

QATAR UNIVERSITY

COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES

MIGRATION DIPLOMACY IN THE GLOBAL SOUTH - A CASE OF QATAR

BY

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ABSTRACT

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Title: Migration Diplomacy in The Global South - A Case of Qatar

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This abstract discusses the impact of international migration on foreign policy-making, focusing on the host country Qatar and the home countries in the Arab and Asian regions. While research on migration has predominantly focused on sociological and economic aspects, there is a lack of understanding regarding the influence of migration on international relations and foreign policy. The study employs a case study approach, interviewing five migration and international scholars along with five diplomats. Through content analysis of the collected data, the findings indicate that international migration affects interstate relationships between Qatar and other migrant states both positively and negatively. Qatar has implemented migration diplomacy measures to attract and protect international migrants, relying on their labor and skills. The country offers economic incentives such as high wages, benefits for families, and a comprehensive welfare system encompassing healthcare, education, and transport for migrant workers and their families. This migration diplomacy has contributed to stability in Qatar, reducing poverty levels among citizens and improving living standards for all residents.

DEDICATION

This study is wholeheartedly dedicated to my beloved parents, who have been my source of inspiration and gave me strength when I thought of giving up, who continually provided their moral, spiritual and emotional support. Further, I would like to thank my colleagues, friends and seniors who guided me from time to time particularly on the practical side of the thesis. My last and full dedication is for my supervisor, it would have not been possible without his feedback, insights and directions.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Background of the Study

In the previous 50 years, the overall world population accounts for a 2-3.4% immigration rate which can be considered comparatively stable and is noticeably little. However, the population all over the globe has increased with time which resulted in the growth of the immigration population as well i.e., 81.5 million in 1970 to 272 million in 2019 (Undesa 2019). Considering the anticipation of a further increase in the world population, and supposing future migration developments concerning previous and current trends, the overall population of international immigrants is possible to reach 330.9 million by the year 2050.

Migration is termed a complex process affected by financial, physical, social, environmental, and political factors. The contemporary structure of migration in the context of international mobility in Gulf countries started to dominate during the disclosure of oil resources. During the 1930s, the primary growth of the oil sector was the main reason for the first planned import of overseas labor to the Gulf countries involved in oil production. It has been found that the relationship between foreign policy and migration is complicated and has even more major implications further than these policy domains.

Qatar has a population of 2.6 million and out of this, 1.5 million are foreign nationals, that is, migrant workers. The country has been dependent on the labor of migrant workers for the past 50 years and is still heavily reliant on them for its construction sector, despite having an unemployment rate of 5%. There were just 0.2mn people in Qatar in 1980. It used to be a small region on the world map and considering the resident status, it was just 1/37th of what London is nowadays. However, things

took a drastic turn due to the activity of migration. Previously, the country expanded at a faster rate - the total population increased by the rate of 10% in 1980 and 1985 (The Guardian, 2016). The growth rate of the population then declined in 1990 and 1995; but again, it leaped in 2005 when the percentage reached 15 percent for five years (The Guardian, 2016).

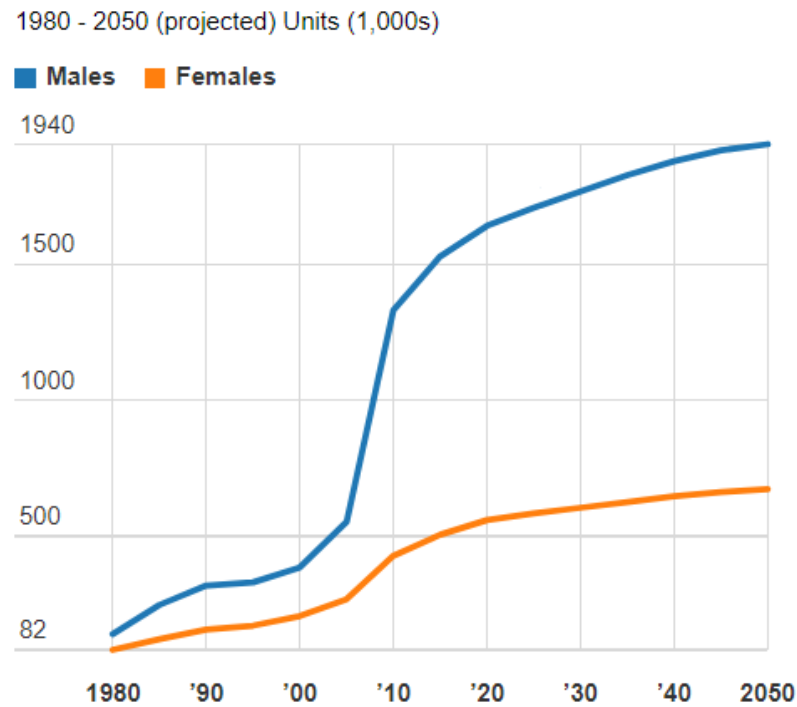


Figure 1- Qatar Population growth rate 1980-2050

Source: The Guardian (2016)

Although the growth rate is likely to remain steady, the population of the country is likely to increase in the next forty years. The answer to this situation lies in the number of immigrants that will move to Qatar soon, or else directly mentioned in the government statistical reports as 'non-Qataris'. Considering their rights, immigrants may not look strong - however, in records, they are.

- Qatari people' in employment: 71,076

- Non-Qatari people' in employment: 1,199,107

Surprisingly, it refers to migrants form 94% of the total labor force and 70% of the general public the society (Babar et al., 2019).

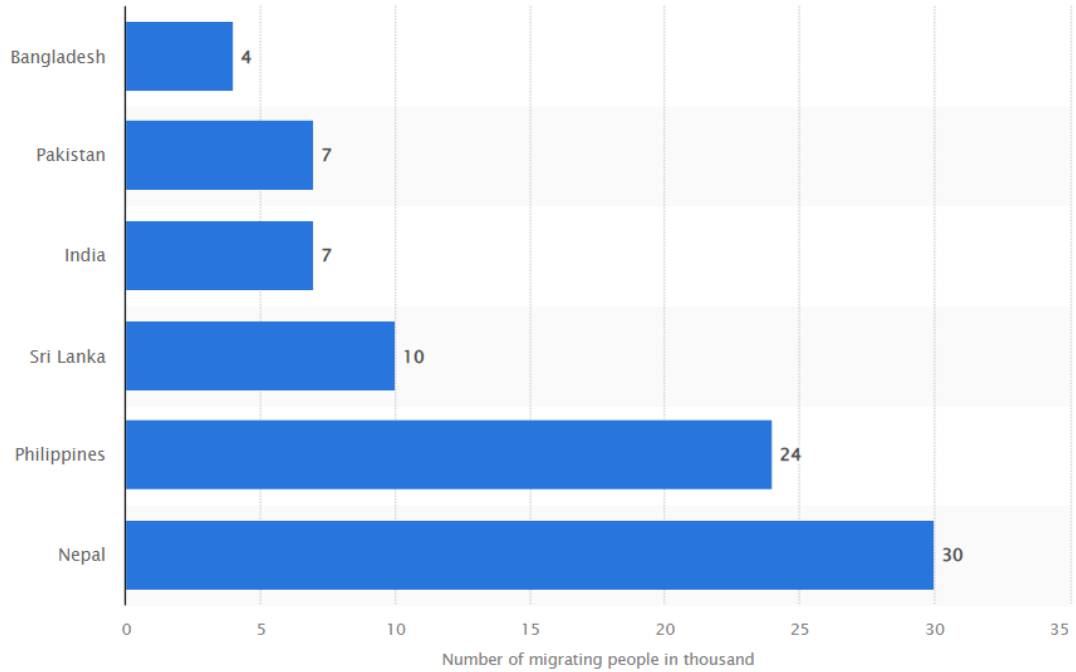


Figure 2- Labor migration flow from selected Asian countries to Qatar in 2020, by country of origin (in 1,000)

Source: Statista (2020)

The above figure shows that most of the migrant workers residing in Qatar came from Asian countries (Nepal and Philippines), while very less came from Bangladesh. Just a few of those immigrants qualify for skillful jobs as proved by the Qatari survey results (Babar et al., 2019).



Figure 3- Qatar worker's data as per the 2010 Census of Qatar

Source: Hassanein Mohamed (2021)

Irrespective of the fact that this area has gained immense attention, studies related to immigration and foreign policy have been hardly studied through the lens of foreign policy aspects relating to the country's response. Limited attention has been given to the migration crisis in the studies done in past (Aras and Mencütek, 2015). There is a dire need to underline the significance as well as the impact of foreign policy dimensions on migration diplomacy. Most importantly, it is important to highlight how migration diplomacy has affected the design and development of foreign policy in the Global South, particularly Qatar in this case. Therefore, the study discusses how the power and interest of the parties in the Arab Gulf countries affect their position in the migratory process, whether they are host, origin, or transit countries. Finally, the study is important as it reflects how migration issues relate to other aspects of state interest and diplomacy, such as issues of identity, the interdependence of security interests, financial interests, soft power, and public diplomacy. Therefore, identifying these

challenges and issues will provide international migration policymakers with insights to develop migration policies in Qatar.

Research Problem

Regardless of a current revival in the research relating to migration politics, foreign policy experts have yet to discover peoples' movement across the border as a unique line of investigation. In the Global Southern Zone, limited work has theorized the relationship between immigration and interstate bargain power. Minimal scholarly attention has been given to understanding the interplay between foreign policy and migration diplomacy and how a country reacts to it. Therefore, there seems to be a research gap in the existing literature considering the impact of foreign policies on immigration-diplomatic relations. To close this gap, the proposed study holds significance as it investigates a research problem that remained unexplored for a long time. It is important to address the research problem because in this way the significance of the relationship between foreign policy and immigration reforms can be explored.

Moreover, the specific region of the Global South has not been thoroughly investigated in the given circumstance previously, and hence, this makes an interesting case study for the existing study where the country of Qatar has been chosen to study the impact of its foreign policy dimensions on migration diplomacy. Therefore, the proposed study aims to find out the role played by international migration in affecting the foreign policymaking of host and home countries. Moreover, the study explores how international migration impacts interstate relationships between Qatar and other Arab migrant states, such as Syria, Jordan, and Egypt. The study also aimed to find out the current migration diplomacy policies undertaken by the Qatari government to safeguard international migrants from Asian countries. These research objectives are

achieved through a qualitative analysis where interviews are done with migration scholars and experts in the field of international relations. The current study will therefore help to address the research gap as it can help to suggest some practical measures that can let the Qatari government to further improve its foreign policies through migration diplomacy.

Research Purpose

The purpose of this research is to understand the process of international migration and its impact on international relationships for Qatar, get an insight into international migration through the lens of international relationships for Qatar, and explore how international migration shapes international relations between Arab states and Qatar, and investigate how international migration influences international relations between Qatar and Asian countries. In Asian countries, the study specifically considers India and Pakistan as they are the top Asian countries from where migrant workers move to Qatar for employment opportunities.

Research Questions

- What is the role played by international migration in affecting the foreign policymaking of host and home countries?
- How does international migration impact interstate relationships between Qatar and Arab states?
- How does international migration influence international relations between Qatar and Asian migrant-sending countries?
- What are the current migration diplomacy measures that the Qatari government undertook to safeguard and attract international migrants?

- What are the measures through which Qatar can strengthen its foreign policy through international migration?

Research Methods

To analyse the impact of international migration in Qatar due to migrant workers coming from Asian countries, the best suitable data collection method is a primary qualitative method where the study intends to conduct interviews with migration scholars and international relations scholars. Considering the present Covid-19 situation, the researcher contacted around five migration and international scholars, and 5 diplomats, send those interviews by email and use the data for analysis of Qatar's migration diplomacy. International Relations scholars and diplomats are well-suited respondents for a dissertation as scholars are experts in analyzing the political, social, and economic factors that shape international relations. They have in-depth knowledge of the theories and concepts of international relations and can provide valuable insights into the migration policies and diplomacy of Qatar in the global south. Furthermore, scholars who have successful publications in the IR arena in the Gulf have specialized knowledge of the region and can provide a unique perspective on migration diplomacy in Qatar. Their publications demonstrate that they have researched and analyzed the political, social, and economic issues of the Gulf region, including migration patterns and policies.

On the other hand, diplomats who have served other Arab countries are valuable respondents because they have direct experience in dealing with migration-related issues in the region. They can provide insights into the challenges faced by countries in the Arab world when dealing with migration, as well as the strategies and tactics used by countries such as Qatar to address these issues. Moreover, diplomats are experienced

in diplomacy, which is crucial in understanding migration diplomacy. They have firsthand experience in negotiating and implementing migration policies, and can provide insights into the diplomatic approaches and techniques used by Qatar in the global south.

Interview Guide. An interview guide for this topic was designed to explore the various aspects of migration diplomacy in Qatar and the global south, and to gain insights from scholars and diplomats on this subject matter. Some key elements that should be included in an interview guide are:

- **Introduction:** A brief introduction to the purpose of the interview, the researcher's background, and an explanation of the interview process.
- **General questions:** Questions that aim to gain a broad understanding of the interviewee's perspective on migration diplomacy, their knowledge of the subject matter, and their experience and expertise in the field of international relations and/or diplomacy.
- **Qatar's migration policy:** Questions that explore the specific aspects of Qatar's migration policy, including its objectives, strategies, and implementation, as well as its engagement with other countries in the region.
- **Case studies:** Questions that delve deeper into specific case studies or examples of Qatar's migration diplomacy in action, and aim to elicit insights into the challenges and opportunities of such policies.
- **Probing questions:** Follow-up questions designed to clarify or expand on the interviewee's responses, to delve deeper into the topic and gain more detailed insights.

- Impact and Future: Questions that explore the impact of Qatar's migration diplomacy on its domestic and foreign policies, as well as its future prospects and potential role in shaping migration diplomacy in the global south.
- Conclusion: A summary of the key points discussed in the interview, and an opportunity for the interviewee to provide any final thoughts or recommendations.

It was considered important to ensure that the interview guide is designed to elicit detailed and informative responses from scholars and diplomats, and that the questions are tailored to the specific research topic. It is also important to be flexible and open to adjusting the interview guide as necessary, based on the responses of the interviewee and the specific insights that emerge during the interview.

