use in order to narrow the gap between each other. The purpose of this study is to gain a better understanding of the social interaction between the young Qataris and second generation of middle class migrants. This process will be examined through the interviews which will be conducted both with Second generation of middle class migrants and Qatari youth. The research will be conducted between 1 January 2015 and 1 June 2015.

Procedures

If you agree to participate in my research, I will conduct an interview with you at a time and location of your choice. The interview will involve questions about your past and present daily life practices. It should last about approximately two hours. With your permission, I will take notes during the interview. If you don't wish to continue, you can stop the interview at any time. You are not required to answer the questions. You may pass on any question that makes you feel uncomfortable. At any time you may notify the researcher that you would like to stop the interview and your participation in the study. There is no penalty for discontinuing participation.

I expect to conduct only one interview; however, follow-ups may be needed for added clarification. If so, I will contact you by mail/phone to request this.

Time Element

There are no risks involved than that the interview will take only two hours of the participants' time.

Benefits

There is no direct benefit to you from taking part in this study. It is hoped that the results of this research will benefit the community through providing greater insight into the culture and history of our area.

Risks/Discomforts

There are no risks associated with participating in the study. Some of the research questions may make you uncomfortable or upset. You are free to decline to answer any questions you don't wish to, or to stop the interview at any time

Cost Compensation

Participation in this research will involve no costs or payments to you.

Future Use

I may save the notes for use in future research done by myself or others. I will retain these responses for up to three years after the study is over. The data will be typed and will be secured with password

in the computer. The researcher (Hazal Muslu) will be the only person who has an access to the computer.

Confidentiality

Your study data will be handled as confidentially as possible. All information collected during the study period will be kept strictly confidential until such time as you sign a release waiver. Your name and identifying information will not be associated with any part of the written report of the research. All of your information and interview responses will be kept confidential. The researcher will not share your individual responses with anyone other than the research supervisor. No publications or reports from this project will include identifying information on any participant without your signed permission, and after your review of the materials. When the research is completed, I may save the notes for use in future research done by myself or others. I will retain these responses for up to three years after the study is over.

Rights

Participation in research is completely voluntary. You are free to decline to take part in the project. You can decline to answer any questions and are free to stop taking part in the project at any time. Whether or not you choose to participate in the research and whether or not you choose to answer a question or continue participating in the project, there will be no penalty to you or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled.

Questions

If you have any questions about your rights or treatment as a research participant in this study, please contact the Qatar University at College of Arts and Sciences at +97450194136, or e-mail hm1204972@qu.edu.qa

If you wish to participate in this study, please sign and date below.

Participant's signature

Date

Interviewer's signature

Appendix C: Institutional Review Board Approval Letter



Qatar University Institutional Review Board
QU-IRB

December 24, 2014

Ms Hazal Muslu
MBA Student
Qatar University
Tel.: 50194136
Email: hm1204972@qu.edu.qa

Dear Ms. Hazal Muslu,

Sub.: Research Ethics Review Exemption

Ref.: Project titled, "Migrants' Identity: A Study of Second Generation of Migrants Labor In Qatar"

We would like to inform you that your application along with the supporting documents provided for the above proposal, is reviewed and having met all the requirements, has been exempted from the full ethics review.

Please note that any changes/modification or additions to the original submitted protocol should be reported to the committee to seek approval prior to continuation.

Your Research Ethics Approval No. is: **QU-IRB 397-E/14**

Kindly refer to this number in all your future correspondence pertaining to this project.

Best wishes,

Dr. Khalid Al-Ali
Chairperson, QU-IRB