Following were some final set of questions that were asked during interviews with diplomats and scholars:

- What is your opinion on how IM in the field of foreign policy affects or impact or influence over policy making or decisions?
- Do you think international migration towards Qatar has impacted Qatar domestic policy making? If yes, then in which areas? You may give some examples
- In your opinion, how international migrants affect host country relations with migrants sending countries? (for example, relations of South and Southeast Asia (India, Bangladesh, Philippines) and Qatar etc.)
- Considering the field IR in mind, discuss the possible benefits and drawbacks of international migration in Qatar.
- How foreign migration policy can affects IR policy making in Qatar? With

respect to the South Asian Countries and GCC

- In your opinion, how international migrants affect host country relations with migrants sending countries? (for example, relations of Syria and Qatar, Jordan and Qatar, Egypt and Qatar etc.)
- Outline the migration diplomacy measures that Qatari government can take to safeguard and attract international migrants.
- Do you think that international migration from Arab countries to Qatar affects its foreign policy? If it affects, then how?
- Provide some suggestions as to how Qatar can strengthen its foreign policy through international migration.

The collected data were analysed using the content analysis method. A case study approach is chosen for this study to evaluate the problem statement and address the abovementioned research questions and objectives. A single case study method was used in the study to closely examine the research problem and understand fully the nature of international migrants and their impact on international relationships in Qatar. The focus was given to addressing the case of Qatar since the study demands to analyse of the problem statement through the lens of the Gulf perspective.

As the study adopted the primary method of data collection, ethical considerations were given sufficient importance to avoid any issues when gathering data. An ethical consent form and approval of ethics were obtained from the university before gathering interview data.

Significance of the Study

This study is important in several ways. First, the study analyses the impact of international migration on international relations in the Gulf region. Second, while the study focuses on the situation in Qatar, it also explores the area of international migration-related to Asian countries where migrant workers go for job opportunities in the Gulf region. Most importantly, this study will provide policymakers with an insight into the flow of international migrants so that adequate policy choices can be better articulated in international relations with their own countries. The present research contributes to the literature on international relations as findings will add to the existing literature on the area of ‘migration diplomacy’ as a key research theme and its effects on the host country.

Organisation of the Study

The thesis consists of five chapters. Chapter 1 Introduction provides a background of the study, research problem, research questions, and significance of the study about Migration Diplomacy in the Global South. Chapter 2 provides a conceptual framework signifying the previous studies concerning migration and diplomacy, its scope, types, and economic imperatives. Chapter 3 highlights the information regarding migration diplomacy toward Arab and Asian countries. Chapter 4 discusses the key findings of this study and provides a conclusion to the overall study. Also, Chapter 5 presents conclusions and suggests recommendations.

CHAPTER 2- CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK: MIGRATION AND DIPLOMACY

International Migration and International Relations

International migration is defined as a procedure in which people from national borders reside in the host states for a particular period (Arango, 2017). This procedure is developed on several factors, and it is essential to understand every factor as well as their contribution to the compound system of mutual dependence and inter-relations. The real effect and role of factors involved in international migration are mostly unclear. However, it is realized that provincial migration developments and political comebacks frequently have a ripple effect on other countries.

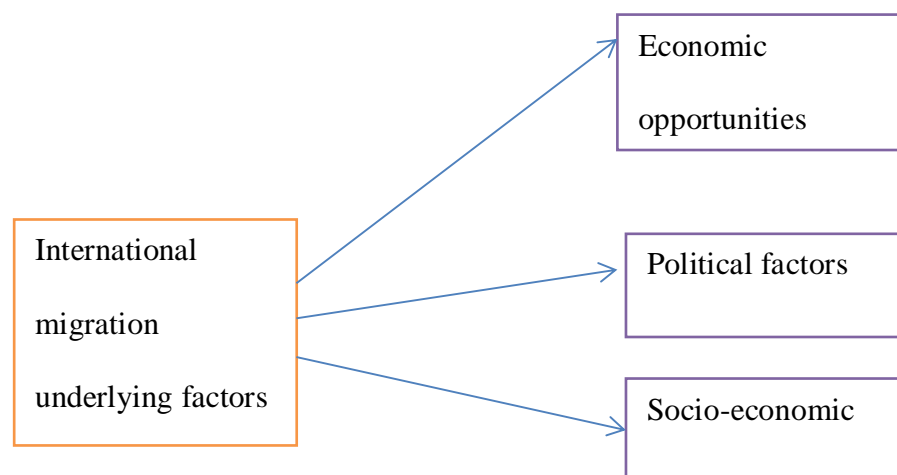


Figure 4- Important factors contributing to international migration

Source: Author

To understand why international migration occurs, it is important to highlight the reasons behind it. Some individuals cross their home state to seek better economic opportunities in another state. Some move to stay with their family who moved to the country due to the state's political situation. One of the main reasons is education, because students seek better learning opportunities internationally (Abel and Sander, 2014).

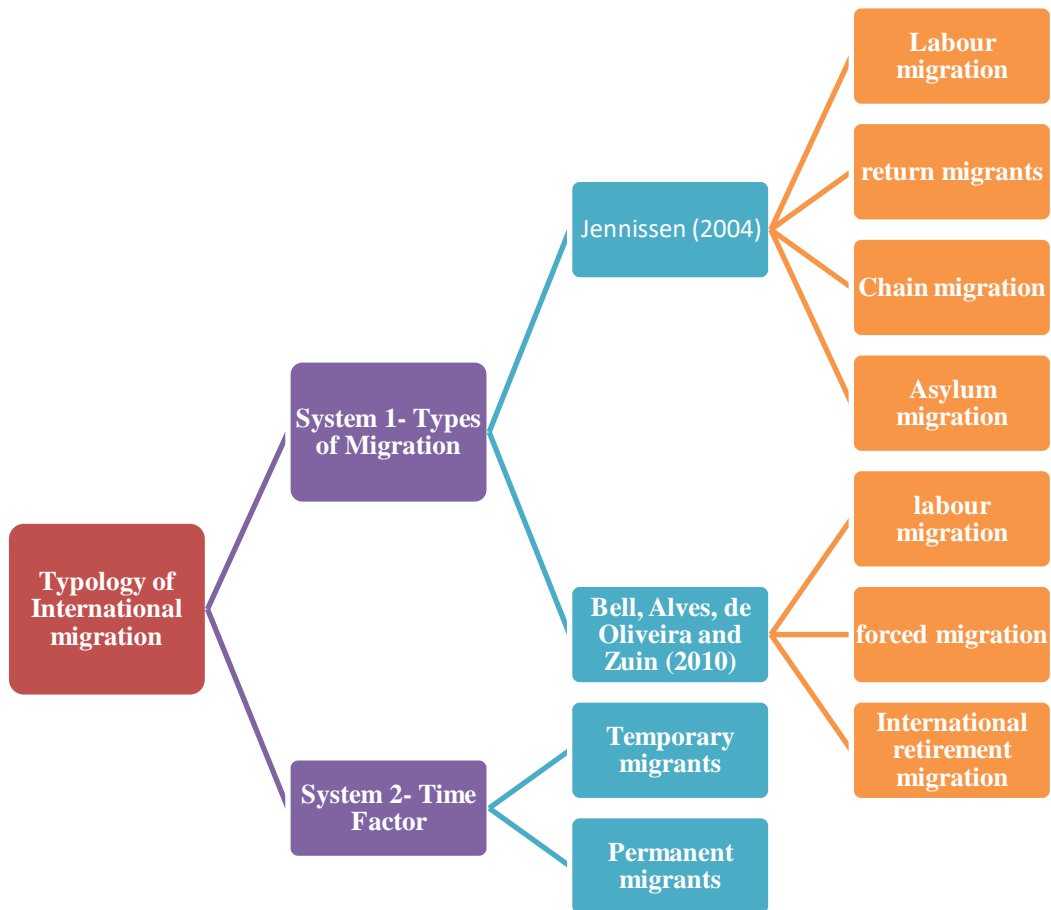


Figure 5- Classification of international migrants

Source: Author

Apart from reasons for international migration, various systems are developed to classify international migrants. Focusing on the initial category of migration in the figure above, nine groups categorised the international migrants - labour, return, chain, and asylum (Jennissen, 2004).

Labour migration is described as a movement across borders for jobs in a new country. This category comprises skillful, semi-skillful, and unskillful immigrants (De Bel-Air, 2014). The return immigrants are those that seek to move back to their homeland after living as an international immigrant in a new nation and remaining in their motherland for a year. Those who move from one region to a new one for family

unification and formation are known as chain immigrants (Campbell, 2011). Those who go to a foreign region intending to get refugee status are known as asylum immigrants.

It was identified Bell et al (2010) that there are three different kinds of international immigration processes, which are labour, forced, and international retirement. Labour immigration enables the movement of talented, low-wage earners and temporary workers. Force immigration comprises refugees and those who look for asylum as they are forced to leave their native country because of political uncertainties. It also includes those who have lost their houses because of natural hazards and calamities (Bell et al., 2010; Castles, 2003). When a retired person buys property for his or her residence then it comes under the category of international retirement immigration (Bell et al., 2010).

As per time factor, migrants can be divided into two distinct groups i.e., temporary migrants and permanent migrants. The permanent group aims to have their permanent house in a new state and get citizenship in that state. However, temporary migrants aim to live for a short period, probably till the completion of any specific educational program or for work purposes or a particular work season (Adsera and Pytilkoya, 2015). Permanent as well as temporary groups have some impact on the economy and society of the selected home and host country (Willekens et al., 2016).

Migration-Foreign Policy. A handful of studies have been done to theorise the relation between immigration and foreign policy (Geddes, 2009; Greenhill, 2010). The link between these two areas majorly occurs in four aspects. Firstly, foreign policies often served (most of the time inadvertently) to encourage worldwide immigration processes like mass influxes in the situations of foreign military or political intercessions, or internalised or externalised reactions to intercession. Overseas policies

might be used to drive or limit the flow of refugees. Secondly, both host and home nations might employ mass migration strategies as techniques for their overseas policies, to destabilise or humiliate foreign-policy opponents. Receiving nations are expected to welcome immigrants from adversary nations to keep a pool of resistance that frequently reveals itself during cross-boundary guerrilla actions.

Thirdly, the formulation of overseas policy is also impacted by the existence of a considerable number of immigrants and Diasporas. Not just the impact of the receiving nation's policies towards the sending nation but also the sending nation looks to mobilise its ex-pat population in support of its overseas policy objectives like becoming part of regional organisations. Fourth and last, some other foreign policy preferences like the safety issue and territorial control might form policies related to immigrants. Thus, different aspects of the foreign policy of both sending and receiving nations might direct the gap in management for the same immigrants from different nations and similar refugees over time. Moreover, limited inquiries have already highlighted the concern of how overseas policies, financial ones, and developmental support could be attached to immigrant policies (Castles, 2009). For example, Weiner and Munz (1997) assessed the policy tools accessible to the US and Germany to impact the inner situations of nations that create a needless flow of immigration. The mainstream of this scholarly text falls short to recognise how foreign policies and immigration relationships emerge in developing nations.

The interrelationship between immigration and security has gained immense attention from scholars over the past two decades (ÜNver, 2017). The worldwide response to the Iraqi, Bosnia, and Haiti refugee situation showed how the receiving nations and global agencies implemented novel patterns in the international

immigration regime by choosing suppression over security and temporal resolution instead of a resilient one.

Greenhill (2010) theorises immigration as a tactical alternative for small regions in cutthroat relationships, for example, Cuba, North Korea, and Kosovo have effectively utilised the deliberate creation, exploitation, and management of real or endangered mass group activities. This is an exceptional type of oppression between the democratic and developed nations.

The GCC's governance and migration policies took a sovereign direction, highlighting the disconnect between global politics and local reality. GCC governments have pursued direct and indirect immigration controls, eliminating opportunities for immigrant integration and socio-economic rights, implementing selective deportations, limiting pathways to citizenship, and pursuing "nationalization policies" to increase citizen participation in the workforce and development direction. structural changes in the workforce that limit dependence on foreign workers (Shah, 2009). The kafala or patronage system serves as the basis for the management and control by GCC governments of the rights of entry, residence, and exit of migrants. Since the 1950s, migrants have continued to enter GCC countries. However, due to the significantly less involvement of the governments of these countries at the time, migration was not highly politicized and poorly controlled (Thiollet, 2016). The kafala system, established in 1950, served as a practical means for non-state actors and the state to control and monitor migrant workers. This was eventually supported by work rules and rules were added for the arrival, departure, and residence of foreign workers. This kafala system could be a "privatization of migration management," according to Babar (2013), ensuring that foreign migrants are excluded from sociopolitical power structures. As a result, the state waives any responsibility under the kafala system. As migrant labor is

not directly regulated, companies can actively exploit it (Gardner, 2010). The kafala system stipulates that all migrant workers have a sponsor in the country where they are at their destination. This connects each worker to a café (sponsor), which is responsible for providing for their basic needs, including food and accommodation, setting working hours and wages, and managing their passport. A worker's forced reliance on a sponsor leaves them exposed to exploitation, low benefits, late payments, and late payments. Any change in the employee's employment contract - such as its termination, renewal, expiration, or evasion - is communicated to the government by the café. Migrant workers only need to work for the sponsor and cannot change companies without the sponsor's written consent (Jureidini, 2017). By removing government responsibility for the welfare of migrants, the system has changed the way sponsors and migrants interact. As a result, the government no longer needs to protect immigrants' rights or administer benefits in the same way as citizens.

Turkey is considered a safe house, specifically for refugee movements after its development in the year 1923. During the 1980s, Turkey experienced a refugee influx with irregular and transit immigration, from the Middle East, Asia, and Africa. This substantial movement from the Middle East showed the shifting needs of the refugee setback and relief attempts in the period of post-Cold War and they highlight various problems for Turkey regarding the international and refugee rules. They emerged as key determinants of designing a new policy in terms of refugees and asylum.

Migration might impact and fulfill the objectives of national foreign policy. The U.S.-Haitian affairs in the 1970s clearly show the prompt increase of migration to the point where it offsets other political issues in the U.S. (Mitchell, 1989). In some countries, adjacent states have claimed for over 10 years that North Vietnam permits a mass exodus of naval refugees to humiliate or weaken its native rivals.

Migration and Diplomacy

In the field of international relations, immense importance is usually given to migration diplomacy. It is used to deal with the movement of people across borders while using diplomatic methods, procedures, and practices. For example, inter-government treaties are used to foster or even restrict population mobility. Such agreements seek to manage the flow of migration. Along with this, other practices include special protocol given to some foreigners or the establishment of guest employee or labour immigration policies for a short time. These kinds of practices are commonly used in managing international affairs (Norman, 2020). Currently, it was found in research that since 1945 800 bilateral labour treaties have been signed by different countries of the world. To find out the impact of international immigration flow on international relationships, a migration diplomacy theoretical phenomenon is used.

The phenomena work in the same manner as traditional diplomacy. Conflicting interests and power relations between countries determine the shape of a migration diplomacy framework (Adamson and Tsourapas, 2019). Diplomatic approaches are influenced by the country's position in a network of international migration flows. Considering the processes of an international organisation of migration, the idea of migration diplomacy theorises nations drawing their interest and bargaining power with other nations concerning the practice of receiving migrated people or sending them back to their home country (Malit Jr and Tsourapas, 2021). Briefly, engagement in migration-receiving or sending-transit immigration practices is determined by the interests of the states.

States' bargain power seeks to manage the flow of migration along with refugees. This is emphasized by the migration diplomacy framework. However, few states usually develop a zero-sum strategy against their partners to get an absolute gain. In 2015, the migration diplomacy of Turkey reflects conflicting strategies against the refugee group of Syria. This migration diplomacy policy has involved the risks of one-sided actions concerning migrants from Syria (Geddes and Maru, 2020). It shows a resemblance to Trump's diplomatic policy concerning Mexico. As per the rhetoric style used by Trump, Mexico pays for the border partition (Yarhi-Milo, 2018). Such migration diplomacy practice involves a zero-sum strategy.

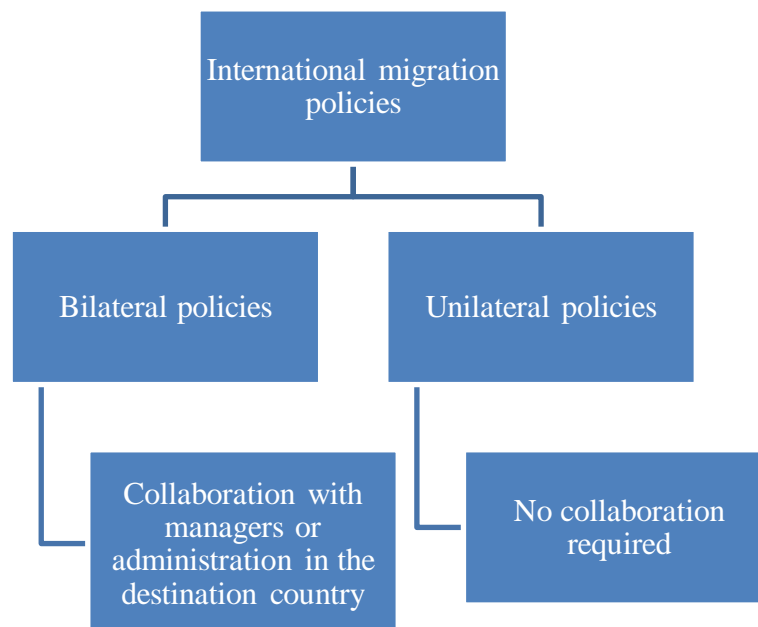


Figure 6- International migration policy efforts

Source: Author

The policy efforts to facilitate migration comprise two different categories which are taken by the government of developing states to support international migration. The first policy effort includes bilateral practices that contain collaboration with managers or administration in the destination country, resulting in a formal

contract to enable labour displacement of certain types and numbers (Zapata, 2018). For such a policy effort, the Philippines can be considered as it has agreed upon over forty-nine bilateral migration contracts with 25 destination countries. The result of these migration contracts is a substantial migration influx. Considering the significance of legal obstacles in controlling migration, it is evident that migration contracts have facilitated increased migration from co-signer countries (Yeates and Pillinger, 2018). However, there is limited information about the extent of migration that occurred when the migration contracts were not signed, therefore, no clear evidence is available about the causal impact of these policies.

However, the bilateral migration policy signed among New Zealand and various Pacific Island areas (such as Vanuatu, Samoa, and Tonga) is an exception to the lack of research as the agreement has enabled periodic migration to New Zealand by RSE (Recognized Seasonal Employer) initiative. Parsons et al. (2020) critically analysed the effects of such initiatives on families in Vanuatu and Tonga. It was found that people involved in the RSE initiative had no other chance to move abroad, thus, the RSE plan creates migration opportunities which leads to a rise in income for the families taking part in the initiative. To determine the effects of such an initiative, the authors applied matched difference-in-difference approach and claimed that the innovativeness of the initiative and the limited presence of sites in the initiative enables the finding of similar families to those chosen to partake in the RSE initiative.

The second policy effort includes unilateral practices that can be carried out without the collaboration of any government (Czaika, 2020). Such policy efforts are applied when there is a need to create a hindrance in migration. For instance, several countries limit the female's right to migration (such as KSA, Gabon, and Libya), and some need all residents to get approval from the government to travel internationally

(like North Korea, Cuba, and Iran). Goh et al. (2017) present a linear regression and indicate that countries with this type of limitation have a smaller number of migrants (5 to 6% less) per capita in comparison to countries with the same number of citizens, governance, and revenue levels which do not apply such limitations. To hinder migration, the country can even increase the passport fees and make the passport-obtaining process more complex. Thouez (2019) found that passport fees are more than 10% per capita of income in several countries, and increased passport fees are linked with lower migration levels. The link continues to hold after regulating per capita income, people, and governance efficiency.

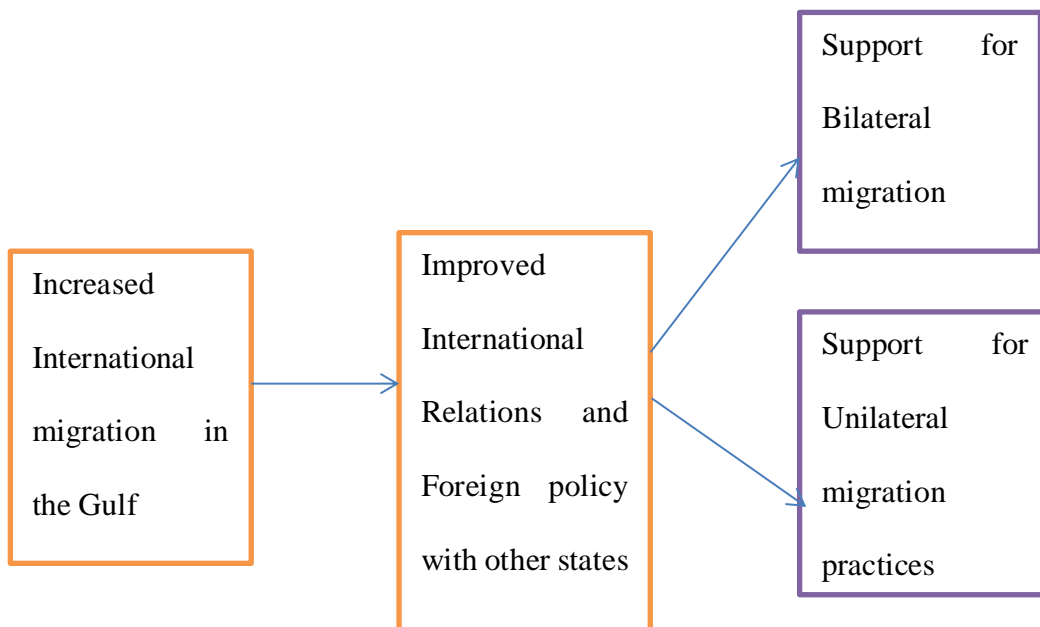


Figure 7- Effects of Migration Diplomacy

Source: Author

Positive unilateral practices can also be encouraged by the government to facilitate migration. Reslow (2018) experimented with Sorsogon (Philippines) to study the effect of unilateral actions on the facilitation of migration. The study found no clear evidence of the association between specific interventions and the facilitation of

international migration. The major approach which joined all the interventions led to job search opportunities and increased the extent of global job options by double; however, it had no direct impact on the international migration of labour. The researchers proposed that unilateral actions will increase immigration, but not to a higher level.

Peters (2019) also researched in the Philippines and reported that information actions increased awareness about international salary and job requirements. However, there was no role of information actions and employment fair incentive actions in enhancing the search process for international jobs. This research suggested that unilateral policy actions are suitable to facilitate migration.

Scope of Migration Diplomacy

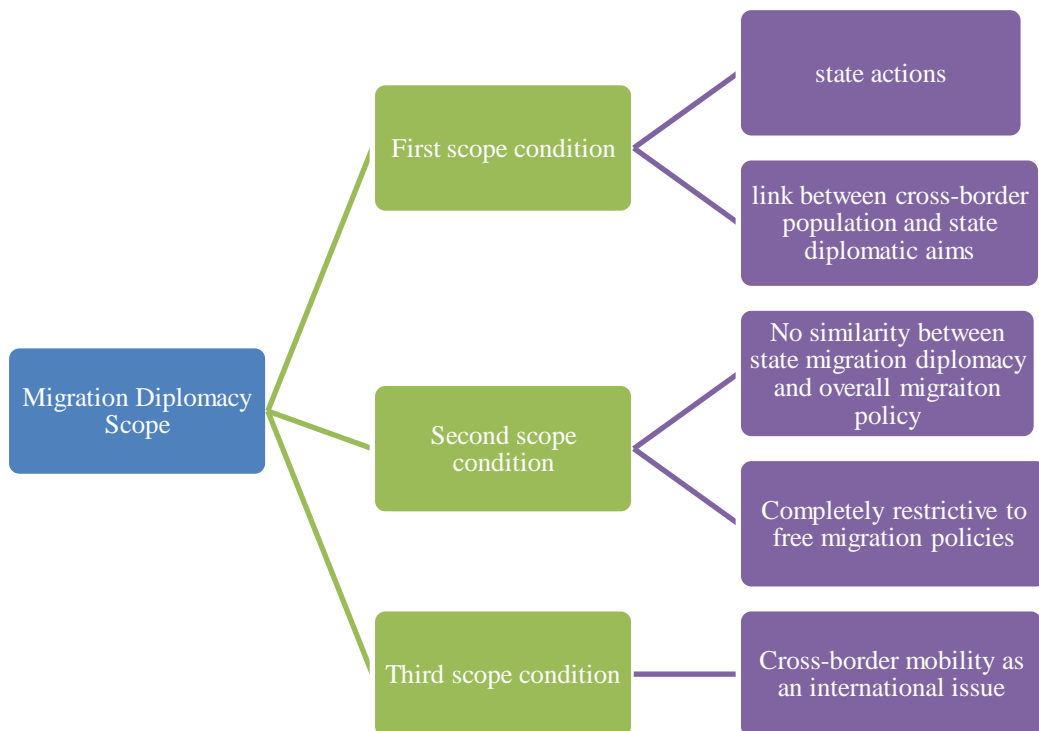


Figure 8- Migration Diplomacy Scope Conditions

Source: Author

Migration diplomacy can be defined through the application of three major scope conditions. The first scope condition defines migration diplomacy as actions of a state and analyses how the movement of people across the border relates to the state's aim and interest. The role played by global entities, media, and social actors like non-government agencies is not investigated under the first scope condition (Tsourapas, 2017). Global Organisations like the European Union and UN High Commissioner for Refugees can play their role in the migration diplomacy framework. Rather, states involve international organisations in their migration diplomacy actions. For example, UN Commissioners for Immigrants received many public appeals from Tanzania to secure their resources (Whitaker, 2002).

A diplomatic bargain power was used by Kenya involving threats to close the Dadaab camps (D'Orsi, 2019). Similarly, Denmark was involved in a public diplomatic act and used it as a means to deter the needless flow of migration. In international political affairs, the monopoly of several independent states declined due to globalisation (Adamson, 2016). During such time, the state plays the main role in the management of people's mobility across borders. This will continue to take place in the future because of the rise in nationalism and the better relevance of borders. The main feature of a sovereign state, as mentioned by Adamson (2019), is that a monopolistic attitude is not just used by them through legal ways of hostility, but also in the legal ways of population mobility. Such defensive means refer to the fact that these nation-states are interested in regulating their borders and consider them as their national power (Adamson, 2016).

Considering the second scope condition, migration policy is not used as a synonym for migration diplomacy. Policies relating to immigration vary from complete restrictions to open migration (Hollifield, Martin, and Orrenius, 2014).

However, migration policies just become significant when they are integrated into foreign relationships by the state. For instance, getting a visa is the standard element of a migration policy and it is not included in the migration diplomacy framework. Likewise, the country's refugee policy is also not part of its migration diplomatic acts. In general, America has not shaped its visa policy based on diplomatic concerns. In a few situations, the country has applied it as a migration diplomacy tactic to exert bargain power over interstate matters (Shields, 2016). An illustration of this situation took place in 2017 when there was a conflicting interest between Turkey and the USA, which led to a tit-for-tat impact on the travel and visa ban between these two countries (Shaheen, 2017). Negotiation is another name for diplomacy, and migration diplomacy focuses on how countries use the cross-boundary movement of people within their global relations. Also, states employ migration diplomacy to get targets concerning the process of immigration. Migration diplomacy can also be defined as strategically moving people across borders to attain the goal relating to the immigration process.

The third and last scope of migration diplomacy sheds light on the regulation of population mobility across borders and considers it a worldwide concern. Hence, it should disassociate from the source of migration matters because they do not directly impact the relationships between states; interstate dislocation, and the affairs relating to the residency of immigrants. The wellbeing of immigrants holds importance in migration diplomacy because they can influence interstate relationships (Klotz, 2013). Diaspora engagement policy can be institutionalised by the state, for example, special

investment terms for diaspora partners to promote the local economy (Délano, 2011). Dislocation within the state is the key challenge relating to global migration because many people are often dislocated based on conflicting interests between states, violent behaviour, and natural hazards (Adamson, 2016). However, interstate diplomatic affairs show complete detachment from such a challenge.

In addition to the economic scope, the dynamics of the respective refugee regimes for the Gulf countries are approached with the reality of superdependence in the context of security and national interest. Gulf nations do not support the excessive concentration of migrant workers in certain industries in terms of migration diplomacy. It is feared that organized groups of migrant workers could cause unrest and difficult conditions in the country, leading to instability. Foreign Arab workers in the Arab Gulf protested Saddam Hussein, who also led Iraq in the 1990 invasion of Kuwait, despite Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates supporting the US-led international coalition at the time. The Gulf elite was alarmed by this situation. The recruitment of non-regional workers, especially those from Southeast Asian countries, was therefore prioritized. These differences, as well as migratory movements in the Middle East in the 1990s, had a considerable impact on Egypt, Yemen, and Jordan's bilateral diplomatic relations with the Gulf countries. When deciding how to define their national policies in response to the pressures of change and transformation caused by the international system, especially the global economy, Gulf states face challenges and resistance arising from their domestic political and sociological balance (Aslan, 2022).

Some minor changes in the Gulf states have attracted attention in recent years due to mounting pressure on their governments. With the enactment of law no. On 13 December 2018, Qatar abolished the "Certificate of No Objection" system, which required foreign workers to obtain written permission from their employers to leave the

country. The opening of the International Labor Organization (ILO) office in Qatar in April 2018, for the first time in the Gulf region, was an important step forward. According to "Minister's Decision No. 95 of 2019", certain foreign workers can leave the country if they notify their employer at least 72 hours in advance. Qatar has accepted this regulation. While it is still common for employers to withhold employee passports, this has decreased in recent years. Commissions were established in "Qatar and the United Arab Emirates" to help resolve labor disputes between workers and employers. Wealthy employers have political connections across the Gulf region, and the problem of sanctions and impunity remains despite positive developments over the past five years. The political elite and officials with a voice in the government of their country have connections with the managerial elite of large companies that employ migrant workers in the UAE and Saudi Arabia. Both nations are affected by this. Migrants in the Gulf region face many obstacles due to the lack of social and legal protection measures. (Aslan, 2022).

Types of Migration Diplomacy

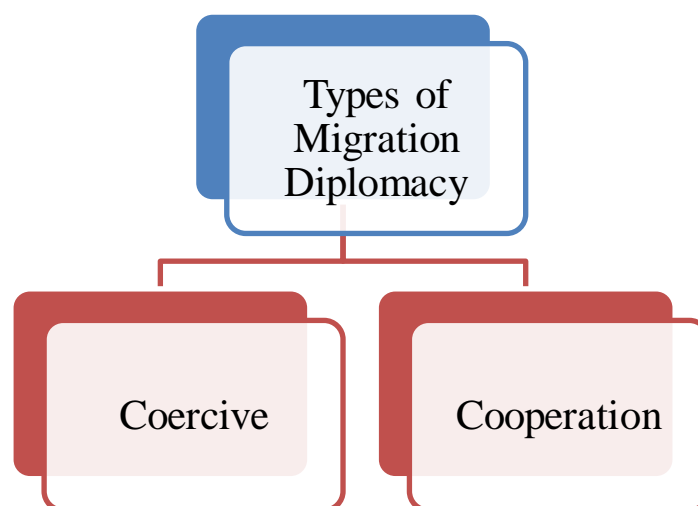


Figure 9- Types of Migration Diplomacy

Source: Author

Weapons of mass migration can be considered under the domain of cross-border population mobility, as commented by Kelly Greenhill (2002). Coercive migration diplomacy acts can be used by states in the shape of threats or alliances to impact the flow of migration in a target state unless a political or economic demand is accepted by the target state (Greenhill, 2002). Forcible measures, violence, and threats shaping the coercive migration policy. Adamson and Tsourapas (2020) commented that such a type of migration diplomacy enables a state to adopt a unilateral strategy in an interstate matter and get a zero-sum benefit. Here, only one partner will reap the advantage. Coercive measures in international relations comprise exploitation and threatening to the mass population as written by Greenhill (2002).

Positive sanction in international relationships shows reminiscence of coercive migration diplomacy (Tsourapas, 2017). Jordan Compact is the current example of this process where Jordan promised to host refugees from Syria. Jordan has been a hosting state for many Syrian immigrants since 2011 (Lenner and Turner, 2018). The country is known for forming effective negotiations with different international organisations to promote economic benefits. In exchange for this favour, Jordan pledged to provide work opportunities to thousands of Syrian refugees who left their home country.

State practices do not always summarise the focus of coercive migration diplomacy behaviour. Considering the example of Nigeria, international legitimacy and support from global actors benefitted the government of the country (Tsourapas, 2017). Apart from coercive migration diplomacy, states show involvement in cooperative migration diplomacy, which is predicated on interstate bargain power and aims to encourage mutual gains for both sides without using violence.

During the 2017 Gulf crisis, four Arab nations abruptly severed all diplomatic relations with the state of Qatar, triggering a chain of events that led to the current Gulf crisis. This “quartet” of nations consisted of “Bahrain, Egypt, the United Arab Emirates (UAE), and Saudi Arabia.” The alliance, led by Saudi Arabia, decided to remove Qatar’s diplomats, and impose travel and commerce restrictions.

The economic constraints imposed on Qatar led to the application of unlawful sanctions in the case of coercive migration and considering what the state of Qatar has recently endured at the hands of its neighbors. Given the numerous injustices done against the state of Qatar by its neighbors, this might be questioned. The quartet’s unilateral actions, taken without consulting the others, have aroused global resentment and controversy. They have broken international legal rules based on customary and treaty law by blocking the small state of Qatar with questionable sanctions.

If one assumes that the series of violent incidents that led to the imposition of “sanctions on Qatar by Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, Bahrain, and Egypt” constitute a full-fledged siege, then the act of blockading another sovereign in this manner would be considered an act of war under customary international law. However, neither military force nor a clear threat to use violent tactics was engaged in the events that led to Qatar’s embargo. However, the actions that resulted in the blockade of Qatar as a sovereign state can only be considered legal if they were carried out following international law, specifically the economic embargo stipulated by Article 41 of the United Nations Charter (or the state of a military blockade stipulated by Article 42), and if the United Nations Security Council carried them out under the condition that there was a violation of international security and peace (Khalailah, 2019).

Using negative sanctions in international affairs indicates a cooperative type of migration diplomacy (Drezner and Drezner, 1999). In 2015, for example, when the Su-24 military jet was shot down by the Turkish government, Putin reacted unilaterally and put restrictions on visa permits and travel opportunities for Turkish citizens looking for jobs in Russia (Etienne, 2016). A similar kind of situation occurred in 1999 when a threat was given by Japan to North Korea. The threat was to restrict all transfer of funds by migrants to North Korea (around 600mn dollars to 1bn dollars yearly) if strategies to test missiles were not abandoned by Pyongyang (Miyashita, 2003). The line between the two types of migration diplomacy seems blurred. Bargaining in interstate matters predicates the cooperative migration diplomacy type because it seeks to promote mutual gain for both sides without using hostile measures. Unlike this, the coercive migration diplomatic type is pursued by the state if it turns to violent behaviour or is determined through a unilateral measure for an interstate bargain.

Economic Imperatives in Migration Diplomacy in the Global South/Migration Diplomacy as Economic Diplomacy/ Visa Diplomacy

Economic aims can be achieved by states by equally using different forms of migration diplomacy. Given that economic and political activities go forward, it becomes challenging to make migration productive for all those who are part of it - immigrants, their home countries, host states, societies, and their families. The debate on migration policy is at a turning point and this may be a reason for such a challenge (Nawyn, 2016a). For some reason, conflicts between different organisations, stakeholders, and pressure groups have made the debate on policy migration at a crossroads.

Currently, the intensification of South-South migration is a clear example of a flow in global migration. In 2016, it was intensified to a level where South-North was outpaced, reporting 38% and 34% of immigration respectively (Nawyn, 2016b). It represents that the world is changing because of demographics. Moving back to 2001, the population of the world has reached seven billion. Eighty-two percent of the total world population was living in poor states like Malaysia, Pakistan, Nigeria, and Bangladesh. The population is 150mn in each nation and it is still rising (Nawyn, 2016b). The young generation in these countries is prepared to avail themselves of employment opportunities in any part of the world.

G9 states are nowadays experiencing a phase of financial recession after witnessing the era of prosperity. BRICS (Brazil, India, China, and South Africa) and CIVETS (Columbia, Indonesia, Vietnam, Egypt, Turkey, and South Africa) are two emerging economic blocs in the world. These groups of countries show the potential for economic growth and prosperity. They all nearly fall in the Southern zone and have youth mostly (Adamson and Tsourapas, 2020). The increasing rate of population and growth in the economy is linked with a stable economic system, a low rate of inflation, and financial debt. This is evident in these countries and thus, it will encourage people from other countries to migrate to such states in the future.

In 2015, considering the flow of remittance worldwide, Nigeria (20.8 billion dollars), Egypt (20.4 billion dollars), India (72.2 billion dollars), China (sixty-three billion dollars), Mexico (25 billion dollars), and the Philippines (29 billion dollars) were on the top as receiving nations (Stock, Üstübici and Schultz, 2019). The value of remittances has increased in several poor states. Moving back to the past, some poor nations have experienced parallel export incomes and foreign developmental aid. But the cost of transactions between South and South remittances was high when compared

with North and South (Matarrita-Cascante and Stocks, 2013). It has even outpaced the transaction costs for North and North, which eroded a great number of transfers of funds moving to the Global South. International economic management has an important space for migration. Likewise, international trade relationships also focus on this phenomenon. Since the wave of globalisation is getting intensified, the real concern is to avail the opportunities provided by migration and reduce its negative implications.

In Southeast Asia, the leading share of migrants is maintained by Singapore. The state has formed a migration diplomacy strategy that hires talent and employees from overseas. Immigrant labor requirements determine the recruitment and selection of foreign workers in Singapore. To regulate the mobility of less talented workers across borders, bilateral agreements are used by states as tools of migration diplomacy (Wickramasekara, 2015). Likewise, the treaties between Turkey and European Union and Jordan Compact were aimed to promote economic gain for both Turkey and Jordan. Jordan Compact provided Jordan with the benefits of FDI to special economic regions. Moreover, Jordan was allowed to get free quota access to EU markets for products made in special economic regions by labour (15% of them belonged to Syria) (Mellinger and Patrick, 2016). The strategy of externalising migration control was used by European countries within their migration diplomacy policy. There are several cases of such plans that use a tit-for-tat approach and get cash in exchange for migration control. A negotiation of Senegal with Spain is one example of ‘externalising’ migration control and the exchange of cash over it. Spain pledged cash and preferential treatment along with an amount of 20mn Euros as development aid in 2016 in exchange for bilateral patrols. It coincides with the policy of sending back migrants of Senegalese from the Spain Canary Islands (Anderson, 2014).

Migration diplomacy is seen in states' policies of sending migrants back to their countries. States in the Global South represent such practices of emigration diplomacy. Egypt is the leading exporter of labour force in the Arab countries and its migration diplomacy policy experienced long phases. Following the leadership of Gamal Nasser, teachers, legal representatives, and other white-collar people immigrated to different Arab countries in 1950 and 1960. These people were involved in pro-Egyptian activist movements within foreign countries for political reasons (Chalcraft, 2010; Tsourapas, 2016). However, currently, the migration diplomacy policy of Egypt is focused more on bilateral agreements, instead of interstate resentment. Under the leadership of Anwar Sadat and following his migration diplomacy, the skilled labour force of Egypt was dispatched to Arab states in 1970. It was aimed at rapprochement and shutting diplomatic ties with the financially strong Arab countries (Tsourapasm, 2015).

In some cases, the increase in the number of South Asian immigrants in the country was due to the policies of exporting countries. In response to a request from the United Nations in 2009, "Bangladesh, Pakistan, and Indonesia" said they intended to increase the rate of emigration (Shah, 2009). The higher pay offered for the same profession in GCC countries (compared to salaries in the home country) acted as an additional incentive for people to leave their home country and work in the GCC countries. This phenomenon is explained by neoclassical migration theories that claim that wage inequality between countries is the fundamental cause of labor mobility (Massey, 2015; Morawska, 2007).

In contrast to better living circumstances and greater earnings, diminishing "quality of life" in particular home nations are one of the primary factors that draws prospective migrants (Aarthi and Sahu, 2021). (Pineda et al., 2017). Greater political stability in the GCC nations compared to the unpredictable political and economic

situations in many African and South Asian countries is a significant contributor to migration (Atong et al., 2018).

Due to their small populations and low levels of education, the GCC nations have had trouble gaining the required human resources for economic success. They overcome this challenge by using skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled immigrant labor to satisfy their rapidly expanding economies' demands (Randeree, 2012). This has directly contributed to a rise in the proportion of migrant workers in GCC communities. On the other hand, it became immediately apparent how prevalent migrant workers were in the job market.

The six members of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC)—Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, and Saudi Arabia—face the unique challenge of global labor mobility. This problem occurs in the United Arab Emirates as well (UAE). Since the beginning of the oil age, the GCC nations have been a popular destination for migration from nearby areas and farther afield. According to the United Nations Population Division, immigration to the oil-producing GCC nations surged dramatically during the late 2000s. According to their estimates, thirty-five million foreign migrants of various backgrounds reside in these countries (UNPD, 2019). Today, immigrants constitute the great majority of the GCC nations' populations. Most of the inhabitants of Kuwait, Qatar, and the United Arab Emirates, as well as other big societies such as Oman and Saudi Arabia, are foreign-born. Migrants often travel from Southeast Asia, East Asia, sub-Saharan Africa, the Middle East, and Europe to the GCC in search of employment. The region's population reflects this diversity. In some less populous GCC nations, up to 90 percent of the local population and 98 percent of the labor force are foreigners. For example, 99.8 percent of the workforce in Qatar consists of foreign immigrants (Thiollet, 2016). Most migrant workers from other countries have been engaged in low-

skilled positions vital to the economic growth of the Gulf states. These professions include administrative support, construction, truck driving, housekeeping, and manual labor. Professional and white-collar occupations are usually occupied by high-society immigrants born in the West or native-born residents.

According to more recent figures from 2019, over thirteen million (or 38.3 percent) of the total population of thirty-four million are migrants. Arabia Saudi. Despite this, over 70% of the total labor force and 95% of private sector employees are foreign nationals. In the United Arab Emirates, which has a total population of four million, expatriates account for 80% of the population and 98% of private-sector employment (Shah, 2009). According to estimates by the International Labor Organization, the Arab nations absorbed twenty-three million migrants in total in 2017. (ILO). Nine million (or 39 percent) of them were women. In 2019, the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC), Jordan, and Lebanon were home to thirty-five million foreign migrants, according to research published by the Population Division of the United Nations Department of Economic Affairs. Thirty-one percent of the female migrants (UNDESA). The six states that make up the GCC are home to more than 11% of the world's migrants. Saudi Arabia has the third-largest migrant population in the world, while the United Arab Emirates ranks fifth in this category.

Migration Diplomacy as Public Diplomacy

Bargain measures are used by states to manage the flow of population mobility. This is emphasised by the migration diplomacy policy. Some countries prioritise the zero-sum approach against their partners. From 2015 onwards, the migration diplomacy policy of Turkey has involved serious threats of one-sided actions vis-a-vis the Syrian immigrants, like the speech by Trump that let Mexico bear the cost of the partition

between the two territories. These policies show a zero-sum plan where one party seeks to gain benefits without considering the interest of the other. However, some states seek a relative benefit in 2019 (Malit and Tsourapas, 2021). A financial aid package was agreed upon by Ethiopia, which will provide employment opportunities to the people (Danso, 2002). This was done in exchange for recognising the state's effort of giving protection to dislocated people residing within its borders.

Strategies of issue-linkage seem common in absolute and relative gain approaches of migration diplomacy because states' migration regulation policies are considered a means to enhance security, attain financial interest, and boost the soft power of those cultures and public diplomatic acts (Adamson and Tsourapas, 2020). Considering the case of Cuba, its migration diplomacy facilitates the movement of healthcare professions to poor nations in the Global South (Bliss, 2011). It is a relative gain approach, which has become a core element of Cuba's broad migration diplomacy plan.

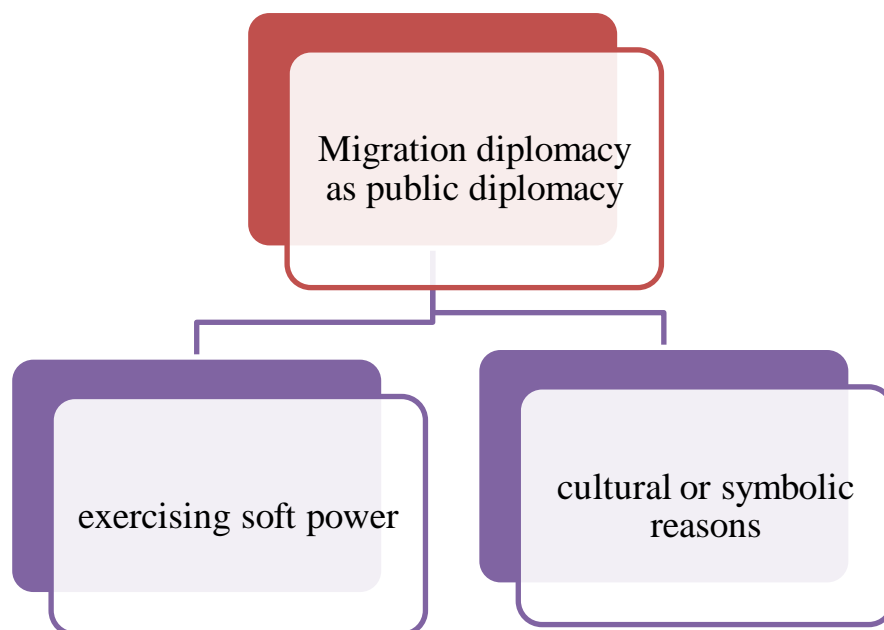


Figure 10- Migration Diplomacy as Public Diplomacy

Source: Author

The aim of public diplomacy can be achieved through migration diplomacy. States can use them to exercise soft power (Nye, 2004) or for cultural purposes (Koinova 2018; Koinova and Tsourapas 2018). When the Cold war occurred, the USA divided immigrants and refuge seekers into Collectivist and non-Collectivist societies. Immigrants from the Soviet Union and Cuba played a great role in propaganda. One case in this context is Egypt where its leader Nasser subsidised the migration of talented workers from the country. It was used to promote the state's role in the development of pan-Arabian within the Gulf zone (Tsourapas, 2016). Brazil seeks to play a role in global affairs, and it is achieved through managing people out of the country (Margheritis, 2017). Initiatives like United States Peace Corps can be used to strengthen public diplomacy and promote the soft power of a country.

Conceptual Framework

The conceptual model is developed based on the research aims of this study. It can be seen from the below figure that international migration to Qatar is a foremost variable that can affect both foreign policy and domestic policy in Qatar. The designing of policies (both domestic and foreign) can impact the relationships of Qatar with Arab and Asian countries. The impact of those relationships directly affects the migration diplomacy efforts of the Qatari state which are the result of state power and interests to achieve foreign policy objectives. Therefore, the developed conceptual framework is directly related to the topic of the thesis which helps in answering the research question of this study.

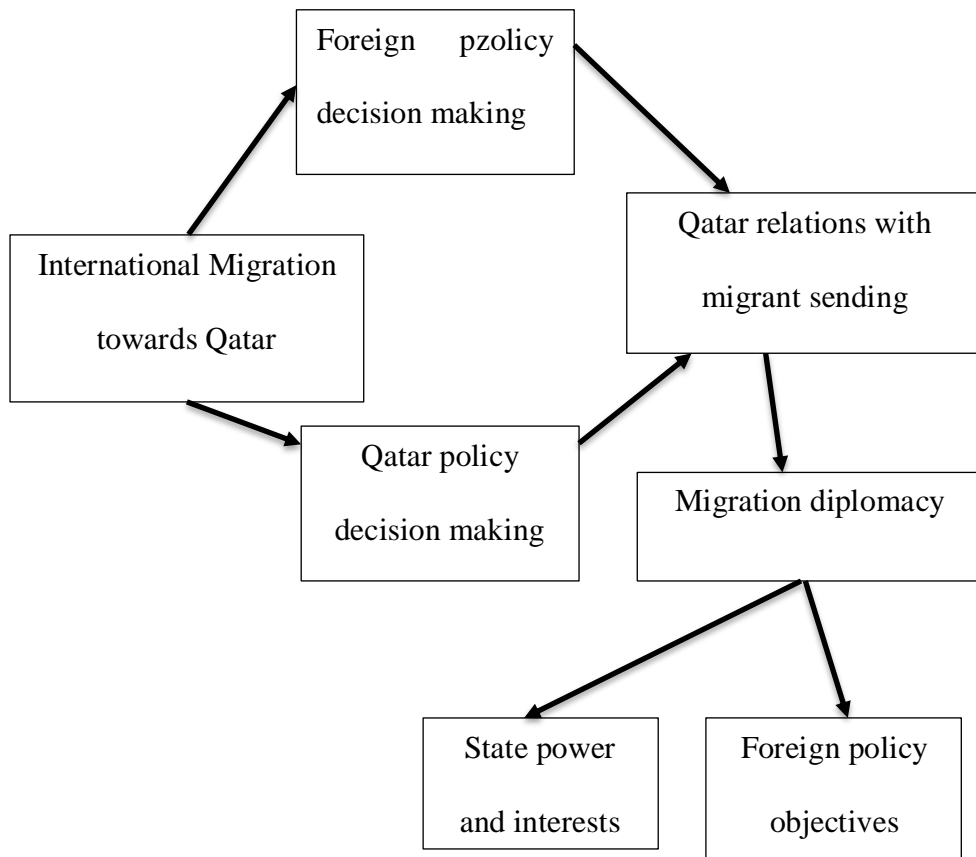


Figure 11- Conceptual Framework

Source: Author

CHAPTER 3: QATAR'S MIGRATION

DIPLOMACY TOWARDS THE ARAB AND ASIAN

COUNTRIES

Magnitude and Complexity of Arab Migration to Qatar

The Middle East has one of the largest ratios of migrants to nationals anywhere in the world, making it one of the most fascinating places to study global labor migration. A highly interconnected regional labor market is the result of economic migration and forced relocation (Ewers et al., 2021). One of the most dynamic economic forces in Qatar is labor migration, and remittances from migrant workers in the area far outweigh both official capital flows and the value of regional commerce in products. Along with the expansion of the oil economy, there was a rapid and significant increase in the amount of migrant labor in Qatar.

Several trends, particularly the demographics of the migratory Arab communities from outside the GCC, may be seen in Qatar's spectacular population growth over the past few decades. Over the past few decades, there has been considerable growth in the number of migrants in the Gulf region overall and Qatar in particular. Approximately 500,000 people called Qatar home as of the 1990s; by 2013 that number had more than tripled to approximately two million (Strabac et al., 2018).

Although foreigners make up a significant portion of Qatar's demographics, there is a dearth of trustworthy information about who they are, where they are from, how they are incorporated into society, and how they see life in Qatar. Considering Qatar's impending hosting of the 2022 FIFA World Cup, multiple high-profile and

damaging exposés in the worldwide media have drawn attention to Qatar's labor abuses (Mainali, 2020).

Given the historical context of these demographic shifts, the GCC states' limited populations and booming hydrocarbon sectors forced them to hire foreign labor (Baabood, 2017). Given the geographic, linguistic, religious, and cultural similarities as well as the ease with which Arabs could be assimilated into the pre-existing Gulf communities, hiring labor from adjacent Arab nations initially made sense. The regulations, practices, and patterns of the Qatari labor market, however, underwent significant change as these enormous hydrocarbon companies expanded and went worldwide and as political and economic imperatives overcame these original sociocultural considerations (Babar, 2012).

Since the 1970s, immigrants from Arab countries outside the GCC have successfully assimilated into Qatari society by upholding their traditional family arrangements. Only 52% of the non-GCC Arab inhabitants in Qatar are employed and make an economic contribution, while 48% are dependents (housewives and children). There is a sizable and obvious difference when this is contrasted with related statistics from other nations. In the Indian community, there is just 1 percent of non-working dependents, and in the Nepalese group, there are none.

Furthermore, the gap in these numbers indicates that non-GCC Arab immigrants likely earn greater salaries to support a dependent household in Qatar (Kapiszewski, 2017). Therefore, it is understandable why Qatari officials would prefer to import less expensive and easier-to-manage labor from Asia. The government and society in Qatar are quite concerned about the population imbalance and the growing number of foreigners living there, therefore what they truly want is to have their labor market demands met without further population growth.

Early in the new millennium, Qatar grew to be the world's biggest migrant labor market. The majority of the migration trend levels in the region are attributed to migration to the oil-rich nations. It can be difficult to comprehend the relative dearth of research on the politics of migration given the size of the migratory phenomena in such a very vital location. The macroeconomic impacts of labor migration in recipient nations have been extensively studied in the literature (Babar, 2012). Migration to Qatar is thought to have accelerated the region's development and to have sustained both the direct livelihood of many people there as well as the economy's survival, even though the effect of remittances on local economies is still a matter of debate and its evaluation in terms of development efficiency and sustainability remains contentious.

However, the strong oil economy and violence are the two main factors that most influence mobility in the region. The Arab-Israeli conflict (1947, 1967, 1973), the first Gulf War (the Iran–Iraq conflict, 1980–88), and the second two (the Gulf wars that began in 1991 and 2003) are responsible for repeated waves of refugees, while the labor-intensive growth of the oil economy in the GCC states and Libya since the 1970s has caused much economic displacement in the form of contract work, which is often considered temporary. Politics is generally seen as a major factor influencing migration in the Middle East. The primary cause of these temporary and seemingly short-term waves of forced migration is war, whether it is the deportation of Palestinians in the Arab Gulf, the exodus of refugees from Kuwait after the 1991 invasion of Iraq, or the presence of Iraqis in Jordan and Syria. In 2003 Not much research has been done on the more general structural and political factors that affect labor mobility.

With 1.5 percent of the world's proven oil reserves and a significant 5 percent of the world's proven natural gas reserves, the Arab Gulf emirate has long been a prominent producer of both commodities (Selmi and Bouoiyour, 2020). It has been able

to use its enormous revenues received from oil and gas and turn them into diplomatic muscle.

Qatar's Migration Diplomacy as Public Diplomacy in Arab countries. Visa policy serves as an essential but frequently ignored academic facet of international relations and diplomacy. Qatar uses two types of diplomacy to achieve and accomplish its diplomatic goals. Aiming to portray Qatar as a reliable, unbiased mediator who is concerned with regional peace and stability can be considered to be the first diplomatic mediation. To upend the dominance and influence of a strong regional hegemony, Qatar employs diplomacy to advance its interests and influence on nations like Lebanon, Egypt, Yemen, and Sudan which have historically been subject to Saudi Arabian influence (Malit and Tsourapas, 2021).

Public diplomacy through the media, where Aljazeera is positioned as the voice of the people and a free platform for the voiceless, is the second method of diplomacy used by Qatar. Public diplomacy and diplomatic efforts are frequently combined, with Al Jazeera emphasizing disputes that Qatar mediates (Mainali, 2020). The majority of Qatar's diplomatic efforts try to diffuse crises or reduce tension rather than necessarily end the dispute. Nevertheless, the Arab Spring is putting Qatar's strategy to the test, forcing it to forgo its mask of impartiality and choose sides. As a result, Qatar has developed a respectable regional and global reputation that belies its tiny size and limited military power thanks to a purposeful approach in which it employs both incentives and sticks to influence others.

An intentional form of diplomacy known as "Niche Diplomacy," defined as the focusing of "resources in certain areas able to yield returns worth having," is practiced by Qatar as part of its public diplomacy strategy (Tsourapas, 2021).

Qatar Efforts for Migrant workers for FIFA 2022. The construction of these cutting-edge stadiums has involved about 30,000 migrant laborers, most of whom came from Asia and Africa in quest of better economic opportunities. Even once the stadiums are finished, migrant labor will be in charge of running the daily hospitality and service operations for World Cup visitors (Khalifa, 2020). Without the hard work and sacrifice of these underprivileged migrant workers in Qatar, the much-anticipated pleasure of the soccer matches themselves and the economic impact that the festivities will have on Qatar would not be conceivable.

Despite their vulnerability and importance to the enterprise, Amnesty International alleges that these workers are subjected to exploitation. People are forced to carry significant debt that they accrued while attempting to pay for illegal recruitment expenses. For instance, Nepali and Bangladeshi immigrants, who make up roughly one-third of Qatar's foreign labor population, often pay \$4,000 each in recruitment fees, a debt that takes at least a year to repay (Dun et al., 2022).

The prolonged non-payment of wages is another practice that has come under heightened scrutiny as World Cup preparations get underway. Given that employees have loans that they pay out to pay for recruitment expenses, this is a particularly upsetting issue. Many employees also have financial obligations to their relatives who live at home and depend on them. According to Amnesty International, thousands of workers have faced underpayment or no payment at all.

To learn more about human rights, migrant workers' rights, and recent reforms in Qatar, and to share experiences and best practices, more than 35 people from migrant communities, the private sector, the government (including diplomats), and civil

society gathered as part of the Program Capacity Building on Human Rights and Migrant Workers in Qatar (Qadri, 2022).

As FIFA 2022 approaches and complaints are being made about the treatment of migrant workers who are building the stadiums and infrastructure, serving hotels and shops, homes, and the oil and gas industry, and who are from Nepal, Bangladesh, the Philippines, and increasingly in Africa (Nyaupane, 2020). Discrimination, dangerous and unhealthy working conditions, unpaid wages, violence, inadequate housing and food, and incarceration are issues that migrant workers must deal with. Migrants are often forced to live on the fringes of society, outside the normal scope of legal protection. The program helped participants work together to create actionable plans to protect and advance the rights of migrant workers at the federal level (Le, 2020).

Qatar's Visa Diplomacy and achieving economic interests in Arab countries. To encourage air travel and tourism to the gas-rich Gulf country, Qatar launched an earlier visa-free entry program for citizens of eighty nations, further boosting air travel and tourism. In light of this situation, Qatar's decision to relax visa requirements runs counter to the barrier and acts as insurance against a potential conflict due to an influx of foreigners that will make its neighbors reconsider the use of force. Granted, many would argue that given that Qatar is home to a major US military base and, more recently, a Turkish base, the conflict would likely never occur in the first place.

The new visa policy is also intended to help Qatar get ready for the 2022 Fifa World Cup, which will undoubtedly bring into the tiny gulf country a tremendous number of tourists. The theory behind this is that as more and more foreigners travel to Qatar under the visa waiver program, Qatari officials will have the chance to improve

their procedures to handle high volumes of tourists. It will also aid in making up for the decline in tourism-related income brought on by the prolonged embargo (Ghosh, 2017).

As a core principle of its visa diplomacy, Qatar places a high value on economic interest. Qatar has been actively promoting economic diplomacy at the regional and global levels over the past three decades. Qatar aims to advance international ties and friendship through economic diplomacy, going beyond business and politics.

Ambassador al-Kuwari stated during a talk at the Robert Smith School of Business at the University of Maryland, College Park, that from Qatar's perspective, economic diplomacy works in two directions: utilizing economic issues to strengthen foreign policy and using foreign policy to improve economic connections.

Magnitude and complexity of non-Arab migration to Qatar

International attention has been drawn, for obvious reasons, towards the massive expatriate clusters of mostly Asian, single male, low-skilled workers currently living and working in Qatar's labor camps. Indeed, over time, the proportion of families with adult dependents (children and non-relatives) among non-nationals from outside the Middle East declined during this period: from 16 percent of all foreign residents in 2004 to 8 percent in 2009 (Seccombe, 2020).

In 2018, moreover, 50% of non-Qatari residents said they came here for the first time two years ago or less, and another 37.7% had been here for five years or more. Another 23.7% had been living here for 5 years and more, and 8.4% had been living here for 15 years and more (Iketaki et al., 2018). As it appears, the nationality or regional origin factor plays a role in determining whether you stay in Qatar for labor services or mediate social and family ties in the country through the visa route. Nepalese and Bangladeshi nationals face obstacles in finding jobs at a higher end.

In Qatar, a minimum wage of QR 10,000 and a lease agreement legalized in the worker's name stipulate the worker's ability to support their family members as dependents. This means that about 20 percent of the labor force has publicly recognized members who are considered dependents (Ahmad and Hillman, 2021). The combination of family situations with so many dependents, thus, shows remarkable differences in the skill levels of the people. Up to 92,220 Indian expatriates (17 percent of this category of nationals), are married to a family member and thus are counted as dependents (Ghosh, 2017). It implies that this is a larger community consisting of diverse occupations and skills profiles.

Furthermore, the likelihood of some highly skilled and high-income non-citizens settling in Qatar with their families, at least temporarily, is largely confirmed by their 'local' status. There was a relative increase in female immigrants. Inactive aliens' category. Indeed, it can be used as a proxy to estimate the relative share of foreign families in all families (Qatarians and non-Qatarians) living in the country, thus giving a rough indication of the extent of family reunification. Housewives were half of the total. However, its share increased in the 2000s, reaching 75% of all housewives in 2012-2013. Most of them were Arabs (63%) (Nagi, 2019).

Qatar's visa diplomacy and achieving economic interests in Asian

Countries. The Qatar government is taking visa diplomacy to a whole new level by providing visas for migrant workers. This shift in policy will help the country achieve its economic interests and meet the demands of FIFA 2022. Qatar is one of the few countries in the world that does not require a visa for short-term visitors. This has helped them achieve their economic interests and attract migrants to the country (Rotimi, 2021). Non-Qatari migrants are allowed to work in Qatar without a visa, but

they need to apply for a work permit and residence card. The residence card is valid for only two years, after which they have to leave Qatar or apply for a new one.

Qatar's visa diplomacy is a strategy that the country has been implementing for years to achieve its economic interests. The strategy is based on attracting foreign workers and their families to work in Qatar. The number of migrants in Qatar has grown exponentially over the last decade, from around 100,000 in 2006 to more than 2 million today. This huge influx of migrants has led to changes in demographics, labor market dynamics, and public services provider that has not gone unnoticed by Qatari society (Gray, 2021). The government of Qatar believes that it is following a sustainable policy by attracting migrants with high wages and low taxes as well as providing free education and healthcare for them and their families. The government also believes that this will create jobs for nationals who are currently unemployed or underemployed. However, there are some concerns about the sustainability of this policy due to the rapid increase in population and a lack of infrastructure development.

The greatest number of migrant workers are not Qatari citizens, and they are given temporary visas that allow them to work and live in Qatar. The current visa policy is not enough to meet the demands of FIFA 2022, so many migrants find themselves unemployed or working illegally. The Qatari government has taken steps to solve this problem by issuing more visas for migrants who want to work in Qatar to achieve their economic interests and attract more migrants to the country (Gray, 2021).

Qatar's migration diplomacy as public diplomacy in Asian countries. Qatar is an Arab emirate that is located on the eastern coast of the Arabian Peninsula. It has been a migrant destination for many Asian countries, especially India and Pakistan. Qatar's migration diplomacy as public diplomacy is one of the most successful

strategies in recent years (Ghosh, 2017). Qatar's migration diplomacy is a soft power tool that is used to establish Qatar's economic interests. It is also used as an example of Qatar's rising soft power (Bortolazzi, 2020). Qatar has been using its migration diplomacy as a public diplomacy tool in the past few years. The reason behind this is that it has been able to use this strategy to establish its economic interests, and it also serves as an example of Qatar's rising soft power (Al Thani, 2021).

Qatar's migration diplomacy includes the country's efforts in addressing refugees, asylum seekers, and migrants by providing them with education, housing, and healthcare. In addition to these services, Qatar has also been hosting conferences for migrant workers from different countries to provide them with information about their rights and obligations under Qatari law. This strategy was meant to show other countries how successful the country was at integrating migrants into society and creating a positive image for the country abroad.

Qatar has been a leader in the Gulf region in terms of migration diplomacy. Qatar's migration diplomacy is an effective tool for public diplomacy. It is a way of strengthening its soft power and gaining international recognition (Gaub and Boswinkel, 2020). The Asian countries are the largest source of migrant workers for Qatar. The country's migration policy towards these countries is to provide them with protection and rights, but also to protect their national interests. This has led to Qatar's efforts to promote itself as a haven for migrants from Asian countries, which has helped it establish itself as a regional leader in migration diplomacy and public diplomacy (Gaub and Boswinkel, 2020).

The government of Qatar has been using this strategy to improve its international reputation and attract more migrants from Asia. This policy has been

successful in attracting migrants from Asian countries and improving Qatar's international reputation (Al Thani, 2021).

CHAPTER 4: FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

Findings

Appendix B and C show the questionnaire designed for diplomats and scholars to investigate their perspectives towards migration diplomacy in Qatar. After interview data was gathered, data is analysed based on content analysis where pseudonyms were assigned to each respondent who participated in the interviews. Appendix D shows interview coding for both scholars and diplomats.

Findings and Analysis for Diplomats. This section presents findings gathered from interviewing five diplomats to study the impact of migration in Qatar. The section also critically analyses these findings and provides a critical viewpoint of the perspectives gathered from diplomats.

Impact of International Migration on Qatar Domestic Policy Making.

Diplomats when conducting interviews were then asked to provide their opinion on whether they think international migration toward Qatar has impacted Qatar's domestic policymaking. In this regard, D1 stated:

“Of course, international missions based in Doha have brought to our eyes what needs improvement. This also includes the world cup. Improving the laws of migrant workers, roads, railways and much more”- D1

In the above sense, it is discussed that Qatar has been a major destination for international migrants. The country has been able to improve its infrastructure and provide better opportunities for these migrants. The Qatar government is keen on improving its public services, including education and health care, to make them more attractive for those migrants. In addition, the Qatar government is also trying to improve

the living standards of these migrant workers by providing better housing facilities and access to basic amenities such as electricity and clean water. On the other hand, interviews also reflected that international Migration towards Qatar has impacted its domestic policymaking, in several areas, especially in areas like labor laws, housing, and municipal matters, and also policies related to the art and culture (Eggeling, 2017). This is illustrated by the fact that the State of Qatar has introduced several new laws, rules, and regulations for the welfare of immigrant workers, their wages, safety, and security. Also, the concerned authorities have brought new residential areas, which is also a local policy matter. Some countries have specific requirements for their community that also come under the domestic policy-making process.

“Yes, many domestic laws have been issued to achieve balanced and productive work relations between citizens and migrant workers in Qatar and ensuring that migrants are given their rights in a constructive way that integrates them into society.”- D3

In regard to the above response, it is discussed that the Qatari government has been very keen to address the issue of human trafficking and illegal labor. The government has set up awareness programs to educate the public about the consequences of human trafficking and illegal labor, which include fines, imprisonment, or deportation (Mainali, 2020). To combat human trafficking and illegal labor, the Qatari government has set up several initiatives including setting up awareness programs to educate the public about the consequences of human trafficking and illegal labor, setting up a hotline for victims, setting up an online reporting system for employers who are illegally hiring foreigners. All these efforts clearly show that

international migration impacted Qatar's domestic policies.

However, a contrasting view was given by D4 which stated:

“Most migrants to Qatar are from Southeast or South Asia so from my point of view migrants resulted in new crimes against Qatar society, but at the same time they bring growth and innovation in both the countries they come from and in those they move to”- D4

The Gulf Cooperation Council is the Middle East's most powerful economic and political bloc. Qatar has been a member since 1981. The country has welcomed migrants from all over the world, including Southeast or South Asia, to work in its booming oil industry. The migrants have been an integral part of Qatar's development and have become an important part of the country's fabric. However, they are vulnerable to exploitation, abuse, and discrimination in the workplace and society at large. In recent years there has been a rise in new crimes against society by migrants.

From the above findings, it is discussed that contractual expatriate labor has impacted Qatar's domestic policymaking. For instance, the State of Qatar has made significant achievements in the field of fair recruitment and equitable and ethical employment, as Qatar has become a leading country in the region by permanently abolishing the sponsorship system and implementing radical reforms to labor laws (Mainali, 2020). This came following an ambitious agenda aimed at building a modern and competitive labor market that attracts skilled labor. To do so, policies need to ensure decent working conditions for all by adopting a non-discriminatory minimum wage for workers and domestic workers, abolishing exit permits, promoting workers' movement and changing jobs without the consent of the employer, and supporting

social dialogue. Also, policies need to ensure a safe and healthy work environment, and this was a priority in Qatar, which for example, issued new legislation to better protect workers from heat stress during the summer months.

Another example of relevant policies is that Qatar Visa Centers ensure full transparency in the recruitment and contracting process and provide accurate information to enable the worker to read the employment contract correctly in his native language and sign it electronically in his country before traveling. The Centers ensure that there is no conflict between the job offers announced by the recruitment offices in the countries sending the workers and the legal conditions of the contract. The State has also continued its awareness campaigns to introduce the national legislation and the recent labor reforms in cooperation with all concerned parties. All of this clearly shows that diplomats were of the view that international migration toward Qatar has impacted Qatar's domestic policymaking.

Impact of International Migration on Foreign Policy-Making Decisions.

Diplomats when conducting interviews were first asked to provide their opinion on how international migration in the field of foreign policy affects or impacts or influences policymaking or decisions. The findings gathered from interviews reflected that international migration or moving abroad positively affects policy making.

“Traveling and being based in a country will allow you to reflect on reality back home. Hence, this will make decision-making more precise and clearer.

Otherwise, the picture will not be as clear as being abroad” – D1

In the above sense, it is believed that International Migrants play a vital role in contributing to the economy of the migrant's sending country. However, their contribution to the growth and development of the host country is also very large and

cannot be ignored. Thus, both the sending country and the host country, give much importance to the welfare of migrants and their safety security, and necessary facilities while drafting foreign policy and making related decisions. Interviewee D3 reflected that:

“Migrants have a direct impact on the foreign policy of many labor exporting countries, and public opinion plays an important role in its democracy” – D3

Therefore, it is critically discussed that low immigration rates and high unemployment rates in receiving countries have a huge negative impact on exporting countries that rely heavily on migrant workers' remittances. Given this, many exporting countries avoid public expressions on global issues, to protect their domestic imperatives. The interviews also revealed that international migration is one of the most impactful decisions in the world and sometimes many advanced and powerful economies need migrants to fill jobs that cannot be outsourced and that local workers are not ready to fill them.

From the above findings, it is therefore discussed and argued that the flow of migrants into a country can bolster the workforce in that country and thus contribute to advancing production and the economy in general. For the same reasons, the increase in the workforce can have negative socio-political implications as local workers can blame the loss of jobs on immigrants. This often leads to the rising of nationalist sentiments and even populist movements. Immigrants can be a burden to the host countries' educational and healthcare systems and may require policies to cope with this burden.

For example, in the United States, we remember when the previous president Donald Trump wanted to build a wall along the border of Mexico, and when he issued

an executive order which came to be known as the “Muslim ban.” These acts were a part of Trump’s foreign policy, which he declared was to save America from “terrorists” from some Muslim countries and from “rapists” from Latin America, but it was a manifestation of the xenophobic sentiments that were at least partially due to the flow of migration and globalization.

European countries at this moment are affected with more than 12 million refugees from the Russian and Ukrainian war, and the level of response demonstrates the contrast between how EU countries welcomed people from another European country as opposed to how they resisted any incomers from Africa and Asia. While many extremist parties in European countries fomented fear of immigrants as a burden and even dangerous for local societies, economies, such as in Germany have benefited greatly from the thousands of Syrians who contributed hardworking professionals and brilliant entrepreneurs who had escaped the war in their country. The degree of benefit that the host country can reap from immigrants is dependent on the economic and social policies it enacts. For example, Germany saw potential in those refugees coming from the Middle East and supported them and later reaped the benefits of their participation in the economy. Conclusively, it is stated that international migration can affect the foreign policy of any country and can have positive and negative effects.

Impact of International Migration on Host country relations with migrant-sending countries in Asia. Diplomats when conducting interviews were also asked to provide their opinion on how international migrants affect host country relations with migrants sending countries who come from Asia or Southeast Asia, such as India, Bangladesh, Philippines. In this regard, the following are some important extracts from interviews:

“In my opinion, this builds more bridges of cooperation. More people mean more work for the embassy, more diplomats, and more communication. Therefore, this will create further interests in different areas, such as education, health sector and much more”- D1

“Foreign communities in Qatar have a contribution in strengthening Qatar international relations with their country of origin, whether through the strengthening of fraternal relations or mutual understanding of global issues” – D3

“As the sending country has economic interests due the foreign remittances being sent from the host country, which contributes to the revenue of the country...”- D2

The above responses clearly show that international migration does impact relations between the host country and migrant-sending country as the sending country gives due importance to the host country in terms of relations. The presence of a good number of migrants in the host country has also implications in the field of cultural traditions and people-to-people relations. Sometimes the presence of migrants gives strength to the business relations of both countries in different areas. Not only this, but interviews also reflected that relations between the two depend on policies of the host country toward the sending country which may affect its relation, as every country of the sending migrants has its own entry rules to enter Qatar either for work or tourism.

From the above findings, it is also discussed that international migration has both positive and negative effects. On the positive side, for instance, if the host country has a labor force shortage, the influx of expatriate workers can bolster the labor force

in the host country. The host country can benefit from skilled and trained labor. At the same time, this can also contribute to supporting the economies of the sending countries and stimulating economic growth through remittances. It is worth noting that Qatar adopts free remittances as it does not impose restrictions on remittances by immigrants to their home countries. During the Covid-19 crisis, the necessary measures were taken in consultation with the relevant authorities to allow all employees to continue transferring funds to their families in their countries with ease (via their smartphones), without having to transfer to a bank and exchange companies. This leads to strengthening the bilateral relations between the State of Qatar and the Asian countries whose economies rely partially on remittances and strengthens Qatar's position as an international partner with influence in Asia. All of the above findings clearly show that diplomats were of the view that international migration toward Qatar impacts host and home-country relations.

Impact of International Migration on Host country relations with migrant-sending countries in Arab. Diplomats were asked to provide their opinion on how international migrants affect host country relations with migrants sending countries who come from Arab countries, such as Jordan, UAE, Kuwait, and other countries. In this regard, the following are some important extracts from interviews:

“Countries with migrant workers based in Doha are vital in our diplomatic work. I believe shared interests mean more communication, projects, and interests. Qatar is interested in having stronger ties since these countries have a dense population in Doha”- D1

“It depends on policies that the host country applies to the migrants of the

sending countries, and the job and life protection they provide, and the respect they provide to workers” – D4

“Over the past decades, workers from most Arab countries have thrived in Qatar and contributed to its economic rise. This has to a large extent, contributed to strengthening relations between Qatar and countries in its region”- D5

From the above findings, it is discussed that foreign communities in Qatar have contribution to strengthening Qatar's international relations with their country of origin, especially through the strengthening of fraternal relations and exploring and exchanging cultures. However, it has both positive and negative effects. For example, Qatar offered jobs for thousands of educators from Arab countries who were not welcomed in other neighboring countries, which helped improve the relations between Qatar and the Arab countries from which those educators came originally. On the negative points, should political tensions arise between the State of Qatar and other countries, i.e., economic and political blockade, this might have negative effects on the expatriate workers in the host country and can create an unexpected outcome of labor force shortage, and the host country might be forced to take some austerity measures to maintain its economic viability which in turn poses a threat to workers incomes and jobs security.

Findings and Analysis for Scholars. This section presents findings gathered from interviewing five diplomats to study the impact of migration in Qatar. The section also critically analyses these findings and provides a critical viewpoint of the perspectives gathered from scholars.

Benefits and Drawbacks of International Migration in Qatar. The first question asked in interviews with scholars was related to identifying the possible benefits and drawbacks that international migration has on Qatar. The possible list of benefits that S1 indicated during interviews was:

“Provides job opportunities with high salaries, Quality of health care services, enjoy a very high sense of personal security, Enjoy the multicultural environment, quality of education, Enjoy Qatar as a tourist destination, and Getting to know the Qatari society and the peculiarity of its unique culture”-

S1

Therefore, from the above finding, it is discussed that Qatar being rich in natural gas and petroleum has the highest GDP per capita in the world. The country has a high quality of health care services, which makes it a very attractive destination for migrants. The country is among the fastest-growing economies in the world and offers job opportunities with high salaries, which makes it an attractive destination for international migrants. With its high sense of security, Qatar is a preferred destination for migrants from all over the world. According to S2, the benefits identified were:

“Cheap sources of labor, particularly low-skill labour, for economic and infrastructure development. Migrant labour typically fills jobs that local nationals cannot or do not want to fill. It has created a high level of workforce stability under the kafala system”- S2

Based on the above, it is discussed that the Qatari economy has been growing rapidly in recent years, and the country has been among the fastest-growing economies in the world. To keep up with this growth, Qatar has been looking for cheap sources of

labor to work on infrastructure projects and provide low-skill labour. Qatar relies heavily on migrant workers to meet its economic needs. Most of these migrants are from India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Nepal. These migrants are often referred to as “low-skilled” workers because they do not have many skills or qualifications.

Based on the above discussion of benefits, it is analysed that international migrants have allowed Qatar to engage in expansive economic and social development over the past forty years which would not have been possible with the small local population. Being able to recruit overseas workers has benefited Qatar and allowed it to engage in developing multiple sectors of its economy and become a flourishing country offering a high standard of life.

S4 indicated that:

“Due to international migration, Qatar has created these ideals of, like, shopping malls and caterer and living spaces that resemble surrounding countries”- S4

From the above finding, it is therefore discussed that the country has been experiencing an increase in international migration for the past few years. This has led to an increased demand for products and services that cater to the migrants’ needs. Qatar is a country with a population of over 2 million people, and it is the smallest Arab state in terms of area. Some Qatar shopping malls have opened up stores that sell international cuisines, such as Indian food, Mexican food, and Chinese food (Ghosh, 2017). These are a few examples of how Qatar has developed itself after the inclusion of international migrants.

Apart from the benefits identified above, scholars also highlighted the drawbacks where S1 identified that in Qatar, there are high prices, especially

foodstuffs, apartment rentals, etc., education is very expensive and causes great difficulties for the parents, and there are no pedestrian roads, so using a car or taxi is essential. Not only this, S2 indicated that:

“Unique disproportionate population of over 90% non-nationals which sometimes creates tension and animosity. High level of dependency on foreign nationals in the country” - S2

From the above finding, it is therefore discussed that the population of Qatar is over 90% non-national, which means that there are a lot of people who have to deal with the challenges of being international migrants. One of the major drawbacks for international migrants in Qatar is that they are often dependent on their companies for things like housing and benefits. The government does not offer any support for these migrants, so it's up to the employer to provide these things. This can lead to a lot of problems, such as companies exploiting employees by not providing adequate housing or benefits.

The interview findings also discussed that Qatar is heavily dependent on migrants who populate every segment of the economy and make up the dominant percentage of the workforce. While migration policies have attempted to ensure that migrants only stay for short durations and have no permanent pathways to settlement or citizenship, migrant numbers keep going up and many migrant communities have become permanent fixtures and yet due to the segmented nature of society are not integrated or included. Qatar's over-dependence on its migrant population does leave it vulnerable and potentially exposed.

Impact of Foreign migration policy on IR policymaking for South Asian and GCC countries. Scholars of IR who were interviewed also reflected upon how foreign

migration policy can affect IR policymaking in Qatar. Concerning the South Asian Countries and GCC. In this regard, S1 stated:

“The countries that export migrants from South Asian countries have a stock of workers that Qatar needs. This means that Qatar has good foreign relations with these countries”- S1

From the above finding, it is discussed that as for the countries of the Gulf Cooperation Council, immigration affects the making of strong relations with the neighboring countries in the Gulf and making dialogue exist regarding improving immigration policies. The international migration policy of South Asian and Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) countries has been influenced by the export migrants from these countries. The export migrant stock of workers in Qatar, for example, is a major factor in Qatar’s good foreign relations.

Migration is one of the most important factors in international relations. International migration policy is an important part of South Asian and GCC countries’ IR policymaking.

The export migrant stock of workers in Qatar, for example, is a major factor in Qatar’s good foreign relations as it has helped to improve bilateral ties with other countries and also provided a buffer against economic shocks.

On the other hand, S2 stated that:

“There must be a close connection and policy arrangements - through Bilateral Agreements and Memoranda of Understanding – to facilitate the international labour market and ensure smooth administrative procedures in the acquisition of work visas, residency IDs, etc. The establishment of Qatar

Visa Centers in countries of origin to streamline pre-departure administrative requirements and prevent contract substitution has been an important and welcome IR initiative”- S2

From the above finding, it is discussed that the foreign migration policy of a country is very important for the IR policies of that country. For example, the Qatar immigration policy is a major contributor to Qatar's IR policy. Similarly, the foreign migration policies of South Asian and GCC countries are also major contributors to their Qatar IR policies. Foreign migration policies are often linked with each other in various ways and this close connection can be seen in the policy arrangements between countries. For instance, India has a visa agreement with Qatar which allows Indians who have a valid Indian passport to visit Qatar without a visa for up to 180 days (Ghosh, 2017). The establishment of Qatar Visa Centers in India will help streamline pre-departure procedures for Qatari nationals as well as facilitate travel from India to Qatar.

Not only this, S4 stated that:

“Qatar’s international affairs are certainly impacted by its position as host to a large number of migrants who are also the citizens of other countries.... Sending states in South Asia with a large number of citizens in Qatar requires multiple forms of migration diplomacy. South Asian migrant business owners and professionals perhaps have the potential to foster closer linkages and better relations between South Asia and Qatar, as they have created social and economic capital in India as well as in Qatar” – S4

As Qatar is host to a very large and diverse migrant population and depending on which sending state or category of migrant that is referring to, the effects or impact

of these communities will differ. For example, highly skilled migrant professionals and migrant business operators based in Qatar will have a very different impact on Qatar's foreign migration policy as compared to lower-income or blue-collar laborers. Qatar has to ensure that it is treating the citizens of other nations well, as neglecting to protect the rights of lower-income/blue-collar migrants on its territory can draw the ire of other states in the international system and create difficult relations. Over the past several years Qatar has drawn a lot of this sort of criticism for not ensuring good living and working conditions for lower-income migrant workers and has had to deploy a lot of diplomatic energy to addressing these concerns and assuring sending states that it is committed to looking, after all, people residing and working on its territory.

At the same time, given their large populations, shortages of employment and difficult economic conditions in many less well-endowed countries in the Global South, many governments are eager to secure jobs in Qatar for their citizens. This gives Qatar quite a lot of diplomatic leverage, as it can offer preferential status to certain countries and commit to recruiting workers from practical source states in return for other economic and political goals.

Impact of International Migrants on Host country relations with Migrant sending countries. Scholars of IR who were interviewed also reflected upon how international migrants affect host country relations with migrants-sending countries, such as relations of Syria and Qatar, Jordan and Qatar, and Egypt and Qatar. In this regard, interviews found that migrants have a positive and negative impact at the same time when making relations with labor-exporting countries. For example, S1 mentioned that:

“Sometimes the workers may be a pressure card to create relations with the

labor-exporting country, for example, Qatar-Jordan, and it may also be a factor in improving relations between the two countries”- S1

From the above finding, it is discussed that in the past, labor-exporting countries were able to apply pressure on host country governments by using the worker’s card. This card could be played when a migrant worker’s rights were violated. In recent years, however, these cards have lost their power as more and more workers can find alternative jobs in the labor-exporting country. Qatar is a prime example of this trend. The number of Qatari nationals employed in other Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) countries has increased from 650,000 in 2010 to 2 million in 2017. This means that Qatar is no longer dependent on foreign migrant workers for its workforce and can now use them as leverage against other GCC countries by threatening to send them back home if they don’t comply with their demands.

“Migrant worker remittances also play a large part as many labour origin countries depend highly on remittances as the largest single source of foreign currency”- S2

From the above finding, it is discussed that international migrants are a major factor in the Qatar economy, and they have a significant impact on the host country. They are an important part of the labor force in Qatar and their remittances to their home country contribute to its economic growth. A migrant worker in Qatar sends money to his/her family back home for various reasons such as paying off debt, investing in new enterprises, or providing for basic needs. International migrants in Qatar also provide a link between the host country and their home country and this has a positive impact on relations between them. They can also provide valuable insights into how people from their home countries live abroad which may help improve cooperation and understanding between them.

From the findings, it is analysed that countries in the international system engage in multiple ways with other countries to manage a vast array of their interests relating to securing their territory, issues related to maintaining peace and avoiding conflict, safeguarding economic interests, managing trade relations, ensuring cooperation on the climate and environment, human rights and of course migration (Le, 2020). Migration states such as Qatar have some means by which they cooperate with other states to manage safe and regular migration flows which include establishing bilateral agreements to encourage and control migration, developing MOUs that provide preferential migratory pathways to citizens of designated states, developing country-specific work visa or residency programs, etc. S1 also stated that:

“The relationship between the two countries will be solid and in a permanent dialogue. They positively affect the strengthening of relationships. Sometimes it causes a crisis between the two countries due to the failure to take certain measures to avoid fatal accidents for workers” – S1

From the above finding, it is discussed that the international migrant crisis has been a difficult one to handle in host countries. The South and Southeast Asian countries are perhaps more dependent on migrant worker remittances than Arab states. It has been an ongoing problem for the last few years and some countries are trying to solve this problem by initiating a permanent dialogue between the two countries. They hope that this will help improve relations and make it easier for migrants from one country to go back home without any problems. For example, the migration of Indians to Qatar has brought and continues to bring important benefits to both Qatar and India. Qatar has benefitted enormously from these decades of Indian labour that has contributed critically to the booming development agendas of the small state. On other

hand, India has benefitted from the job opportunities for a sizeable chunk of its citizenry, as well as the flow of remittances. Over the past decade, the Indian government has shown keen interest in global expansion and has established a policy of overseas engagement. This recognition of the Indian diaspora as a strategic asset among India's foreign policy chiefs is, however, relatively new.

For decades, India has neglected the strategic potential of its reach, in part India's increased interest in its reach has been driven by three main factors. First, after the government liberalized the economy in 1991, rural Indians became more useful as agents of trade, investment, and technology. Second, Indian foreign policy has begun to recognize the value of diaspora in industrialized countries, particularly the United States, for public diplomacy. And third, nationalists began to emerge as senior managers of multinational corporations. The general success of the Indian community, especially in North America, has led the governments of India to take more initiatives to deal with the refugee problem. In the context of the Indian diaspora in Qatar and its relationship to the development of India's foreign policy towards Qatar - there was limited influence "officially"

And not because of a reluctance to do so, but because there are valid limitations to the extent to which the Indian population can be leveraged. The example of India clearly shows that international migrants coming from India to Qatar does impact Qatar's relationship with India as a migrant-sending country.

Impact of International Migrants of GCC and Asian migrants on the foreign policy of Qatar. The interviews also reflected upon the impact of international migrants that come from GCC and other Asian countries on Qatar's foreign policy. In this regard, almost all scholars believe that international migrants coming from GCC,

Asian, and Southeast Asian countries have impacted the foreign policy of Qatar. This is evident by the response of S1 below:

“Especially on Qatar’s standing in the world concerning human rights in particular. Therefore, if Qatar does not provide good conditions for workers, a crisis may occur with the concerned countries and even other countries concerned with defending human rights, especially the West”-S1

From the above finding, it is discussed that Qatar has been gaining a lot of attention for its treatment of migrant workers. The country is the richest in the world, but it has been criticized for its poor treatment of migrant workers. The international community is pressuring Qatar to improve its human rights record, especially when it comes to foreign policy. Qatar’s foreign policy is largely dependent on the international community, and they have not yet made any major changes.

On the other hand, S5 also indicated that:

“Like you have encountered people from Merrick, from the UK, from Africa, South Asia, from India, from the Philippines, you know, other countries as well. You are living with it. You take it. And many people would argue that there are just advantages to that”- S5

Therefore, from the above findings, it is discussed that the Qatari government has always welcomed workers from all over the world, but it is now facing a new challenge of managing the social and economic impact of migration on the country’s population. The government has taken steps to address this issue, such as increasing its

efforts to educate and provide opportunities for locals, but it still needs to find a way to balance its foreign policy objectives with its national interests. Qatar is home to the largest migrant population in the region. They make up a large percentage of Qatar's total population and they are an essential part of the country's workforce. Qatar has been praised for its progressive stance on migrant rights. The government has created policies that allow foreign workers to live in Qatar with their families and also provide free education and health care to all migrants and their children. In the past few years, Qatar has been at the forefront of providing better benefits for migrant workers. More and more international human rights organizations are also working with Qatar to provide better benefits for international migrants. International labor partnerships have been established to help ensure that Qatar continues to be a leading country in providing better labor conditions for its migrant workers. The wealth generated by these projects is then used to fund ongoing self-sustainability projects.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Conclusion

Qatar's foreign policy is shaped by its dependence on foreign workers and their skill sets. In this regard, the current study was conducted to find out the impact of international migration on Qatar. This impact was studied from the lens of both GCC and Asian country migrants that migrate to Qatar for varying purposes, such as jobs, immigration, and other reasons.

A case study approach is chosen for this study to evaluate the research problem where the researcher contacted around 5 migration and international scholars, and 5 diplomats, send those interviews by email, and use the data for analysis of Qatar's migration diplomacy. The collected data were analysed using the content analysis method. The main conclusions from this study described Qatar's migration diplomacy and its correlation with Arab countries. From the findings, it is interpreted and concluded that the volume or number of immigrations to Qatar has drastically increased due to the global migration phenomenon. Further, the findings shed light on the most dynamic economic force in Qatar's labor migration, and remittances from migrant workers in the area far outweigh both official capital flows and the value of regional commerce in products. The reasons for migration include the need for labor, tourism, and also due to the international events of FIFA. The findings also discussed methods and programs used following visa issuance to encourage migration in Qatar which in accordance proves to be beneficial for the economy in every way.

In response to the research questions, the findings concluded that international migration impacts interstate relationships between Qatar and other migrant states in both positive and negative ways. International migration also affects foreign policy

making of host and home countries where the Qatari government has taken migration diplomacy measures that it undertook to safeguard and attract international migrants from Asian countries. The country's reliance on migrant labor can be seen in its policy towards nationality and skillsets. Migration is a global phenomenon that is affecting the economies of many countries. This has led to an increased number of people who are living outside their country of origin, and this has increased the number of cross-border relations. Migration has impacted interstate relationships between Qatar and Syria, Jordan, and Egypt.

As concluded from the overall findings, it is interpreted that Qatar has been able to attract migrants from both Asian and Arab countries through economic incentives, which include high wages and benefits for families, as well as an attractive welfare system with free healthcare, education, and transport for migrant workers and their families. Migration diplomacy in Qatar has helped to create stability within the country by reducing poverty levels among its citizens and improving living standards for all residents.

Based on the second research question, the study concluded that international migration has a significant impact on the host and home countries. There are many reasons for migrants to leave their country of origin, but the most common one is poverty. Qatar is a country that has been greatly affected by international migration. It hosts migrant workers from South Asia, which has led to Qatar's foreign policymaking being influenced by these migrants. The Qatari government tries to control the number of migrants coming into the country to maintain stability in Qatar and prevent any potential unrest or violence. The government also uses migration diplomacy as a tool for its foreign policy, with hosting migrant workers from South Asia is an example of this strategy. Based on the third research question, the study concluded that the Qatari

government has taken various social measures to support migrants in the country. These include providing free health care for migrant workers and their families, providing free education for migrant children up to the age of 15, setting up a 24/7 hotline with operators who speak Arabic, English, Urdu, Hindi, and Bengali, launching an employment portal for migrants that provides information about jobs and employers in Qatar, and setting up a center where migrants can access information on work permits, residency permits, visa renewals, and other immigration matters. Considering findings from the lens of a conceptual model of this study, it is confirmed that migration is an outcome of state power and interests to boost Qatar's economic growth. This is possible due to international migrants coming to Qatar due to its health Infrastructure and Food Security, Real estate, Infrastructure, Investments, and Industrialization growth, and changing current laws for migrations, such as transparency and easiness for migrants. Hence, the influx of migrants from migrants sending countries allows Qatar to achieve its foreign policy objectives.

The findings of this study have contributed new knowledge in the field of International Relations from the perspective of Qatar migration diplomacy. This is added through studying the phenomenon of global migration to Qatar from the perspective of both Asian and Arab countries. Outside of contributing to the new literature on the politics of migration in Qatar, this paper also seeks to push the field further by interrogating the extent to which state actors are solely responsible for the development and conduct of 'migration diplomacy.' The Qatar example highlights how multifarious hybrid actors with a range of agendas may influence foreign policies toward cross-border mobility. Conservative non-governmental constituencies drive attempts to implement migration control strategies that help Qatar's large oil-based economy and make trade more convenient for foreign companies.

Recommendations

Considering the findings of this study based on interviews with Scholars and Diplomats, the following suggestions are provided through which Qatar can strengthen its foreign policy through international migration.

Provision of financial support to migrant-sending countries. Qatari government can provide financial support, especially for South Asian countries, which are poor countries that need support. Therefore, Qatar authorities can invest in these countries by putting deposits in central banks. Also, they must improve laws that improve the conditions of workers in Qatar.

Dialogue with migrant-sending countries for labor issues. Permanent dialogue with labor-exporting countries regarding workers from these countries can prove to be beneficial as it can improve conditions for workers from South Asia. It is suggested to provide permanent monitoring of local companies and punishment of anyone who violates workers' rights, conducting clearer and more nuanced bilateral agreements on the conditions of migrant labor recruitment that have mandatory follow-up reviews. These should include important gender issues to appease concerns about the treatment of migrant domestic workers in particular. Also, the positive based policies that Qatar has been undertaking concerning expatriate workers, such as labor, healthcare services, and human rights, can reflect positively on Qatar's image and reputation globally as a country committed to human rights (Baabood, 2017).

Boosting Trade Relations with migrant-sending countries. More attention could also be given to trade relations with countries of origin as well as entrepreneurial

initiatives by migrant workers in Qatar who may now have opportunities that they did not have before the legislative reforms. More attention is given to measures to eradicate the corruption in migrant labor demand and recruitment is required. Qatar can also consider ratifying the UN Migrant Worker Convention (1990/2003) (UN Convention of the Protection of All Migrant Workers and Members of their Family) and the ILO Domestic Worker Convention, 2011 (C 189).

Protecting the Rights of migrant workers. The State of Qatar recognizes and attaches great importance to the positive contributions of expatriate workers. In line with the State of Qatar's efforts to protect the fundamental rights of workers, it spared no efforts to adopt regulations that guarantee more rights and freedoms and to empower workers and communities to achieve full integration and social cohesion. Hence, it is suggested to provide labor guarantees and rights to workers to enable them to enjoy their basic rights to work without discrimination, as well as many other measures are taken, which are in line with Qatar's foreign and domestic policies. This strategy also contributes to Qatar's growing soft power and economic power which in turn bolsters its international standing and empowers its relations with foreign nations, in particular those that are countries of origin for immigrant workers in Qatar.

Other Suggestions. Qatar can strengthen ties with other nations through several forms. Aside from traditional diplomacy, other forms can increase ties. This includes cultural projects, sports, investments, and even food. The presence of Migrants from a particular country in the State of Qatar is considered to be a strong source of revenue for a country. Keeping this thing in mind, Qatar authorities can negotiate the interest of Qatar in other areas with these countries like seeking their investments or seeking the

supply of the goods and materials at competitive prices that we need for our country, with suitable terms and conditions. Not only this, but they must also ensure that migrants are represented in policy reform procedures and monitoring and evaluation mechanisms while creating an enabling environment to engage migrants in social dialogue about policies that directly affect them.

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Appendix

A. Appendix A: Participant Information Sheet

About Myself and Research

I am a student of College of Arts and Science in Qatar University perusing my MA in Gulf Studies. This Interview is a part of a research dissertation which is a partial requirement for the completion of my graduation. The research is titled as “Migration Diplomacy in the Global South - A Case of Qatar”.

The main aim of this research is as follows;

1. To understand the process of international migration and its impact on international relationships for Qatar.
2. To get an insight into international migrants through the lens of international relationships for Qatar.
3. To explore how international migration shapes international relations between Arab states and Qatar.
4. To investigate how international migration influences international relations between Qatar and Asian countries

Please answer the following questions based on your experience. The questionnaire will not take more than 10 minutes of your precious time. The information provided will be kept confidential and anonymous and will be used strictly for research purposes only.

Thank you very much for your time.

Sincerely,

Fatima Ali Al Khulaifi

B. Interview Questionnaire for Diplomats

Section – A: General Profile:

1. About your profile and experience:

1. **Section – B: Interview Questions**

1. What is your opinion on how IM in the field of foreign policy affects or impact or influence over policy making or decisions

2. Do you think international migration towards Qatar has impacted Qatar domestic policy making? If yes, then in which areas? You may give some examples

3. In your opinion, how international migrants affect host country relations with migrants sending countries? (for example, relations of Syria and Qatar, Jordan and Qatar, Egypt and Qatar etc.)

4. Provide some suggestions as to how Qatar can strengthen its foreign policy through international migration.

5. In your opinion, how international migrants affect host country relations with migrants sending countries? (for example, relations of South and Southeast Asia (India, Bangladesh, Philippines) and Qatar etc.)



C. Interview Questionnaire for Scholars

Section – A: General Profile:

2. About your profile and experience:



8. In your opinion, how international migrants affect host country relations with migrants sending countries? (for example, relations of Syria and Qatar, Jordan and Qatar, Egypt and Qatar etc.)

9. Outline the migration diplomacy measures that Qatari government can take to safeguard and attract international migrants.

10. In your opinion, how international migrants affect host country relations with migrants sending countries? (for example, relations of South and Southeast Asia (India, Bangladesh, Philippines) and Qatar etc.)

11. Do you think that international migration from Arab countries to Qatar affects its foreign policy? If it affects, then how?

A large, empty rectangular box with a thin black border, intended for a handwritten or typed answer to the question above.

12. Do you think that international migration from Asian countries to Qatar affects its foreign policy? If it affects, then how?

A large, empty rectangular box with a thin black border, intended for a handwritten or typed answer to the question above.

13. Provide some suggestions as to how Qatar can strengthen its foreign policy through international migration.

D. Interview Coding

Region/country of diplomat	Code
Diplomat in Istanbul	D1
Diplomat in New Delhi (India)	D2
Diplomat in Manila	D3
Diplomat in Jordan	D4
Diplomat in New York	D5

Scholar	Code
Qatar foundation staff teacher	S1
Australian academic, professor of sociology, in the field of migration and refugee studies	S2
Academic researcher labour migration governance in the Gulf	S3
Mehran Kamrava Professor at Goergetown University in Qatar	S4
Dr. Andrew Gardener at Qatar University	S5